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HE KAWA ORANGA

Māori Achievement in the 21st Century

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2011

HE KAWA ORANGA

Māori Achievement in the 21st Century

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ABSTRACT

He Kawa Oranga, Māori Achievement in the 21st Century, investigates the relevance of kawa to modern times. The thesis is essentially about Māori engagement with society and the ways in which kawa can be applied to a range of situations and events in Te Ao Hurihuri, the changing world. But although the focus is on kawa in contemporary times, the origins of kawa are ancient and are embedded in a Māori knowledge system, Mātauranga Māori. For that reason the research methodology adopted in the thesis is based on a Mātauranga Maori epistemology and an associated research paradigm that draws on Māori concepts of knowledge, knowledge transfer, and the expansion of knowledge.

Insights from exponents of kawa, observations on marae, together with an examination of kawa in three contemporary situations contributed to an understanding of the several dimensions of kawa. An important finding was that the outward expressions of kawa have little meaning if they are detached from the kaupapa, the values, that underlie the kawa. The values contained in kawa reflect Māori world views and especially the relationships between people and between people and the environment. Maintaining the values in environments where Māori world views are not the prevailing norm is one of the dilemmas addressed in *He Kawa Oranga.*

The thesis concludes, however, that kawa provides a useful values-based approach to the encounters that will increasingly confront young Māori in a rapidly changing world. It does not suggest a return to the past, but by linking values and actions in ways that make sense to Māori, kawa is seen as an enabling process that can enhance performance, generate cohesion, inspire achievement and provide a measure of certainty.

HE MIHI

Tuia te rangi e tū iho nei,

Tuia te papa e takoto ake nei,

Tuia te here tangata kia puta ki te wheiao ki te ao mārama,

Tihē Mauriora!

Kia tau tonu rā ngā manaakitanga o te wā ki runga ki a tātou, i roto hoki i te āhua o tēnei kaupapa e horahia mai nei. Kia whai wāhi ake te mihi atu ki te hunga nāna tēnei kaupapa i arahi ki tōna pūāwaitanga. Ahakoa he iti te kupu, he nui tonu te whakaaro.

E tangihia ana hoki te hunga kua ngaro atu i te tirohanga kanohi. Nā rātou tonu ngā kaupapa whakapūmau i tuku whakarere iho hei oranga mō ngā uri whakatupu o muri nei. Ko te oha ia nei e kore rā e ngaro, engari e mau tonu iho nei hei taonga puiaki ki te ao. Mate atu he tētēkura, ara mai he tētēkura. Moe mai rā koutou i roto i te moenga roa. Tauāraia te pō. Tītoko ake ki te ao.

E mihi atu nei te uri whakaheke nei nō te iwi o Ngāti Kauwhata me te hapū o Ngāti Tahuriwakanui, nō Rangitāne me te hapū o Ngāti Rangi-te-Pāia, nō Ngāti Porou me ngā hapū o Te Whānau ā Tarahouiti, Te Whānau ā Hūnaara me Te Whānau a Rērewa, nō Rongo Whakaata me te hapū o Ngāti Maru, nō Kai Tahu me ngā hapū o Kai Tūahuriri me Kāti Huirapa.

Kia tahuri ai ngā mihi ki hunga nā rātou i arahi mai kia oti pai tēnei kaupapa. Tuatahi ake, ki a Tākuta Te Kani Kingi, te kaiarahi matua mō tēnei tuhinga roa. Tēnā koe i ōu kaha kia ū tonu ai tēnei kaupapa ki te aratika, ki tōna whakaotinga ake.

Huri atu ki a Tākuta Farah Palmer, te kaiarahi tuarua mō tēnei tuhinga roa. Tēnā koe kua noho mai nā hei tuarā anō i te roanga ake o tēnei kaupapa. Ki a Tā Peter Snell me Tākuta Chris Cunningham. tēnā hoki kōrua i te karahipi tautoko i tuku mai kia āhei ai ēnei mahi te whakatutuki.

Ka huri atu ngā mihi ki te hunga kua whakakīa nei te kete kōrero i roto i ngā tau. Kei aku rangatira e tiakina mai nā ngā pātaka iringa kōrero o te mātauranga, tēnā koutou me o koutou whakaaro, a koutou kōrero. Kāti, e koutou mā, ko Charles Te Ahukaramū Royal, ko Pou Temara, ko Te Wharehuia Milroy, ko Amster Reedy, tēnei te tauira e mihi atu nei.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa tēnā koutou. E te rangatira, Whatarangi Winiata, nāu hoki te akiaki kia whāia te ara o te mātauranga, tēnā koe. Huri atu ki te Tumuaki, ki a Mereana Selby. Tēnā koe i te nui o te tautoko me te manaakitanga i te roanga ake o tēnei hīkoitanga.

Mana Tamariki, e whāia nei te ara kia puta ai ā tātou tamariki, mokopuna hei raukura mō te iwi. Tēnā koutou katoa. Tae atu rā ki a Tū Toa, e whāia atu ana ngā tihi taumata o te ao mātauranga me te te ao hākinakina. Tū kaha, tū māia, tū toa, tēnā hoki koutou.

E te whānau. E kore rā e taea e te kupu kōrero te whakakākahu atu i te nui o te whakaaro mete aroha ki roto ki te whatumanawa. Kua tauiratia te ara e kōrua, e aku mātua, tēnā tahi rā kōrua. E te tau, Ilane, e mihi atu nei ki ā koe i to tautoko, manawaroa hoki. E aku tamāhine, Hinemaurea, Kirihautu, Hineteahurangi, Te Atahaia, whāia kia tata te pae tawhiti. Kāti, e waiho ake ana mā te aroha o te ngākau e mihi kau atu nei ki a koutou katoa.

He iti nā Mōtai, i takahia te One-i-Hākerekere

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GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

Āronga	World View
Awa	River
Atua	Guardian, Domain, Source
Hapū	Sub-Tribe
Haumietiketike	Atua of Cultivated Foods
Hinengaro	Intellect
Hui	Gathering of People
Ihi	Energy
Iwi	Tribe
Kaumātua	Elders
Kaupapa	Foundation
Karakia	Spiritual Incantation
Kawa	Protocol derived from Mātauranga Māori
Kohanga Reo	Te Reo Māori Early Childhood Immersion Centre
Kotahitanga	Unity
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Te Reo Māori Immersion School
Mana	Prestige
Manawa	Heart
Manaakitanga	Hospitality and Care
Manuhiri	Vistors, Guests
Marae	Meeting Place for Hapū and Iwi
Mātauranga	Knowledge

Mātauranga Māori	Māori Specfic
Maunga	Mountain
Mauri	Life Principle
Mokopuna	Grandchild
Noa	Unrestricted
Ohakī	Dying Wish
Pakeke	Adult
Pātaka Iringa Kōrero	Tribal Narrative
Rongo-mā-tāne	Atua of Peace and Cultivated Foods
Roto	Lake
Take	Reason / Base
Tamariki	Children
Tāne Mahuta	Atua of Forests, Birds and People
Tangaroa	Atua of the Oceans and Fish
Tangata Whenua	Indigenous Peoples
Tapu	Under Restriction
Tawhirimātea	Atua of Wind and Weathe
Te Ao Māori	Māori World
Te Reo Māori	Māori Language
Tikanga	Customs, Desired Behaviours
Tinana	Body
Toa	Warrior
Tūmatauenga	Atua of War and Conflict
Waihanga	Construct
Wairua	Spirit

Wairuatanga	Spirituality
Whakapapa	Geneological Connections
Whakatupuranga	Generation
Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero	Discussionte
Whānau	Family
Whare Wānanga	Centre for Higher Learning
Ūkaipō	Source of Nourishment

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HE KUPU WHAKATAKI

Mai ea te tipua mai ea te tawhito

Mai ea te kāhui o ngā ariki mai ea tawhiwhi ki ngā atua

Ōi takina te mauri

Ko te mauri i ahua noa ki runga ki ēnei taura ki runga ki ēnei tauira

Kia tau te mauri ki runga ki tēnei tama

He tukuna nō te whaiorooro o Tāne-te-waiora

Tēnei te matatau ka eke, whakatū tārewa ki te rangi

Whano! Whano! Haramai te toki!

Haumie! Hui e! Tāiki e!

E tīmata atu ana ngā kōrero whakataki ki ngā rā o nehe. Nō te ōrokohanga rā anō o te ao tūroa nei, o Aotearoa nei, kua nōhoia e te tangata whenua ōna ake wāhi, ōna ake wai, ōna ake papa kāinga ki te kimi i te oranga mō te whānau, otirā tōna rahinga. Nā roto mai i te tūhonotanga ki te taiao, nā roto mai anō i tōna mōhiotanga ki aua wāhi kua tau te noho atu ki ōna whenua. Nō te huringa atu o te tau, o te kaupeka, o te marama, o te pō, kua āta kitea atu e ia ngā āhuatanga kia noho tapu me ngā āhuatanga kia noho noa. Nō konā kua taea e ia te whakatakoto tikanga kia puta ai he ora ki te tangata. Kāti ko ētahi o aua tikanga he mea tūhono atu ki tētahi kawa. Nō muri nei kua whakawhāitihia. Ko te marae tonu te tino wāhi e kitea tonu mai ana te kawa. Nā whai anō te take o tēnei tuhinga rangahau, kia tirohia ngā ara mō te kawa i te ao hou, i te ao hurihuri, i te ao e noho atu ai ngā whakatupuranga o muri nei.

E huakina atu ana i konei te tatau o te whare o te mātauranga. Koia rā te pūtake o tēnei kaupapa, he āta titiro ki tēnei hanga a te tikanga me te kawa kia mārama ai te wāhi ki ngā tikanga i roto i te ao hurihuri nei. Kāti he kaupapa mātauranga tēnei te whakatakoto ake nei.

E tukuna atu ana kia puhia e te hau, kia uaina e te ua, kia whitikia e te rā. He kaupapa hoki e whakamārama mai ana te wāhi ki te *kawa* kia puta ai he ora ki te tangata, otirā ki te ao e noho nei tāua ko te tangata.

Kua tapaina iho te tuhinga nei ki te ingoa '*He Kawa Oranga*', koia tērā ko tōna iho, ko tōna pūtake, ko tōna hua. He āta titiro ki ngā huarahi e taea ai e te kawa te tangata te hāpai, te arahi kia pai te noho atu ki ngā momo taiao e karapoti ake nei i a tātou. E hāngai ana hoki te titiro ki ngā kaupapa me ngā ara kei mua i te aroaro o te iwi Māori i roto i tēnei ao hurihuri. Nā, e āta tirohia ai anō hoki te tūhonotanga i waenganui i te kawa me te ahurea, te auahatanga Māori, te ekenga taumata, te angitū, te oranga o te tangata, te mana me te rangatiratanga. E ai kī ngā pūrongo kōrero o nāia tata nei, ko ngā kaupapa Māori kua ara ake i roto i ngā tau tata nei e tino eketia ana ngā tihi taumata, ā, he mea angitū hoki nā te whai wāhi atu o ngā tikanga Māori i roto.

Ko te urupounamu o tēnei tuhinga roa nei a *He Kawa Oranga* e pēnei ana,

> '*E taea rānei e te kawa me ōna whakahaere te hāngai torotika atu ki ngā tini horopaki, āhuatanga hoki o te ao hurihuri?*'

Arā atu ētahi kaupapa Māori nō mua atu, nō muri tata nei hoki kua pūāwaitia mai hei oranga mō te Māori. Koia tērā ko te aronga tuarua o tēnei kaupapa rangahau, ko te whai kia mōhio, kia mārama ai te wāhi ki te kawa i roto i ngā kaupapa nui o te ao hurihuri. Hei whaiwhai ake i tērā, he kāhui tohunga kua uiuia ki ngā tūāhuatanga o te tikanga, o te kawa.

Kāti. E whai ake ana te roanga ake o ngā kōrero whakamārama mō tēnei kaupapa rangahau. Kua whakatakoto i konei te ia o te kaupapa, he take rangahau e aro nei ki te Mātauranga Māori i roto i te i Te Ao Hou. Tēnā anō tātou katoa.

CHAPTER ONE

HE WHAKATAU

Tikanga in Contemporary Aotearoa

The Thesis

Nā ngā kaupapa, ka puta mai te kawa. Kaupapa is the precursor of kawa.

Although kawa is reflected in the patterns of social interaction as well as the conventions that govern engagement and the outward expressions of group distinctiveness, kaupapa contain the underlying principles and philosophies which distinguish kawa. Kaupapa is to kawa, as theory is to practice; one provides the basis and the validation for the other. Importantly for this thesis, the elements of kawa are based on Māori values, philosophies, and customs – kaupapa Māori. An argument in the thesis is that the application of kawa to contemporary situations that are often far removed from customary circumstances, is nonetheless based on Māori world views and mātauranga Māori – Māori knowledge.

He Kawa Oranga contains three major themes: kawa, enagement, and Māori innovation. It is about the importance of Māori values and practices to the challenges faced by rangatahi in the twenty-first century and explores the relationship between culture, youth, success, wellbeing, and leadership. The practice of kawa introduces an aspect of Māori culture that is well rehearsed on

marae throughout the country and is often used to identify the historic connections and traditional rituals associated with an Iwi or Hapū (tribe). However, although there is a strong focus on kawa as a vehicle for the transmission of culture, the thesis is not primarily about marae kawa or kawa relevant to distant times; instead it is about the application of the principles, goals and components of kawa that can enhance Māori performance in a variety of contemporary situations.

In other words, the focus is on the relevance of kawa to Māori participation in health, education, sport and team building. By understanding the foundations of kawa in tikanga and Mātauranga Māori, the thesis reaches beyond the marae to explore the ways in which kawa can be employed to increase achievement in those areas.

He Kawa Oranga is also about Māori innovation. There is increasing evidence that across a wide range of endeavours in recent times, Māori initiatives that have included cultural values and activities have also been associated with spectacular levels of accomplishment. The impact of Kohanga Reo on Māori participation in early childhood education for example illustrates how a cultural dimension can produce transformational shifts. In the case of Kohanga Reo, Māori language was the catalyst; in other instances such as Māori participation in health services, transformation followed the acceptance of Māori health perspectives. Innovative approaches to social development programmes have depended on Māori leaders who have been able to see the significance of culture to success and then devise pathways that will enable the culture to be felt as an integral part of the activity. Creating an environment where 'being Māori' can be the norm in a society where 'being Māori' lies outside the norm has required leaders who can appreciate contemporary demands and at the same time recognise the contributions that culture might bring to enhance performance.

It has been well documented that Māori are disadvantaged by potentially avoidable health problems[1] as well as educational failure, especially at secondary schools.[2] It is also clear that a range of factors acting together and singly contribute to poor outcomes.[3] *He Kawa Oranga* does not explore the multiple causes of sickness, disease, injury, truancy, classroom failure or low Māori educational scorecards but focuses on two broad domains that have high significance for success. The first, the cultural domain, draws on customary and contemporary Māori knowledge as it impacts on human behaviour, while the second, the organisational domain, recognises the link between the culture operating within an organisation and the subsequent performance of members.

Māori cultural concepts originate from Māori experience and knowledge generated over a millennium. While there is often a tendency to relegate mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) to the past and to associate it with a world that is no longer relevant, indigenous peoples have demonstrated that indigenous values, knowledge and custom can influence contemporary lifestyles.[4] In effect, *He Kawa Oranga* sets out to investigate that very proposition. Further, more than a question of merely gaining cultural knowledge, the research is concerned with the possibility that cultural paradigms can add value to those pursuits that result in high levels of achievement and superior performance.

Aside from the complex interactions that result in personal feats and group accomplishments, an emphasis in this thesis is on cultural consistency as a major contributor to Māori success. Māori success covers a wide spectrum of activities but the focus in this thesis is primarily on the application of Māori cultural values, practices and protocols to situations where levels of Māori involvement are high though do not necessarily have a long history. Too often in the past success has required behavioural adaptation, an abandonment of customary values, and a loss of

cultural identity. Prior to the 1980's for example, schooling in New Zealand disregarded Māori language and culture as important to learning and students were expected to leave Māori world views, te reo Māori, and whānau expectations outside the school gates.[5] For many Māori that pathway has not necessarily been problematic, but for many more, in previous years and in modern times, the attainment of success at the expense of cultural identity has not been an acceptable trade-off. Nor has it achieved positive results for the majority of Māori youth. A major conclusion in *He Kawa Oranga* is that not only are success and culture compatible but that one adds value to the other.

An examination of the nature of the relationship between culture and success is therefore a central concern on this thesis. Some commentators have suggested that Māori performance is hindered by an adherence to customary values and practices.[6] Others have concluded that culture actually delivers benefits that cannot be secured by other means.[7] In either case, a relationship between the two is postulated. Assuming that the relationship is positive, questions about the interaction of one with the other, and the sites where interaction occurs, are important to understanding how culture impacts on performance and attainment.

The Research Question

Later in this thesis it will be evident that kawa arises from three levels. The first level concerns the āronga, or worldview held by a particular hapū, iwi or collective towards their specific environment; the second is about kaupapa – mātāpono or values that underpin collective social norms; and the third level, stemming from these two other levels, are sets of tikanga – actions or practices specific to and widely practiced within that community. Evolving from all three levels

– āronga, kaupapa, tikanga - are kawa. Based on worldviews, values, and actions, kawa are complex processes developed to facilitate important events, tasks or encounters in order to achieve certain goals and objectives. Typically, an element of tapu accompanies kawa; a cautious and measured approach to ensure success and safety.

It will also become apparentthat the solution is not simply about introducing a cultural element such as a visual symbol, some Māori words, or a haka. Instead, the more important question is how a Māori world view can be fostered in order to provide a context for relationships, interaction, commitment, and focus. *He Kawa Oranga* explores that question by examining the concept and practice of kawa. Kawa is seen as the vehicle for 'living' a Māori world view.

Within kawa, cultural elements are intertwined with values, beliefs, and protocols. Kawa has no ready English equivalent although insofar as it denotes a systematic way of doing things, its meaning is not dissimilar to the notions of convention and protocol. Those parallel meanings both contain suggestions of conformity and predictability, with implications of a measure of agreement about what constitutes appropriate behaviour.

Tikanga within the context of this research can be viewed as common practices, actions and behaviours that are specific to a community, for example an iwi or hapū. Tikanga reflect the kaupapa (values) central to a community and at a broader level the āronga (worldview) or orientation and perspectives shaped by a community over time. Tikanga are dynamic and can evolve over time as environmental and situational changes arise.

The term kawa relates to a process that involves collective participation by members of a community within an important event or task. Engagement in kawa requires caution, full and effective engagement, strong leadership and incorporates a number of specific tikanga in order to engage

But as this thesis will demonstrate, kawa embodies another level of meaning that is not entirely captured by those English equivalents. Briefly, the difference lies in the origins of kawa. Kawa emerges from a world view in which human behaviour and human existence are part of a wider network of relationships – between individuals, between groups, between people and the natural environment, between the present and the past, and between the forces that regulate life and death.

In other words kawa has both tangible and intangible connotations. On the one hand, like a convention or an established protocol, it is about a measurable set of behaviours that can be expected in certain situations. But on the other hand kawa also makes a statement about the nature of relationships and journeys that bind people to land, territory, and a knowledge base that has risen from those bonds.

The tangible component can be taught; the intangible component must be experienced – at least that was one finding that emerged from the research. For now, however, the more immediate point is that kawa is central to this thesis and underpins the primary research question: '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to Māori participation in a range of situations in modern times?*'

Table 1 (below) summarises the key themes embedded in the overall research question and the secondary questions that arise for each theme. Apart from a central focus on kawa, and its application, the thesis will also consider aspects of participation in education and sport, and the risks resulting from modern living environments for Māori. An important aspect of the thesis, however, is the way in which kawa can act as a moderating force so that engagement (in sport or education or wider endeavours) can occur in a way that enhances performance and delivers group benefits.

Table 1 The Research Question

The Key Themes	*Main Focus*	*Secondary Questions*
Kawa	Māori values, concepts, processes, conventions.	What elements of kawa are relevant and transportable to specific situations?
Māori participation	Young Māori involved in sport and/or education programmes while strengthening cultural identity.	What are the factors that contribute to the success of young Māori?
Engagement with society	Active entry and participation by Māori in organisations and programmes	How does the exercise of kawa contribute to successful Māori engagement?
Contemporary times	Māori in competitive modern environments and a changing world.	How can rangatahi gain competitive advantages in modern society?

So far the key aspects of the study have been introduced: Māori participation, education and sport, cultural paradigms, Māori world views and societal competitiveness. A further aim of *He Kawa Oranga*, however, is to explore the possibility that Māori wellbeing in modern times might be significantly advantaged by customary concepts and practices such as kawa applied to contemporary life styles. Tradition runs the risk of being kept alive only to act as a memorial to the past. From that perspective kawa is sometimes seen simply as a tradition, especially when its practice is associated only with marae encounters, and only on ceremonial occasions. But all traditions have relatively practical origins and at some stage have had largely pragmatic aims. The contentions in this thesis are two-fold: first, kawa can provide guidelines for engagement and achievement and the reinforcement of cultural values in modern times, and second kawa is not bound by time nor limited to a single situation.

In a world where universal values and global imperatives threaten indigenous world views,[8] Māori do not always achieve full potential. *He Kawa Oranga* considers the possibility that disadvantage can sometimes be turned to advantage when cultural protocols are introduced into pursuits more usually regarded as being outside the reach of indigenous frameworks. Underlying that possibility is the more fundamental theme that many Māori cultural practices have been unnecessarily alienated from everyday life by being cast as traditions from the past that have limited relevance to contemporary Māori experience.

The Inspiration

As a step towards exploring the research question, '*can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to Māori participation in a range of situations in modern times?*', historical records and reports about Māori success in national and global situations were consulted. Early in the research journey the epic saga of the 1888 New Zealand Native Rugby Team was uncovered.[9] This event provided critical insights into the successful application of kawa within a high performance environment. It would also become a major source of inspiration for the entire thesis and led to the co-production of a twelve minute film, an output that had not originally been planned.

The story of the 1888 Native Rugby Team deserves to be told in some detail. It is a compelling example of the application of kaupapa and kawa to a competitive sporting context. The 1888 New Zealand Native Rugby Team was the first Māori sporting team to compete against national and international sporting opposition. During the 1880's the game of rugby was comparatively

new to New Zealand and had not yet to taken hold across all regions of the county. Nonetheless a New Zealand Māori representative team would tour overseas to Australia and England at a time when the sport of rugby remained largely domestic. At that point, the England national rugby team was widely considered to be the best in the world. Moreover, English county and club teams of that era were also of considerably high level.

The 1888 New Zealand Natives, comprising predominantly Māori players, undertook a mammoth tour of England with a punishing schedule that included over one hundred games. Initially considered to be nothing more than a novelty, the Natives went on to win over two thirds of their games. A major contributor to the success was the strong team culture that emerged on tour, helped in no small part by the charismatic persona of Joe Warbrick, captain and selector of the Natives. Warbrick by all accounts would regularly draw from the cultural values and traditions familiar to him and other players in the team.

A tour of these proportions required the team to operate in a cooperative and supportive manner. The notion of *whanaungatanga*, kinship ties, and *kotahitanga*, unity, enabled the team to remain focussed on achieving successful results throughout the tour. These same values are discussed later in this thesis and contribute considerably to current Māori initiatives in health, education and sport. The additional values of resilience – *pūmautanga* and spirituality – *wairuatanga* would provide the necessary spark to ensure that the drive and determination remained intact in order to complete the tour.

In 1888 and at the bequest of New Zealand Rugby administrators and promoters, a New Zealand Native Rugby Team was selected as the very first major international rugby tour to be undertaken by any rugby playing nation. Joseph Warbrick of Te Arawa and Ngāti Rangitihi

tribal affiliations was selected as captain and selector of the team. In the months leading up to the tour Warbrick single-handedly selected a team comprising outstanding Māori rugby players from across the country. A unique feature of the team was the number of brothers and relations who were included as part of the squad. Quite apart from the fact that they were all rugby players of rare talent and promise, their kinship ties - *kāwai whakapapa* - would later prove pivotal enduring the long and arduous tour ahead.

The tour itself comprised 107 games of rugby compressed into a exhausting 18-month schedule. The Natives went on to win 74 games and drawing six, a record that would be unlikely to be surpassed in modern times. Commencing in New Zealand with matches organised in Napier, the Natives then travelled to Australia to play four games, three of which, unknowingly, were of the Australian Rules variety.[10] Although having never played the code before, they won three out of their four games. Sailing on to Great Britain, the Natives were initially welcomed with open arms. They were seen as a novel arrival to English shores and were representative of one of several English colonies existing in distant outcrops of the South Seas, a legacy of the travels of Captain James Cook. Games were organised on a regular basis with the Natives playing on average two to three times weekly. Despite a high injury toll, unaccustomed food and beverages, and severe illnesses, often untreated, they fielded a full team for every game. As the tour progressed the unexpected ease with which the Native team disposed of their opponents took the English by surprise. The Native team employed an attacking approach which stifled the traditionally conservative English style of play. The Natives also adopted an innovative defence system which proved to be effective against the organised and methodical style of English play.

The tour eventually became a fight for survival. As the Natives continued to defy expectations by winning game after game the level of hostility and antagonism from opposition teams began

to have an unsettling effect. After initially being accommodated in quality lodgings with meals and other effects, the Natives were eventually forced into spending many nights sleeping in train stations and make-shift shelters. Despite the hardships, however, Joe Warbrick and his team played each and every game organised for them. Their deep-seated desire to leave a lasting impression on their English counterparts and to forge a name on behalf of all Māori at home in New Zealanddrove them beyond the point of exhaustion.

Contributing to their endurance and high levels of performance were the specific ritenga, tikanga and kawa employed by Joe Warbrick and his team. The notion of *kotahitanga* or unity was pivotal to ensuring a positive team culture from start to finish. The level of leadership, or *rangatiratanga* demonstrated by Warbrick throughout the tour enabled the players to be bound together through his vision. The positive relationships or *whanaungatanga* fostered on tour over two years similarly contributed to high levels of trust for one another on the rugby field. These values or kaupapa underpinned the approach adapted by the Natives on tour. The implementation was achieved through several means, in particular the use of specific tikanga and kawa.

Most of the Native team were well grounded in the ways of their tūpuna. Under the leadership of Warbrick and other senior players in the team, they were able to call upon specific tikanga that were of value to them within the team environment. Prior to most matches, Joe Warbrick and other senior players would motivate and inspire the team through whaikōrero – carefully articulated speeches that would be delivered in te reo Māori in a way that would arouse the ihi or energy levels of the players. Moreover, when the occasion required, Warbrick and other team leaders would recite carefully selected ancient karakia in order to imbue the team with higher level sense of purpose and spiritual elevation. Finally, the engagement in haka would draw on

the ancient warrior traditions of their ancestors, engaging each player at a physical, mental, spiritual and social level in order to engage in the battle ahead. Each of these tikanga would provide selected points of engagement for the team prior to important games, particularly test matches, and together they would form the basis of a kawa for team performance and engagement – a structured and carefully planned step by step protocol underpinned by collective participation and core Māori cultural values. More than a spirited 'team talk' the renewed energies were as much psychological as physical, and spiritual rather than tactical. A kawa for rugby had been initiated.

The pattern was well ahead of its time. The All Black teams of modern times continue to draw on some of these traditions, including the haka, in order to achieve high levels of performance.[11] The legacy handed down by the 1888 New Zealand Natives is significant, particularly when considering the broader contexts for rangatahi engagement and achievement in modern times.

An Historic Walking Tour

Research into Māori youthful engagement uncovered yet another story, also set in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. As sweeping reforms swept across the country, challenging Iwi to adapt to a cash economy, new laws and different standards of living, Māori land holdings rapidly diminished and in parallel the population declined. Factions resistant to settler demands emerged including an influential inter-tribal *pupuri whenua* collective, totally opposed to land sales. They were firmly opposed by colonial powers in parliament and in local bodies. Other factions saw little alternative than to adapt, to incorporate some of the new ways into village and personal lives, and 'become essentially like the Pakeha'.[12] Few envisaged that living in two

worlds and by two codes was both possible and enhancing. However, by 1891, senior students at Te Aute College had realised the importance of engaging with change, rather than resisting it but did not necessarily see the situation as an 'either or' option. Instead they saw advantages in embracing both the old and the new and expected that Māori leaders would show the way. In June 1889 Reweti Kohere, Maui Pomare, and Timutimu Tawhai, set out to visit rural Māori communities in Hawkes Bay, taking with them messages about sanitation, nutrition, education, and housing.[13] Their mission not only led to a groundswell of community awareness but was also to result in the establishment of the Young Māori Party in 1897.[14]

The three students who undertook the walking tour were motivated by a sense of duty and personal responsibility and had been strongly influenced by the Headmaster, John Thornton.[15] Their mission required them to engage with elders many years their senior, and to gain their confidence. In order to do so they needed an approach that would satisfy the cultural norms of the community and at the same time allow for the introduction new ideas and practices, a liberty that might have been regarded as insolent and offensive. Two factors facilitated the process. First, apart from being relatively well educated (a secondary education was unusual for Māori in the 1890s) they were also well versed in kaupapa, tikanga, and whakapapa. They were delivering new world messages, but were also conscious of the world in which Māori were still living. The awareness of two worlds and two knowledge sets enabled them to engage with tribal elders and go some-way to bridge the divide. The engagement process drew on respect for local tradition and an ability to follow the various protocols that were relevant in each situation.

Second, their commitment and their readiness to endure physical discomfort gained the respect of the elders. They were seen as new age warriors, ready to do battle against the modern ills that had progressively weakened resolve and tenacity for many nineteenth century Māori. They

brought with them hope, the means to understand the realities of new times, and a conviction that gains could be made without sacrificing their own identity. Their emphasis on education and adaptation may have been at odds with the counter messages circulating at the time, but the strength of conviction and the boldness of their approach gained support and respect.

He Kawa Oranga is not only about engaging with rangatahi but also about the ways in which rangatahi engage with wider society. The walking tour by the three Te Aute students highlighted the importance of culture as a vehicle for engagement and a conduit for adaptation. It is unlikely that the trio would have been received cordially, if at all, had they not been able to understand and follow the kawa of their hosts or to couch their messages in terms that made sense to men much older than themselves. Intergenerational engagement is challenging for many reasons and it can be doubly challenging when cultures collide. Kohere, Timutimu and Te Rangi Hiroa had cultural affiliation on their side and as a consequence were able to engage on terms that were acceptable. The authority of tribal leaders was not contested but by observing the kawa of the place and the time, it was possible to introduce new ideas and to foster support for them.

In any event the walking tour raises three points especially relevant to this thesis – engagement, change, and leadership. Importantly it highlights the significance of kawa for engagement. Despite differences in age, iwi affiliations, levels of education, and divergent lifestyles, it was possible for genuine communication to occur and an agreed position to be established. That level of engagement could not have occurred unless all parties shared the same understandings and cultural nuances. Further, the story has relevance to societal change. The changes that occurred in the late nineteenth century were dramatic and extensive and without high levels of resilience might have led to irreversible depopulation. But change is always occurring and Māori adaptation to new circumstances will always be part of an ongoing process that will

require intermediaries who are able to span the old and the new. In this instance, while having grown up in environments where Māori world views prevailed, the three Te Aute College students had the advantage of an education built around western philosophies.[16]

Leadership was the third point. The walking tour was essentially about the emergence of a new cadre of leaders who, in time, were to be hugely influential figures concerned with steering Māori into the twentieth century.[17] But then they were inspired students bent on strengthening the arm of existing older leaders. Moreover, the impact of their leadership was a function of their collective capacities as much as their individual attributes and skills. The three case studies in *He Kawa Oranga* make a similar point; each one is built around group determination and combined achievement as well as the roles of leaders in harnessing energies.

Human Wellbeing

At times the emphasis in this thesis is on Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), at other times it shifts towards Māori participation in activities that have not been normally regarded as part of a Māori frame; and at still other times it comes to rest on modes of engagement and the ways in which youthful commitment can be secured. The reality is that Māori lives are not shaped by uni-dimensional forces but by a range of influences that constitute modern living. *He Kawa Oranga* explores the boundaries between some of those forces. Human wellbeing, success, a secure identity, the transmission of values, and positive participation in society have together created a broad backdrop against which *He Kawa Oranga* has unfolded.

In contrast to concepts of health that are derived from the absence of disease, there is an increasing trend to define wellbeing with criteria that are unrelated to sickness or disability, but

include measures of cohesion, inclusion, enterprise and self management.[18] In this approach there is not necessarily any contradiction between having a physical disability and being well. There might, however, be an inconsistency between wellness as a fixed condition and the unleashing of unrealised potential over time. Wellbeing has been linked to economic circumstances, social connectedness, quality relationships, and a capacity to function effectively in society.[19] Indigenous peoples, however, have placed great importance on cultural identity as a critical determinant of wellbeing arguing that there is a strong relationship between wellbeing and alienation from cultural markers such as language, diminished participation in indigenous networks and cultural activities, and a lack cultural knowledge.[20] Alongside the more conventional indicators such as health status, educational achievement and economic wellbeing, 'being Māori' is a determinant of wellbeing.[21]

Māori have also considered wellbeing to reflect balance between the domains of spirituality (taha wairua), mental capacity (taha hinengaro), bodily functioning (taha tinana) and social relationships (taha whānau).[22] This holistic perspective has been incorporated into a model of wellbeing known as 'Te Whare Tapa Whā'. The model is not dissimilar from other indigenous perspectives and integrates inner personal experiences with social and ecological impacts.[23] Wellness is constructed from an ecological perspective with a dynamic exchange between spiritual, biological, intellectual, emotional and social forces.

Wellness is not a static state. Over time the markers of wellbeing change so that what constitutes wellness in the latter years of human development is significantly different from what might represent wellness in adolescence. Wellness is also a function of bias and stereotyping. Being seventy or even eighty years old is no longer seen as a time of inevitable decline with diminished interest in interests and activities; instead the notion of positive ageing recognises that age is not,

by itself a barrier to wellness, independence or ongoing contribution to family and community.[24] Attitudes to young people have also changed. Wellness in former times had moral overtones especially for girls, so that obedience and abstinence (from alcohol, tobacco, sex, strenuous exercise) were supposed indicators of wellbeing. A well child was one who only 'spoke when spoken to', ate whatever food was placed on the table, and did not express emotions or question the behaviour of adults. The wellness of a baby was often measured by weight – the heavier, the healthier – and, in contrast to 'demand feeding' by an appetite that conformed to the clock.

Apart from varying cultural attitudes to wellbeing, and age-related differences in the criteria for wellbeing, wellness is valued differently by different groups within society. A trend towards valuing physique, and physical appearance as an indicator of wellness, has become increasingly important to New Zealanders and is reflected in the increasing number of participants in strength training programmes and cardiovascular exercise classes. Wellness is often associated with being extra thin or super fit, and is not infrequently accompanied by an inflexible attitude to exercise and diet. In those situations, wellbeing is measured by (low) weight, (dense) muscle mass and (an absence of) fatty tissue. It is a narrow approach at odds with Māori views of wellbeing since it fails to take into account spiritual, mental and social domains.[25] There is also evidence that for an increasing proportion of the population wellness is equated with youthful (slender) appearance, perfect facial (wrinkle-free) features and bodily (fat-free) contours and attractiveness to others. A preoccupation with that perception of wellness is more likely to be found in populations who reside in more affluent neighbourhoods and are better off in economic terms. Indeed insofar as there are financial barriers that impede access to gymnasia, personal trainers, fitness clinics, cosmetic surgery and healthy diets, it could be expected that Māori would be less likely to be involved in the broad range of wellness programmes. *He Kawa*

Oranga has investigated another approach to wellbeing and wellness programmes. While physical fitness and high performance might be attained, the significance of other indicators of wellness such as a sound cultural identity and cohesiveness are afforded greater recognition. It is also postulated that those factors (cultural security and social inclusion) can lead to enhanced mental and physical performance.

Despite a general trend towards increased longevity in all OECD countries, disparities in health status between population groups remain so that people in lower income brackets and some who belong to ethnic minorities have lower life expectancy. Generally, indigenous peoples experience poorer health outcomes than their non-indigenous compatriots and even when socio-economic circumstances are taken into account, disparities remain.[26] Moreover, across the world the epidemiological patterns of disease for indigenous populations are not dissimilar. This study takes place at a time when there is mounting concern about the emergence of threats to health associated with physical inactivity, unsafe nutritional habits, alcohol and substance abuse, and high levels of health risk for youthful populations. Inequalities in health stem from many causes including differential access to services, differences in quality of care and blatant racism.[27] In New Zealand the threats to Māori health are disproportionately high, at least compared to non-Polynesian population groups.[128]

Kawa and Culture in Modern New Zealand

In 1960 a report was presented to Parliament by the Deputy Chairman of the Public Service Commission, J. K. Hunn. Known as the Hunn Report it contained a comprehensive outline of the differences in standards of living between Māori and non-Māori.[29] Disparities in life expectancy, mortality rates, morbidity, educational achievement, housing, and income levels all pointed to a two tiered society within which Māori urban migrants were disadvantaged on almost all socio-economic scales. The problem then was seen largely in terms of poor social adjustment to urban living and increased efforts to integrate Māori into wider society were seen as a solution. Closer links between Māori organisations and communities and Government Departments were recommended as well as a series of initiatives for education including the establishment of a Māori Education Foundation, a progressive transfer of Māori schools to board control, and extra tuition in mathematics. The Report also distinguished between 'abstract forms of welfare' and 'concrete forms of welfare.' The abstract type such as 'exhortatory work on marae' could be left to tribal committees and welfare organisations, while concrete work (e.g. case work) would be left to welfare officers.[30]

By 1970, however, another type of disadvantage was receiving attention. A Young Māori Leaders Conference at Auckland University produced a report for the government which among other things decried the status of Māori lands, culture and people in relationship to wider society. Out of that Conference a protest movement, Ngā Tamatoa emerged.[31] Among their goals were to oppose racism, to campaign for Māori language and culture, redress for loss of Māori land, and observation of the Treaty of Waitangi. As urban dwellers themselves, they had grown increasingly aware of the extent to which urbanisation had led to the alienation from culture and language and were especially concerned that te reo Māori (Māori language) would be lost

altogether. Whereas the students from Te Aute College in 1891 had sought to bring western insights to Māori villages, Ngā Tamatoa fought to bring Māori knowledge, language and culture back into the lives of Māori. The concerns raised in the Hunn Report were not dismissed but rather than advocating greater integration into wider society, Ngā Tamatoa emphasised greater participation in Te Ao Māori. They had postulated a link between social exclusion and cultural estrangement.

The possibility that Māori language might be relevant and helpful in the late twentieth century had not been previously considered by most New Zealanders, but Ngā Tamatoa, in association with Te Reo Māori society initiated a nation-wide petition calling for Māori language to be taught in primary and secondary schools. Over 30,000 signatures were added to the petition. As a result of their efforts Te Reo Māori was added to the curriculum and a Māori Language Day (later extended to a week) was endorsed.[32]

In 1975 another protest added a further strand to the mix. Led by octogenarian, Dame Whina Cooper, and marching under the name of Te Roopu Matakite, 5000 Māori converged on Parliament to protest at the continuing alienation of Māori land.[33] The presented a petition signed by some 60,000 people to Prime Minister Bill Rowling. Not only did their long walk from Hapua in the Far North draw public attention to the numerous historic injustices that had seen Māori land holdings dwindle, it also provided a forum to express disapproval at some current laws that would see further alienation. There was particular disquiet about the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967 which required land with fewer than five Māori owners to be converted into general land, thus outside the jurisdiction of the Māori Land Court.[34] Essentially they were demonstrating against the dismissal of Māori custom and practice in legislation that

impacted on Māori land tenure. Largely as a result of their protest, the 1967 amendment was repealed.

Apart from the Land March, 1975 was important for another reason. Under the sponsorship of Matiu Rata, Minister of Māori Affairs, the Treaty of Waitangi Act was passed, establishing the Waitangi Tribunal. The Tribunal was empowered to investigate claims against the Crown for breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and was to become an important milestone in reversing the assimilatory trend that had been implied in the Hunn Report and was the fundamental reason for earlier protests. In 1983 the Tribunal published its first major report regarding the threatened pollution of the Motuni River and the reefs on the Taranaki coastline.[35] A conclusion that a petro-chemical plant in northern Taranaki would indeed cause extensive pollution prompted a re-think about the proposed plant and especially the option of discharging waste into the river, rather than using a land-based system of disposal. But the Tribunal's Motunui Report also introduced a cultural element into the argument by highlighting the importance of tribal customary practices to conservation and to wellbeing. Polluted reefs would contaminate shellfish and other sea foods and would therefore impose health risks on tribal members. Moreover, if the pollution was severe enough to prevent any harvest, the tribe would not be able to exercise its customary form of hospitality to visitors. This would reduce the mana of the tribe and in the process undermine collective wellbeing.

By the early 1980s a groundswell of concern about the loss of language, culture, customary resources, and Māori lore had reached sufficiently high levels to generate a series of actions by Māori leaders that would see the reinstatement of te reo Māori and a revaluing of Māori culture, including kawa, as key elements in lifting levels of wellbeing, especially in health and education. In the new approach, there was a rejection of any notion of assimilation. Instead the expectation

was that all Māori young people should be able to grow up as New Zealanders and as Māori. Full participation need not mean abandoning a Māori identity.

The prospect of a new era in Māori development and approaches to Māori wellbeing were formalised at the Hui Taumata in 1984.[36] Māori leaders, in partnership with Government, prescribed a decade of positive Māori development so that Māori people could develop their own economic and social systems in ways that were consistent with Māori aspirations and custom. In the deregulated environment, large numbers of Māori health, education and social service providers emerged enabling families (whānau), communities and tribes to steer their own courses.[37]

The twin approaches, retaining a Māori identity while rejecting assimilation, together with a measure of autonomy, self management, and Māori delivery systems, have been important in the Māori journey from dependency towards full participation. Transformations have been evident in a range of areas, including entrepreneurship,[38] but there has been particular progress in non-compulsory education[39] and health workforce participation.[40]

The 1984 Hui Taumata ushered in a decade of development taking Māori in new and positive directions. But beyond the developmental mode there is evidence of a more confident mode where Māori can not only build on gains already made, but also shape the directions to suit new times, and rebalance some of the imperatives that seemed so necessary in 1984.

In 2005 for example, the Ministry of Māori Development, Te Puni Kokiri recommended a 'Māori potential approach' as a basis for Māori policy and development. The 'potential approach' encompasses wellbeing, knowledge, influence and resources and the desired outcome is one where 'Māori succeed as Māori'. Built on the complementary pillars of rawa (wealth),

mātauranga (knowledge) and whakamana (autonomy and control), the focus was away from deficit and failure towards success and achievement.[41]

The potential approach requires substantial directional shifts to those that focused on alleviating distress and gaining access to language, culture, and societal goods and services. While they were largely concerned with building foundations and instituting processes, the 'Māori potential' focus was geared towards result and outcomes rather than access and processes.

Kawa in Education

The more important point, however, is that in modern times, and in contrast to the situation that tended to prevail before the 1980s, Māori cultural values, language and practices have found a place in contemporary educational institutions. In less than a quarter century new institutions that incorporate Māori custom and culture alongside other goals have been established.

Māori language immersion educational centres for example have reshaped the education sector at early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary levels.[42] Building on the pioneering Kohanga Reo movement, Māori participation in early childhood education has increased to over ninety percent and te reo Māori is the medium of learning for Ngā Puna Kōhungahunga services as well as Kohanga Reo centres. Generally, immersion education has three primary goals: educational achievement, the revitalization of te reo Māori, and the creation of learning environments shaped by customary protocols and traditions. For the most part the syllabus is based on the national curriculum; distinctiveness comes from the values that underpin teaching, learning and parental involvement. One case study in this thesis is based on a composite school encompassing early

childhood, primary and seconday school levels; it will explore the application of kawa to learning and to the establishment of a distinctive educational milieu.

Apart from experiences in immersion mode education, the use of culture as a way of accelerating engagement with learning has been introduced in a number of other situations. The Northland Intersectoral Forum, a group made up of representatives from the Ministries of Social Development, Education and Māori Development (Te Puni Kōkiri), as well as a range of other community organisations, has developed a three part engagement strategy for Māori learners in Northland schools. The *Engagement Taitamariki in Learning Strategy* is aimed at lifting the educational achievement of young Māori in the Te Tai Tokerau region, from 37 percent in 2006 to 75 percent in 2013. The three sub-strategies are Te Ako o Ngā Taitamariki (the school community interface), Tama Tū Tama Ora (personalised learning pathways for Māori boys), and Te Mana o Ngā Taitamariki.[43] The latter sub-strategy is based on the observation that particpation in cultural activities such as kapa haka, and sport, can lead to gains in confidence in learning and bring those experiences to bear in school or other formal learning. The aim is to have 1000 Taitamariki engaged in sport, cultural and leadership initiatives each year. Progress will be measured by attitudinal and behavioral improvements based on pre and post evaluation of participants.

In order to accelerate Māori student success in compulsory education, the Ministry of Education launched a strategy, *Ka Hikitia: Managing for Success in 2008.* The Strategy recognised the education system had not been working well for Māori and proposed an approach that emphasized potential more than deficit. In contrast to the first (1999) Māori Education Strategy, *Ka Hikitia* placed greater emphasis on a continued attitudinal change and stressed the importance of cultural outcomes as integral to successful educational outcomes. Culture was seen as an

advantage; 'being Māori is an asset; not a problem.' In addition to endorsing the value of Māori language education as part of the education portfolio, the relationship between teachers and learners was also acknowledged as critical along with an organizational environment that supported collaborative relationships with whānau, hapū and iwi. Engagement with Māori learners in ways that aligned with their cultural frameworks and 'iwitanga' was to be an important aspect of the Strategy.[44]

A second case study in *He Kawa Oranga* explores the place of kawa within a tertiary education environment. Te Kawa o te Ako has been developed at Te Wānanga o Raukawa to guide student learning, behaviour and relationships while on campus. The kawa permeates all facets of the institution and provides a code of behavior to facilitate student advancement. Other tertiary education institutions have adopted aspects of kawa to guide particular activities, usually those that have a distinctive Māori cultural dimension such as marae activities. But, apart from designated wānanga, kawa is more often than not confined to particular situations rather than to the institution as a whole.

Concern about Māori participation in tertiary education, and the variable standards applied to Māori culture, language and knowledge in tertiary qualifications, prompted the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) to develop a Māori Strategic Plan that would not only foster greater Māori participation but would also provide for a set of standards to guide courses that had high Māori content. *Te Rautaki Māori* proposed six strategic goals. Learners will be able to: succeed as Māori and as citizens of the world; qualifications will add to the knowledge base of Māori communities, and will increase the capability within Māori communities; education and training will increase Māori social wellbeing; and Māori participation across the qualification spectrum will contribute towards transforming the economy.[45]

In order to ensure that the NZQA approach to Māori knowledge was compatible with Māori values, consistent with Māori expectations, and complementary to other validation processes, including those that may be established by Māori, an expert group, Ngā Kaitiaki, was appointed.

The Kaitiaki group was not to be directly concerned with approving qualifications or accrediting providers but would have two main roles. First it will assist the Authority in decision making about the place of Māori knowledge within NZQA business. Kaitiaki advice on the nature and level of Māori knowledge appropriate for inclusion in state qualifications and the mode of delivery will enable the Authority to adopt an approach that is consistent with Māori aspirations and less likely to lead to the appropriation of knowledge best maintained within a Māori context. A second role for the Kaitiaki group was to ensure that the instruments used by the Authority for the assessment and valuing of courses and qualifications based on Māori cultural perspectives, would be appropriate. Similarly the Kaitiaki group would advise on the development of qualtiy assurance instruments appropriate for providers who deliver qualifications based Māori knowledge or Māori world views.[46]

In the first Tertiary Education Strategy for the years 2002-07 one of the six strategies concerned Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori (contributing to the achievement of Māori development aspirations). The tertiary education system would reflect Te Ao Māori and endorse Māori language as a gateway to an understanding of Māori culture and values. Increasing kaupapa Māori tertiary education and research across the sub-sector, especially in Wānanga, was also seen as a critical function of tertiary education. The need to develop indicators to measure mātauranga Māori, tikanga Māori and tikanga-a-iwi was noted.[47] The second Strategy for years 2007-2012, adopted a different approach. The Strategy noted the importance of education and research that is relevant to Māori, including the development of mātauranga Māori, and identified wānanga as sites for the ongoing elaboration of Māori knowledge.

Based on the position of Māori as tangata whenua and an indigenous population there was, however, a more general recognition that 'the tertiary education sector has a particular responsibility to work with Māori to develop and maintain the Māori language and culture.'[48] For the most part the second Strategy shifted the direction towards a greater focus on younger (under 25 years) students, increased levels of literacy and numeracy in the workforce, industry needs, and economic opportunities.

Tikanga in Health

The introduction of tikanga into modern New Zealand has also been evident in the health sector. Māori health providers offer a range of health services that are consistent with best practice but do so within an environment governed by tikanga.[49] The elements of practice incorporate Te Reo Māori, acknowledge the aspirations of whanau, formalise the relationship between therapist and client, and recognise a spiritual dimension in the encounter. Those elements are no longer

confined to Māori provider organisations. Many District Health Boards have services that incorporate principles derived from tikanga. In particular, since the early 1980s mental health services have adopted Māori values and customary practices when dealing with Māori patients. Some Boards have established Māori units that have operating environments similar to Māori providers. In fact the first service to introduce tikanga as a component of therapy was a state mental hospital, Tokanui, which established the Māori treatment unit, Whaiora in 1983.[50] The unit was staffed by a Māori psychiatrist, Māori nurses, and Māori elders, recruited for their knowledge of kawa and their readiness to supplement conventional clinical practices with a Māori cultural overlay. Patients and their families were formally welcomed to the unit, karakia commenced the day's programme, occupational therapy incorporated raranga (flax weaving) and kapa haka, and patients were supported in efforts to consolidate a cultural identity and if necessary to re-link with marae and whānau. Cultural relevance to health has a relatively recent history in New Zealand and the development of a cultural programme within a conventional mental hospital was a bold, if pioneering feat in the 1980s. Although Tokanui Hospital has been disestablished, the foundations laid in the Whaiora Unit continue as a Māori mental health provider organisation, Hauora Waikato.[51]

Since then, the incorporation of tikanga into health services for Māori have been reflected in a number of health strategies and policies. The *Māori Health Strategy, He Korowai Oranga*, launched in 2002 brought together a number of practices and cultural concepts that had been progressively introduced to the sector. Pathway one of four pathways for action was concerned with fostering development within iwi, hapū, whānau, and Māori communities. By building on Māori health perspectives, the *Strategy* recognised Māori models of health and traditional healing. It endorsed 'models that operate within and through te ao Māori' as a way of engaging

with whānau and committed the Ministry of Health to supporting the health sector to ensure Māori cultural values were included in planning, funding and delivering health services.'[52]

The *Māori Mental Health Strategy* also discussed the importance of cultural identity as an essential component of health care and noted the significance of elements such as Te Reo Māori, tikanga Māori, kaumātua guidance, whakapapa and whanaungatanga.[53] But in addition to clinical services, health promotion has also received more attention in recent years largely as a response to evidence that backs avoidance of disease as more effective, efficient and humane, than treatment for disorders that could have been prevented. Interventions for diabetes for example are less costly and more effective if they are made before end-stage renal failure, vascular constriction and visual impairment have created disabling consequences. There is a growing realisation that although modern medical treatment can lengthen life and reduce pain and suffering, early intervention and prevention are more sensible approaches, especially where the causes of poor health are clearly established. The incorporation of tikanga into preventative strategies has been shown to have beneficial results in a number of programmes. Increasing levels of activity for example can be achieved through Te Ao Kori, a programme based on traditional physical activities such as raupo darts, peruperu and manu tukutuku (kite flying). In addition to increasing physical movement the activities stimulate the domains of hinengaro and wairua.[54]

Health promotion practitioners have long recognised the relevance of culture to health. An important ingredient of primary prevention is health promotion and a range of social marketing programmes have been introduced on television and in the print media to alert the population as a whole to opportunities for preventing particular health problems. Nutritional habits, household

injuries, effective parenting, and exercise have been given particular focus in recent times along with the prevention of motor vehicle accidents.

Schools have also been identified as appropriate sites for health promotion. In the '*Health Promoting Schools*' programme for example, the Māori holistic view of health, Whare Tapa Whā, was incorporated as a conceptual platform for the programme and, in addition active Māori participation in the process was recommended.[55] Similarly, when promoting health from general medical practice, the Newtown Union Health Service engaged with Māori communities in ways that were culturally and socially relevant to whānau. It was seen as an important step towards health self management.[56]

Five health providers in Te Tai Tokerau have demonstrated the impact of culture on a health promotion programme based on nutrition and physical exercise. The Korokori ā-Iwi project utilised a range of cultural activities to increase engagement with health promotion. They also found that the application of themes such as whanaungatanga, tino rangatiratanga and the use of Māori knowledge and resources were useful guides to the process. The cultural, exercise, and nutrition mix proved to be a major element of the programme's success. The cultural components in the programme included kapa haka, te reo Māori, marae locations, waka ama, hīkoi, and rebuilding waka. Although the focus was on nutrition and exercise, additional benefits were evident in educational attainment, whānau wellbeing, and a greater interest in economic development.[57]

Tikanga in Sport and Exercise

Overcoming barriers to participation in sport and exercise is especially important for Māori of all ages especially those who live sedentary lives. Apart from physical barriers such as finance, transport, childcare, appropriate clothing and equipment, under-participation is associated with attitudinal blocks and a perceived lack of relevance. However, programmes organised especially for Māori have been encouraging and there is evidence that Māori involvement at the recreational and community level as well as in organised sport is extensive.[58] In addition, successful programmes have been built around aspects of tikanga such as marae, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga, aroha and wairua.

Culture becomes a basis for self confidence and physical activity has been more readily embraced as a contributor to taha tinana, taha hinengaro and taha wairua. In addition, by fostering a group approach to exercise, taha whānau has also been an important motivating factor.[59] Marae sports days, a tribal touch (rugby) day, hīkoi tangata (a walking programme) and summer camps that include trekking, fishing, waiata, karakia, and whānau participation, have been successful pilots to foster a shift from sedentary to non-sedentary activities.

The revitalisation of customary Māori games has had a similar impact. Manu tukutuku (kite flying) provides both exercise as well as a reinforcement of ecological principles and legendary exploits. The selection of raw materials for kite making, the accompanying karakia and waiata, and the necessary craftsmanship required skilled leadership and a sound knowledge of the environment. Kite mythology recurs in Māori traditions and one account recalls how kites were made to resemble a flock of birds that were used as a distraction that enabled invading warriors to seize an advantage.[60] A resumption of manu tukutuku has been associated with 'a two

pronged conservation movement' – a repopulation of the environment with native species, and a revival of traditional Māori arts, both of which have influenced educational settings and practices.[61]

Another approach to the application of tikanga to sport and exercise can be seen in a long running programme in Te Arawa, Te Papa Tākaro o Te Arawa, established in 1991. Working alongside whānau, hapū and iwi, Te Papa Tākaro has reintroduced traditional Māori sports and activities as a way of promoting healthy lifestyles and fostering cultural values. The value model includes whanaungatanga (communal responsibility and commitment to common goals), whakapapa (connections to land and people), manaakitanga (responsibility for pooling expertise, role modelling, and fostering a philosophy of growth), rangatiratanga (support to individuals and groups by allowing exploration in a range of opportunities), and arikitanga (a focus on high performance associated with higher learning and enhanced achievement).[62]

Among the programmes provided by Te Papa Tākaro o Te Arama is Te Arawa Toiora, for men over 25 years. The ten week course is designed to enable males from Te Arawa to increase their personal health and wellbeing and achieve healthy goal weight through a range of activities. In addition to increasing physical activity and greater awareness of healthy lifestyles, there is a strong emphasis on cultural strengthening; marae engagement, hiking over landscapes that have tribal significance, and navigating local lakes and rivers combines exercise with increased cultural knowledge.[63]

A more recent undertaking has been the ambitious Te Arawa Pride Project. The aim has been to build stronger cultural knowledge and participation for the Iwi through community sport engagement, enhancement of cultural identity for individuals and whānau, strong Iwi leadership,

health promotion, workforce development and monitoring and evaluation. A major strategy hinges on the Te Arawa games that incorporate hapū challenges in waka ama, marae contests, Ki-o-Rahi (traditional ball games), and whānau relays. In 2008 Te Papa Tākaro hosted an event to recognise rangatahi achievement. Awards were presented for high achievement in sports, academic attainment, cultural leadership, the performing and visual arts and service to the community.[64]

The experiences of Te Papa Tākaro are relevant to *He Kawa Oranga*. Two case studies in this thesis are also concerned with Māori participation in sport and exercise. Tū Toa is a secondary school programme that fosters high performance both on and off the field while Te Wānanga o Raukawa has introduced a course of study that is devoted to sport and exercise. Both case studies explore the significance of tikanga kawa to engagement and to achievement.. Moreover, both locate sport and exercise within a holistic framework where spiritual, intellectual and social pursuits are integral to outcomes. Maintaining consistency, adhering to customary values that are relevant to teaching and learning as well as to health and wellbeing, and competing with other models not based on tikanga are seen as challenges in a society where different standards apply.

The consolidation of Māori perspectives in education, health, sport and exercise and social services reflects a significant change in New Zealand's attitude to culture as a determinant of best practice and good outcomes. Assumptions that services were culturally-neutral were progressively exposed as flawed reasons for offering mono-cultural services that invariably disadvantaged Māori clients. Those assumptions have now been balanced by increasing evidence that results will be better when there is cultural congruence between client and practitioner. While incorporating cultural values into generic programmes remains variable,

Māori clients can now reasonably expect that their cultural norms will be evident in clinical interventions, learning environments, and community support.

Change has occurred for many reasons including protest but has also followed a series of reviews such as the Puao-te-Atatū review of social services.[65] Pūao-te-Atatū was critical of Departmental practices especially the mono-cultural convention while the Royal Commission recommended that the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi be applied to all social services. Legislative changes have also occurred. Māori cultural perspectives are recommended in the Children Young Persons and their Families Act as well as the New Zealand Public Health and Disability Act 2000 which among other things aims to 'reduce health disparities by improving the health outcomes of Māori and other population groups.'

The introduction of Māori perspectives and practices into education, health and social services has not been without controversy but has also been accompanied by enthusiasm from clinicians, managers, teachers, policy makers, sportsmen – and especially whānau. A more consistent application probably awaits the further development of a workforce that is both skilled in kawa and possesses advanced knowledge of clinical, teaching, and social work practices.

To that end, the case studies in this thesis demonstrate how a sound knowledge of kawa and the underlying principles and values can be employed to strengthen engagement and improve outcomes.

Answering the Research Question

The research undertaken in this thesis is intended to answer the question: '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to Māori participation in a range of situations in modern times?*' So far, Chapter One has introduced the parameters of the question and considered the broader context within which the question has evolved. From an early twentieth century transition where tikanga facilitated adaptation to new ways, to a later twentieth century time period where tikanga was reintroduced to rebalance the direction, Māori values have mediated between cultures in conflict. A mono-cultural perspective that characterised services for most of the twentieth century has been reshaped by Māori values, culture and models that have found a place on educational and health agendas. While the level of commitment to tikanga has been inconsistent, and the standards of practice variable, there are nonetheless many examples where tikanga has become a critical component of the process and a key factor for sustaining engagement and achieving quality outcomes.

This chapter has identified some of the ways in which those examples have been applied at strategic and operational levels. It has also highlighted the ways in which two value systems and two sets of conventions can be harmonised and better results obtained. However, although improved education outcomes, better health status and greater participation in sport and exercise are important considerations, the attitudes and ideals that people hold in order to shape their lives in later years, and the lives of their children are also relevant to the research question.

Chapter Two outlines the approach used in this thesis. . It recognises that any investigation of Māori values, culture and tradition requires a Māori frame to understand the nuances and subtleties of meaning and significance. A Māori frame was consolidated as the thesis evolved so

that the methodology came to include participation by Māori who were experts in tikanga and kawa, conversations with marae elders entrusted with upholding kawa on marae, interviews with Māori teachers, sports managers, and administrators, and a focus group with Wānanga students. As well, the project was overseen by two Māori supervisors both of whom had academic and cultural credentials. The focus on kawa was not only reflected in the research question but also in the way the research was conducted. Underlying the interviews, attendances at marae hui, and ongoing contacts with research participants, was a Māori interactional paradigm that allowed the relationship between researcher and participants to be clearly defined and mutually respected. Defining relationships was especially important since for some years I had actively participated in all three case studies, not as a researcher but as an 'insider'. As a staff member at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, a parent at Mana Tamariki, and a resource person at Tū Toa, I had prior knowledge of each situation and carried ongoing responsibilities to all three. How the dual roles of researcher and active contributor were managed is explored in greater detail in Chapter Two.

In Chapter Three, the insights offered by experts in kawa are outlined. Their views covered a wide range of matters and shifted the debate away from a list of stereotyped rituals to a more fundamental exploration of the philosophy, purpose and practice of kawa. Though acknowledging the importance of marae kawa, their understandings were not confined to the marae and they identified a wide range of places and events where kawa might be employed. Moreover, they were able to link kawa – and the practice of kawa – with a knowledge base that continues to grow. None of them subscribed to the view that kawa was about perpetuating a bygone era. Instead they saw kawa as a way of facilitating Māori participation in new and challenging situations. The influence of new technologies such as heart transplants on kawa was raised as an example of the challenges that will need to be addressed in the future.

Perhaps the most important information coming from the experts, however, was their in-depth knowledge of the origins of kawa, the link between kawa, tikanga, āronga, and mātāpono, and the recognition that kawa is part of a wider context shaped by Māori understandings of the world and the nature of relationships between groups and between individuals.

The fourth chapter meanwhile examines the elements, purposes, and applications of Kawa. It draws heavily on marae kawa, largely because marae remain the most obvious places where customary protocols govern actions, relationships, and responsibilities. Marae elders contributed a great deal to this chapter; their day to day experiences coupled with their own motivation for upholding kawa provided rich insights into the contemporary applications of culture and tradition and the ways in which they can be misunderstood or alternately embraced. Chapter Four is not intended as a finite or exhaustive account of kawa. Instead the more important reason for examining its form and function is to understand how it can impact on human behaviour. Despite the differences, the functions of engagement between groups, engagement within groups, and engagement with specific tasks are shared by a range of societal groups and organisations as well as by marae.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven contain the case studies. As already noted, all three case studies involved situations where personal involvement was already occurring. A participant perspective was therefore inevitable though did not necessarily constitute a disadvantage. Being too close to the subject material always ran the risk of being blind to competing explanations or being captured by a prevailing institutional view. On the other hand, a longer term association provided opportunities to watch three organisations grow and evolve into models for rangatahi success. The longitudinal perspective was important since it allowed for the theme of consistency to be tested and provided time to ascertain results. Measuring results or outcomes is

never simple. Much depends on selecting indicators that will track to the desired outcome so that if a final result cannot be observed because there has been insufficient time for a result to emerge, at least there will be proxy measures that suggest movement in the right direction. This thesis does not attempt to measure results by listing a reduction of negative indicators. There may well be legitimate interest in whether a programme based around kawa can reduce offending, minimise alcohol misuse, reduce violence or lower the prevalence of disease. But that approach has not guided this thesis. Instead the focus has been on the strength of Māori engagement in activities and programmes and the significance of engagement for success.

Chapter Eight reports on the analysis of case studies and elaborates on the several parameters of kawa. The approach to analysis was based on the *Framework for Discussing Kawa* outlined in Chapter Four. Four foundations have been identified: the domains of kawa, the purposes of kawa, the elements of kawa, and the ownership of kawa. Arising from each domain a series of themes emerged from the case studies and also from the expert interviews. The ten themes add both depth and breadth to the foundations and provide a framework for considering the key functions of kawa as they relate to Māori engagement in modern times. When considered as a thematic group, the collective themes point to a kawa that has the potential to be transposed to a variety of situations confronting Māori in modern times. Those situations are likely to be increasingly complex and increasingly challenging. Though grounded in customary values and world views, chapter eight concludes by suggesting that kawa need not be confined to the marae, nor to a past period of time. The major conclusion to the chapter is that kawa has the potential to facilitate engagement and to motivate participants towards high levels of achievement.

Building on the findings reported in Chapter Eight, Chapter Nine continues an exploration of the application of kawa to domains that rangatahi will encounter in the future. The chapter considers

the rapidly changing nature of society, within New Zealand and globally, and identifies key areas where engagement will be challenging. It concludes that kawa will be relevant to situations that have yet to materialise and has the potential to be incorporated into future organisations, pursuits, and value systems. Despite the extensive changes that will occur over time, kawa has a timeless potential and a set of values and principles that can have ongoing relevance in the decades ahead. New technologies provide opportunities for e-kawa; relationships within multi-cultural populations can be facilitated by kawa, and approaches to teaching and learning in the years ahead will still demand a cultural context within which new pedagogies can unfold.

Chapter Ten contains a summary and a conclusion. Like other populations, many Māori face the prospect of engaging with innovative and novel situations in New Zealand and abroad, without the benefit of value systems to guide the many encounters they will experience. To some extent the absence of a clear value system arises from a lack of societal experience with new situations and a slowness to realise that cultural concepts such as tikanga and kawa can be applied to modern times. The principles underlying engagement and confrontation on marae have not always been seen as relevant to marae equivalents within society. Finally the chapter reaches five conclusions, each associated with different levels of mana and the relationship of kawa to the environment, human standing, culture and tikanga, processes and leadership.

An implicit question throughout this thesis, and one that is finally addressed in chapter ten, is whether old values have application that go across time and beyond technological and social reforms. Can the fundamental ethics and ideals inherent in kawa retain meaning and provide guidance for engagement in new environments?

He Kawa Oranga has examined a range of values found in the concept and practice of kawa, not to demonstrate that the old ways are necessarily the best ways, but to identify aspects of customary thought and behaviour that can assist Māori in the pursuit of success and achievement in modern society. Probably the most significant conclusion reached in this thesis is that:

Nā ngā kaupapa ka puta mai te kawa; nā te kawa ka oho ake te mauri o te tangata. Just as kawa is founded on old values, so can human potential be enhanced by kawa.

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CHAPTER TWO

TE ARA WHAKATUTUKI

METHODOLOGY

At a time when New Zealand society is increasingly governed by the need to provide environments conducive to a culture of creation and innovation, it is important to review those values that continue to define what is Māori about living and wellbeing in the 21st. century. The thesis sets out to investigate the significance of kawa in modern times and the potential of kawa to propel Māori forward into the future, and to be well grounded in Te Ao Māori, the Māori world, and Te Ao Whānui, the world at large. The study maintains a working definition of kawa, viewing it as process guided by mātauranga Māori and Māori world views, thereby recognising the multidimensional nature of the Māori universe. Although kawa engagement is most closely observed in marae practice, it can also govern important activities and events in all aspects of Te Ao Māori through a values and principles approach. This chapter will look at Mātauranga Māori in relation to descriptors, to elements of the body of knowledge that constitutes mātauranga Māori and to the further development of Mātauranga Māori as the basis for a research paradigm to form the basis for research into He Kawa Oranga.

Māori and Research

Acceptability by Māori of research as a legitimate procedure has taken time to develop.[1] Only recently have general researchers begun to recognise their own cultural suppositions as contributing to the topics and methods that define their research questions and the approaches selected as appropriate to seek answers to those questions. What was previously assumed to be a neutral exercise in research has been exposed to the extent that former research ethics and research methods have come under close scrutiny for cultural bias and cultural harm. Across culture research efforts drawn from just one cultural standpoint have all too often lead to criticism from the researched communities where the information garnered looses in translation the cultural understandings that contextualise the knowledge transferred.

Questions have arisen as to the activities of researchers who intrude across cultural paradigms to mine information with no consideration given to the interests of the communities from whom knowledge is taken.

Writing from the United States, Vine de Loria (Jnr.) in discussing those who are not Indian but who research Indians, had this to say:

"The researcher has the luxury of studying the community as an object of science, whereas the young Indian, who knows the nuances of tribal life, receives nothing in the way of compensation or recognition for his knowledge, and instead must continue to do jobs, often manual labour, that have considerably less prestige. If knowledge of the Indian community is so valuable, how can

non-Indians receive so much compensation for their small knowledge and Indians receive so little for their extensive knowledge?"[2]

Indigenous authors draw attention to research on rather than with indigenous peoples as another form of exploitation if it results in indigenous peoples receiving little or no benefit. Instead, in such scenarios, the outcomes go to enhance non-indigenous individuals or communities but not those whose knowledge was taken. Experiences of research of this kind created an antipathy among indigenous communities for activities to do with research.

Linda Smith (1999) has written a telling critique of research of this kind, stating in her introduction that:

"Clearly there have been some shifts in the way non-indigenous researchers and academics have positioned themselves and their work in relation to the people for whom the research still counts. It is also clear, however, that there are powerful groups of researchers who resent indigenous people asking questions about their research and whose research paradigms constantly permit them to exploit indigenous peoples and their knowledges"[3].

Critiques of such research have been assembled over time to challenge the research status quo of the academy and to uncover the privileged position given to western research methodologies over the indigenous and to western perceptions of the indigenous. Collectively, the critiques were seen as talking back, as empowering the researched to see the harm inherent in research

that was exploitative of indigenous knowledge and to expose these flaws to public scrutiny. In this paradigm, such exploitations are seen as being as much a form of colonisation as were the earlier appropriations of indigenous lands and peoples.

From this perspective, the role of research as a colonising tool is made clear. It provides a warning to non-indigenous and to indigenous researchers to be alert to the traps of engaging in research without due diligence. Processes should be free of the exploitations of the past and ensure that researchers have the appropriate expertise to conduct and analyse the research without bringing harm to the researched or misrepresenting the data collected. Indigenous researchers have an even greater responsibility to avoid the invasive research style raids of the past on their peoples.

A spectrum of research types were charted by Chris Cunningham in 1998, setting out the ways in which Māori people and Māori topics might be included or addressed. He raised four main types of research, science and technology, providing descriptors for each.

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

While the first is self-descriptive, the next three engage Māori to a greater or lesser extent. Types three and four are the more recent of the four types, with types three and four attributable to the work of individual Māori academics in the field.

Māori-centred research clearly, puts Māori at the centre, as researchers, as communities and their participants and in process and beneficial outcomes. In first developing the notion of Māori-centred research, Mason Durie set out three main principles:

1. Whakapiki Tangata, about enablement, enhancement or empowerment
2. Whakatuia, about integration
3. Mana Māori, about Māori control[5]

These three principles coalesce in defining first a research approach that identifies foci to foster the development of Māori capability; second acknowledgement of a Māori world view about an integrated environment, human, spiritual and natural; and third, Māori control over Māori research, marking a major shift in research to research by Māori within parameters that draw from Māori process and thought.

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

1. Tino Rangatiratanga (Self Determination Principle)

2. Taonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspirations Principle)

3. Ako Māori (Culturally Preferred Pedagogy)

4. Kia Piki Ake i Ngā Raruraru o Ngā Kāinga (Mediation of Socio-Economic and Home Difficulties Principle)

5. Whānau

6. Kaupapa[6]

Although these ideas were developed to help inform the background to Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kohanga Reo education initiatives, other writers adapted them to suit further purposes, for example. Leonie Pihama discusses Kaupapa Māori as a useful politicising agent, a theory of Māori :

"Kaupapa Māori theory is a politicising agent that acts as a counter-hegemonic force to promote the conscientisation of Māori people through a process of critiquing Pākehā definitions and constructions of Māori people and asserting explicitly the validation and legitimation of Te Reo Māori and Tikanga."[7]

The theory asserts the place of Te Reo Māori me ngā Tikanga Māori (Māori language and Māori cultural practices) in empowering Māori to strengthen counters to Pākehā negative prescriptions of Māori and their place in the world; adding another perspective on the idea of talking back.

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

(i) related to being Māori

(ii) connected to Māori philosophy and principles

(iii) about taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture

(iv) being concerned with the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing[8]

The term is also used by Russell Bishop to describe his approach to research.[9]

Kaupapa Māori became a catch-all phrase for a range of initiatives.

Further Research Developments

Māori have gone on to refine research frameworks and methodologies even more since the Cunningham work was published. Writing in 2005, Mason Durie refers to a research type he labels interface research, or research at the interface, developed to expand on his original ideas around Māori-centred research. Arohia Durie discussed a sense of commitment through the notion of Ngākau Māori research.[10]

In the interface model, Māori research draws from dual bodies of knowledge, western thought and Māori thought. The basis of this was earlier outlined in a 2001 presentation titled 'Science and Indigenous Knowledge, exploring the Interface'.[11]

The interface is seen as a source of inventiveness, recognising and providing access to the world of science and technology and to the indigenous world. In Durie's view both Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research could accommodate interface research to utilise the opportunities that a combined approach would bring.

Ngākau Māori research is seen as an extension of Māori centred research to include the qualities of the engaged researcher as well as the characteristics of the research methodology, bringing the researcher into view as a known factor.

Not included in the four types set out in the Cunningham paper, and sitting at the opposite end of the research spectrum to Research not involving Māori, is Mātauranga Māori research. In contrast to Māori-Centred and Kaupapa Māori research, Mātauranga Māori research is about a methodology that draws from one indigenous body of knowledge and is 'by, about and mostly, in Māori.'[12], a turn of phrase taken from Wally Penetito's work on Māori Education.

There are features in common with some other research approaches, particularly those such as narrative research and oral history; methods that have been at the heart of mātauranga Māori practice in the telling and validation of the multifaceted nature of events and histories.

Kaupapa Kōrero

Narrative research has a recent acceptance in the academy, but in indigenous oral cultures, bodies of knowledge depended on the context of place and time and the accuracy and trustworthiness of knowledge transfer sources and their agents for legitimation. The marae provides an opportunity for knowledge to be debated, questioned and thoughtfully considered within a community domain by acknowledged experts, and the wharenui another but less contested and sometimes more restricted venue. This aspect of knowledge transfer helped ensure that accuracy was maintained, that a range of views could be considered and that the opportunity for consensus was created. As whānau and individuals have become more mobile, the more traditional means of passing knowledge on becomes more challenging for each generation but can create a greater flexibility around means of knowledge transfer and acceptability.

In a discussion about mana, Te Pakaka Tawhai writes about the factors of tupu and mate, growth and decline as influences on the state of mana at any one point in time since actions can enhance or detract from states of mana.[13] His work is referenced to the Ngāti Uepohatu context rather than to Māori in general but the contribution to knowledge about mana has significance in considering research relationships. Context is seen to be vital for people in order to know how to act since mana is in process rather than remaining static.

Not all knowledge was considered appropriate for the community domain, some was shared other aspects were held by experts for transfer to those who showed sufficient potential to be responsible recipients. For example, in talking about sharing special knowledge, John Rangihau says:

"I talk about mauri and some people talk about tapu. Perhaps the words are interchangeable. If you apply this life force feeling to all things – inanimate and animate- and to concepts, and you give each concept a life of its own, you can see how difficult it appears for older people to be willing and available to give out information. They believe that it is part of them, part of their own life force, and when they start shedding this they are giving away themselves. Only when they depart are they able to pass this whole thing through and give it a continuing aspect. Just as they are proud of being able to trace their genealogy backwards, in the same way they can continue to send the mauri of certain things forward and down to their children after death. They pick and choose from their children and if they have none it is up to the person himself to pass information to one of his kinfolk...There is no black and white as to how to do these things."[14]

Restrictions remain around some aspects of Mātauranga Māori. To quote John Rangihau further, he says, there is a spirituality about the Māori world and this exerts a force on Māori things.[15]

This view was evident in a separate discussion, one about an ancestral wharenui. Te Pakaka Tawhai explains: "The wharenui is addressed and treated in many ways as the ancestor himself. If our eyes – sensory perceptions – tell us that the wharenui is not the ancestor himself, then our thinking – mental conceptions – might make it so" [16]

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

Māori are not alone in holding strong views about the sanctity of some knowledges, and procedures for passing certain knowledge on. Other indigenous oral cultures have similar protocols about the transfer of certain knowledge. In her book on researching and writing about American Indians, Devon A. Mihesuah makes the observation that:

"While non-Indian historians have made careers speaking for tribes and interpreting cultures besides the ones to which they belong, many Indians will not write about tribes other than their own even if they have insights into those cultures. When it comes to speculating on Other's motivations and world views, many Indians are simply uncomfortable and won't do it."[17]

Yet, for cultures to survive, adaptation is important and even more so in times of rapid social change where each new generation is presented with many choices to make about preferred values and lifestyle despite their heritage culture. Research cultures too must adapt and change to be relevant. Indigenous research or Mātauranga Māori research specifically, offers a way forward for Māori in research where Māori values and processes prevail. Indigenous peoples from oral cultures have moved cautiously into the field of research and researching. Research itself has undergone significant change in methodology and in practice. The growth of small but rich qualitative studies reflects the extent of these changes as recognition and acknowledgement of Māori values in relation to research processes increases.

Change and Continuity

For Mātauranga Māori, change is also a reality. The effects of the contact period of Māori engagement with European cultures generated change at such a pace that aspects of Mātauranga Māori either adapted or were undermined by the new. New world views infiltrated Māori communities for good or for bad.

Christianity was one new world-view brought to Māori communities and adapted to become a new aspect of Māori community life. Importantly at this time, the arrival of Christianity with the missionaries also brought the written word beginning the shift from being an oral culture to the use of a written form of Te Reo Māori. The new technology had flow on effects for Māori communities.

The written word dislocated knowledge from oral sources and ruptured the contexts of time and place. Importantly it could separate kawa from later actions taken by recipients or observers of Mātauranga Māori. It took away the flexibility of the spoken word to be able to respect and acknowledge all facets of mana and it created new experts, those with the capacity to read and write. The lessening of expert oversight to test the accuracy of knowledge transfer in this mode and to maintain control over the content and the process caused some upheaval. It also made possible the detachment of knowledge from its cultural context, leaving misinterpretation as a distinct reality. The kawa inherent in the spoken word had then to work around the new environment. In discussing injunctions and prerogatives around certain knowledge, Te Pakaka Tawhai found that:

"... implicit in the kawa ... an injunction that one should discuss one's own whakapapa and let those of others be and reminds us that the recitation of whakapapa whether in the form of haka, oriori, mōteatea or a list of names, was regarded as the perogative of the descendants. To recall a name verbally was considered to have the effect of recalling the spirit of that ancestor. Whakapapa was therefore tapu and was treated with the same regard as we have nowadays for private personal property." [18]

As Te Pakaka Tawhai states, "prerogatives were in place for the recitation of whakapapa to ensure that people who did not have a right to the knowledge by being a descendant, did not usurp the rights of those who did. Whakapapa written down grew in mana behind the oral versions because each was an ancestral record."

For research, the idea of whakapapa has been used to identify relationships between various elements and ideas using the notion of interconnectedness as a translation. Traditionally, the conceptualisation of interconnectedness applied beyond human genealogies to include the natural and spiritual environments around them and this world view has kept its vitality for Te Ao Māori and helped Māori maintain a distinct identity as tangata whenua in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

In time past, knowledge of the past and whānau and hapū knowledge was held closely by those entrusted with it. A system of tapu operated in certain instances as a form of protection, both for the body of knowledge and for those trusted recipients of it. Te Uira Manihera of Waikato

entreated people to hold tapu in the highest esteem, and provided a caution at the same time. "There is a fear that by giving things out they could become commercialised. If this happens, they lose their sacredness, their fertility. They just become common. And knowledge that is profane has lost its life, its tapu". [19] An earlier scholar, Te Mātorohanga, explained that the tapu system ensured that 'the mind, body and spirit remained fixed and focussed upon the higher teachings'.[20]

Māori scholars such as Te Mātorohanga and Nepia Pohuhu began writing up important aspects of Māori thought as early as the 1860's, although charges were levelled that 'the ideas were (both Māori and European) were assembled into a pan-Māori system of thought which nonetheless disguised borrowed elements... and that the centralisation of Māori traditions gave the traditions a new authority'[21].

The authority of the traditions in their collective or in their regional or tribal forms is not at issue here. Reference to Māori or the Māori or Māoritanga or even to Mātauranga Māori can have the effect of emphasising what is shared beyond iwi, hapu or whānau details but here it is not to imply that each aspect is identical across each iwi or hapū. Nor does it address the challenge that the use of the word 'Māori' can be seen as a colonial construct, instead it allows a pragmatic approach to working in the field without intruding on those aspects that ought to remain out of the discussion.

In 1991 writing on diverse realities, Mason Durie has emphasised that Māori are not an homogenous group and that it would be misleading to see all Māori communities as the same. While there are similarities and generalisations about knowledge, iwi, hapū and whānau face similar dilemmas. In the sense that Mātauranga Māori is used here, it refers to a collective body of knowledge contributed by generations of Māori over time. It accepts that there are bodies of knowledge that might more accurately be described as Mātauranga ā-iwi, Mātauranga ā-hapū and Mātauranga ā-whānau but that these are not specifically under discussion here. John Rangihau reminded us of this view in his reference to Tuhoetanga as a more appropriate term than Māoritanga for the body of knowledge generated and passed on by members of the Tuhoe iwi for example.

Whatarangi Winiata defines Mātauranga as being: :

'A body of knowledge that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing on concepts handed from one generation of Māori to another. Accordingly, mātauranga Māori has no beginning and is without end. It is constantly being enhanced and refined. Each passing generation of Māori make their own contribution to Mātauranga Māori.' [22]

A definition like this gives us a generative view of Mātauranga Māori, emphasising that it is much more than an archive, that it allows for growth and development over time. In accordance with this definition, for Mason Durie, research that evolves from a Mātauranga Māori basis is "research that is conducted entirely within the context of Māori knowledge and Māori methodological approaches".[23] The combination of Mātauranga Māori with research as a

paradigm in its own right is a step towards generating knowledge that can be explained within the bounds of its own logic.

Te Maire Tau makes the point that 'The Māori perception of the past is not the same as that held by Pākehā... Like everything else in Māori society, mana formed one's perception of the past, not time'.[24] Misconceptions have been more likely to occur when scholars without cultural acuity attempt to interpret aspects of Mātauranga Māori through foreign cultural concepts, as Te Maire Tau explains when examining work by Peter Munz interrogating 'the nature of indigenous forms of recounting the past'[25].

Te Maire Tau also raises a concern for applicability in his discussion about what counts as history. He says that 'Munz made the point that indigenous perceptions should not be reconstructed as history. The past is recalled and retained by the community because it matters to the community'.[26]

Once again this seems to be a problem between logics and language, how the world is interpreted and explained and what descriptors are used for that process. Ideally, these interpretations would be made in Te Reo Māori for best fit as writing in the English language brings us up against debates over what counts as history, a matter of semantics or something more? For Te Maire Tau, if the work of a community is to be judged authentic by the standards of that community then oral traditions are a matter of relativity. He goes on to say:

"Like any framework based on relativity, there are strengths and weaknesses. The strength is that the frameworks truism acts as cohesive binding agents that maintain the community. Its weakness is that the framework acts as a kind of intellectual prison – a closed shop for thinking."[27]

The observation that there are strengths and weaknesses can apply to all disciplines of knowledge; degrees of relativity are realities of life and of research, a part of the nature of being human.

A definition of Mātauranga Māori is provided in Te Maire Tau's text as:

"... the epistemology of Māori - what it is that underpins and gives point and meaning to Māori knowledge. Whakapapa is the skeletal structure to Māori epistemology. What about language? Obviously language is the critical factor."[28]

Wiri employed a model for interpretation of Māori social construction of land and history through the identification of specific domains of mana, including: Mana Tangata, the human domain; Mana Wairua, the spiritual domain and Mana Whenua, the earthly domain. The emphasis on these domains enabled enhancement of the knowledge transmission process to occur whilst also providing a Māori frame for the interpretation of Māori endeavour and experience within a Mātauranga Māori context. [28]

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

There are some aspects of Mātauranga Māori that are off limits for wide distribution, but others will grow and change as Māori society changes. This thesis puts forward the idea that kawa, as a dimension of Mātauranga Māori has a bearing on Māori wellbeing for today and for the future and will search narratives and case studies for pointers about future directions. It also acts on the premise that research drawn from a Mātauranga Māori base should be searched and explained applying the logic of that base.

Mātauranga Māori as a Research Paradigm

In an address titled, Te Ao Mārama – A Māori Research Paradigm, Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal[29] explored the notion or theory of Mātauranga Māori, Māori knowledge and the process or processes that create Mātauranga Māori. Whakapapa is posited as a research methodology 'capable of providing an explanation of all phenomena in Māori experience'[30] He later enlarged on these ideas by positing Te Ao Mārama as a construct of Te Pō and Te Kore, two of the forces that in Māori oral history brought the world as we know it into existence and so beginning the whakapapa of the modern world.[31]

While Royal sees Te Ao Mārama as the paradigm of Māori knowledge[32] it is also possible to see Mātauranga Māori itself as a knowledge paradigm, a means of reading the world and all that happens within it. In other words, not necessarily a research paradigm but the wellspring from which current research may be informed and in return some aspects may be informed by the research results. Epistemology is another term that has been applied to Mātauranga Māori in the academic sense, simply a theory of knowledge. Mātauranga Māori is more than a theory since it shapes and nurtures Te Ao Māori. Mātauranga Māori is the knowledge base that informs the research and the body of knowledge that expands as a result of the research activity.

To be a research paradigm, differences from other methodologies would be expected, the most obvious would be differences in emphasis and in cognitive style.

Māori research methodologies are part of an indigenous move world wide to take back the research process so as to serve indigenous goals and aspirations in the first instance and to ensure

that indigenous values and practices are not mined or undermined by the global push to exploit indigenous bodies of knowledge for non-indigenous purposes. In the Aotearoa-New Zealand case, Mātauranga Māori allows research methodologies an authentic place, and establishes a space for indigenous bodies of knowledge. There are risks involved in positioning Mātauranga Māori in the research domain at all, much less at the centre of Māori research methodologies. There is always the risk that the knowledge will not be respected or that it allows for another round of exploitation of Māori knowledge for non-Māori agendas but there are others who have worked through this dilemma and is briefly referred to earlier in this chapter.

The noted scholar, Māori Marsden, is one of the key sources of knowledge discussed by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal where he reiterates Marsden's view that 'in the Māori view, spirit is the ultimate reality'[33]. Royal develops a case for his thesis around Te Ao Mārama, 'the traditional Māori name for the world in which we currently reside', and the name for the theory that informs his thesis. He weaves together many iwi and whānau narratives , working around genealogies and his whakapapa theory of knowledge generation without tipping the balance.

Where new generations work within a Mātauranga paradigm, kawa can assist with that process. This thesis search of kawa potential is the topic of the thesis combined with an effort to put kawa into action. The research process has the challenge of doing the topic justice so following kawa is a natural response to the task ahead. It should avoid the pitfalls of colonising research andfollow appropriate tikanga.. For this to happen, methods and methodologies will be restricted to those that best enable the research question to be answered. There is an appreciation of the fact

that there are many forms of kawa, some applicable in situation specific instances, others where the concept allows more room for flexibility.

In a discussion around the application of kawa to contemporary Māori lifestyles, food gathering is provided as one example where guiding principles of kawa, tapu and noa were more likely to continue to be observed as customary practice within original tribal boundaries whereas in a less connected urban environment, practices are likely to be more influenced by consumerism than traditional principles. [34]

Research at the Interface

As previously discussed, a range of distinct Mäori methodologies and approaches to research are now being articulated. Although there are sometimes incongruent or misaligned ideas across and throughout these various discussions, quite often the basic principles are remarkably similar. Ideas and processes such as "kanohi kitea"[2] "koha"[3] or "manaakitanga"[4] are often referred to when discussing the pragmatics of Maori research and although their application may differ according to the requirements of particular investigations they are ideas which resonate across a broad continuum of Maori research. [2]

[2] Within this context referring to conducting interviews face to face rather than (for example) via telephone, email, or postal surveys.
[3] Within this context, a gift or some other kind of acknowledgement for the respondents time
[4] Within this context, the process of ensuring that research respondents are respected and

Despite the diversity of contemporary Mäori research, these high level processes have allowed investigators in various fields to include a "Kaupapa Mäori" dimension (however defined) into their investigations. In this regard, and while researchers in Mäori health, Mäori education, or Mäori social policy may have differing aims and approaches, it has been possible to apply these high level processes and to likewise develop techniques which draw from multiple modes of inquiry. [3]

The integration of Maori perspectives alongside more conventional or western techniques is also gaining momentum. [4] It has, in part at least, been driven by necessity and the broadening scope of Maori research activity. The New Zealand Psychiatric Epidemiology study for example was initiated along conventional epidemiological and bio-statistical lines – a technically challenging study involving complex mathematical calculations, algorithms, and quantitative research techniques.[5] Despite this, Maori approaches and research philosophies were embedded into the design of the study. Kaitiaki principles were developed to guide the collection and analysis of information. A Kaitiaki group was also established and used to ensure that issues connected to the collection of information from Maori could be considered.

For the first time, Maori perspectives of mental illness were included within the data collection tool and represented a unique opportunity to capture cultural views and perspectives alongside western diagnostic classifications. The study would not have met the criteria for a Kaupapa Maori research initiative – it was led by non-Maori and Maori were not the major focus of the investigation. Despite this, the research illustrated the utility of integrating aspects of Western

and Maori approaches and that idea that this could be achieved without conflict or compromise. Moreover, the notion that outcomes for Maori could be achieved through the considered application of both Maori and Western approaches.

Consistent with this broad philosophy of considered integration, this thesis (while securely anchored to a Maori base) also draws from conventional techniques, approaches, and practice. For example, the research had to satisfy a range of ethical expectations. [6] Ethnical approval for the study was sought (and given its relatively non-invasive research design) this was granted and study designated as low-risk (this is appendixed). Case studies (an established western technique) were also used to inform the findings of this thesis. [7] The case study approach is derived from western research tradition and well-rehearsed methodological techniques. Yet, it is applied here in ways which match the objectives and cultural foundations of this research. This is possible in that case study (in particular) lends itself to this type of philosophical integration and offers sufficient scope through which a diverse range of approaches might be included within its design – including those which are culturally derived.

By definition, case studies are able to cope with technically distinct and diverse situations and are useful in settings where there are many more variables of interest than data points, where the research is reliant on multiple sources of evidence, and where data is converged in a triangulated fashion. Although case study research does not require the examination of a diverse range of issues and contexts, typically this is the manner in which qualitative researchers chooses to apply it. [8] Qualitative case researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines. In this sense, the case

study approach resonates well with the objectives and design of this thesis and provides a suitable framework through which the cultural, technical, and more pragmatic dimensions of the thesis can be managed. [9]

For large research investigations, such as this, it is the management of research data and information (the way in which the various strands of the study are synthesized) which becomes a seminal consideration. Frequently the need to conduct a comprehensive and rigorous investigation leads to a complicated research strategy, one which may be unmanageable and often beyond the control of any one investigator. In order to avoid such situations a number of techniques have been developed and have successfully aided researchers in making the most effective and efficient use of their time and resources. It is in this context that case study has also become an especially popular research strategy by providing a means through which a particular case can be used to illustrate issues of broader significance. A concept typically known as analytic generalization.[10] As such, carefully selected and studied cases may be applied so as to provide insight into much wider issues or concepts. Therefore providing an effective means through which a comprehensive investigation can be conducted within certain logistical, financial and time constraints.

Given the broad scope of research activity and the endless range of possible research questions, case studies have be categorized into three basic types - *Intrinsic, Instrumental and Collective.* [11]

Intrinsic case study is primarily used to obtain a better understanding of a particular case. It does not represent other cases or does it illustrate a particular trait or problem. Rather it is studied

because it itself is of interest and the researcher wishes to reveal it's story through the exploration of the case.

An *instrumental* case study is examined to provide 'insight' into an issue or the refinement of a theory. The case is not the focus but is used to enhance our understanding of a wider issue. It is of secondary interest and provides the means through which our knowledge of something else is enhanced. The case is often examined in some detail and from a variety of perspectives. Activities are detailed and used to explain an external concept or idea. Essentially the case is expected to advance our understanding of something else that is of greater interest. Researchers using instrumental case studies show how a phenomenon exists within a particular case. There is little interest in how the case is (without the phenomenon) different as there are too many ways for this to be explored.

As the name suggests *collective* case studies rely on the application of a number of cases jointly in order to provide some insight into a particular phenomenon, population or general condition. It is not concerned with the study of a collective, but an instrumental study extending to a number of cases. Individual cases in the collection may or may not be known in advance to manifest the common characteristic. They may be similar or dissimilar, but are chosen because it is believed that they will provide a better understanding of a still larger collection of cases. To this end, the collective case-study approach was most suitably aligned with the overall objectives of this thesis. That is, the selection of several different cases which are used to exam a common issue.

Again, the flexibility of the case-study approach extends to its ability to be used alongside other methodological or data gathering techniques. Case-studies may be applied and interpreted as distinct research entities or combined, as with this thesis, alongside other methods and approaches – key informant interviews, literature reviews, and broader consultations. The major consideration being that the cases becomes part of a broader discussion and contributes to the examination of the research question.

An aligned advantage of the case-study approach are established protocols for the preparation and presentation of research information. In particular, how research findings are provided to the reader. Hubberman and Miles[12] describe the process of 'Data Reduction', 'Data Display', and 'Conclusion Drawing/Verification'

As part of *Data Reduction* the information is reduced in an anticipatory way as the researcher chooses a conceptual framework, research questions, cases and instruments. Once field data, including notes, interviews, tapes, or other information is available, data summaries, coding, theme finding, clustering and writing stories provide the opportunity for further data selection and condensation. This technique was applied within this thesis during the analysis of the various interviews as well as the identification and selection of key informants. As with most qualitative research investigations more information is gathered than what is eventually used so applying this approach early provided a means through which information (relevant to the outcomes of the thesis) could be sorted early and managed as part of the overall information collection process. Additionally, it provided a framework through which research informants were selected and eventually interviewed. To this end, a large pool of potential informants were

identified early. By carefully reviewing the interests of each informant a smaller list was compiled and further refined until a group (considered to have the breadth and depth of experience) was finally selected. [13]

Data Display is defined as an organised, compressed assembly of information that allows conclusion drawing and/or action taking, this may be a second, if not inevitable, part of the data analysis process. In this sense the researcher views a set of reduced data to consider its meaning. More focused displays may also include structured summaries, synopses, vignettes, network-like or other diagrams and matrices with text rather than numbers in the cells. The "data-display" approach to the presentation of information has been adopted throughout this thesis. In this regard, data is initially isolated and presented with limited analysis. This approach is preferred as it draws a clear demarcation between collected and interpreted material and creates additional clarity with respect to the analysis of information. In particular – how relevant issues were gathered and identified.

Conclusion drawing and verification is an analytic technique which is common to qualitative research. It involves interpreting information and drawing meaning from displayed data (as referred to previously). The means by which this is achieved can be diverse, noting both comparisons and contrasts, patterns, themes and clusters. Triangulation (the examination of multiple perspectives) may be applied in order to verify results and determine significance and relevance. In this sense we can speak of "data transformation" as information is condensed, clustered, sorted and linked over time. Yin[14] explains that by having a clear idea of ones theoretical proposition, data may more easily be condensed. Essentially, by providing a focus

and a means by which information can be sorted, retained or excluded. The application of this technique within the thesis is again very selective and not always connected to a particular case. Rather, it is used to separate collected from analysed information and to assist with rationalizing the findings.

As previously discussed, this approach to the application of various research techniques is not uncommon within qualitative studies. Unlike quantitative investigations, the collection and analysis of information is not subject to rigid statistical protocols or procedures. Rather, an organic approach is preferred and whereby multiple methods, drawn from various techniques and or disciplines, can be applied concurrently. The main consideration being that they collectively contribute to the understanding of the research question and are driven by the need to elucidate this. Of added interest is the possibility that Maori perspectives and cultural expectations can be accommodated within western research methods (or vice-versa) and that this blended approach can add to the richness, depth and rigor to Maori research.

The GM Debate

The debate around Genetic Modification brought the tension between Mātauranga Māori and the frontiers of Science into sharp focus. Concerns were expressed from Māori in regard to genetic modification and approvals that might be given for the transfer of animal genes to humans in the interests of the amelioration of certain illnesses such as diabetes. The basis of the concerns over the proposed intervention was that they were seen to go against Māori cultural concepts, particularly where human integrity and mana are concerned. To be considered on the plus side was the potential for Māori individuals to benefit where respite from certain illnesses could result from genetic modification.

The following table, taken from a paper delivered at Massey University, Wellington, summarises the range of concerns expressed in submissions to the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification.

Table 2 Public Interest in Genetic Modification[35]

	Specific to Māori	*Shared by other groups*
Philosophical objections	Māori world views Cultural concepts Clash with tikanga	Religious views 'Green' views 'Unnatural'
Treaty of Waitangi	Māori inclusion in decision-making Intellectual property rights	Māori views should be given due consideration
GM opportunities	Māori health gains	Economic gains Health gains

Māori concerns coalesced around three main areas, philosophical objections, the Treaty of Waitangi and opportunities that Genetic Modification might provide. Submissions to the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification raised many issues, including concerns that were specific to Māori as well as concerns that were generic and shared by a number of groups (see table 2).[36] A later publication, addresses the existing usage of Mātauranga Māori to address anxieties about genetic modification and the restricted use of Mātauranga Māori in interface research to address risk assessment protocols.[37]

In order to understand Māori cultural and spiritual values, the challenge, therefore, is to shift the focus of analysis from a risk paradigm to a 'paradigm of potential', so that applications to modern times can be better understood within a framework that is linked to holistic perspectives. Such a shift follows a pattern established in earlier Māori health initiatives, particularly the Māori development outcome measurement tool, *Te Ngahuru*, that utilises concepts drawn from Mātauranga Māori and a measure drawing on customary Māori understandings of health, *Hua Oranga*.[38]

A research potential framework builds on past work to look beyond risk assessment to Māori world-view endorsement in a more progressive sense. This would inform research into the human condition. However, the major point relevant to this thesis made in the discussion is that 'in order to understand any body of knowledge, the tools for analysis need to be congruent with the world-views attached to that knowledge base".[39]

Differences between Māori thinking and what can be called western thinking were highlighted by Mason Durie, pointing out the dichotomy between mind and body or 'Cartesian Dualism' that drives the distinction. [40] His view was that this logic of dualism influences the search for new knowledge by governing investigations of greater and greater detail to find explanations and make new discoveries. Although the merit of this approach is acknowledged, it has been at the expense of an alternative logic - that knowledge can be obtained through examining the relationships that people have with wider systems, a logic based on a holistic world view. Māori tradition follows this logic, the view that solutions can also come with knowledge and explanations from understanding relationships with the wider world. Such logic emphasises a synthesising process as distinct from a process of analysis and helps to shape the method for this research on the contribution of kawa to wellbeing.

Hirini Mead raises two different interpretations of kawa, the first where "the knowledge base is the tikanga Māori aspect and the practice of it is the kawa" and the second where "kawa is the major term that deals with the knowledge base and tikanga Māori is the practice of that knowledge".[41]

A range of ideas around kawa are explored in the thesis research. To study kawa, a deeply ingrained aspect of Māori thought, the research process has to do the study justice. It will have to avoid the pitfalls of colonising research, follow appropriate tikanga, and still be a credible search.

The idea of a pātaka iringa kōrero (oral narrative traditions and practices) or associated body of knowledge to infuse these efforts is a way of looking at methodology and the discussion about Mātauranga Māori, about research, about injunctions that operate in the Māori world.

In the end, knowledge will not be of use to following generations if it is not passed on.. This thesis examination of kawa is both the topic of the thesis and an example of kawa in action.

He Kawa Oranga: A Māori Engagement Paradigm

The work reviewed to date tells us much about working within the Mātauranga Māori domain. It demonstrates that Māori cognition and logic there are contained with a cultural context so that any methodology that draws from Mātauranga Māori should recognise the authenticity of Māori cognition. The most effective ideas will be those that resonate with the logic of interconnectedness in the Māori world. The affective or subjective domain is very much a part of Māori cognition where mind is not separated from body or matter from spirit or thought from feelings. Where divisions are made between objectivity and subjectivity in research work, a subsequent inability to reflect the spirit of vitality in Māori lives is more likely. Māori Marsden makes a point that has a bearing on research drawn from Mātauranga Māori. He says that: 'The route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach.'[42]

If wellbeing is be maximised then preconceived notions about objectivity and subjectivity as separate rather than interdependent concepts have to be put aside despite research and research thinking in a traditional academic sense still purporting to be objective through advocacy of abstracted individuals as the prototype for researchers. Insider research, where researchers have that personal connection with the community of interest is thought to be fraught with problems for researchers and their communities and for the results of the work. With Mātauranga Māori and Māori cognition, neutrality would be a foreign concept so differences of view should be worked through to a solution that will satisfy the community in a mana enhancing manner. Genealogy or whakapapa is a central unifying force. Whakapapa affords the means to set out the levels of kinship between people and their natural and spiritual environments. Mason Durie describes whakapapa as:

'the natural evolutionary link between generations, and the method of identifying inheritance and the relationships between people and the entities in the environment'.[43]

For research, whakapapa as an analytical tool is said by Royal to concern two phenomena coming together to generate a third, so that the union of A and B gives rise to C, and new knowledge or a new idea is born.[44]

This research investigates the proposition that kawa can adapt to new scenarios and by doing so continue to provide a strong cultural framework to enable new generations to live as Māori.

Kawa has the potential to enable Māori engagement with a range of lifestyles and new situations without the prospect of becoming overwhelmed in that process as has been the case for too many in the past.

Research will be treated as form of kaupapa, wherein the interaction between kawa and tikanga will allow for research into Māori matters to be guided by Māori epistemology and the values within it.

The choice of method for this thesis is made on the basis of it being conducted in keeping with values of tikanga, associated with Mātauranga Māori. To do this a set of prerogatives about researcher qualities has been designed to reduce potential risk involved in work of this nature.

In order to be recognised as an appropriate researcher within the field of Mātauranga Māori, a set of expectations will exist such as a strong commitment to the pursuit of such knowledge evidenced along the following principles; participation over time, proven performance and trustworthiness. Such evidence might be validated by the following examples:

- Demonstrated long term pursuit of Mātauranga Māori
- Ability to converse with experts through researcher expertise in Te Reo Māori
- Theoretical and practical knowledge of tikanga
- Long term commitment to the advancement of tikanga and Mātauranga Māori
- Long term participation in kura reo and wānanga mātauranga
- Guided by the principle of mana enhancement

Research Method

In order to undertake this research five phases were delineated:

Phase One

The method to be followed for this research accounts for the values,principles and researcher qualities that will be brought to the research relationship (as described above). Added to these were the academic criteria that are also expectations of researcher profiles. Research design included the creation of the points above to make it clear that the design is based on a form of kawa and tikanga for the research kaupapa.

Phase Two

Whanaungatanga governed the choices of expert and institution participation.Approaches were made on the basis of whānaungatanga, that is, existing relationships that have grown through the pursuit of mātauranga by the researcher.

The value of knowledge being tapu influences what knowledge could be shared and how much, so the relationship between the expert and the researcher was such that the knowledge shared could be relied on to be appropriately valued and disseminated according to foundational cultural precepts.

Interpersonal relationships with either the researcher or the wider whānau or hapu were likely to strengthen the research connection. It would have been difficult to approach people where there

was no existing relationship because the expert needed reassurance that the recipient was trustworthy and would in turn contribute to the knowledge pool in a respectful manner. The relationship between the experts and the researcher was to be one that was mana enhancing for each party. On that basis it would be difficult to approach experts unknown to the researcher where there was no existing relationship.

Phase Three

It was not likely that experts would be offering insights and perspectives on aspects of Mātauranga Māori including tikanga and kawa with expectations that the recipient would contribute to the further development of Mātauranga Māori without compromising the nature of knowledge that is tapu. Therefore only experts who were in this group would be approached. Four experts in Mātauranga Māori were approached, one with a long history of working between traditional and contemporary work in the field. On the expert side of the relationship the following points would define the kind of expertise sought.

- Scholar exemplars in Mātauranga Māori
- Scholarly innovators in Mātauranga Māori
- Scholarly commitment to Māori advancement through research and development

The formation of Pātaka Iringa Kōrero for this thesis consisted of the researcher deciding on questions relevant to the research question and collating a collection of narratives achieved through methods that took account of kawa and tikanga for this type of work. The first collection was sought from a small group of known experts in their fields and the second

collection from three institutions known to the researcher where there has been innovative application of aspects of Mātauranga Māori in operation. The two collections were likely to complement each other.

- Initial approaches were made to known experts
- Recipient capability would be determined by the known experts
- Whakawhitiwhiti kōrero where ideas could be discussed and responded to in kaiako-tauira style
- Wānanga-specific kaupapa would form the focus for discussion gathering drawing also from guided questions
- Wānanga ensured an appropriate environment for raising and discussing the research questions.
- Experts and institutions would be identified by name as they wished.

Researcher questions were based around the relationship of kawa to tikanga, the key characteristics of kawa and the applicability of kawa to modern times.

Phase Four - Kōrero ā-Tuhi

Interviews were recorded and transcribed in full then drawn down to inform the thesis. Those in Te Reo Māori were translated into English by the researcher for the purposes of the thesis.

Post thesis wānanga would be arranged in a suitable timeframe to present and share thesis findings for all contributors. It could well be that further insights would develop at this stage although beyond the thesis process.

Note that the method section here has made an effort to keep to the idea of a research process drawn from Mātauranga Māori without compromising the process by using Māori terms superficially for methods that might be expected in a thesis of a different type. The four phases set out are there as a guide to show the progression of the process will take place in an orderly fashion.

Phase Five

A fifth research phase was based around marae kawa and observations made at a series of six Hui. During the Hui, marae kaumātua were engaged in a discussion about the observed protocols to gain their views about particular aspects of the kawa. The kaumātua were generally older people who had assumed the roles of kaitiaki and who had learned from their own parents, or simply by watching others over time. The Hui included tangihanga, whānau celebrations, a meeting to discuss a land matter and a hapū hui to consider a proposal for a roading development.

In summary this chapter advocates the notion of Mātauranga Māori as the fundamental basis of a research paradigm that enables further investigation into *He Kawa Oranga.*

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CHAPTER THREE

NGĀ REO TOHUNGA

EXPERT INFORMANTS

Understanding Mātauranga Māori

Chapter 3 contains edited interviews with four tohunga selected because of their extensive skills and knowledge relating to kawa, tikanga and mātauranga. Interviews were largely unstructured and followed the themes and directions important to the experts. They were conducted and recorded in te reo Maori and subsequently transcribed, translated and edited by the researcher.

The first interview was held on 28 October 2008, on the 173rd anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration affirmed Māori sovereignty and paved the way for potential Māori rule, supported by Great Britain. But for reasons beyond this thesis, events dictated otherwise. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840 and sovereignty was transferred to Queen Victoria and the British Crown. The promise of Māori rule and ongoing Māori sovereignty did not eventuate.

British rule was soon to be accompanied by British law and the traditions of Britain. The knowledge base that guided New Zealand's post-Treaty development was distinctly European and almost extinguished Mātauranga Māori, Māori knowledge and Māori customs. But enough of the Māori knowledge base survived to provide later generations with the tools to understand an indigenous world view and to transform an almost extinct language to one that by the 21st century was to become part of the nation's vernacular. Charles Royal, Pou Temara, Wharehuia Milroy and Amster Reedy represent the guardians of that old knowledge. But of greater

significance for *He Kawa Oranga*, they were also able to interpret the old knowledge in ways that were relevant to the future. This chapter records their views about particular aspects of kawa. For the most part it is a verbatim report though some editing has been necessary to accommodate the conventions of the written word.

During the interviews, if it had not already done so, the experts were invited to comment on the key concepts important to understanding kawa. Although there was not a common approach to all the details, there was broad agreement on the principles and purposes. For greater clarity, the information provided by the experts has been grouped under a series of headings shown in Table 3. Some responses have been reported in Māori and English. Because translation into English does not always capture Māori meanings, the original Māori has been retained in several places.

Table 3 Kawa : Key Concepts

Kawa me ngā Tikanga	The relationship between kawa and tikanga
Take Tikanga	Changing views on tikanga
Ngā Atua	Atua endorsement of kawa
Whakahaere kawa	Maintaining the integrity of kawa
Kawa i roto i te ao hurihuri	Adaptation of kawa to meet new situations

Kawa me ngā Tikanga

A relationship between kawa and tikanga was a recurring theme in the interviews. There was general acceptance that there was a relationship but less agreement about the nature of the relationship.

According to Charles Royal there are two ways of thinking about kawa.

> 'The first way is rather like thinking about a law; here are a sanctioned group of behaviours - sanctioned either by experts or a community - and by conforming to them we confirm their legitimacy. The old 'laws', the tikanga, were part of our culture and there were very strict disciplines around them. Tikanga and kawa were in effect Māori laws and as befitting an oral culture, they were not written down but passed down, from one generation to another.
>
> Those laws made good sense and mostly hinged around survival and conservation of scarce resources. For example, living in a desert where water is scarce you have to be very strict around knowledge of the location of water, who has that knowledge, who has the right to impart that knowledge, and who has the right to use that knowledge so that one can obtain water.
>
> Well we never had to contend with deserts but I was just using that example to explain that tikanga was strict for very good reasons. Behind the law was a very practical situation and unless strict rules were applied the results could be disastrous.

There are many examples; where do you get certain kinds of food, how do you traverse an ocean, when is the best time to plant kumara? They were very practical questions and people had to acquire the knowledge to answer them and then frame a set of rules so that their knowledge could be applied in a sensible way. Tikanga was a way of behaving so that people could live in harmony with the world. The reason for tikanga being so strict was that survival depended on knowing how to manage many potentially dangerous situations. Oral cultures do not have books or manuals that contain a list of instructions – so the transfer of information from one person to another must be accurate so that the knowledge and therefore the behaviours will be consistent.'[1]

Pou Temara considered tikanga to be a fundamental precursor to kawa:

'Mehemea koe e pātai ana he aha tēnei mea te tikanga, he aha tēnei mea te kawa, nā ko tēhea te mea tapu o rāua te tikanga te kawa rānei, ā, ko tēhea te mea kāore e taea te whakarerekē ko te kawa ko te tikanga rānei. Ka taea anō te tikanga te whakarerekē? Ka taea anō te kawa te whakarerekē? Koirā anō te tīmatanga. Ko te mea kē pea ko te āta matapaki he aha tēnei mea ko te kawa he aha tēnei mea ko te tikanga.'[2]

However, if you were to ask me to define tikanga and to define kawa, and which of these is the more sacred, which of the two cannot be altered – kawa or tikanga? Can existing tikanga be altered? Can existing kawa be altered? In answering those questions the first requirement is to understand what constitutes kawa and what constitutes tikanga.

'Nā, ākene pea ka tīmata ā tātou kōrero ki te tikanga. Tuatahi, ki te kore he tikanga kāore he kawa. Tuarua, nā roto mai i to tikanga e tū ai to kawa. Nō reira ki te kore he tikanga kāhore he kawa. Koirā ōku whakaaro. I ahu mai te tikanga i te aha, i hea? I ahu mai i te tangata. He wāhanga nui e riro mā te tikanga nō te mea ko ia te mea hei arahi i te iwi.'[3]

We ought to commence our discussion around tikanga. Firstly, without tikanga there are no kawa. Secondly, it is through your tikanga that your kawa can be established. Therefore, without tikanga kawa cannot exist. Those are my thoughts. What is the origin of tikanga, where does it come from? It comes from people. Tikanga play a pivotal role because that is the thing that guides people.

Wharehuia Milroy used the analogy of a tree with branches to explain the relationship between kawa and tikanga.

'Hei tauira: E kore me kī ko te kawa he rākau e tū torotika ana engari kāore he take o te rākau, mehemea kāore he pakiaka nā reira ko te pātai he aha nā te pakiaka he aha rānei ngā pakiaka o te rākau e kīa nei ko te rākau o te tikanga ko te rākau o te kawa? He aha aua pakiaka?'[4]

As an example, kawa cannot be viewed simply as a tree standing perfectly straight, and it cannot have a base if it has no branches, the question then is why is the branch or why are the branches of a tree referred to as branches of tikanga, or branches of kawa? What are those branches?

Royal maintains that kawa is a collection of tikanga.

'I see kawa as really collections of tikanga that are arranged in a certain pattern. The simple explanation then is that kawa is process which arranges tikanga in a certain pattern. And kawa gives some advice about the order in which each tikanga should be done. Do tikanga one first and do tikanga two when it is the time for tikanga two. Do not do tikanga three when it is time for tikanga one. They should not be mixed up. If you follow that process, that pattern, you will get to the desired goal. You will achieve what you seek to achieve.[5]

Royal also saw a relationship between world views, values,actions and āronga, kaupapa, tikanga.

'For want of a better English word, āronga can be described as a worldview; the ways in which we comprehend and understand the world around us. Āronga and kaupapa are often seen as being intimately connected. Because I see the world in a certain way I therefore value it. Acting on that value describes tikanga.

Understanding the world we live in has always been a cause for wonderment. The beginning of Kīngitanga for example was because our tūpuna came to understand that loss of land represented a loss of both poltical power and independence. That is an āronga statement – you lose land, you lose political power, you become disenfranchised. So the kaupapa is let us not lose land. And that value was expressed in a Kīngitanga haka 'ka ngaro te whenua ka haere ngā tāngata ki hea?

E ruaumoko puritia, tāwhia kia ita kia mau rawa.' The kaupapa is 'puritia te whenua'. The tikanga then is all the action that they took in keeping with that kaupapa and in keeping with that āronga- including open warfare – they fought to retain the land.

Āronga is often emotional a spiritual kind of experience of the world. It leads to a kaupapa and then to action – tikanga. Those three things can happen instantaneously.

The āronga is omnipresent and a healthy person is visiting these things all the time. An unhealthy person gets fixated on the one kaupapa all the time and fails to grow. Or becomes totally focused on the tikanga all the time and doesn't grow. A healthy person is constantly reflecting on these things all the time. Āronga is very much a modern term developed in the Master of Mātaranga Māori degree at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Prior to the arrival of Pākehā we didn't really have a need to talk about a worldview as our people had been with the same people all the time. Everyone had a similar big picture understanding of the world. Then the Pākehā came along and effectively said that all tikanga and kaupapa are entirely wrong and here's something totally different. But the main point I wanted to makes is that āronga, kaupapa and tikanga are all part of the same process and kawa is the embodiment of all of them.'[6]

Take Tikanga

Considerable discussion revolved around the several meanings of tikanga.

Charles Royal was concerned that populaist views of tikanga tended to perceive it as an inflexible type of law.

> 'Tikanga has developed into an inflexible way of thinking, forgetting that the whole point was to address a practical situation in a way that would be safe and reliable. The trend towards thinking about tikanga in an inflexible way is largely a result of colonisation – that is, confusing tikanga with a type of law that could never be changed even if the times had changed, instead of seeing tikanga as a means to an end. Traditionally, Māori lived in and around a very tapu culture. But that notion has become so intensified that we have become preoccupied with identifying different types of tikanga. It's almost as if we've created a whole list of tikanga and in the process have used rigid markers to say what it is to be Maori. Maybe we overdid things out of fear that we might lose te reo Maori or might once again be separated from mātauranga. We just might have turned very practical guidelines into inflexible rules – and made Maori culture into a static tradition which defies change.
>
> So that's one way of looking at tikanga - as a sanctioned group of inflexible behaviours and if you adhere to these things you are being Māori.

In the past there was a very strong belief that if you infringe a tikanga or a kawa you would face a very strong retribution of some kind. I don't think that applies today. I don't think people are beholden to the tapu system like that anymore. I don't think people are caught up in things like *'waiho mā te whakamā e patu'*. Attitudes and ideas about cause and effect have changed. We had a similar example at our marae where one of our aunties argued that we shouldn't tidy up the urupā because the families of those in the urupā should feel embarrassed that it is run down. But that doesn't work because clearly they don't feel embarrassed. So that kind of type casting, being psychologically bound up with certain assumptions and a common set of understandings just doesn't work anymore; it just isn't there. Our people have widely diverse views of the world and experiences of the world.

This populist way of looking at tikanga, as a prescribed set of sanctioned behaviours is also very tied up in ethical and moral ideas where tikanga are viewed to be correct or right – this is a right way of doing things and that is a wrong way. According to that thinking, If you adhere to these tikanga you are in a morally superior position. People don't actually say that, but it is implied; tikanga can be used to put people up or down. Tikanga is of course derived from the interpretation of the word 'tika' meaning to be correct or right.'[7]

Pou Temara introduced other thoughts about tikanga within modern contexts.

'Mō āhea taka atu ai te tikanga ka mutu mō āhea kore ai te tikanga e taka atu? Mehemea he mokopuna tāku ka mutu mā te manawa o te poaka e ora ai taku mokopuna, ka pērātia e ā au kia ora ai taku mokopuna? He kawa o te ora tērā?'[8]

When is tikanga not applicable? When is tikanga applicable? If for example I had a mokopuna whose life could only be saved by implanting the heart of a pig would I do that in order that might my mokopuna might live? Does that then constitute a kawa for survival?

'Ki ā ētahi kāore i kite i te hē o te ira rāwekeweke karaehe ki roto i te tangata engari he raruraru ki te iwi Māori ehara nei i te tohunga te kōrero ka mate te whakapapa ki te ira o tētahi atu. Ko ngā kōrero ā ngā tohunga i ahu mai rā hoki tātou i te whakahupe o Māui i ā ia.'[9]

Some would not see a problem with combining the genetic makeup of an animal with a person, but it is of major concern to many Māori who are not experts in this field who would argue that the whakapapa of a person is diluted or destroyed by intergrating it with that of a different species. Tohunga contend that we (humans) came into being as a result of Māui's transformations.

In contrast to what he called populist views, alternative views about tikanga were also raised by Charles Royal.

'An alternative way of thinking about tikanga is not as a sanctioned set of views, but as a revelation and expression of kaupapa where tikanga naturally and organically and spontaneously flow from kaupapa. The usual way of interpreting *tika* as being correct, and *hē* on the other hand as being incorrect owes its origin to colonisation and to the adoption of a biblical morality. There's a line in the bible which says 'i tupu ake te pono i te whenua, te tika i te rangi', meaning truth grows through the ground and righteousness shines through from heaven - a classic biblical statement of morality. When translators of the Paipera Tapu (Holy Bible) came to that verse they translated righteous as tika – what is correct and right. And so that has become the popular way of looking at tika.

But if you look at creation and traditions that is not the way that tika is used. Tika or more particularly the word *whakatika* means to grow or to arise. And when Rongo-mā-Tāne attempts to separate earth from sky it is described as 'Whakatika ana a Rongo-mā-Tāne kāore i taea e ia'. 'Whakatika ana ko Haumie Tiketike kāore i taea e ia". "Whakatika ana ko Tangaroa, kāore i taea e ia.' 'Whakatika ana ko Tāne Mahuta ka taea e ia. So whakatika means to arise. Tika means to be upright. A tikanga is this sense of uprightness. So what this suggests to me is that the land is kaupapa. Papatuanuku is a metaphor for kaupapa and the tree is a metaphor for tikanga. So the idea is that tikanga grow from kaupapa like a tree grows from the ground. And here is the sense is that tikanga grow spontaneously from kaupapa. There's a sense of an internal energy rising from kaupapa itself -

organically. And the way I illustrate this is if you raise a child full of love that is the kaupapa of the child. And what comes out of that child organically and spontaneously are actions or tikanga based upon the kaupapa of love that are in that child.

But if you raise a child in fear, within a dysfunctional family, the kaupapa within the child reflects that environment, and what comes out of the child is fear – that's where the behaviour comes from. It is the difference between doing as I say, on the one hand, and doing as I do, on the other. There is a difference between what you profess, and what you actually believe in; when you say one thing and spontaneously go and do another thing. So tikanga is spontaneous and organic, it grows from a kaupapa and becomes apparent as actions and behaviour. The tikanga are the manifestations of the kaupapa or values.

This approach to tikanga is very much a values and principles-based way of thinking about things. I happen to think it's a more indigenous way of thinking about tikanga than the other way which is a biblically based way. In that view all real tikanga come from above – come from God and heaven and they were handed down to Moses on the Mount and then via Moses were passed out to the world. That's what sits behind Crown power, the idea of God making laws that are then passed on to the community. That is also part of the mythological basis of the Western Democracy processes that we have. In the USA you have the religious right in power and the religious right in a president. Power from above being handed down – this is the way everyone should behave – this is the law. In contrast, the view of tikanga that I am suggesting recognises the *papa* that we're

really standing on. What are we really here to do? What is really going on? And then crafting our behaviours out of that earthly reality.

Of course, in reality we have a mixture of both approaches. There are times in life when we do have to have someone else say 'this is the law' or 'these are the values we will observe; these are our tikanga.' As a young person you learn tikanga from others. A carver for instance will tell an apprentice that you have to do this and you have to do that. The same is true for young people who want to be good fishermen or be good writers. Tikanga is learned from other people and that's really important but there's also a time where you have to discover your own papa, your own kaupapa, within.

A sign of a mature person is one who is ready and interested to discover the *papa* within. What am I really standing on? Who am I really? What really is all this life about? What am I really here to do? The story of Māui going fishing is about Māui finding his kaupapa. He wasn't content to fish in the same fishing grounds as others because that meant bringing up someone else's papa or fishing ground. He wasn't content to fish in an area where you could still feel the continental shelf underneath. He wanted to go to the deepest part of the ocean, what's called "te au o te moana". There he might find his own destiny.

A functioning healthy person will go through this experience. It is often a crisis that forces us to re-evaluate where we are and what is important. Sometimes if you have a really bad crisis you feel like you have no papa at all, nothing solid to stand on. Everything has fallen apart. The whole experience of Māui fishing up

Aotearoa was an allegorical way of describing a journey of discovery. Although it is told as if it were a voyage across the seas, what is more important is the internal journey that allows the true papa, the true kaupapa, to be discovered within.' [10]

Ngā Atua

Pou Temara pointed to a link between kawa and Atua and gave some examples to explain the concept of Iho Atua.

'Heoi anō ko tētahi pātai mō āhea e atua ai te tikanga mō āhea e kore ai e atua? Ka mutu i roto i tērā pātai e kite ai koutou ko ngā tikanga atua kāore e taea te whakarere. Engari he aha ngā tauira tikanga atua? '[11]

Therefore another question is when do tikanga contain atua endorsement and when don't they? Furthermore, within the context of that question, it is possible to see that tikanga with atua endorsement cannot be readily discarded. But, what are some examples of this?

'Tēnā kia whakahokia anō tātou ki te mau hū o tērā. He aha te hononga atu ki te atua o tērā? Ko ngā mea e kōrero nei tātou – he hononga atua tō ēnei mea katoa ne? Koira e tapu ai. Engari ko te mau hū ki roto i te whare he hononga atua tērā? Kao. Ko tērā momo kawa ko tērā momo tikanga, kāore ōna herenga ki tētahi atua ne rā? Koira ngā mea e kōrero ake nei au ka taea te whakarerekē.'[12]

Let us then return then to the issue of wearing shoes [in a whare]. What is the connection between that and atua? These things that we discuss all have an atua

connection don't they? That is why they are sacred. But wearing shoes inside a whare, does that have an atua connection? No. That type of kawa, that type of tikanga does not have any direct connection to an atua does it? These are the types of things that I have been talking about that can be altered or changed.

'Kei te kōrero tātou mō tēnei kupu huna he iho matua he iho atua rānei. He iho atua te mea e whāia ana i roto i te horopaki o ā tātou nei kōrero. Ko tēnei kōrero nā, ki te kore e taea e koe te here i ō tikanga ki tētahi iho atua, kāti, he tikanga teretere, kei te pōteretere haere noa iho ne – he rite ki te tikanga mau hū ki roto i te whare – he tikanga pōteretere – mehemea he tikanga e taea ana e koe te here ki tētahi atua kua kore e taea e koe te whakarerekē taua tikanga rā.'[13]

We are talking about this subliminal term – he iho matua or otherwise, he iho atua. The iho atua is the concept that has been alluded to within the context of our kōrero. This statement, if you cannot connect your tikanga with an iho atua, well then, it is an expendable tikanga, it does not have any huge significance – such as the tikanga for wearing shoes within the whare – it is a tikanga without any major bearing – if it is a tikanga that you can connect directly to an atua then you yourself cannot change or alter that tikanga.

'Nō reira koinei ngā mea e kīa ake nei ki te kore he iho atua o te tikanga kua tikanga pōteretere noa iho. Kaore e taea e koe te here atu taua tikanga rā ki tētahi iho atua. Nō reira kāore noa iho he tino hua o tērā tikanga he āhua rite pea anei ki te tikanga e kōrero ake nei tātou mō te mau hū ki te whare – kāore e taea e koe te here atu i taua tikanga ki tetahi iho atua nō reira ka kīa tērā tikanga he tikanga

pōteretere – ka taea ai e koe te whakarerekē. Engari ko ēnei tikanga e kōrero ake nei tātou, kāore e taea e koe te whakarerekē.'[14]

So those are some of the things that, if they do not have an iho atua – an atua connection, they are not permanent, they are able to be altered or changed. It is not possible for you to attach or connect that tikanga to an atua. So there is no discernable benefit to that tikanga, it can be compared to that of wearing shoes in the whare – you cannot attach that tikanga to an atua, so that is said to be a non-permanent tikanga, you can alter or change it. However the other tikanga that we have discussed, those cannot be changed or altered.

Ā, nō reira, koirā pea tētahi whakarāpopototanga o tēnei mea ko te tikanga, ko te tikanga e ora ai tātou. E ora ai te iwi Māori arā, e tika ai te iwi Māori, e puta ai te ihu o te iwi Māori ko ngā tikanga ka herea e ia ki tētahi atua hei iho atua mōna. Ki te kore e taea e koe te here atu taua tikanga rā ki tētahi iho atua, ā kāti, ehara i te tikanga e ora ai koe.[15]

So that is a summary then of this thing we term tikanga, practices that enhance our wellbeing and survival. Māori wellbeing and survival is assured when tikanga have an iho atua, an atua connection. If you cannot attach or connect that tikanga to an iho atua, well, it may not be a tikanga which can enhance your survival or wellbeing.

According to Amster Reedy, the Maori world was defined by the relationship of people to the natural environment.

'Māori had a chant for everything – birds, eels – which was all about the wairua and engaging the wairua. For every event it is important to ensure the wairua is in the right place. And wairua is closely linked to karakia that add value to the kaupapa. Karakia appeals to the spirit of our people, it appeals to the ngākau. Karakia can also be used in a healing way to restore the wairua and it is the essence of our wairua. Rituals that accompany ngā Atua are necessary to guide us in encounters with others.'[16]

Charles Royal discussed the changing notion of Atua and the relationship to kawa from a different perspective.

'Prior to the advent Christianity in Aotearoa, day to day life revolved around Atua. Every particular aspect of existence had some particular kōrero about the life behaviour of a particular Atua. The standard formula of myth and ritual is that ritual is the re-enactment of myth and by participating in the rituals you are participating in the myth. That is what happens for instance at a powhiri when we are all able to participate, and to transform ourselves into Hinenuitepō, Hinenuiteao, into Tāne, Papa and so on. In pre-Christian days, life that was largely governed by the natural world, every aspect of the environment was the domain of a particular Atua. In order to maintain good faith with each Atua, rituals were developed so that interfering with nature (harvesting, fishing,

planting) could still be in accord with the wellbeing of that particular Atua and the bounty of that Atua, the manaakitanga, would be justified. Fishing, gardening, collecting water, cooking, building canoes - anything and everything had a close connection to an Atua.

Christian teaching changed that. The word Atua was used as a translation for God and because there were many Atua, it seemed like a challenge to God and there could only be one God. But God (Atua) now was no longer in the world; God was in heaven. A major shift in thinking had occurred. From a world which was the manifestation of God's creative power rather than God himself, the world had become a reflection of God's power. In the traditional Indigenous view Atua were everywhere and were part of the tangible world.

In the mono-theistic tradition, God is outside the world in a place called heaven and what has resulted over a period of time is the de-sacrilisation of the world. Notions of tapu and mana have been disassociated from everyday life in the real world and with them have gone an ability to understand nature and to live with nature. That process has been happening to our people for a long time. It has also been happening in the West over a much longer period so that there is no real way of connecting with the world with any sense of a spiritual connection. What has happened over time is that we have lost much of the knowledge and stories about a particular Atua, and along with the knowledge, the significance has disappeared. If you look at the Whare Tapere for example we have only fragmentary knowledge of the rituals, ceremonies and routines that existed. Similarly if you look at the rituals, practices, and conventions associated with the

forests, *ngā whakahaere o te ngahere*, we have only fragmentary knowledge of their importance. In effect what had to happen was an adaptation of existing ritual to conform to the new story about the world which was essentially the biblical story. And so by and large that is what happened across a whole range of kawa. The process of the pōwhiri changed to incorporate more Christian elements. In some communities they abandoned the marae altogether and started taking their tūpāpaku to churches. Basically the rituals of the past gave way to new rituals in order to conform with the new story as contained in the biblical versions of creation and heavenly power.'[17]

Te Wharehuia Milroy discussed the significance of Atua to kawa in broad terms but with a special focus on the purpose of kawa.

'Ahakoa nā te atua nā te tangata rānei te kawa, i whakatū te hanga, he aha te kaupapa i waihangatia mai te kawa? He aha te mahi ā te kawa? He kaupapa hoki pea nā ngā Māori i whai atu ai tērā āhuatanga. He aha te kaupapa i whakatakotongia ai tērā huarahi hei whainga mā rātou? Ahakoa ko te kawa ko te tikanga rānei he aha i whakatakotongia ai te tikanga?'[18]

Although kawa are derived from and constructed by either atua or people, why do kawa exist? What is the purpose of kawa? There must be a reason as to why Māori followed these practices. For what purpose did Māori seek to follow these practices? Whether kawa or tikanga, why were tikanga adopted?

'He aha kei te pupuri kia tū tonu ai te kawa kia tū tonu ai te tikanga? He aha rānei te whakaaro kei roto? I ahu mai i ngā atua? I hōmai rānei e te tangata?'[19]

What enables kawa to endure, what enables tikanga to exist? What is the fundamental purpose? Do they originate from atua? Or, do they originate from people?

'He aha te kaupapa? He ture pea ēnei. Ehara te kupu ture i te kupu tūturu Māori engari i tāhae kē mai tērā kupu i te kupu ā ngā Hīparū me te kupu "Torah". Arā atu ngā tikanga o te ture engari kia waiho mai ki reira. Engari ka whakatakotoria ētahi mātāpono. Ka taea te whakawhānui i aua mātāpono rā, ka taea te whakawhāiti i auā mātāpono rā. Ahakoa ko tēhea, ko te whakawhānui te whakawhāiti ka taea e ērā mātāpono i whakatakotoria kia noho hei mātāpono hei oranga mō te tangata.'[20]

What is their basis? Perhaps they are "ture". "Ture" is not an authentic Māori term, it is instead taken from the Hebrew language and their term "Torah". There are many aspects to "ture" but let us leave that there for now. But, principles or values are laid down, grounded. Those principles can be expanded upon, or compacted down further. Whatever way, whether expanding or compacting, those values have been identified as fundamental to the wellbeing of the people.

Pou Temara added further to the influence of Atua on kawa.

'Mēnā tātou kei te titiro ki ngā kōrero o te pakangatanga o ngā atua, whakatika atu a Tūmatauenga, kātahi ka kau mai ia ngā ika o te moana, he pana whakamua tēna ki ngā uri o Tangaroa, ka topea ngā rākau o Tāne, he aha ai nā te mea kāore ērā i haere mai ki te pakanga i tōna taha ki te āwhina ki te pakanga nui ki a Tāwhirimātea. Nō reira nāna i whakanoa ērā heoi anō ko te kōrero nei ko tātou koirā tō tātou ritenga ko Tūmatauenga tō tātou rite koirā te atua i rite ki te tangata.'[21]

If we were to analyse the accounts of the major atua conflicts, Tūmatauenga arose, forcing fish to swim, pushing forth the offspring of Tangaroa, cutting the trees of Tāne, why? Because they did not assist him in the great battle against Tawhirimātea. So it was he (Tūmatauenga) who made those things noa, and thus it is said that this is our common characteristic with Tūmatauenga, he is the atua who bears close similarity to people.

'Ngā hua katoa o te whenua ka taea e te tangata te kai engari ka noho te tangata hei atua hei tuakana rānei mō aua mea, nā, hei rangatira rānei mō aua mea. Koirā kē pea te kōrero he tuakana hoki ki ā ia te rākau, he tuakana ki ā ia ngā maunga engari nāna ka topea ai e ia ngā rākau ka topea ai e ia ngā maunga.'[22]

All of the natural resources of the land can be eaten by mankind, but mankind exerts an atua-like control or tukana-like control over those things, control of a chiefly dominion. That then is the kōrero, the trees are a tuakana to mankind,

and the mountains are also a tuakana to mankind, however, mankind has the power to cut down those trees and to bring down those mountains.

Pou Temara linked the Atua connection with the realms of tapu and noa.

'Nō reira he hononga katoa ērā ki ngā atua. Nō reira koirā te take i tapu ai ērā. Te whati o te whakapapa - he aha te whakapapa? He aha nei te whakapapa? He tātai tangata ki hea? Ki ngā atua. Koirā te hono i ā koe ki ō atua. Tō whakapapa. Nō reira he tapu. Ki te hē i ā koe te whakapapa me mate koe. Nō reira kei roto i tēnei he hononga ki te atua.'[23]

So these examples all illustrate an interconnectedness to atua. There then is the reason that those things are tapu. If whakapapa is broken – what is whakapapa? What is whakapapa? It connects people to where? To the atua. That is the connection from you to your atua. Your genealogy. Therefore it is tapu. If you are at fault with your whakapapa you ought to pay with your life. Therefore, embedded within this is a connection to atua.

Whakahaere Kawa

The ways in which the integrity of kawa are maintained, whakahaere, was approached from several perspectives.

Charles Royal for example identified whakahaere as a function of leadership.

> 'Kawa tends to be a process in which groups of people are participating. The kawa of a marae is a better known example. A whakahaere on the other hand describes the techniques, methodologies, and work of an individual expert. Ko te whakahaere o Uruteao Eparaima, he tohunga no Raukawa, ko te waimāori. So his individual whakahaere was waimaori. He may have learnt that from a teacher; and then he may have adopted the knowledge and moulded it until it evolved as his own personal experience. So when the time comes to teach someone else, he passes that whakahaere on to someone else.
>
> Having learnt from his teacher and having to explain to his successor, is the whakahaere that I impart to you. In part it is from my own teacher, and it also includes my own embellishments, and innovations that I have made over the years.
>
> There are many of examples where kawa and whakahaere are integrated. A good example is when flax is being cut for weaving. There may be a master weaver and students. I imagine there was an initial kawa for proceeding to the plant – selecting the right tools, picking the right bush, finding the right space, the best time of year and other considerations. The kawa would be a way of getting the

group to the correct place. But the master tohunga actually had a particular whakahaere that was his or hers such as "when I cut the flax I actually cut it like this, it's slightly different to the way Mary does, but this is the reason I do it this way". 'Also Mary says that when there's a little bit of red in the leaf we should do this, but when there's a little bit of yellow I like to do that'.

So that allows for particular details to come into an activity in order to spread knowledge. It has very little to do with who is right and who is wrong – instead it is about the particular preferences that individuals have in order to undertake a particular task. 'Mary likes to use paua shells to scrape the flax but I prefer pipi shells because you are less likely to bruise the threads'.[24]

In reference to kawa that have a long history, Pou Temara described some kawa as tapu – not to be changed.

'He tapu ēnā tikanga. Ehara nā tātou i hanga, engari nā o tātou mātua, mātua tīpuna hoki i hanga, nō reira, kua tau – he iho atua he pānga, he whakapapa atu tō tērā tikanga, nā i hōatu ki ngā atua nō reira kāore e taea e tātou tangata noa nei te whakarerekē engari te mau hū ki roto i te whare ka taea e tātou te whakarerekē nā te mea kāore i te kitea he hononga atua.'[25]

Those tikanga are tapu. They were not created by us but by our parents and forebears, therefore they are set in place, there is an iho atua, a connection, a whakapapa to it, running directly to the atua so mere mortals cannot alter or change it however wearing shoes inside in the whare, that is something we can change or alter because there is no direct atua link.

A kawa that is not understood by participants is unlikely to have any significance or meaningful impact. According to Charles Royal, it might simply breed discontent.

'I think it is really essential to make clear why we go through various rituals, no matter whether they take place on a marae, or in an urupa, at the beach, or in some other situation. Because our current knowledge and experience is so diverse it becomes even more important that those who are participating in various rituals understand what they are party to. All too often the whole process lacks comprehension to many of participants and as a result there is a half hearted commitment. That situation just builds resentment, and can undermine good intentions and a potentially meaningful encounter. In my view, the efficacy of a ritual is directly related to the unity of the participants and their active involvement.

It doesn't mean that everybody has to understand precisely what is going on but if there's a common sense of unity and appreciation among the participants, the ritual is more likely to be successful. I have frequently gone to pōwhiri where there is a small group of people in the middle and genuinely excited about the powhiri but many many more on the periphery wondering why they are there and what is going on. That does not make for a good ritual. Instead what it can actually do is create disunity, whereas the purpose of pōwhiri is the opposite - to create unity.

So it becomes vitally important today with rituals and tikanga and similar processes that as far as possible and when opportunities present themselves, the level of understanding is increased amongst people so that they can feel involved. Information that explains why we do this or that; they may not necessarily need a lecture about every detail, but sufficient to know fundamentally why we're here, why we go through this process, and why it is important.

I think that explanations are not only good manners but are absolutely necessary if a spirit of unity is to be present. Sometimes events such as powhiri are used by some individuals to upstage others, or to exercise power over others. That is a misuse and creates disunity, resentment, and disengagement. There is a lack of togetherness, an absence of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga and those other kaupapa that cement goodwill and trust.'[26]

Royal also identified three major elements of kawa - mana, tapu and mauri.

'Good quality kaupapa, tikanga and āronga should also include mana, tapu and mauri. Enabling mana in our experience of the world, preserving tapu, and fostering mauri. We get given a portion of mauri at the beginning of our lives and we've got the choice about whether we do something good with it or not. In my view, hauora is about the presence of mana, mauri and mauri. Good tikanga and kawa are really about fostering mana, tapu and mauri and enabling them to spring forth. Health and wellbeing are defined by the presence of mana in a person and

if there is a prescence of mana there is also the presence of mauri and the presence of tapu.'[27]

Temara added other elements of quality and the distinctions between kawa for waiata and kawa for karakia, when he described the continuity of a kawa.

'Nā ko ētahi o ngā mea nei e pā ana ki te mahi tika he tikanga. Pēnei i te whati o te waiata, ki te whati ko te waiata he tikanga tērā. Engari ko te whati o te whakapapa kei te kōrero kawa koe i tērā wā. Kāore he whakapatipati o te atua me mate koe. Engari ki te whati ko te waiata kei te āhua tonu o te waiata mena he karakia te waiata ā ka mate koe engari mena he waiata noa ka hapa ai koe ā tēnā ko to ihu ka taka to ārero rānei ka taka. Heoi anō he aha ētahi tauira o ngā tikanga e kore e taea te whakarerekē he aha e kore e taea te tikanga te whakarerekē?'[28]

So, some of the things that relate to correct practices are known as tikanga. For example, breaking [the sequence] whilst performing a waiata, if a waiata is broken, there is a tikanga attached. However, breaking the recital of a line of whakapapa, well then you are talking about a kawa. The atua do not practice forgiveness, your life therefore is taken. But if a waiata is broken, well it depends on what type of waiata it is, if it is of the karakia genre, then your life is the outcome. If it is merely a common song that is performed incorrectly then your nose or tongue will literally feel the shame.[29]

Kawa i Roto i Te Ao Hurihuri

All informants discussed kawa as part of a change process. As Māori move into new environments and encounter new developments related to technology or societal change, the question arises as to whether kawa will have continuing importance.

Amster Reedy considered that the importance of kawa is related to the future, more than the past.

> 'The point about karakia and kawa is not how far back you can go but how far forward you can take it. We should not put ourselves in the position of living in the past but should see that our culture is very relevant to the world that our children and grandchildren will live in.'[30]

Pou Temara makes the point that while change is possible and even desirable, some kawa should not be subjected to modification.

> 'Mehemea he tikanga e taea ai te here atu ki tētahi iho matua, kāti, ko ērā tikanga kāore e taea e tātou te whakarerekē he uaua rānei ki te whakarerekē i ērā tikanga, nā te mea he iho atua tō ērā tikanga. Engari, tērā anō tētahi kōrero e kī ana, i ētahi wā, ko te tikanga ka whakatārewatia e koe, he aha i taea ai e koe te whakatārewa i te mea e whakakorehia ana e koe e takahia ana e koe te tikanga? Engari e waiho atu ana e koe te tikanga rā kia whakatārewa mō tētahi wā, ka mutu ko te whakapono, ko te whakaaro kei muri i tērā he wā tōna ka tīkina atu anō e koe taua

tikanga rā kātahi ka whakahokia mai taua tikanga kia pū anō taua tikanga rā ki roto i tōu ahurea.'[31]

If it is a tikanga that has a connection to an iho matua, then those types of tikanga cannot be changed or altered, because there is an atua connection to those tikanga. There is another school of thought which says that sometimes, tikanga that are discarded ought to be questioned as to why a tikanga was discarded. Was it because someone wanted to do away with that tikanga? However, it would be a different matter if you were in fact retiring that tikanga for a particular period of time, safe in the belief and knowledge that in due course you would reclaim or resurrect the tikanga allowing it to flourish once more within the culture.

Another example of an unsuccessful attempt to change kawa was highlighted by Temara.

'Kei te maumahara ahau ki ngā kōrero ā to mātou matua he Pāpā ki ahau. Kātahi anō ka hui i muri i te tangihanga ki te mate, i taua rā tonu i nehu ai ka mutu te hākari kātahi ka tirohia e hia rā ngā kaute ngā moni ngā whakapaunga, ā, ka kitea nui tonu ngā mea i tohu, ngā rerenga ne. Kātahi ka tū tētahi tamaiti tonu nā te kaumātua o te marae kātahi ka tū kātahi ka mea, āe, heoi anō kei te hapū ko te tono kia whatīa mai tētahi wāhanga o ngā toenga nā hei haute ngā kuki nē. Aue pai katoa ki ētahi o mātou, ka mea, āe, āe.

Kātahi ka tū atu to mātou kaumātua, to mātou Pāpā kātahi ka kī, e hoa mā, ā, kāore au i te whakaae ki a koutou - auē, he aha ai? E kore au e whakaae ko ngā roimata, ko ngā aroha tēnei nō ngā iwi i haere mai ai, ka riro hei whakahoahoa i a koutou, kia haurangi noa i a koutou, kāore. Ehara tēnā i te manaaki tika i ngā roimata o te iwi. Ka pēhea ka rongonga e te iwi nā rātou i kawe mai i ēnā whakaaro kua huri kē hei mea haute hei mea whakapōrearea hoki i ngā kūki.'[32]

I recall a story regarding our Pāpā, we'd just gathered together after a particular tangihanga, on the same day that the deceased was buried, when the hākari finished the money and deposits were tallied up, and it was obvious that it was plentiful. One of the children of a kaumātua stood up and said, "my fellow hapū members, the request is that we break off some of the remaining donations in order to shout the cooks". Well, that was more than fine with some of us, yes, yes indeed was the response.

And then our kaumātua, our Pāpā stood and said, "My friends, I do not agree to your request, alas, why? I cannot allow the roimata and other expressions of aroha given over by the many people who have come to pay their respects in order that you might have an excuse to socialise amongst yourselves, so that you can all get drunk, no way. That is not the right way to look after the expressions of manaakitanga given over by the many people who have attended the tangihanga. What would happen if those people found out that their contributions were instead used to allow the cooks to entertain themselves?

However, Charles Royal considered that kawa has always been adaptable and has shown a level of flexibility to guide new situations.

'There are certain kinds of energies and qualities that exist in this world that we haven't been able to identify until now. For me it's not a theoretical discussion at all. I have a very practical and very simple example in my daughter who, when she was young three or four years of age, began to write. There was no teaching; it emerged quite spontaneously and she went through a whole period where she would write on absolutely everything. You could not leave papers lying around because in a second she would have covered the whole paper in writing - names, words, all sorts of things. The energy came directly out of her; it was not something that was taught to her nor was it a question of imitating others. In my view an Atua is operative in her and is exerting a significant influence upon her. We might call this Atua *Tuhituhi*.

We are told that the usual reason for students entering into the Whare Wānanga was not out of choice or by chance but through a process of selection. The elders would sit for a long period of time observing the children and seeing what energy or quality is spontaneously coming out of the child. One quality might be physical, a fast runner perhaps; another might be an ability to be a good listener; yet another might have the quality of humility; while another might be the opposite - a bit whakahīhī - but nonetheless filled with confidence. So they observed these special qualities and debated among themselves how those qualities might be further developed and how a particular Atua was being

manifest within that child. Then that child would be dedicated to that Atua, through a tohi process.

Because that child was dedicated to an Atua, there was a curriculum that went with that Atua. If for example there was a child who was a 'natural fisherman,' a child so drawn to the ocean that there was clear link to Tangaroa, then the whakahaere would share all the kōrero about Tangaroa with that child and groom him to know all there was to know, in the hope that in time, he would also become a whakahaere and develop new knowledge about Tangaroa. Within the whare wānanga, the child would be exposed to a curriculum stream that matched the natural energies and skills.

That approach is very different from the one operating in the existing education system where what is taught depends on what teachers think should be taught. 'This is what you should know'.

I have a nephew who is a total 'grease monkey'. He is 16 or 17 years of age, and as soon as he arrives home from school he changes into his overalls and stays out in the barn working on four wheel drive trucks. Despite his young age, he cannot be persuaded to go to bed before 11pm and that is only after his mother has repeatedly yelled at him to 'go to bed'. He has very little to say when you try and talk to him but he is just a total natural around technical things. We often say 'that kid was born with a screwdriver in his back pocket'. Again it is an example of a talent that was not taught but which has emerged spontaneously and he has gravitated towards that particular Atua. I am not quite sure of the name of that

Atua just yet, but without doubt there are high levels of energy and very special qualities coming out of that child. And it would be an absolute sacrilege to force him to abandon his 'natural' talent in favour of formal study in mathematics or some other academic discipline. It would also be such a breach of tapu to quell a force that is spontaneously working within him.

So because that force within him is so strong, and focused, as it was for my daughter who spontaneously started writing, I am quite confident that there are many Atua that have yet to be identified and named. It is not a question of creating new Atua. All we are doing is identifying them and updating our data base so that with our extended knowledge we will be better able to help foster that particular kind of Atuatanga in a child.

The great thing about those three Atua we most often talk about – Rangi, Tangaroa, Papatuanuku, and others is that they have a timeless relevance. It does not seem to matter what period of human history we happen to be in, we all share the privilege of living under the sky, we all have Tangaroa, we all live on the Earth. They're all timeless unchangeable aspects of our existence. Another one of course is the Hineteahuone, the Mother. No one comes to this world except through the Mother. Those are really enduring and unchanging aspects of human existence and we would do well to remind ourselves about them. They should become part of our 'head culture' otherwise if we become disconnected from them we will lose our humanity. They are refreshing and organic and can be empowering.

Nor are they just for the past. Rongo-mā-tāne is about the cultivation of kūmara, and the kūmara is also about nutrition, carbohydrates and human health, all of which are therefore *he uri nō Rongo-mā-tāne*. The nutrients of the kūmara are not necessarily the nutrients in fish. They are *he uri nō Tangaroa*. Maybe we need to identify Atua that are more specifically tied to carbohydrates or protein, but then what would be the purpose of doing that?'[33]

Pou Temara identified others areas where kawa has been adapted and explained the significance of change.

'He nui ā tātou tikanga kua kore e whai wāhi ki ēnei rā. Engari nā te mea he iho atua tōna, he iho matua rānei tōna, kei te mau tonu aua tikanga rā. Ko tēnei tikanga rā ko te karanga i te pō kāore he tino hua o tērā tikanga i roto i te horopaki o tēnei ao ināianei. Nā te mea ko ngā kaupapa, ko ngā pūtake i kore ai e whakaaetia tērā momo tikanga kua kore kē e whai hua ki o ēnei rā āhuatanga. Ka taea e tātou ngā mātauranga o ēnei rā te whakaawatea i te pō ne rā? Ka taea e tātou te whakaawatea i te pō. Ko te tikanga hoki e kiia ana kaua e karangahia te mate nō te mea kāore koe i te mōhio ko wai nā te pouri ne rā, engari nā ēnei ka taea e tātou te whakaawatea i te pō. Nā tēnei kōrero nā. Ēi, e nō te tauā te pō nō reira kaua e karanga i te po kei karanga koe i te taua. Nā ko tēnei whakaaro nei. Ki te tauā anō māua, ki te mau to tauā e haere ana i Aotearoa nei kei roto koe i te hīnaki ne rā. Kāore e pai te taua ki roto i Aotearoa ināianei.'[34]

We have many instances of tikanga which no longer have relevance to modern times. But, because of the connection to atua, the iho atua or iho matua, those tikanga are still practiced. The tikanga pertaining to performing karanga to manuhiri at night, was important then, but there is no explicit benefit to that tikanga within the context of these modern times. Because the reasons and fundamental basis behind not allowing that practice [(performing karanga to manuhiri at night] are no longer as applicable in this day and age. With the knowledge and understanding that we now have this day in age are we not able to light up the night time darkness? Yes we can now bring daylight to night time. The tikanga also implies that manuhiri shouldn't be called on at night because one doesn't know who might be there because of the darkness isn't that right? However, because of this capability we are now able to bring daylight to night time. There is also this matter to consider. Night time is the domain of war parties, so to call on visitors at night is to call on war parties. This is the idea. If we were to reinstate waring parties and if your war party was caught traversing Aotearoa you were literally trapped and could not get out.

'Tērā kōrero tērā engari ka taka ki a tātou ko tātou nei te whakatinanatanga o te atua nei a Tūmātauenga kāore tātou e hiahia kia noho te poaka hei rangatira mō tātou engari ka noho te poaka hei rangatira mō tātou nō te mea i roto i taku tauira nei nā te mea e ngana ana au kia ora tāku mokopuna. He aroha tērā ki te mokopuna mā roto i te manawa o te poaka rā ka ora taku mokopuna. Kua uru te whakapapa te ira hoki o te poaka ki roto i te mokopuna nā koirā tētahi o ngā mea e whakamatakuhia ana Te Ao Māori.'[35]

So that is that story, however it befalls to us to remember that we are the physical embodiment of Tūmatauenga, although we would not want a pig to be seen as an atua to us, as having a greater level of control over us because of my [earlier] example about finding a way to ensure the survival of my mokopuna. That is an example of compassion for the mokopuna where by implanting the heart of a pig my mokopuna will live. The geneology and genetic make-up of a pig have now entered my mokopuna, this is one of the major issues facing Maori today.'

'Nō reira koinei ngā mea e kīa ake nei ki te kore he iho atua o te tikanga kua tikanga pōteretere noa iho. Kaore e taea e koe te here atu taua tikanga rā ki tētahi iho atua. Nō reira kāore noa iho he tino hua o tērā tikanga he āhua rite pea anei ki te tikanga e kōrero ake nei tātou mō te mau hū ki te whare – kāore e taea e koe te here atu i taua tikanga ki tetahi iho atua nō reira ka kīa tērā tikanga he tikanga pōteretere – ka taea ai e koe te whakarerekē. Engari ko ēnei tikanga e kōrero ake nei tātou, kāore e taea e koe te whakarerekē.' '[36]

So those are some of the things that, if they do not have an iho atua – an atua connection, they are not permanent, they are able to be altered or changed. It is not possible for you to attach or connect that tikanga to an atua. So there is no discernable benefit to that tikanga, it can be compared to that of wearing shoes in the whare – you cannot attach that tikanga to an atua, so that is said to be a non-permanent tikanga, you can alter or change it. However the other tikanga that we have discussed, those cannot be changed or altered.

'Ko taku wero ki a tātou he nui ngā tikanga kāore e taea te whakarerekē engari he tikanga anō ka taea. He pērā anō te kawa. He kawa e taea te whakarerekē he kawa e kore e taea. Pēnei i te aha? Pēnei i *Te Kawa Angiangi Pū*. Pēnei i *Te Kawa Tātai Karakia*. E kore e taea tērā te whakarerekē he tapu tērā kāore rawa e taea e koe. Ko te kawa hoki he karakia, nē rā. Ko te kawa hoki he karakia. Ki te hē to tātai i te kawa ka mate koe. Tōna tikanga me mate koe. Koirā anake te utu i hiahia ai te atua. Nō reira ki te hē koe i te aroaro o te atua me mate koe.'[37]

My challenge therefore is to consider tikanga which can and cannot be changed or altered. Likewise with kawa. There are kawa that can be changed and others which cannot. What are some examples? They include the Kawa Angiangi Pū, and the Kawa Tātai Karakia. Those cannot be changed and are off limits to most people. Kawa is also karakia. If you recite the kawa in the wrong way you pay the price. The outcome could be that you pay with your life. That is the only recompense sought by that atua. If you make a mistake in the presence of that atua you ought to pay for it with your life.[38]

Amster Reedy described how kawa can be applied to the modern Olympics.

'When I went to Athens in 2004, I put together a strategy to implement tikanga Maori within the New Zealand Olympic Team culture. Basically what it involved was the use of karakia, haka, and whakatauaki as tools for building kotahitanga and whanaungatanga across the whole contingent. The haka for example was used by the team to acknowledge medal winning performances and to welcome

and farewell athletes as they arrived and left the village. We relied heavily on a number of whakatauaki to add a symbolic touch to the spirit of the games.

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi,

Engari he toa takitini, he toa takimano

'My strength is not mine alone but belongs to our combined efforts'

Ahakoa he iti,

He iti māpihi pounamu

'Although we may be small in number we are strong in our unity'.

Then, when I was at the Winter Olympics in Torino, Italy, another whakatauaki seemed more relevant because of the environment and the different codes.

Ka puku te kawau,

E kore ā muri e hokia

As the kawau bird emerges from the water it transforms itself for flight

There is no turning back

An important part of our kawa was a ngeri that had been composed for the occasion.

E papā te whaititiri	*Thunder echoes in the heavens*
Hikohiko te uira	*Lightening flashes*
E kanapū ki te rangi	*From the skies above*
Rū ana te whenua e	*What is it?*
E he aha tērā	*It is the hokioi*
Ko te hokioi!	*It is the hokioi*
Ko te hokioi!	*The bird that inspires and exalts*
Te manatipua whakahiato	*The athletes of Aotearoa*
I te hunga toa o Aotearoa	*Hold fast, be firm*
Kia ū kia mau kia mataara	*And remain alert*
Te whiriwhiringa kotahitanga	*Our strength is our unity.*

'What I discovered at the Olympics was that kawa is very much relevant to modern times and to different situations. If it can be used to enhance the performance of Olympic champions, it has great potential to enhance Māori no matter where they live or work or play.'[39]

To emphasise the point about the application of Maori values and actions to modern times, Royal discussed his views about cultural creativity as a complement to cultural revitalisation.

'Over the past few decades we have recovered te reo Māori, we've established Wananga– and we've made progress in settling our claims. Where to from here? It need not be an abandonment of those two gains – strengthening te reo and

working for social justice must continue. But preserving the past will not be enough.

In the cultural revitalisation mode there is constant talk about tikanga. But cultural creativity means engaging the world of our actual [contemporary] experience and not looking necessarily from a historical perspective at what happened. Cultural revitalisation tends to be looking back and trying to revitalise things from the past. Social justice is often about that too. Knowing all about about taonga pūoro for example now needs to be followed by creating more music, teaching more students, creating more instruments. I think discussion around tikanga and kawa ought to be seen in this light, an increasing cultural creativity rather tha a preoccupation with revitalisation of the past'.[40]

Insights from the Tohunga

The interviews with experts highlighted the depth of meaning associated with kawa. Far from being a set of rules or rituals, kawa is intimately linked to tikanga and to context. Sometimes the context relates to the natural environment but it is not confined to that environmemnt. Instead kawa can be relevant and applicable to a range of modern environments where Maori live and interact.

While some tikanga and the associated kaupapa are aligned to former times, others can be seen as integral to modern times and to the future. Tikanga Pōteretere is a term applied by Pou Temara to refer to tikanga that can be readily adapted, changed or discarded. This classification

of tikanga do not feature the 'iho atua' or element of atua endorsement that characterise kawa, thus there is increase flexibility around application. The presence of an iho atua suggests that many kawa cannot be readily altered, adapted or discarded. Royal states that from his perspective, all tikanga grow organically from within a kaupapa – values or mātāpono that emanate from a specific āronga or worldview. Tikanga in this context are not based on views sanctioned by a wider collective, but are instead a "revelation" and "expression" that grow out of kaupapa and manifest through actions and behaviour. Kawa in his view embodies āronga, kaupapa and tikanga and is a process that arranges tikanga in a certain way.

In that respect the values (kaupapa) that underpin kawa transcend time and place. While there is some debate about the exact nature of the relationship between kawa and tikanga, there is agreement that the two are inextricably entwined.

A conclusion to this chapter is that kawa cannot be separated from the context within which it occurs and it has several dimensions including āronga, kaupapa and tikanga.

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1 Charles Royal interview 28 Ocober 2008

2 Pou Temara interview 11 December 2009

3 Temara

4 Wharehuia Milroy interview 11 December 2009

5 Royal

6 Royal

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16 Amster Reedy interview 10 September 2009

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CHAPTER FOUR

TIKANGA MARAE

MARAE ENGAGEMENT

Introduction

Central to this research is the application of kawa to Māori in a range of situations in modern times. Kawa is a composite concept with an accompanying set of practices that are grounded in Māori knowledge and Māori world views. Although kawa change over time, there are underlying values and concepts that have endured; they continue to define kawa as the outward expression of tikanga Māori – customary Māori world views. Written accounts generally discuss the practice of kawa as it was in distant times or in the context of its application to marae encounters. In this thesis those accounts form a backdrop for further explorations of kawa in relationship to engagement and high achievement by rangatahi today.

In addition to the literature, interviews with key informants were vital to gaining a better understanding of the wider dimensions of kawa and their relationship to Māori knowledge and world views so that the concept can be more accurately applied for the purposes of this thesis. Those 'wider dimensions' have been used to examine the concept and practice of kawa in order to answer the research question: '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to a range of situations in*

modern times?' The objective is to explore the philosophies that underpin kawa and to identify the key aspects that might be incorporated into programmes to enhance rangatahi engagement and performance.

There is general consensus in the literature, that kawa is primarily about ensuring that various processes, events, and activities are conducted in a way that ensures a measure of certainty, a shared understanding of actions and reactions and a good outcome. Kawa can be seen as a set of rules for engagement, a ritual for encounters, and as a mechanism for protecting participants within a behavioural code that is concerned with safety. At an operational level it may simply be regarded as a way of observing routines in a consistent and safe manner. At a conceptual level however, kawa incorporates a complex set of beliefs, values and actions that mediate relationships, foster commitment, and create spiritual, intellectual, and physical connections with place, persons, and purpose.

In order to better appreciate the fundamental goals of kawa, and its relationship to other aspects of Māori knowledge and world views, early and contemporary written and recorded accounts and their significance to Māori social, environmental and economic wellbeing were examined. The conclusions have been shaped by written sources, by information derived from interviews with experts in tikanga Māori and marae elders, and by direct observations made at four hui.

All sets of sources will have their limitations. In the case of written sources, two factors could be identified. First, because Māori was not a written language, early writers, often self-taught anthropologists were dependent on oral sources. It would appear that the information they were given was forthcoming yet selective; the reliability of the written word depended on the accuracy of the teller as well as the understanding of the listener. Meaning relies on more than the words used to describe events or phenomena; it also depends on historical context, the use of metaphor, and the circumstances present at the time. However, such subtleties often escaped authors who paid attention only to the words, at the expense of background and metaphorical explanations. Second, most of the early writers who converted oral accounts into written form were European.[1] Inevitably they interpreted what they had observed or heard from informants, according to their own western world views and frames. Moreover, in an attempt to appeal to others they added a measure of romanticism to satisfy European readers.[2]

Insofar as they may not be representative, interviews with contemporary experts in kawa, can also have their own limitations for research reliability. In this project not only were a relatively small number of experts interviewed, but there was a lack of representation from all tribal groups. The point of this thesis however, is not to generalise about kawa in a pan-Māori sense, but instead to gain some insights into ways in which kawa might be useful to igniting engagement by Māori.

Generally interviews provided information that represented the views of a few exponents and selected marae elders, chosen because they were acknowledged as experts within their own tribes and areas. There is no assumption that a universal Māori view is held about the concept of kawa, instead the working position for this thesis suggests that the notion that kawa can be understood as a pan-Māori phenomenon underestimates tribal variation and uniqueness.[3] In addition, the constraints of a formal interview likely shaped the responses of the experts. Information gathering centred around discussions rather than imposing less culturally appropriate methods such as the use of a structured questionnaire. Yet, inevitably a discussion of kawa in isolation of actual practice, removed it from the everyday realities of kawa. This said, the interviews themselves followed kawa by respecting the voice, expertise and mana of those who were contributing to the discussion. Kawa was at the same time the focus of discussions and the process that reflected one form of kawa in action.

To help compensate for that, the third source of information relied on direct observations of experts officiating at hui thereby offering a form of triangulation for the data collected for the thesis. However, while direct observation overcame some of the limits imposed by the interview process, it was also limited by the nature and location of the hui. As previously mentioned, the application of kawa will differ depending on time and context. Although two hui may be called for similar purposes, the kawa will not necessarily be identical at each, even when the same experts are guiding proceedings, Much will depend on site (e.g. marae, hall, private home, workplace), time, and the participants. The application of kawa on sites other than marae became popularised as Māori moved away from rural marae to urban

environments. Any apparent inconsistency does not necessarily imply random flexibility or a failure to adhere to underlying principles but it does suggest that kawa is a product of both custom and challenge. Later in this chapter, the relationships that characterise kawa will be further explored, but for now it is sufficient to note that kawa has a practical organic function as well as the more esoteric interpretation closely attuned to Māori knowledge and world views.

There is also the inevitable bias that occurs when one particular aspect of kawa becomes the major reason for inquiry and this too must be accounted for. In this thesis for example the focus is very much on kawa as a guide to encounters experienced in particular settings. Other inquiries have also focussed on kawa as it applies to marae encounters and especially as it applies to the reception of visitors onto a marae.[4] They most often depict kawa as an approach geared to maintaining boundaries and discipline between people. But they run the risk of reducing kawa to a set of institutionalised rules to moderate social engagement. While there is evidence that kawa does serve to regulate interaction between groups and provides guidance as to acceptable norms of behaviour, there is also a wider underlying reason for kawa that links people with the natural environment. In that light, kawa can be conceptualised as the outward expression of an ecological philosophy underpinning Māori world views.

An Analysis of Kawa

The researcher has thus far attempted to outline the wider parameters of kawa and how it was shaped by Māori world views and Māori knowledge. Kawa was not confined to one site, one set of encounters, or one activity. Instead, it had wide application and was open to innovation in order to address new situations.

It should also be noted that the kawa usually practiced on a marae, is now often practiced in other settings. The Uepohatu hall in Ruatoria for example has some of the functional features of a marae, and has observed a kawa that is not dissimilar from kawa on the neighbouring marae. However, though located in a tribal area, Ruatoria, the hall was built to commemorate efforts of Māori in World War Two and has a kaupapa that is distinctive.[5] Further, when the Te Māori Exhibition opened at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984 New York and in St. Louis in 1985, the opening ceremonies were essentially built around the kawa of marae and were performed by marae elders. The international (USA) venue did not preclude the use of tikanga.[6]

To assist in the examination of kawa a framework for kawa analysis will be used. Frameworks are useful since they provide a systematic way of examining a subject and can be shaped by the major themes that emerge from the literature, observations, or key informants. Frameworks been important in recent research by Māori and have assisted in understanding contemporary applications of Māori knowledge, health research, counselling, learning, and social development.[7] This section follows that approach by exploring four dimensions of kawa that together constitute the analytical framework. Drawing on views of the key informants, and marae elders it is possible to analyse kawa according to the domains of kawa, the objectives of kawa, the key elements contained in kawa, and the ownership of kawa (Table 4.1).

Table 4 A Framework for Discussing Kawa

Grounding Kawa: **Ngā Momo Kawa** **The domains of kawa**	**Creating Pathways:** **Ngā Putanga** **The objectives of kawa**	**Enforcing the Message:** **Ngā Ritenga** **The key elements of kawa**	**Retaining Integrity:** **Rangatiratanga** **The ownership of kawa**
• Tangaroa oceans and fish • Tanemahuta trees and birds • Haumietiketike ferns & foods • Rongomātāne peace, creativity, cultivation • Tūmatauenga human rivalries	• Whaka-whanaungatanga establishing relationships • Whakatangata Protecting human dignity • Whakapiri tāngata promoting social unity • Whakamana asserting authority • Whakahihiwa concentration	• Karanga • Karakia • Whaikōrero • Waiata & Haka	• Kaitiakitanga guardianship • Tū kaha commitment • Pūmautanga consistency • Mātauranga skills & knowledge • Tū motuhake distinctiveness

Grounding Kawa: Nga Momo Kawa - The Domains of Kawa

An ecological perspective can be found in a range of practical tasks that have confronted tribes over the centuries. The literature suggests for example that there were specific kawa for fishing, felling trees that were to be fashioned as canoes, cultivating kumara, building houses, collecting shellfish, preparing for battle, receiving guests, healing various ailments, and birthing children. For every kawa there is endorsement from an Atua.[8] Tangaroa was the authority for kawa linked to the sea and to fishing, Tānemahuta for kawa relevant to forests and birds, Haumietiketike for kawa associated with ferns and uncultivated food, Rongomātāne

to kawa associated with learning, healing, peaceful endeavours, and cultivated foods, Tūmatauenga for kawa around human warfare and battle.[9] Kawa facilitates human engagement with these several domains and from that perspective has an ecological focus.

In the *Muriwhenua Fishing Report* the Waitangi Tribunal, described a set of procedures that surrounded shark-fishing.[10] Tribal regulations restricted the season to two days only; once at night on Rākaunui (a date on the Māori lunar calendar around the full moon in January), and again two weeks later just after new moon (Whāwhā-ata) and this time during the day. No-one was permitted to commence fishing before a signal was given usually the two days after the full moon in January.

Evidence to the Waitangi Tribunal also included commentary on religious ceremonies related to fishing expeditions.[11] While nets were being made, for example, restrictions were placed on workers so that they would not be distracted from the task. There were also conventions that protected fish resources, forbidding harvesting when resources were low or threatened; a rāhui over fishing grounds at certain times of the year ensured that the resource was sustainable. During fishing expeditions, the first fish taken, Te Ika Tuatahi, was returned to the sea with an appropriate request to the guardian of the sea – Tangaroa, to bring an abundance of fish.

When a tree was to be cut down as a hull for a canoe, a kawa was instigated to ensure that the process was carried out in an appropriate manner both to avoid danger to

workmen but also to guide the construction process. Karakia (incantations) were an essential part of the process and were offered to overcome motivational and psychological forces that might otherwise have delayed progress. In *Ngā Iwi o Tainui*, there are detailed accounts of rituals and counter-rituals that accompanied the felling of a tree suitable for an ocean-going waka, subsequently named Tainui. As part of the kawa, three adzes were used, each named to indicate a certain function: Hahau-te-pō (for felling), Paopao-te-rangi (for splitting) and Manu-tawhio-rangi (for shaping).[12] Additional kawa were necessary to actually launch the canoe.

Kawa also provided a code for building tribal meeting houses. A mauri (often a stone symbolising the soul or heart of the house) was buried under the first post erected. Men who were engaged in construction work did so under the safeguard of tapu – which imposed restrictions on them and on others with whom they might otherwise have had contact. When completed, a ceremony to remove the tapu was conducted. A young woman was selected to enter, under the guidance of a tohunga who recited karakia.[13]

Kawa was used extensively in connection with the collection of shellfish and other kaimoana. In submissions to the Waitangi Tribunal following concerns about the pollution of reefs at Motunui, off the Taranaki coast, witnesses recalled a number of customs including using only newly plaited and clean baskets to collect food from the reef, collecting seafood over a three day period at a time of the month when the tide was favourable, and not cooking or preparing the food until after the third day. Returning shellfish beds to their original state, especially where rock formations were

concerned, avoiding gutting fish or shelling shellfish below the high water mark, and avoiding despoliation to waterways were also noted as kawa that manifested 'a Māori spiritual conception of life and life forces which compels them to insist on a much higher standard in the maintenance of clean water and the preservation of natural states ...'[14]

Similarly in hearing the Manukau Harbour claim the Waitangi Tribunal heard submissions about a kawa that introduced 'rules that compelled quietness at sea and prohibited food on water, gutting fish at sea or opening shellfish, lighting fires or cooking on the shoreline... We were told how the people used kits not sacks, never dragged the kits over shellfish beds, dug only with their hands, replaced upturned rocks, and never took more than their needs.'[15]

Although the use of kawa as a guide to establishing relationships with the natural environment has been emphasised, kawa was evident in a wide range of social activities including learning, weaving garments[16] and tattooing.[17] In modern times, kawa is most often associated with marae, and encounters between tāngata whenua and manuhiri. They will be examined in greater detail later in this chapter. Importantly, however, whether in relationship to social encounters (such as marae occasions), environmental protection, personal safety, adornment, tribal integrity or sustainability, kawa provides a guiding influence that restrains and guides behaviour, attitudes, and codes of conduct. This was particularly evident in the kawa of the whare wānanga.

Kawa was a necessary ingredient for learning in ancient tribal schools of learning.[18] The transference of knowledge from teacher to student was conducted in an environment that sustained concentration by eliminating possible diversions. Interruptions were avoided by declaring the teaching space off-limits to others; food was forbidden; the recitation of karakia during the teaching process shifted thinking to a spiritual plane; and the arbitrary promulgation of knowledge was discouraged by distinguishing between knowledge that was safe with all individuals and knowledge which was the province of experts.[19] Unlike learning to cope with day to day functional needs, the acquisition of higher knowledge was a privilege that needed to be earned.

As a result, a significant component of kawa in relationship to whare wānanga was the careful selection of students. Criteria for inclusion in whare wānanga hinged around evidence of readiness to master complex information transfers, sufficient maturity to appreciate the wider implications of knowledge, endorsement from community elders, and assurances that the student would use knowledge wisely. The learning environment was deliberately austere, not only to avoid distractions but also to foster endurance under relative privation. Controlled admission to whare wānanga reflected the importance placed on higher knowledge and the significance of knowledge for community survival.[20] In a world where contestability for resources, territory, and power determined survival, the misuse of knowledge or the misappropriation of knowledge left communities exposed to external threats.

Scholars held knowledge on behalf of the tribe, but the application of the knowledge was very much a public good.

Kawa was equally important in healing. Although in recent times healing has focused on rongoā (native plants, leaves, berries, shrubs, roots), rongoā are used as part of a wider intervention known internationally as traditional healing. The use of plants and leaves was associated with a kawa that included karakia, whānau participation, and rituals, or, more often, a combination of several methods. From this perspective, what mattered most as far as effectiveness was concerned was not simply the pharmacological action of a rongoā, but the impact of the whole healing process. If incorrect karakia are used along with rongoā, or if the healer does not provide the correct instructions about how and when to use rongoā, then the outcome will be similarly unsatisfactory. [21] Atua healing has been described as a process entirely spiritual in nature and depended on a combination of atonement and the symbolic neutralisation of harmful omens through a series of rituals sometimes involving personal items as well as natural substances such as stones and birds.[22] In any event, the kawa for healing includes karakia, rongoā, ritenga, and a sound knowledge of the natural environment.

Creating Pathways: Ngā Putanga - The Objectives of Kawa

Interviews with key experts invariably led to discussions about the reasons for kawa and the purpose of kawa. All informants emphasised the fact that there was a point to kawa – a reason why it was being used so that a goal could be reached. Whether in connection with fishing or receiving guests on a marae, kawa made it more likely that a conclusion would be reached in a way that did not offend the laws of nature or the customs of communities. Perhaps most important to this thesis, kawa has a dimension that connects people with a common purpose and inspires commitment to a unified goal. In effect it carries a mediating influence that recognises difference but aspires to create pathways to bridge distance and centralise conflicting views. Mediation between opposing view-points does not always achieve consensus but the purpose of kawa nonetheless is to provide an opportunity for groups to hear and respect each other so that a common platform can be built. There is the capacity to instil a sense of solidarity, build and maintain reputation, confer distinctiveness between groups, and promote conformity in order to reach an agreed endpoint. The significance of kawa to the dynamics of groups is central to Kawa Oranga. According to one marae elder:

> 'Kawa was never just a type of ceremony that had no point to it. Sometimes people see kawa as a sort of spectacle that has entertainment value but no real aim; or that it just provides an opportunity for people to demonstrate their knowledge. For me the main point about kawa is that it allows us to move together so that we can reach a destination without anyone or anything getting hurt. Kawa is not something to be afraid of or to shy away from. It is useful because it helps us know how to handle tricky situations and to keep on track.'[23]

Objective 1 Whakawhanaungatanga - Establishing relationships

The most frequent initial response from informants about the purpose of kawa was to provide a way in which two or more groups of people could establish a relationship built on trust, common aspirations, mutual benefits and similar world views. Many marae speakers deliberately highlight common points of interest, sometimes on the basis of a shared whakapapa and sometimes because they are preparing to enter into a joint venture and want to highlight their similar views.

> 'Mostly when I am speaking on a marae I try to bring us all together – manuhiri and tāngata kainga. I recall people that will be known to them as well as to us and talk about our own relatives who have gone to live in their rohe [areas]. And I will always acknowledge how they have looked after them. Saying those things is one way of saying welcome but it is also a reminder that we have many connections that go back a long time.'[24]

> 'Building strong links with other iwi and other hapū is an important part of our kawa. You might have to look for common ties by going back a few generations but it is a mark of respect and also a matter of good manners to be able to recognize your visitors. We never ask people who they are. You should know who they are without asking.'

By the same token, if a relationship were not thought worth exploring, either because of previous unhappy associations or because there were doubts about the intentions of a group, kawa also provided a basis for terminating contact so that a relationship did not develop.

> 'I can recall one time in particular. An ope arrived to attend the tangi of a woman who had died, largely as a result of the way her husband had treated her. The husband's people sought to make amends by coming to the tangi. But the home people were not convinced about their sincerity and did not believe that they had done as much as they should have to make things right while she was still alive. They were told quite bluntly that their words were hollow; they had not respected the lady in life so why should they pretend to respect her in death? That group never crossed the marae atea. They gathered they were not welcome and even though their kaikōrero tried his best to change the mood, they had no option but to turn around and go home.'[25]

While relationships between people dominates the kawa on marae, relationship building also extends to other areas such as the environment. Many tauparapara (introductory comments) refer to the natural environment and to the landscape around the marae. In those instances a function of kawa is to endorse the links between the human dimension and the ecological context.

Objective 2 Whakatangata – Protecting Human Dignity

A second purpose of kawa is to reduce the chances of injury, sickness, attack or insult. Following the steps within a kawa in a defined fashion, clears the way for an activity or event to proceed without compromising physical safety or personal dignity. Within a kawa, risk is often reduced by incorporating notions of tapu into proceedings so that anything or any person who might pose a risk is kept at a distance, at least until the risk has passed. For example, in most kawa visitors on to a marae are regarded as tapu; until their intentions are clear and they have explained themselves adequately, they might place their hosts at a disadvantage. Kawa allows for risk to human dignity be assessed and then managed. Assessing the risk is one of the reasons why whaikōrero is prolonged. People need to be certain about the motives of the other, and until there is certainty, a state of tapu protects against getting too close too quickly. Whaikōrero provides opportunity to explain what is expected and to 'hear out' a group, who they are and what they intend. Once the sequence has been completed the way is clear.

> 'Our kawa usually keeps ourselves and our manuhiri apart until we are sure that everything will be okay. Our speakers explain who we are and then we give it over to them to tell us who they are and what links they have with us, if any. We do not invite them to step over to our side until we are sure about them. It is not that we are afraid of them or even suspicious. But we want to be sure that's all.'[26]

Risk can also be reduced by a kawa that discourages people from going to sites that could be unsafe. Conferring a rāhui over a dangerous location, for example, means that the place is tapu and therefore out of bounds, until the danger has well passed. A kawa for declaring a rahui is based on the laws of tapu and recognises that environmental risks require a sound understanding of the forces of nature and the relationship between people and their surroundings. It takes an expert to know the right time to enact a kawa that will remove the rahui so that the site can once again be used.

> 'There was rock pool where two drownings had happened. One of our old people decided that we must have done something wrong and we were being punished by Tangaroa. So he decided that a rahui should be put on that part of the sea and that we should let everyone know not to go there until the rahui had been lifted. Early the next morning we saw him down there, by himself, with a kawakawa branch. I don't know what he was saying but when he came back he just smiled and told us that the rahui would stay in place until he said it was over and only then he would lift the tapu.'[27]

Objective 3 Whakapiri tāngata – Social unity

A third purpose of kawa is the promotion of social unity and cohesion. Kawa strengthens group solidarity. A marae where people do not act in unison will not be able to meet the demands made on it; if the words of a spokesman are not backed by his people, they will have little impact; if a karanga does not reflect the mood of the

group, it will send a meaningless signal; if a waiata does not endorse the identity of the group, it will lack distinctiveness.

The point is that not only does the implementation of a kawa depend on a combined effort but it also strengthens the bonds within a group. By working together to achieve a common purpose, group solidarity is reinforced.

There are a number of whakataukī that underline the benefits of collaboration:

> 'Mā whero, mā pango, ka oti ai te mahi'
>
> Literally a reference to red and black [threads] being necessary to complete a task [such as a decorative panel], but usually taken to mean that a quality product requires cooperative effort.[28]

> 'He toa takitini tōku toa, ehara i te toa takitahi'
>
> 'My heroism is not individual. It is collective.'
>
> The whakataukī is often quoted to praise and encourage team work).[29]

> 'Nāu te rourou, nāku te rourou, ka ora te manuhiri
>
> Nāu te rakau, nāku te rakau, ka mate te hoa riri.'
>
> 'Your basket [of food] and my basket will satisfy the guests; your weapons and mine will destroy the enemies' suggesting that collaboration, sharing and collaboration will achieve more than individual efforts. [30]

Together the whakataukī highlight the communal focus that is integral to Māori world views and relevant to Māori action in a range of undertakings including construction, combat, and hospitality.

> 'Although hosting a hui is hard work, especially when you have to travel a long way to get back home, the good thing that comes out of it is that you always leave feeling much closer to your own whānau and your own people. Even though it can be pretty busy and sometimes there are arguments about how to do things, in the end you appreciate the links that can be easily taken for granted and I am always amazed how much we were able to do as a team, even with very short notice.'[31]

> 'We have always divided up the jobs by whānau. Some whānau have been the hāngi makers; some have always been responsible for finding tuna; some have tended to occupy the paepae. No one job is more important than the others because all of them are important; they are part of a bigger picture. It is the combined effort that gets things done and makes sure that we are able to stand tall and keep to our kawa.'[32]

Objective 4 Whakamana – Asserting authority

An important purpose of kawa is the assertion of mana. Observations on a number of marae have shown that there are three perspectives of mana that influence kawa: mana whenua, mana tangata and manaakitanga.

Mana whenua is closely linked to land and rights to land and in that respect is bound to iwi territories. Between iwi, kawa varies. The kawa in one tribal area cannot be assumed to be favoured in another. The most obvious differences are found on marae and the way in which events are ordered. But another even more critical distinction is linked to longstanding relationships with the land. Where there is a clear iwi association with land in a particular territory, mana whenua exists and because of mana whenua the Iwi has rights and obligations that others do not have.[33] Mana derived from the land greatly expands the mana that comes solely from the qualities of the people.

> 'I always think of my marae when I think of kawa. We are tāngata whenua on that marae and no one can take that away from us. We can do things the way that we want to because the land underneath us is ours and the house and trees on the marae are ours as well. Maybe our tūpuna had to be on guard against other iwi who could take the land away; so they had to make it clear about their rights and where their mana came from.'[34]

Mana tangata depends less on a link with land and more on the qualities, knowledge and skills of people. Where people operate with confidence and certainty and conduct themselves with dignity and support for each other, mana is high. A kawa that allows excellence to emerge and individuals to demonstrate high levels of performance will increase their mana and in turn generate even higher levels of performance.

> 'Kawa does not just mean what happens on a marae. I think that having a kawa to guide all sorts of events is necessary. Once I attended the opening of a kohanga reo in town. What impressed me the most was how the kawa for that occasion was able to give the kaiako [teachers] and the mokopuna the chance to show us what was important to them. They made us all proud. Everything they did was done with strength and great imagination. Some of my mates thought it would have been better if the opening was held on a marae. But maybe something would have been lost. Those kids may not have been able to shine there.'[35]

Manaakitanga means to care for a person's mana. Mana is strengthened by a longstanding relationship with the land and by the way people conduct themselves and the words they speak on a marae. But a further expression of mana is found in the level of generosity shown to visitors. Generosity is reflected in carefully chosen words, expressions of regard, the provision of food and shelter, and the allocation of ample time to guests.

'Sometimes a hui occurs when you are really busy with other things. But if we are going to uphold the mana of our marae and practice kawa in the ways that we were taught, those other things have got to be put on hold. Looking after our manuhiri becomes the most important thing and making sure that they are well fed, not just with everyday food but with kaimoana, kānga kōpiro, puha and thing like that. We have a reputation for tuna and if we do not serve it, they might think we are taking them too lightly. So even though we are stretched to do everything, we try and live up to our own standards of manaakitanga.'[36]

Kawa incorporates all three aspects of mana: mana whenua, mana tangata, manaakitanga; it affords an opportunity to recognise the land and the wider environment, it provides a forum for recognising and fostering excellence and skills; and it expects that visitors will be respected, treated with kindness, and spared no effort.

Objective 5 Whakahīhiwa – Enhanced awareness and concentration

A further purpose of kawa, whakahīhiwa, is to engage the mind so that concentration is enhanced and mental energies are focussed. This purpose can be regarded as both spiritual and temporal because it leads to heighted states of awareness, sharpened ways of thinking, and a readiness for action. Enhanced awareness and concentration, an important consideration when there is an element of unpredictability or a need for heightened performance, can be attained by reducing external distractions and by

narrowing the field of attention. A well constructed kawa will achieve both goals, leading to higher states of consciousness, and a capacity for exceptional performance.

Participation in a kawa is usually accompanied by a degree of detachment from every-day concerns and demands. The key elements of kawa, to be discussed in the next section of this chapter, provide the catalysts for moving from one level to another and for increasing the concentration necessary to address the task at hand. A kawa for entering a marae for example, generates an air of suspense and vigilance. Participants assume a careful attitude as they advance and are met by equally cautious hosts who are on guard for actions or words that will bring offence or threat.[37] The shift from spiritual to temporal modes of thinking provides the basis for a type of engagement that redirects mental energies and focuses actions.

> 'It is hard to become involved in a kawa if there is too much going on around you. I don't like to have a whole lot of people talking to me when I am about to speak. I need time and space to think and to be ready for whatever lies ahead. A long time ago I saw this old man getting ready to go on to a marae. Usually he was a talkative and cheerful guy but whenever he was about to go on to a marae he became very quiet and a bit detached. Only later did I realise that he was getting ready to lead us and to speak on our behalf and was gearing himself up to it.'[38]

'It takes awhile to come down after you have been involved in kawa, especially on a marae. Most of us go into a different space. I am not aware of it but my familysay that my voice changes and I move about in a different way, sort of prancing. Normally my memory lets me down big time, but when I am on the marae I seem to be able to remember long lists of names and how everyone is connected. After it is over I can sometimes feel myself switching gear. Having something to eat seems to bring me back to normal.'[39]

Enforcing the Message: Ngā Ritenga: Key elements for the implementation of Kawa

Not all kawa incorporate that same rituals but it is possible to identify some key elements that are generally considered integral to kawa. Although those elements differ according to the type of occasion and the skills of the exponents, they nonetheless comprise a raft of rituals that add depth of meaning to kawa, underline the significance of Mātauranga Māori to kawa, and give strength to the central messages of a kawa. Five elements will be discussed here: karanga, karakia, whaikōrero, waiata and haka.

Karanga

Karanga is an important element of kawa because it signals the significance of an event or occasion in a way that is both metaphorical and literal. Usually performed by women, a karanga sends out a message of welcome or grief or simply a statement of identity.[40] Unless the first karanga is followed by a call-in-response, it is difficult for

the kawa to proceed. A response indicates that the message has been heard and acknowledged, and usually gives some indication as to the identity of the group who are about to enter.

A karanga invokes a strong sense of spirituality and connectedness between groups and with ancestors, including relatives who might have died in recent times.[41] The karanga signals the commencement of most marae kawa (though is not necessarily included when a wero is to take place).[42] In any event the karanga is a spiritual call, carrying with it the mana of people.[43] Apart from its use on marae, karanga also initiates the kawa in many other situations such as kawa associated with food and eating, the launch of a new building or a new programme, a welcoming ceremony, and milestone events associated with birth, achievement (for example graduation), marriage, and death. Most often it is performed by senior women who are closely connected to the instigators of the kawa and who are aware of the significance of the occasion as well as the people who are about to participate.

> 'A karanga has a tone and a message that we [men] cannot repeat. We might do the talking but the wairua lies with the karanga. It is also a very practical thing because it usually contains a message about what is going to happen next or what is expected.'[44]

> 'One of the most powerful karanga I ever heard came from a woman who had just lost her husband. Her grief was raw but her message seemed to rise above

it and make everyone feel connected with each other. It made us all aware of our own mate [losses] and gave us a type of shared memory. From then on we were able to make good progress.'[45]

'I never thought I would need to know how to karanga. There always seemed to be older women around. But one day I was the oldest one there and they all looked at me. Someone had to do it for our marae. So I did my best and tried to call in the same way as my mother. Now I am trying to teach my daughters so that when their time comes they will be better prepared than I was.'[46]

Karakia

The importance of karakia to kawa and to Māori life has been described by many authors.[47] Karakia consist of incantations or chants composed for particular reasons and intended to bring health, relief, restitution, or knowledge. Several categories of karakia have been suggested. Buck for example distinguishes between karakia for children, karakia for laymen and karakia used by priests.[48] An alternate classification distinguishes between karakia used for major ritual complexes, karakia for minor rituals and karakia for mākutu.[49] Major rituals include rites associated with childhood milestones such as birth or bonding,[50,51] rites linked to restoration of taonga,[52] rites for warfare, horticultural rites (for example weeding and harvesting kumara), and rites associated with death.[53] They are usually delivered in three stages and acknowledge the ātua associated with particular functions, often by offering food. A whakanoa karakia usually concludes the rite.

Karakia for minor rituals are relevant to day to day living such as calming the weather, alleviating sickness, conducting work, and performing other daily activities (such as hunting, fishing, tattooing, and sport). Karakia for mākutu, however, are performed to provoke mākutu and also to remove mākutu.

Apart from incantations connected to mākutu, the major tasks of karakia are to focus the mind, prevent calamities, remove restrictions or inhibitions, reduce the impacts of sickness or sanctions, and increase spiritual and physical contact with the natural environment through authorities such as Tangaroa, Tānemahuta, and Rongomātāne.

Today, many karakia commonly used in hui are likely to be based on a Christian format and emphasise the virtues of love, peace, compassion and goodwill. These are known more specifically as īnoi. However, they have some features in common with ancient karakia. Bothtypes have a strong spiritual element, both acknowledge a higher power, both are intended to bring benefits to groups as well as individuals, and both recognise the power of the spirit, the mind, and the spoken word over the welfare of people.

> 'I think the main part of any kawa is karakia. Choosing the right karakia is really important because things will not go right if the karakia is wrong. Karakia are sometimes Christian prayers and that is okay, especially when the event is a Christian one. But sometimes karakia Māori are more suitable. I

use both, but I am always careful to use the right one for the right occasion. I remember once a priest stood up during the launching of a canoe and recited a Catholic prayer. There was nothing wrong with the prayer but it came at the wrong time and was out of place in the middle of a number of karakia Māori. Because of the interruption we felt that the canoe launch had not gone quite right, so we repeated it later, down by the water.'[54]

'We always start with a karakia. I think it helps us collect our thoughts, put aside the worries of the moment and think about what we have to do. It sort of has a settling effect and makes it easier to get on with the business.'[55]

Whaikōrero

'Some people think that whaikōrero is about extending a welcome to visitors. Well it is, but it is also much more than that. It is about whanaungatanga [relationships], whakatau kaupapa [setting the agenda], mana ā-iwi [strengthening the standing of the group], and whakamārama i te kawa [clarifying the kawa]. If we just stand up and say 'haere mai, haere mai, haere mai', we have not really protected the interests of our own [people] or showed respect to manuhiri.'[56]

Formal oratory plays a major role in the establishment and maintenance of kawa on marae and at other social occasions.[57] In addition to being part of a kawa there is also a distinctive kawa expressly for whaikōrero, especially at a tangi (whaikōrero

poroporoākī). According to Mahuta it can be divided into three sections: the 'tau', the 'kaupapa', and the 'whakamutunga'.[58] The 'tau' contains a whakaaraara (an introductory exclamation which gains attention), a tauparapara (or karakia) and a mihi (an address to the deceased as well as a general greeting). The tauparapara precedes the main body of the address and adds breadth and depth to the overall message by using metaphorical language that links the occasion and the place to wider dimensions. 'The kaupapa' also has three parts: the take (or main theme), pepeha and whakataukī (proverbs) and a poroporoākī, a final farewell to the deceased. The 'whakamutunga' is a brief summation often followed by a waiata tangi.

Generally, the three major aims of most whaikōrero are to establish a relationship with other hui participants, to uphold the mana of the people who are represented, and to articulate the purpose of the gathering. On a marae two other aims are to clarify the intentions and circumstances of visitors so that any risk to tāngata kāinga can be averted, and to ensure that the accepted kawa is clarified and endorsed.

According to the kawa adopted in different tribal regions, whaikōrero will proceed in one of two ways. First in the kawa known as 'tū atu tū mai', speakers alternate between hosts and visitors; second in the 'pāeke' tradition, all the hosts speak first and then leave it to visiting speakers to conclude.[59] Both approaches have advantages. Pāeke allows tangata kainga to state their position and then wait for visitors to justify their participation. Tū atu tū mai gives each party opportunities to build on the points raised by previous speakers and either endorse or contest them, the final word being reserved for tangata kainga.

The maintenance of kawa depends on strong leadership, an ability to articulate whatever agenda is being proposed and provision for group participation. While selected people are entrusted with the performance of karanga, karakia, and whaikōrero, an underlying task is to facilitate wider participation. This does not necessarily mean having greater numbers of speakers but it does require the content of whaikōrero to be applicable to the occasion and to the groups involved. In that respect the purposes of kawa, previously discussed, are especially relevant to whaikōrero. Skilled speakers will use whaikōrero to mediate relationships, minimise risks to others, facilitate cohesion within and between groups, uphold the mana of their own people, and enhance concentration by gaining the full attention of all participants.

> 'What is important is to make sure that whaikōrero goes in the right direction. It should not focus on little points but should try and bring in everyone so that they can all feel caught up in the kawa. Inspirational speakers will be inspirational because they know what is important to the Hui and how to make sure that everyone can be part of it.'[60]

> 'Whaikōrero is at its best when it can bring people together, bring people into contact with the environment and the elements, remind us of our histories and traditions, look ahead, and still keep tabs on what is important for today.'[61]

Waiata

Waiata feature in many kawa. There are several types of waiata, some based around traditional rhythms and intonations, others cast in more contemporary styles but using Māori language to convey the message. There are a wide range of waiata covering many iwi, many composers, and many themes. Some waiata have specific purposes such as waiata aroha (love songs), waiata tangi (laments), waiata karakia (songs of ritual), waiata kanga (derisive songs), waiata tautitotito (songs in reply), oriori (a lullaby), pātere (an action song), apakura (a dirge), and waiata ā-ringa (action songs).[62]

Waiata provide opportunities to endorse whaikōrero and can add a unique dimension to kawa. They contain references that may have historic, aspirational, and geographic significance, and as a result have specific associations that link them closely to one group or another. A particular waiata can be a 'signature tune' for an iwi or a brand for a movement such as Kohanga Reo. But it can also have wide applicability with a reach that extends beyond hapū and iwi to embrace all Māori.

The choice of waiata is important for maintaining kawa. A hapū wanting to emphasise its distinctiveness would not choose a waiata that was part of a pan-Māori collection, but would opt for one that had particular relevance, to the occasion and to the group. A waiata sung at a tangi would differ from a waiata sung to celebrate an accomplishment, and a waiata to welcome a group of school children would not be the same as one to welcome a visiting iwi group. For a very special occasion a special

waiata might be composed. The kawa largely dictates the choice of waiata while the waiata enriches and sustains the kawa.

> 'Singing the right waiata is very important to me. We do not want to let our men down, or spoil their kōrero. So I always try and sing something that many of us know and something that backs what he [the speaker] has said. We are lucky because we have a number of waiata that belong to our marae and most of us know the words.'[63]

According to marae kawa, waiata most often follow whaikōrero. The waiata complements whaikōrero but also allows for wider participation by involving others who know the tune and the words or who are learning. Sometimes simply standing alongside the singers conveys the same show of strength and unity. In some kawa, waiata are also sung to entertain guests. Generally those waiata are more likely to be couched in modern style and are sufficiently familiar to enable others to join in if they wish.

Haka

Kawa can be further enhanced by haka. A simple classification of haka distinguishes between haka performed with weapons, haka peruperu, and haka performed without weapons, haka taparahi.[64] However, Gardiner points out that there are several other types of haka, including haka to prepare warriors for battle (haka tutungāraruhu), haka porowhā (a haka shaped around a square), haka maimai (a haka to welcome guests to

a tangi), and haka pōwhiri (a haka of welcome performed by women before men do a haka taparahi).[65]

Traditional tribal haka such as *Ka Mate* (Ngāti Toa), *Ruaumoko* (Ngāti Porou), *Ka Panapana* (a women's haka, Ngāti Porou), and *Wairangi* (Ngāti Raukawa) are highly valued and reflect the mana of their people. But the composition of new haka, written for special occasions or for particular groups, is an ongoing process. The haka taparahi, *Tū Tauā a Tūmatauenga*, for example, first performed in 1997, and composed expressly for the defence forces, reflects the Army's mission and has played an important role in conferring a distinctive quality on the New Zealand Army.[66] Having used *Ka Mate* as their customary haka for a hundred years, the All Blacks also requested a new haka and performed *Kapa Ō Pango* in 2005. Though greeted with mixed feelings, the graphic gestures were appreciated as much as they were decried.[67]

Increasingly haka has also been an integral part of kawa associated with other sports, including a recently revived Māori sport, Ki-o-rahi.[68] Haka combines physical, spiritual, intellectual, and rhythmical qualities. It can challenge others, encourage unity, increase alertness, promote team work, stretch muscles, arouse emotions, and heighten determination. It has also been found beneficial in education where, among other things, it can improve Māori student achievement.[69]

The significance of haka is very often determined by the wider operating kawa. When it is part of the kawa for a tangi, a haka maimai is a mark of respect to the deceased and to the mourners[70] but when included in a kawa for receiving visitors who are not in mourning, the haka can be received as a challenging, if not threatening statement. Similarly when performed for a special dignitary, a haka taparahi conveys reverence and admiration but the same haka, when performed in front of an opposing sports team for example, can have connotations of intimidation and superiority. Appreciating the meaning of haka requires an understanding of the context within which it is offered and the purpose of the kawa within which it is located.

> 'When you see a whole ope doing the haka in front of our Tūpuna Whare, it can be very moving. Nowadays everyone joins in – the kaumātua, rangatahi and our women. Even young girls know how to pūkana. It seems to lift us up and let manuhiri know that we are together and strong in ourselves. I don't think it causes any issues for them [the manuhiri]. It is done seriously and with force, but not in a way that is disrespectful. Actually I think they feel as uplifted as we do.'[71]

Ritenga

Ritenga generally refer to specific actions or directives that must be undertaken in order to successfully achieve the desired outcome attached to the kawa. As already noted, a pōwhiri for example typically utilises one of two main kawa – either Tauutuutu or Pāeke. Each requires that kaikōrero (speakers) from both tangata

whenua and manuhiri sides follow a specific order or rotation. The order of the speakers comprises one of the ritenga that must be undertaken correctly in order to ensure full and proper attention is given to over to local custom.

Ritenga is defined by Te Aka, the Māori Dictionary as being: *likeness, custom, habit, practice, resemblance, implication.*[72] Therefore, the kawa of Tauutuutu implies that tangata whenua both open and close the formal speeches within a pōwhiri situation whilst manuhiri speakers are interwoven throughout. At a practical level, this kawa provides speakers from the tangata whenua side with the opportunity to reply and respond to sentiments from manuhiri and vice versa. It also ensures that tangata whenua maintain control over proceedings such as the total number of speakers whilst still providing manuhiri with the opportunity to say something. The correct application of this ritenga is essential for proper completion of the pōwhiri.

Moreover, after whaikōrero has been completed and manuhiri cross the marae ātea, the direction in which they walk is an important part of the ritenga. Whether moving from right to left or left to right, or directly to the immediate family of a tupāpaku rather than first greeting the marae elders, the ritenga constitute a distinctive part of the kawa. The same ritenga may be observed within the whare tupuna, manuhiri sleeping on the left (or right) and tangata whenua on the opposite side.[73]

Actions that make up the ritenga are embedded in the wider kawa. Taiaha drill in preparation for battle is often accompanied by an activity-specific karakia – a commentary on the activity that is chanted prior to engagement. The karakia connects

the physical activity with spiritual and intellectual dimensions, enhancing performance and focusing collective goals. Te Reo Māori is the medium of engagement and disengagement for kawa and ritenga and requires a tohunga who is knowledgeable in all aspects of the activity and able to use the correct language to connect to the appropriate kawa. Although ritenga are the visible actions within a kawa, they are not random nor solely instrumental. They are subject to the same principles that underlie kawa and are associated with one or other of the authorities – Tūmatauenga, Tawhirimātea, Rongomātāne, Tānemahuta, Haumietiketike and Tangaroa. Finally, kawa are underpinned by fundamental values that allow the activity to be viewed within a broader context. Fishing for example is based around values such as manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga and tohatoha. The ritenga then can be viewed as the necessary actions associated with a kawa that must be completed in order to increase the likelihood of a successful outcome.

Retaining Integrity: Rangatiratanga: The Ownership of Kawa

An effective kawa is one that serves its purpose. Does the kawa consolidate relationships, reduce levels of risk, promote cohesion and unity, assert authority, and enhance concentration, alertness, and group action? So far this chapter has outlined some of the situations where kawa is applied, the objectives of kawa (ngā take), and the key elements (ngā tikanga) such as karakia, waiata and haka that characterise the kawa and firmly embed it in Te Ao Māori. In addition to drawing on the published literature, the views of experts and marae elders have been included. This final section examines the ways in which kawa is strengthened and owned so that it can achieve the desired results. The exercise of kawa is underpinned by a number of

attributes and attitudes that are essential for performance, maintenance, and effectiveness. They include strong guardianship, group commitment, consistent application, information and knowledge, and a degree of distinctiveness consistent with the group's mission.

Guardianship

Kawa depends on leaders who will safeguard the integrity of kawa and ensure that it is practised in an authentic way. Kaitiakitanga - guardianship, is an active process. On a marae it has an intergenerational function aimed at transmitting the knowledge, values, and performance of kawa from one generation to another. Sometimes particular whānau have responsibilities to safeguard marae kawa on behalf of a hapū though more often the responsibility goes further afield to embrace a number of whānau. Marae kawa has endured despite social and economic changes, urbanisation, and periods when mono-cultural aspirations threatened the survival of Māori language and culture. Though not practiced in the same way as it might have been a hundred years ago, or even twenty-five years ago, it has retained sufficient values, customs, and beliefs to be clearly identified as a distinctive Māori approach to mediating social relationships, celebrating traditions, and ordering the use of time, resources, and people. The retention of kawa as a defining feature of marae owes much to successive guardians who have kept alive knowledge and practice so that they might have continued relevance in modern times.

> 'Aunty has been the reason why our kawa has been so strong. She seems to know all the waiata and can also pick up when something is going wrong and what we should do about it. I remember once one of the manuhiri criticised our marae because we had not acknowledged one of their rangatira. She waited until after our last speaker had finished then sang a waiata that connected the rangatira with our marae. Her point was that we did not need to pay tribute to one of our own.'[74]

Where marae and hapū links are not integral to the practice of a kawa (such as schools churches, sports team, or institutions), guardianship of a kawa falls to members of the organisation who have the necessary knowledge and skills. They may not be designated leaders within their own organisations but are chosen because of their specialised knowledge and their credibility within the wider community. Often schools will engage the support of kaumātua from their local communities to guide them in the development of kawa and to oversee the implementation of kawa. Māori members of the organisation will also be key to the process.

Commitment

Commitment is a second strengthening process. Kawa depends on the active participation of a whole group. While leadership from one or two individuals is important, kawa will not be an effective unless there is communal ownership and communal commitment. Commitment includes a readiness to be part of the kawa and to support it in whatever way is possible. On a marae support for the kawa recognises

that different people will contribute in different ways. Some will prepare the whare tūpuna for visitors, others will ensure that food is available and appropriately served, exponents of whaikōrero and karanga will take their places on the paepae or in front of the meeting house, and everyone will be expected to participate in karakia, waiata, and haka.

In other situations where marae protocol is not appropriate or relevant, commitment will nonetheless include full and active participation by the group. This means an acceptance of the protocols even when they are not part of the organisation's core business. Sometimes there is a clash of ideals between kawa and other protocols within community institutions. When for example one government department agreed that Māori protocol should be observed during official welcomes to visitors, and that the kawa would be similar to marae kawa, concern was expressed by one staff member that the kawa offended the principle of gender equality because it seemed to elevate men above women. Although the concern was based on misinformation and a failure to observe that different roles did not equate with unequal status, the department concerned found it necessary to review the policy.

Commitment also requires acceptance of the agreed kawa even when it offends personal beliefs and values. The type of karakia included in the kawa for example sometimes clashes with Christian beliefs or, just as frequently, with Māori world views.

'You could say that we do not endorse Christian karakia. It is not that we find them offensive or mystical, but we have Māori karakia that are more closely linked to what we are trying to achieve. When visitors use Christian prayers during a Hui we do not interupt but nor do we change our own kawa – which is to recognise Rangi and Papa and to celebrate the Māori gods from te ao Tūroa [the natural environment].'[75]

Consistency

Kawa is strengthened when it is consistent. Indeed a major benefit of kawa is that is provides participants with a measure of certainty about expected behaviour and the sequence in which events will unfold. A lack of consistency can cause confusion. Consistency is maintained by adopting constant approaches to sequences (such as the order of speakers), having a standard approach to the movement of manuhiri on the marae (from left to right or right to left), retaining a pattern of seating within the whare tūpuna or the dining room that affords respect to visitors, and having a stable pattern of leadership for the various aspects of the kawa such a karanga, karakia, haka, and, importantly, hospitality.

However, consistency does not mean inflexibility. There are many examples where the kawa has been modified in response to societal changes. In earlier times, entering a marae after dark was inconsistent with kawa. But in order to accommodate distant travellers and their work commitments, the kawa on many marae has changed. The concern about coming on to a marae after dark had its origins at a time when nightfall

was filled with hidden dangers and the possibility of attack by unrecognisable strangers. Artificial lighting, however, both within buildings and outside, allows sufficient visibility to enable people to be recognised and addressed appropriately. Approaching the marae after sunset no longer poses the same risks.

Another change to kawa in some regions has been the abandonment of a temporary 'whare mate.' During a tangi, the kawa on many marae required the erection of a canvas covering for the deceased and the immediate family. It allowed a degree of privacy and kept the chief mourners apart from the rest of the marae community. But concerns about dampness and health consequences, together with a trend towards visitors arriving during the night, led to a revised kawa in which the immediate family and the deceased remain inside the main house, along with the other mourners.

> 'We used to put up a tent as soon as there was a mate [death]. The ground was covered with straw and the family stayed there throughout the tangi. But it was cold and not good for some of our kuia especially those who had health problems. And it made it hard for manuhiri to speak to the tūpāpaku if they had arrived at night. So now we have the body on the mahau [porch] during the day and at night it is brought into the house with the rest of us. Actually the new kawa seems to keep us all closer together and does not leave the whānau pani [deceased's family] out of the kōrero.'[76]

Notwithstanding the sense of change, modifying kawa is never taken lightly. It requires approval from the hapū after there has been an opportunity to debate the advantages or disadvantages of any shift away from the usual pattern. Agreement from the wider Iwi adds to acceptance of the changeDistinctiveness

Kawa is strengthened by distinctiveness. The distinctiveness of iwi kawa is evident not only by unique cultural markers such as waiata, and haka but also by the order in which marae proceedings occur, such as 'Tū Atu Tū Mai ' or 'Pāeke, the characteristics of whaikōrero such as the inclusion or exclusion of tauparapara), and the realities of geographic location (inland or coastal). But apart from Iwi distinctiveness which sets the broad parameters of kawa, patterns on individual marae or in local communities also confer distinctiveness that adds to local reputation and recognises local circumstances.

The kawa adopted by a school or wānanga for example may be shaped by the practices of the regional iwi but will have its own identifiers and will give emphasis to the educational objectives. Waiata composed specifically for the school, a school haka, a kawa that accommodates younger kaikōrero or kaikaranga, and often agreements about the use of English in formal proceedings will be part of the kawa.

There is some concern about the adaptations of kawa emerging as more and more institutions or groups opt for protocols based on Māori values and customs. On the one hand there is the possibility of kawa becoming little more than a stylised welcome or shallow gesture towards Māori culture, but lacking in the fundamental philosophies

that connect kawa to aspects such as whakapapa, mana whenua, mana tangata and manaakitanga. On the other hand, by creating a kawa that meets the goals and objectives of an organisation and at the same time allows Māori to participate as Māori within an institution, identity is strengthened, and access to te ao Māori is facilitated. Because many Māori do not frequent marae to any great extent, the practice of a school kawa may be the only opportunity for experiencing a set of protocols that link the past with the present, within the context of Māori world views.[77]

> 'Some of the kids involved in our kapa haka group at the [local] high school have never experienced anything like this [kawa] before. It is great to watch them soak it up. They may not have the background but the energy is there and they want to do things properly. When we say 'don't do that' or 'do this' they never complain. I think they are looking for some guidelines that will help them be Māori and also make a mark on their own school.'

Skills and Knowledge

Strengthening and developing kawa requires a highly specific knowledge, not only at a practical level but also at conceptual and intangible levels. There is an important distinction between knowing what to do and when to do it on the one hand, and knowing why it is being done on the other. 'Highly specific knowledge' embraces both types of knowledge states and is acquired over time. Involvement in kawa comes initially from being exposed to it and experiencing its impact. On marae, there

is a strong emphasis on learning by doing. Participating in a waiata, joining the haka, working alongside more experienced kitchen hands or hangi makers, and being ready to assist with arranging seating for visitors are tasks that induct people into the practice of kawa. Over time, formal learning sessions in marae wānanga or informal learning sessions with kaumātua can add a deeper knowledge base to the skills that have been acquired.

A sound knowledge of local kawa and an understanding of the rationale for any local variations are important for justifying the elements of a kawa and ultimately for defending the mana of the iwi or hapū against criticism that the kawa contains inherent flaws that do not accord with Māori values or philosophies. In addition to knowledge and skills about kawa, exponents need the wisdom to know when kawa should be modified.

When should the principle of consistency bow to the principle of development. Single-minded inflexibility that is out of step with real life situations can lead to kawa being relegated to an historic context that has little or no application to modern times. In that respect the leaders of kawa are under constant pressure to integrate older forms of practice with contemporary lifestyles.

Conclusion

The use of kawa to guide modern day encounters is a major theme in this thesis. Chapter 4 discusses the wider dimensions of kawa as a prelude to examining their application to Maori engagement in later chapters.

In summary, the Chapter has discussed kawa from four perspectives:

- grounding kawa
- the objectives of kawa
- the key elements of kawa
- the ownership of kawa.

Although discussions about kawa have tended to emphasise the ways that encounters on marae are mediated, kawa provides both theoretical and practical guidance for encounters with physical as well as social environments. Kawa is built around ritualistic processes that draw on Māori world views of creation; the separation of Rangi and Papa and the subsequent roles played by Tānemahuta, Tangaroa, Haumietiketike, Tawhirimātea, Rongomātāne, Tūmatauenga, representing authority over forests and birds, oceans and fish, war, the ferns, the elements, cultivated foods and the peaceful arts, and the battles between men. Kawa facilitates human engagement with these several domains and from that perspective has an ecological focus.

The overall purposes of kawa, and indeed the reasons for kawa, can be grouped into five broad goals: establishing relationships, protecting human dignity, promoting

unity and co-operation, asserting authority and maintaining mana, and enhancing physical and mental awareness and concentration.

The implementation of kawa depends on the performance of key rituals including karakia, karanga, whaikōrero, waiata and haka. While some rituals are similar and are used across all marae and for a variety of occasions, the use of others is confined to particular groups, particular localities, and particular events. There is a strong theme of specificity.

The impact of kawa depends on the way it is owned and managed. Kawa will be strengthened if the implementation is endorsed by the whole group. Endorsement includes guardianship of the process and the underlying knowledge and skill base, commitment from all participants, consistency of practice, the celebration of distinctiveness and the maintenance of skills and knowledge so that kawa can be applied to modern times.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CASE STUDY ONE: TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea

This chapter discusses the application of tikanga and kawa to a modern whare wānanga, Te Wānanga o Raukawa. It has a particular focus on four behavioural codes developed at the Wānanga to engage students with learning and teachers with teaching. The four protocols are inter-related and are summarised in Table 5.1. They include: the Ten Guiding Kaupapa (which apply across the Wānanga), Te Kawa o te Ako (developed as a protocol for learning and for shaping the learning environment), Te Ohakī (a legacy to reduce health risks at the Wānanga), and He Kawa Oranga (a set of protocols for engagement with healthy lifestyles).

Table 5.1 Te Wānanga o Raukawa Protocols

Protocol	*Application*
The Guiding Kaupapa	The values that underpin all aspects of the Wānanga
Te Kawa o te Ako	A protocol to enhance learning, create an environment conducive to study, and avoid distractions
Te Ohakī	A legacy to minimize risks to health
He Kawa Oranga	A set of protocols to guide engagement with academic programmes linked to exercise, sport, nutrition and healthy lifestyles.

Founded in 1981, Te Wānanga o Raukawa is a Centre for Higher Learning for the Confederation of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa Rangatira. It became an Incorporated body in 1984 and began teaching degree programmes in 1986. In 1993

Te Wānanga o Raukawa was recognised by the Crown as a Wānanga under the Education Amendment Act 1989.[1] Te Wānanga o Raukawa provided a unique reference point for subsequent Māori tertiary institutions that would be established during the 1990's. After a period of development as a Private Training Establishment Te Wānanga o Aotearoa was also recognised as a Wānanga under the 1989 Act in 1993.[2] In 1997, five years after it actually opened, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi followed suit.[3] Each Wānanga has a distinctive set of principles and priorities but all conform to the Act's broad requirements that a Wānanga will be characterised by 'teaching and research that maintains, advances and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence and assists the application of knowledge regarding āhuatanga Māori (Māori tradition) according to tikanga Māori (Māori custom).'.

The establishment of Te Wānanga o Raukawa was part a major tribal development programme implemented by the Raukawa Trustees several years earlier during the mid-seventies. Known as *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Generation 2000)*, the initiative proved fruitful beyond initial expectations, resulting eventually in the establishment of a prototypal whare wānanga set in a contemporary iwi-based context. Until 1981, the role of post-secondary school education within New Zealand was the sole domain of Universities, Teachers Colleges and Polytechnics.

Moreover, Māori who wished to undertake academic study in areas such as te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori were required to do so within institutions that did not necessarily share the same level of commitment to the values of survival, maintenance and revitalisation that would provide Māori with much access and insights into Te Ao Māori.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa currently provides a broad range of undergraduate and post graduate academic qualifications that cater to the needs of whānau, hapū and iwi as well as individual Māori. Areas of study range from sport, exercise and health promotion to management, environmental studies, visual arts, and teacher education. A major point of difference between Te Wānanga o Raukawa courses and those of other tertiary institutions is the integration of te reo Māori and iwi and hapū studies within all academic qualifications.

The assertion is that Māori development and advancement can only occur if graduates are able to participate fully within te ao Māori by being knowledgeable in te reo Māori and are armed with a comprehensive awareness of iwi, hapū and whānau whakapapa connections. This provides another major point of difference in that the Wānanga provides tools and knowledge relevant to iwi, hapū and whānau development but not necessarily singularly career orientated. Graduates of the Wānanga are often more concerned about contributing to the development of te reo and tikanga in their own home areas.[4]

Whakatupuranga Rua Mano

Tikanga and kawa have been critical foundations for Te Wānanga o Raukawa since its inception. The Wānanga considers its own organisation to be a reformulation of ancient whare wānanga and as such describes itself as a tikanga Māori institution driven by kaupapa and tikanga and aligned to Iwi.[5] There are several fundamental values and foundation principles which enable the Wānanga to operate in this capacity. The first set of values was established as part of *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* in 1975 and reflected the needs and challenges evident at that time[6] (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – the Principles*

Principle	**Action**
The people are our wealth	*develop and retain*
The marae is our principal home	*maintain and respect*
Te reo Māori is a taonga,	*halt the decline and revive*

<u>The people are our wealth, develop and retain</u>

The first principle reflected the importance of focusing the *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* initiative around the needs of the people – in this particular context, descendents of the ART Confederation comprising Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa and Te Ātiawa. The origins of this grouping of iwi can be traced to the original migration or hīkoi led by Te Rauparaha during the 1820's from Waikato to eventually settle in the Horowhenua and Kāpiti regions and beyond. The alliance has been maintained beyond the earlier expeditions of the 1820s and continues to provide mutual support into the twenty-first century.

In the 1970's prior to the establishment of *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano,* a number of hui were called to ascertain the primary areas of need across Ngāti Raukawa. A recurring theme centred around the need to concentrate efforts on the people of Ngāti Raukawa in the first instance.

The marae is our principal home, maintain and respect

During the time that *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* was under discussion, many local marae had over time fallen into disrepair and in some cases were no longer used on a regular basis. The assertion that marae were our principal homes statement was a clarion call to all hapū of Ngāti Raukawa to ensure that the condition and wellbeing of local marae were prioritised as a matter of urgency. It was also the forerunner to marae being utilised as the venue for Hui Rūmaki Reo – total immersion Māori language hui.

Te Reo Māori is a taonga – halt the decline and revive

In 1975, it was evident that the number of fluent speakers of te reo Māori in Ngāti Raukawa were in decline. More worrying was the fact that only one person within the Ngāti Raukawa iwi was a fluent speaker of te reo and was infact of Te Arawa lineage. This value therefore became a major motivating factor to engage Ngāti Raukawa rangatahi to learn te reo Māori through a ground-breaking initiative known as *Hui Rūmaki Reo*. These hui were an embodiment of each of the three Whakatupuranga Rua Mano values and set the tone for other Māori language initiatives such as *Kōhanga Reo* and *Te Ātuarangi*.

When it was first established, a working group was formed to identify a way in which the vision, aim and intent of Te Wānanga o Raukawa could best be manifested within a Māori world view. As a result of their discussions, a set of ten guiding kaupapa were identified.[7] Each kaupapa is derived from a Mātauranga Māori base and constitutes a value that was considered highly relevant to the Wānanga and its general aims. The kaupapa are shown in Table 5.3

Ten Guiding Kaupapa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Table 5.3 Te Wānanga o Raukawa Kaupapa

Kaupapa	Description
Manaakitanga	Mana enhancing behavior
Rangatiratanga	The attributes of a rangatira
Whanaungatanga	The enhancement and encouragement of kinship
Kotahitanga	Developing and maintaining a unity of purpose created through an overall vision
Wairuatanga	the awareness of the spiritual connection to the environment, maunga, awa, moana, marae
Ūkaipōtanga	The importance of tūrangawaewae as a source of energy, strength and nourishment.
Pukengatanga	Excellence in the pursuit of mātauranga Māori
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship of resources of value to whānau, hapū and iwi.
Whakapapa	Kinship links that connect people to each other & to the land
Te Reo	An underpinning taonga at Te Wānanga o Raukawa

The ten guiding kaupapa provide the Wānanga with values that are relevant to teaching, research, management and governance.[8] Manaakitanga, often equated with caring, also means the exhibition of mana enhancing behaviour towards each other – staff, students, manuhiri, and whānau. Rangatiratanga is the expression of the attributes of a rangatira including humility, leadership by example, generosity, altruism, diplomacy and sharing knowledge for the benefit of others. Whanaungatanga is about establishing links with others, the enhancement and encouragement of kinship. It enables the roles and relationships of kaumātua, mātua, rangatahi, tāne and wāhine to be clearly defined at the Wānanga. Kotahitanga refers to developing and maintaining a unity of purpose created through an overall vision. All staff and students are encouraged to make their own unique contribution to the Wānanga.

The sixth kaupapa, Wairuatanga pertains to the awareness of a spiritual connection to the environment, maunga, awa, moana, marae as well as the spirituality associated with ritenga and tikanga. Ūkaipōtanga recognises the importance of tūrangawaewae as a source of energy, strength and nourishment. Ūkaipōtanga also refers to an enduring and special relationship with tūrangawaewae. Iwi and Hapū Studies are unique features of the Wānanga environment that enable students to connect or reconnect with their respective ūkaipō. Pukengatanga refers to fostering excellence in the pursuit of mātauranga Māori at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. It is expected that staff will eventually have a high level of skills, knowledge and will have mastered Mātauranga Māori. Kaitiakitanga acknowledges the importance of maintaining and preserving resources of value to whānau, hapū and iwi, while Whakapapa pertains to the kinship links that connect people to each other, to the land, water and the origins of Te Ao Māori. Finally, the tenth kaupapa, Te Reo Māori is central to the mission of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and is emphasised in all studies.

The implementation of the kaupapa within the organisation at all levels has helped define all teaching and research activity and has had a strong influence on the campus culture. But in order to give greater credence to them, the kaupapa have been incorporated into kawa. Perhaps the most common application of kawa within contemporary Māori society is on marae, during hui. Pōwhiri, for example, as discussed in chapter 4, incorporate tribal-specific kawa that provide clear guidelines for manhuiri going onto marae and for tangata whenua to receive their manuhiri. The kawa helps to clearly and define specific roles and responsibilities for kaikōrero (speakers) kaikaranga (callers), kaiwaiata, and paepae. Of particular importance is the order in which speakers stand to speak, a protocol that varies across Iwi and sometimes even within Iwi.

In essence, marae kawa provides for protocols and procedures for collective activities that will achieve a desired result. Underpinning the entire pōwhiri process are the principles of tapu and noa – salient tools that demarcate specific situations where extra caution is required or alternately where a relatively relaxed approach might be taken. Marae kawa had become well established at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and was available as a model for other kawa needed to guide interaction and engagement.

Te Kawa o Te Ako

Not all students have had previous experience of a Māori environment or the behaviours expected from the ten kaupapa. The emergence of incidents that were mana diminishing (rather than mana enhancing) and wairua insensitive (rather than wairua sensitive) required clearer guidelines expressed as part of a Wānanga approach to behavior and relationships. The incidents had provided the Wānanga with a catalyst to develop a creative solution that would meet the new challenges. While there were a range of behaviours, the intake of alcohol and drugs was most clearly linked to incidents that jeopardised a safe learning environment.

The growth in student numbers between 1998 and 2002 meant greater numbers of students and a more diverse student population would be on campus at any given time. The potential for drug and alcohol intake to negatively impact on the teaching and learning environment increased accordingly. Although several solutions were available, the Wānanga sought to find a solution that would be sustainable and in keeping with a long held commitment to tikanga-focused solutions.

Several think-tanks relating to tikanga had concluded that task-orientated activities for particular purposes were typically guided by specific kawa that focused on ensuring

the best possible chance of a good result without losing integrity or mana. Moreover, participants who elected to participate in a specific kawa were likely to adhere to the requirements of the kawa. This was partly because of the incorporation of cultural elements such as mana and rangatiratanga, but also because there was a level group commitment embedded within the kawa. The repercussions of stepping outside the kawa would have wider effects if for example the actions of one person disadvantaged the whole group. That possibility could have the effect of strengthening the resolve of participants to support each other so that serious consequences such as termination of placing shame on the whānau could be avoided.

The agreed response was to introduce a code of behavior based around the concept of kawa. The approach was called *Te Kawa o Te Ako* and it represented a return to customary protocols for social interaction and behaviour though now addressed to modern times and contemporary lifestyles. *Te Kawa o Te Ako* represented a major breakthrough as a campus solution to fostering an environment where scholarship and study could proceed without risk to students or staff.

Te Kawa o Te Ako became a binding agreement between staff and students of the Wānanga. It was aimed at enhancing performance and promoting high standards relevant to both teaching and learning as well as promoting a wider code of behaviours among students and campus participants generally. Further, discussion centered around the parameters of the kawa, and the way in which it might be instituted, controlled and monitored. A special committee was formed to oversee the introduction of *Te Kawa o te Ako* and deal with any contraventions. The kawa itself was introduced to the Wānanga with an accompanying paper written by the Tumuaki at the time, Professor Whatarangi Winiata. The paper remains a reference point for the Wānanga.

Te Kawa o Te Ako contains a set of guidelines for desired behaviour and interaction at the Wānanga. The key focus, however, remains firmly on educational achievement. The kawa expects that everyone on campus is to 'avoid behavior that can be expected to impede learning and/or teaching.'[9] The benefits of a positive and safe learning environment enable students to learn and retain knowledge more effectively. Conversely, the barriers that new students can often encounter are less likely to be present when classes occur within an optimal teaching and learning environment. *Te Kawa o Te Ako* hinges around by a set of values, kaupapa, shown in table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Te Kawa o Te Ako

	Kaupapa		
	Educational Achievement	*Conducive Learning Environment*	*Utilisation of Tikanga*
Goals	Successful completion of studies	Risk free and safe teaching & learning environment	Practice and operation of a Wānanga kawa
Practices	Contribution and active participation	Avoidance of distractions, barriers to learning	Student engagement in kawa at commencement of studies
Outcome	Graduation	Positive Wānanga learning experiences	Incorporation of tikanga into personal lifestyles

Te Kawa o Te Ako has been practised at the Wānanga for several years and has been controlled and monitored by a nominated committee selected from the Wānanga academic staff. The committee also deals specifically with breaches of the kawa on a case by case basis and has developed a tikanga-based process that seeks to resolve issues as efficiently as possible.

In analysing tikanga and kawa-based practices within Te Wānanga o Raukawa, this discussion is further contextualised by highlighting some of the fundamental differences between traditional and contemporary whare wānanga. While modern whare wānanga typically utilise an open entry policy for many programmes, customary whare wānanga operated a selective entry process. Tamariki were carefully observed by their kaumātua over a period of time. If they demonstrated specific skills in a particular task they were encouraged to develop those skills further. If when they had reached adulthood they had continued to develop and advance further they would be selected as pia (new students) of the whare wānanga. Furthermore, while whare wānanga in modern times are somewhat driven by the benefits of contributing to a critical mass of Māori who hold academic qualifications, traditional whare wānanga on the other hand were guided more by a need to ensure that specific knowledge, skills and expertise were entrusted to a small number of select students who displayed the necessary attributes to safeguard the integrity of the knowledge and disseminate it in an appropriate manner.

Despite these differences, the quest for knowledge remains at the core of Te Wānanga o Raukawa and is central to its existence. Moreover, the efforts of previous generations of leaders and scholars from within the ART Confederation of Iwi have ensured that that mātauranga tuku iho, customary knowledge, has been transmitted inter-generationally to ensure that the knowledge continuum has remained strong and authentic.

Te Kawa o Te Ako and Engagement

Te Kawa o te Ako is introduced to all new students of Te Wānanga o Raukawa at the commencement of the academic year. Typically the first point of engagement occurs as part of the pōwhiri, whereby a particular karakia is recited by a senior kaikōrero of the pae tangata whenua. The karakia is one part of a longer series of karakia referencing the deeds of the well known narrative figure, Tāwhaki. A popular figure within Tainui tribal narrative, Tāwhaki ascended the highest heavens to seek ultimate enlightenment. The quest was successful and as a result the 'mortals' who existed in the ordinary world below were rewarded with the benefits of that knowledge.

This legendary quest for enlightenment and higher level knowledge also references the many challenges and pitfalls associated with similar tasks. The younger brother of Tāwhaki, Karihi, was ill pre-pared for the arduous journey ahead and did not complete it. He had not prepared well enough for the journey and upon commencing his ascent up the smaller aka (vine) to the heavens, fell down to his death. Tāwhaki, on the other hand, went about his preparations in a careful and thorough way, reciting the necessary karakia and ensuring that all possible risks had been addressed before his departure. According to the karakia, Tāwhaki successfully ascended the aka matua (main vine) and succeeded in reaching the heavens despite encountering hostility and challenges at every level along his pathway.

The karakia about Tāwhaki's ascent was taught to Te Wānanga o Raukawa Pou Akoranga, Pakake Winiata by the late Dr Tui Adams, of Tainui, an expert in karakia and tikanga of Tainui and a speaker for the Kīngitanga. Dr Adams was instrumental in establishing Te Kāhui Kārohirohi, a joint Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Wānanga o Raukawa initiative designed to engage kaumātua of the Waikato area in specialist academic study.

The first section of that karakia, *He Karakia mō Tāwhaki*, is used in conjunction with Te Kawa o Te Ako. It is reprinted below:

He Karakia mō Tāwhaki

Piki ake piki ake Tāwhaki i te tāhūhū matapū

Nohoanga wai?

Te maru o te rangi kī mai e Hine ko te kawa i whea?

Ko te kawa i kauaraia

He iti te kawa a Karihi he kawa i tāho ki te angiangipū

He tai ka ripiripihia te tai ki Rarotonga

Whatutāia me Tangaroa te moana me ōna tāngata mātua

Te puakitanga a Tāne

He kakara he kakara

Matapou tū tāua i te tatau o te whare o Tinirau

He kakara he kakara

I heke ai rā ko te uira

Ka mau puipuia

Tāia ēnā hiku! Tāia ēnā ūpoko!

Kia mate, mate rawa

Uhi, Wero

Tau mai te mauri

Haumiē! Hui ē!

Tāiki ē![10]

Usually at the conclusion of a pōwhiri for new students the karakia is chanted by a senior kaikōrero of the Wānanga. Prior to commencement of the karakia the underlying purpose is explained briefly to students in order to inform them about their commitment to *Te Kawa o te Ako.* The chanting of the karakia at the end of the pōwhiri is intended to elevate the minds and hearts of all pōwhiri participants and to inspire them to reach higher levels of enlightenment. The distinctive tone of the chant has a rhythmical timing and when recited it is accompanied by a sense of occasion that befits the commencement of a journey.

Following the pōwhiri the next step in the process of engaging students in the kawa is participation in a seminar known as 'Theory and Understanding of Wānanga'. The half day seminar provides academic staff with an opportunity to introduce *Te Kawa o Te Ako* in more detail. It is here that the background to the kawa is discussed as well as the parameters and guidelines associated with the kawa. The importance of ensuring respect for fellow students, staff and whānau is reaffirmed. The Ten Guiding Kaupapa of the Wānanga are discussed in detail and examples are given to illustrate the way that each kaupapa is embodied within the context of student engagement in studies.

After it was first introduced, infringements against the kawa were not infrequent and required a response. Although in most cases the level of misdemeanor was at the lower level of what might be considered serious, there have also been some examples of more serious contraventions. In all cases, however, leadership and clear processes for working towards fair solutions for those involved have enabled positive results to emerge from negative situations. Some of those who had transgressed found that the experience of being held accountable to the kawa was a valuable learning experience in itself. It provided insight, demanded maturity, and reminded students of the

commitments that had already been made. For those on the *Kawa o Te Ako* Committee the experience of dealing with contraventions was also enlightening and the responses they had made appeared to be justified. A significant reduction in behavior that was not in keeping with the values of the kawa had occurred. The positive impact of the kawa upon student engagement has enabled an enhanced learning environment to proper.

Underpinning Values

The values that underpin the kawa originate from a need to ensure that the tapu nature of teaching, learning and knowledge acquisition are enhanced.[11] The intrinsic worth of knowledge is not new to Māori, indeed it has long been a part of the journeys and tribal histories of indigenous nations across the world. Within the context of the Wānanga the teaching and learning environment has been identified as a site where the core values of the kawa are applied. As discussed earlier, the modern characteristics of Te Wānanga o Rauakwa represent a significant shift from earlier customary style whare wānanga. Whereas early Whare Wānanga operated only when necessary and applicable, Te Wānanga o Raukawa is in operation most weeks of the year. It also functions within the general guidelines required of a government funded New Zealand tertiary education provider.

While earlier whare wānanga limited participation to a select number of students, Te Wānanga o Raukawa operates an open entry policy which can meet the needs of two or more generations of Māori who have left school without gaining any formal qualifications. By not imposing rigid entry criteria based around academic qualifications, students have an opportunity to pursue higher level study. For many whānau this policy opens the door to academic study for the first time.

In addition, Te Wānanga o Raukawa provides an opportunity to study within a distinctive tikanga Māori environment. Tikanga are crucial components of every aspect of the Wānanga and are central to the existence of *Te Kawa o Te Ako*. Without specific tikanga and the associated kawa, the Wānanga environment would not readily be distinguished from those of other tertiary environments. Students attending Te Wānanga o Raukawa can expect to learn in an environment that is shaped by tikanga. *Te Kawa o Te Ako* is one way in which the tikanga are experienced and ensures that student learning is aligned to a value system that empowers individual learners; the mana of each student is enhanced.

The responsibility for upholding the kawa falls on the participants. This includes Wānanga staff and both new and returning students. The common benefits of a positive teaching and learning environment mean that it is in the best interests of all participants to maintain the kawa. Agroup ethicality has emerged to the extent that transgressions of the kawa have diminished in regularity and seriousness. To a large extent, this has been the result of an increasing awareness of the kawa and the discovery that a learning environment free of problems and distracting behavior, can accelerate the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

Te Kawa o Te Ako effectively engages students for the duration of their studies at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. At graduation ceremonies, the graduates are presented with a certificate that authenticates their qualifications. At the same ceremony students also participate in a *karakia whakapūmau*, or binding karakia which is chanted by Te Ahorangi o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Iwikātea Nicholson. The karakia whakapūmau reaffirms the special link that graduates have fostered while studying at Te Wānanga o Raukawa as well as the lifelong commitment they have made to the ongoing pursuit of higher level knowledge. Whānau, hapū and iwi are invited to the graduation in

recognition of their support for their graduate. An opportunity is also provided for supporters to perform their own particular karanga, whaikōrero, waiata, haka or karakia in further recognition of the achievements of the graduate. Quite often this also provides a platform for manuhiri to acknowledge the Wānanga for their particular contribution towards the development of their graduate. Importantly, the karakia, waiata and haka also confer a sense of completion and fulfillment on the graduate; they act as natural point of closure of a chosen course of study at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

At another level, the sense of closure and completion is in fact a function of *Te Kawa o Te Ako*. Upon successful completion of the primary task - the conclusion of studies - participants within the kawa must also be able to disengage from the kawa. The process of disengagement is an integral part of the Graduation Ceremony - Te Rā Whakapūmau. By participating in the karakia whakapūmau, graduates are not only committing to lifelong learning but are also removing themselves from the kawa that has guided study in the previous years.

The act of disengaging is an important facet of kawa. In relationship to *Te Kawa o te Ako*, disengagement enables kawa participants to once again move freely without constraint. While they are able to take with them the values that have fostered a positive attitude to learning, they are no longer subject to restrictions and requirements of the kawa and can move on to new tasks and challenges. A similar pattern is evident in other examples of kawa such as warfare. *Te Tapu o Tūmatauenga* or the sacred nature of activities associated with the atua of warfare, Tūmatauenga, was applied to warriors in battle. Upon conclusion of the war or battle, warriors would transition back into whānau environments through a series of kawa disengagement processes, or *whakanoa*. Many hapū and iwi would utilise designated

bathing areas where wounds and injuries would be soaked to accelerate the healing process before returning home.[12] Tohunga would continue to recite appropriate karakia over warriors to facilitate reintegration back into the community. In some cases, full disengagement from the harsh realities of war or battle was neither possible nor successful, but the gradual reintroduction back into whānau life was nonetheless the desired goal.

Te Kawa o Te Ako does not require such a detailed and prolonged means of disengagement. It could be argued that the kawa for learning ought to be maintained throughout the lifetime and disengagement should never occur. But disengagement is nonetheless a necessary component of all kawa. In respect of *Te Kawa o Te Ako,* disengagement enables participants to mentally detach from a kaupapa that has occupied a prominent place in their minds and lives for anywhere from one to three or more years. It also enables them to commence new challenges and quests without having to observe the restrictions of involvement with another kaupapa.

In this sense *Te Kawa o Te Ako* can perhaps best be described as kawa for a specific location – Te Wānanga o Raukawa. It is always in an operative state and is adhered to by those who are located on campus. But it is contextualised by the Wānanga environment and is not transferable. A commitment to lifelong learning may require participation in another kawa that is dedicated to learning, but even if the values are similar to *Te Kawa o te Ako*, it will not be the same kawa.

In summary then, the essential benefits of *Te Kawa o Te Ako* have been twofold: to provide students at Te Wānanga o Raukawa with a clear set of guidelines that will enhance mana and facilitate engagement with the learning process, and also to create a distinctive teaching and learning environment at the Wānanga. Those two broad

aims have had a positive effect on behaviour and have contributed to creating mana-enhancing and wairua-enhancing protocols within the Wānanga community.

The Parameters of the Kawa

Te Kawa o Te Ako will predictably change as new challenges to teaching and learning emerge. A shift towards internet education and *e*-learning, for example, may call for alternative karakia, greater attention to information screening, and different approaches to time management. Similarly along with zero tolerance for drug or alcohol use, zero tolerance for tobacco smoking may logically be included in the kawa. The number of students who identify as regular tobacco smokers far outweighs the number of students who identify as regular users of alcohol or drugs. Yet, as with wider societal values, the act of smoking during Wānanga noho is not yet viewed with the same level of concern as using alcohol or drugs during noho. This may provide conflicting messages about how the Wānanga perceives the use of one over the others. Although the kaupapa of tobacco smoking currently is considered as part of another Wānanga tikanga, *Te Ohakī*, smoking is still viewed as acceptable behaviour, provided that it takes places beyond the Wānanga boundaries. Because the application of *Te Kawa o Te Ako* has virtually eliminated all instances of drug and alcohol intake during noho, it might also prove to be an effective way to reduce tobacco use.

Another major benefit of the kawa has been to highlight the importance of defining specific learning environments in order to enhance outcomes. In this instance Te Wānanga o Raukawa has ensured that the Otaki campus is a safe and welcoming environment for kaumātua, pakeke, rangatahi, tamariki and mokopuna. Among other things the kawa takes account of the residential requirements that are part of the

'noho' system of learning. Students regularly stay on the campus for three or more nights and on those occasions the principles of manaakitanga and rangatiratanga are especially important.

A further development of the kawa may be related to portability. This is an important consideration as Wānanga students typically spend most weeks of the year off-campus and only approximately 8 weeks of the year on campus. Given the increasing focus on distance education, mediated by web-based technologies, *Te Kawa o Te Ako* might eventually be formulated so that it can be applied in students' homes, marae and other places of study to create an enhanced learning environment.

Meanwhile, in the years since its inception, *Te Kawa o Te Ako* has minimised negative behaviour on campus and has maximised positive behavior that is mana or wairua enhancing. Although it is difficult to identify a direct correlation between the kawa and numbers of students who successfully complete studies, the main impact of *Te Kawa o Te Ako* has been to facilitate engagement with learning in a safe environment where kaupapa Māori and tikanga Māori prevail.

Te Ohakī

Before she died, after a lengthy illness with cancer of the lung, a long serving staff member discussed her hopes for an environment where health risks would be less. Her particular concern, based on her own experience was that tobacco use should be reduced. Lung cancer remains a signidicant cause of death for Māori. Cessation of smoking reduced the risk.

After she died the Wānanga sought to honour her by refocusing her final wishes as an ohakī.[13] The Ohakī has become an important step towards a zero tolerance for

smoking among staff and students. The campus was declared a smoke free zone and assistance was provided for those who wished to stop smoking. As already noted, the smoking ban has not necessarily led to total cessation, smokers have simply continued the habit outside the gates.

The Ōhakī is not a kawa but it sends a strong signal about an expected code of behavior.

Institute for Māori Lifestyle Advancement (IMLA)

The Institute for Māori Lifestyle Advancement (IMLA) was established in 2009 at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. The development of IMLA was closely linked to the research programme for this thesis. While undertaking initial research, the possibility that kawa would be relevant to modern lifestyles and to healthy living became increasingly apparent. To test the idea, discussions with other staff at Te Wānanga o Raukawa were held and resulted in enthusiasm to establish a new programme and an architecturally designed facility. Approval to offer the academic courses was obtained in 2009 from the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.[14] The further development of the academic curriculum and the establishment of a kawa that would guide the evolution and implementation of the programme then proceeded as part of the research for *He Kawa Oranga.* The first students were enrolled in 2010.

IMLA seeks to enhance Māori wellbeing through four major pathways. First, it centres around a purpose-built facility designed to enhance engagement of Te Wānanga o Raukawa students, staff and whānau in exercise, sport, optimal nutrition and recreational activities. Second, it centralises access to wellbeing-related services. Third IMLA offers specialist academic programmes in Māori wellbeing and Māori lifestyle advancement – Kawa Oranga Studies; and fourth it provides opportunities for

engagement in research into the promotion of wellbeing and positive healthy lifestyles.

IMLA represented a new direction for Te Wānanga o Raukawa. While Hauora programmes had focussed largely on the management of disease and disability among Māori, a key emphasis for *Kawa Oranga* studies was on prevention and health promotion. The IMLA initiative was part of a Wānanga goal to take a proactive role in transforming lifestyles through health promotion, active participation in sport and exercise, and tertiary education.

The prevalence among Māori of disorders such as Type II diabetes, heart disease, hypertension, and the associated health risks including tobacco use, sedentary living, unbalanced nutritional practices and obesity are well documented.[15] A number of health promotion programmes aimed at Māori have been instituted, including television campaigns for smoking, health screening, domestic violence, and binge drinking. IMLA is also concerned with reducing health hazards and addressing lifestyle risks but advocates an educational programme that involves the reconstitution of ancient Māori tikanga and kawa. In Chapters 3 and 4, the key elements of kawa were discussed and the importance of managing and controlling a number of variables was noted. The alignment of kawa to specific areas of the environment was part of a knowledge system that was concerned with human survival. Food sources, for example, were deemed the most important resource for whānau and hapū and kawa were developed to ensure food security and sustainable supplies of food.[16] Kawa incorporated expert knowledge, key stakeholders and a commitment to collective values.

However, the practice of applying kawa within whānau and hapū settings largely disappeared with urban migration in the nineteen fifties and sixties. Since then it has become evident that Māori have not applied new kawa to cope with new environments where over-abundance of food and reduced exercise create serious risks to health.

The Institute for Māori Lifestyle Advancement has been founded on a kawa that is aimed at enhancing health and wellbeing for Māori in modern times. The kawa is built on mātauranga, tikanga and te reo Māori and underlies the curriculum and delivery of the two main academic programmes, *Poupou Pakari Tinana* and *Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga.*

The Guiding Kaupapa and Institute for Māori Lifestyle Advancement

The ten guiding kaupapa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa have provided the framework for the kawa for IMLA; they have been applied to generate a coherent approach to physical, social, intellectual and spiritual wellbeing that is integral to the IMLA goals. Each kaupapa has a particular significance for the programme and has been embedded in the operating kawa.

Manaakitanga for example is seen as having implications for considering the types of food that are consistent with health and wellbeing such as nutrient-dense food, encouragement for participation in lifelong exercise, and managing regular events that enhance physical wellbeing. Students are not only expected to study aspects of personal wellbeing and the wider the promotion of Māori wellbeing, but are also actively encouraged to extend the kawa to eating at home and at marae within a whānau and hapū context. Manaakitanga is similarly realised through the generous

availability of specialist expertise, and the 'out of class' contributions made by students so that whānau can become stronger, fitter, faster and leaner.

Rangatiratanga is also incorporated into the IMLA programme. It is evident in the empowerment of students through specialist academic qualifications and the acquisition of skills and knowledge that enable students to assume leadership roles in their own whānau and in the wider community.

The Whanaungatanga kaupapa is emphasised in the group approach to learning. Students work together on assignments and participate as teams in skill-training exercises. Moreover, as a cohort they rely on each other for feedback, advice and example. The *Poupou Pakari Tinana* programme also requires students to work with a whānau in order to develop a whānau-oriented nutrition and exercise plan, customised for that particular whānau. In addition as part of the wider Wānanga whānau they are able to be active participants in the Wānanga kawa and the associated campus activities.

Like the Whanaungatanga kaupapa, Kotahitanga recognises the significance of a united approach to teaching and learning, expressed in the whakataukī: *'Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini.' ('my success is not attributed to an individual, but instead to a collective')* One goal of IMLA is to develop a critical mass of Māori who are experts in the promotion of sport and exercise as a vehicle for health promotion; as a team their contribution will be magnified in years to come. In addition a longer term goal is to unite whānau, hapū and iwi under the common aim of advancing Māori physical wellbeing.

Wairuatanga has been applied to IMLA in two distinctive ways. First in the academic programmes and in the exercise schedules, respect for the human body is emphasised.

Human physical, emotional, and intellectual development has a spiritual dimension because it enables individuals to engage with a wider environment and to learn from a range of experiences, not all of which can be quantified.

Second, the commitment of students to kaupapa Māori also encompasses a spiritual dimension; it links individuals with their whakapapa, whānau, and histories. The kaupapa of Ūkaipōtanga adds weight to that connection insofar as it encourages students to become familiar with local landmarks such as maunga, awa and roto and to incorporate them into exercise-based lifestyle advancement programmes. By walking, running and climbing over whenua that has tribal significance the environmental link is strengthened and identity is consolidated.

Pukengatanga is a major consideration in IMLA. Lecturers with dual qualifications in tikanga Māori, as well as sport and exercise science have contributed to the development of a comprehensive curriculum and also to the delivery of the programme. They have been able to impart a level of expertise that equips students to work in health promotion, gymnasia, sports organisations and as personal trainers.

In the IMLA context, Kaitiakitanga refers to fostering responsibility for wellbeing. It is about guardianship of the human body and ensuring that physical wellbeing is consistently maintained and strengthened throughout the lifetime. Students are taught to appreciate the obligations they have towards their own bodies and the responsibilities for passing on the Kaitiakitanga kaupapa.

Whakapapa as a kaupapa is reflected in the whānau focus that is built in to the IMLA programmes. The aim is to initiate an intergenerational movement and to promote the value of healthy lifestyles across generations. Teaching Poupou Pakari Tinana to

whānau collectives is a demonstration that wellbeing initiatives can be implemented and supported within the whānau environment.

The final kaupapa, Te Reo Māori, is integral to the programme at all levels. Group fitness classes, one to one personal trainer sessions and panui relevant to the courses are conducted exclusively in te reo Māori.

Poupou Pakari Tinana

The Poupou Pakari Tinana certificate was introduced at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 2010 within the Kawa Oranga programme and is offered to all students. It is part of a concerted effort to ensure that students graduate with a balanced knowledge of specialist studies, te reo Māori, iwi and hapū studies and pakari tinana studies. Pakari Tinana means to strengthen or enhance physical fitness. Students are introduced to exercise, optimal nutrition, and Māori lifestyle advancement. The Poupou is unique, each of the four components is taught within a kaupapa-Māori context, providing opportunity to use Māori cultural values to study wellbeing. The relationship of the major course components to tikanga and kawa are shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5 Tikanga, Kawa, and Poupou Pakari Tinana

	Course Components			
Take (purpose)	Cardio Exercise	Strength Training	Nutrition	Māori Lifestyle Advancement
Tikanga (actions)	Te Manawaroa (cardiovascular endurance) Te Manawapau (cardiovascular exertion) Te Manawaora (cardiovascular health)	Whakamārō uaua (building muscle) Whakapiki Kaha (building strength)	Manaaki Tangata (optimal nutrition)	He Kāinga Ora He Whānau Ora (healthy home healthy whānau)
Hei Whakatutuki (goals)	Hotu Manawa (to increase the heart rate) Manawa Pau (to reach breathlessness)	Whakapakari uaua (muscular strenthening) Whakatā uaua (muscular relaxation)	Tiki Kai (food selection & gathering) Tiki wai takakai (food preparation) Tāpae (portioning servings)	Whare Tapa Whā (All aspects of wellbeing) Ngā Take Oranga (awareness of health risks and benefits) Nga Kaupapa (The 10 Guiding Kaupapa)
Kawa	Te Kawa Manawa Ora	Te Kawa Tū Pakari	Te Kawa Taka Kai	Te Kawa Whānau Ora

Conventional health promotion initiatives often focus around exposing audiences to a range of activities that may not necessarily be undertaken beyond the duration of the promotion. The Poupou advocates that participants engage in lifelong healthy eating habits and a daily exercise regime. These two components when undertaken consistently will provide the most effective form of protection against sedentary-related illnesses. Furthermore, the regulated engagement in optimal nutrition and exercise enhances wellbeing in multiple ways. An overall positive sense of self esteem is often increased as a result of endorphins being released through intensive exercise.

These outputs, however, need to be measured in a way that is meaningful and relevant to Māori participants on the course. Wairuatanga is often viewed as existing at the core of Māori wellbeing.[17] If the wairua is disturbed, the inner spiritual energy can be

blocked or restricted. Wairua enhancement can extend to the use of specific karakia to *whakawātea* or free up the inner spiritual energy of an individual. The additional use of water as physical and symbolic reference to whakawātea provides extra weight for the karakia.[18]

Just as Hui Rangatahi and Hui Rūmaki Reo have provided students with an immersion experience in te reo Māori, Poupou Pakari Tinana provides an opportunity to be immersed within a culture of Māori wellbeing. Te reo Māori provided the impetus for young students to attend Hui Rūmaki on a regular basis. As the popularity of those hui increased throughout the 1980's, increasing numbers of rangatahi from within the ART Confederation attended hui. The attraction of socialising with other young, like-minded rangatahi was another motivating factor for attendance. In any event it provided a critical mass of ākonga – sufficient numbers of learners of the language necessary to ensure the future survival and revitalisation. The Hui Rangatahi experience, especially critical mass has to a large extent informed the development of the Poupou Pakari Tinana.

The *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano* initiative evolved around the concept of utilising iwi repositories of tribal dialect and language as teachers of te reo Māori, with a focus on rangatahi participants. The level of success can be measured by the number of speakers of te reo Māori who have achieved fluency in te reo as a result of participation in Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Many of these participants have subsequently also chosen to speak te reo Maori as the primary language of the household. Similarly, Poupou Pakari Tinana seeks to immerse participants within a positive learning environment geared towards lifestyle modification. Poupou Pakari Tinana participants will develop relevant strategies that will empower them to assume leadership roles within the household and wider whānau environments. The content

and information covered is at an introductory level. It is delivered in a way that provides evidence-based solutions that are relatively simple for whānau to initiate within the household. A key to effective engagement lies with the application of specific kawa, or protocols for participation and performance. These kawa provide a connection to environmental, physical, spiritual and social realms that will provide culturally relevant guidelines and necessary code of conduct for the focus activities.

Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga

Alongside the Poupou Pakari Tinana certificate, a 3-year bachelor degree in Māori Lifestyle Advancement also commenced delivery in 2010. Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga focuses on the three key areas: Māori Participation and Performance in Exercise; Māori Participation and Performance in Sport; and Māori Health Promotion.

Kawa Oranga is the term that encapsulates the underpinning philosophical vision of the IMLA initiative, more specifically that kawa can be effectively utilised as a vehicle for engagement in healthy lifestyles by whānau, hapū and iwi. Earlier discussions in this chapter centered around the effectiveness of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano initiative, particularly in terms of engaging rangatahi in Hui Rūmaki Reo. The aim of *Kawa Oranga* is not dissimilar – the results of the Whakatupuranga Rua Mano project have proven that rangatahi are not only a captive audience, but arguably, they are the most effective agents for positive change. They are best placed to carry the key messages of Kawa Oranga into the future. Future generations of tamariki and mokopuna will have whānau members who understand the importance of healthy and balanced lifestyles. Those who have engaged in Kawa Oranga will be able to transfer practical knowledge, experiences and Māori perspectives on wellbeing to other whānau members. Whakatupuranga Rua Mano has proven that, provided

there is a critical mass of participants, and provided there are enough experts, practitioners and supporters, the kaupapa will endure.

Graduates of these programmes will acquire the necessary knowledge, tools and expertise to be able to operate effectively as agents for positive change within whānau environments. The development of a critical mass of whānau members representative of broader hapū and iwi connections suggests that significant advances in Māori wellbeing across the next decade is likely.

Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga and Poupou Pakari Tinana represent a new academic stream at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Both programmes recognise the relative urgency required to effectively address longstanding Māori health issues using a preventative approach. A shift from treatment and care to prevention and healthy promotion are messages that are now heard within the health sector.

Kawa and Architecture

As part of the research for this thesis and for the introduction of a new academic programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, an investigation of options for a physical environment consistent with the kaupapa, was undertaken. The architecture of the new facility is the result of a collaborative approach between nationally renowned architects, the IMLA Steering Committee and Kawa Oranga Staff. It represents further evidence of a shift from Māori cultural revitalisation to Māori cultural creativity.[19] As a facility it does not draw on the traditional Māori design elements of the wharenui, whare tupuna and marae elements. Rather, it draws inspiration from a

contemporary Māori health framework where the key components of Te Whare Tapa Whā are reflected in spiritual, physical, emotional, intellectual, and whānau values.[20]

Modern Māori architecture has for the most part been limited to new marae, new kohanga reo, new kura and new wharekura. The IMLA facility, however, provides a space where whānau, hapū and iwi can come together for exercise, sport, nutrition and spiritual enhancement. The Whare itself marks a symbolic shift from deficit focus to one that celebrates wellbeing. It accommodates active physical engagement in exercise and sport, hands-on learning opportunities based around optimal nutrition, facilities for teaching and research, and easy and unrestricted access to knowledge, expertise and support.

There are several unique design-related elements of the Whare. Importantly, each of these reflects aspects of the modern environment that relate directly to wellbeing. Te Whare Tapa Whā as mentioned previously provides much of the impetus for the design. All four sides of this model are incorporated as primary elements within the design.

The major focus for taha tinana is on provision of a singular space housing specialist equipment that allows for weight training, posture correction, cardiovascular fitness, increased respiratory capoacity and an overall improvement in physical fitness.

In contrast the taha wairua space draws on the Wānanga whakataukī:

'E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea'

The seed sown in Rangiātea will never be lost.

The seed, or kākano is encapsulated physically within the design of the Whare. The large oval-shaped wooden cocoon serves as a literal and metaphorical reminder to students and whānau of the importance of custom, tradition, ancestors, te reo, tikanga, kawa and past accomplishments of tūpuna. At a practical level, however, it provides a special place for engagement in events and activities with a spiritual dimension – such as karakia, whakatau, waiata and kauwhau. Collectively these activities elevate thinking from everyday mundane and trivial aspects of life to higher spiritual realms. The notion of nohopuku implies a state of contemplation, emotional engagement, and spiritual thinking.[21] The Kākano is designed with these considerations in mind.

Whereas the space for Te Taha Tinana focuses on intense physical exertion, the Taha Wairua space is the opposite. The focus is on passive engagement and providing emotional stimulation that triggers motivational and inspirational responses. These fundamental differences can also be illustrated in the nature of atua endorsement. Tūmatauenga is apparent in all of the activities contained within Te Taha Tinana and are characterised by physical exertion, conflict, resistance, exhaustion, strength, determination and success. Rongo-mā-tāne on the other hand is apparent in all the acitivities contained in the Taha Wairua space - passive engagement, meditative activity, spiritual enhancement, higher level thinking, emotional triggers that enhance motivation and inspiration.

The third key element of the design of the Whare is Te Taha Hinengaro. Incorporated within this section are dedicated teaching, laboratory and research areas. The concepts of ako, pupuri and waihanga are embodied within this space. A nutrition lab provides students with a specialist space to learn about expressing manaakitanga through the preparation of nutritious food. It enables students to find a culturally relevant and motivational connection to the science of nutrition. The ako, pupuri and

waihanga cycle is taught to students when learning about the relationship between kai, te taha tinana and manaakitanga, and then preparing their own dishes that reflect considerate manaaakitanga. Two other classrooms are also contained within this area. Both are utilised for teaching all aspects of Māori wellbeing and have up-to-date technology to harness the benefits of online and computer generated information.

In addition, specialist physiological equipment is included to enable students to measure, assess, evaluate and monitor aspects such as levels of cardiovascular fitness, muscular strength, flexibility and general overall physical conditioning. This feature constitutes one aspect of research and investigation.

The fourth major dimension of the Whare is *Te Taha Whānau*. This space comprises a large double court multi-purpose sports and activity area. The main focus within the space is to provide an opportunity for whanaungatanga to occur through collective participation in sport, group fitness events and other activities such as kapa haka, mahi whakaari and hui kaupapa Māori. The space is large enough to allow activities to occur simultaneously on either court. It accommodates up to 600 spectators and allows the Wānanga to promote hui which are based around sport, exercise or wellbeing. This space also recognises that sport and group fitness activities are effective ways of encouraging whanaungatanga.

As the Institute places a high priority on collective participation and performance of the whānau unit in sport and exercise, there is unlimited potential for this space to engage previously non participatory whānau in physical activity.

In summary, these four areas – te taha tinana, te taha wairua, te taha hinengaro and te taha whānau are evident in the design of the whare and illustrate the inter-

connectedness of each of these four domains. They ought not be seen as separate exclusive domains, rather, inter-related, inter-connected aspects of Māori wellbeing.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the Evolving Kawa

This chapter has examined the application of kawa at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Kawa has provided a protocol for engagement with academic study, a code of behavior for students, a basis for confronting lifestyles, and a rationale for structural design. Built around *ten guiding kaupapa* that include a set of values, and emerging from a tradition that is grounded in historic and geographic domains, *Te Kawa o Te Ako* contains a process for effective engagement with study and the creation of a facilitating educational environment. It is a prescription for success. *Te Ohakī* is related to that kawa but more correctly is a legacy of advice about the elimination of risks to health.

He Kawa Oranga, which provides the name for this thesis, is also about health risks but carries a positive and facilitating message with an emphasis on lifestyle modification through exercise, sport, and nutrition, as well as whānau participation. Further, the connection between understanding, participation, and action on the one hand and the space in which those functions occur on the other, should also be part of the kawa. In *He Kawa Oranga*, architectural design and Te Kawa Manawa, Te Kawa Tū Pakari, Te Kawa Taka Kai, and Te Kawa Whānau Ora form a cohesive and consistent whole that endorses the kaupapa and facilitates effective student engagement.

As the Wānanga undergoes further change and evolution, it is likely that the kawa for any particular programme will also change. But it is also likely that whatever kawa emerges, there will be close connections to the guiding kaupapa. The Wānanga understanding of kawa is that kaupapa are fundamental and provide the key values upon which actions are based. The actions, tikanga, together with the values, constitute the kawa.

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18 Samuel Robinson, (2005), *Tohunga The Revival of Ancient Knowledge for the Modern Era*, Reed, Auckland, p. 87.

19 Charles Royal, Interview 2009

20 Mason Durie, (1985), 'A Māori Perspective of Health', *Social Sciences & Medicine*, 20(5): 483-6.

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CHAPTER SIX

CASE STUDY TWO: MANA TAMARIKI

Learning in Te Reo Māori

The Mana Tamariki case study cannot be considered without first appreciating the wider context within which Māori language revitalisation has occurred. By the mid-1970s, and along with many other indigenous languages, the possibility of te reo Māori becoming extinct was real. Three or more generations of urbanisation, coupled with government policies that actively discouraged the use of te reo at school, and media that contained little or no Māori in print or broadcasting, had created a situation where Māori was seen to have no contemporary value. Not only had the number of native speakers declined but the proportion of younger people who could converse in Māori was so low that an irreversible loss of the language seemed inevitable. Māori students at universities and teachers training colleges had no opportunity to increase their skills and knowledge in te reo since it was virtually absent from the curriculum.

Concerned that they themselves had been deprived of their own language, an Auckland based group of young Māori, many second generation urban dwellers, formed a protest movement, Ngā Tamatoa, already discussed in Chapter 1. Ngā Tamatoa represented a new type of leadership, less reticent to express opinions that their elders, and more strident in the way they expressed them. They took an active stance against the failure of institutions to provide for Māori culture and the parallel demeaning of cultural performance.[1] A confrontation with a group of engineering students at the University of Auckland over the way in which a haka had been

parodied, led to much publicity. But their pioneering efforts to establish a place for te reo Māori must rank among their more significant contributions. In 1972, along with the Te Reo Māori Society they petitioned the government for Māori language to be taught in schools. There was a cautious response but the message had been delivered and Māori from many walks of life were to support the thrust.

In 1986 the Waitangi Tribunal published a report dealing with a claim against the Crown for a failure to protect Māori language. The claimants, Te Reo Māori Society had lodged the claim in the name of Huirangi Waikerepuru on the grounds that language was a taonga which, under the Treaty of Waitangi, was to be actively protected by the Crown. Although language had not been identified as a specific item in the Treaty, the reference to taonga in article 2 of the Treaty made it clear that the Crown's responsibilities were not limited to protecting Māori interests into land, forests and fisheries but extended to include cultural properties as well.[2] As a result of the Tribunal's finding Māori Language was made an official language of New Zealand in 1986 and a Māori Language Commission was established to promote te reo. A Māori Language Strategy, Te Rautaki Reo Māori was launched in 2003. The strategy had five goals: increasing Māori usage of te reo Māori; increasing the number of domains where Māori could be used; strengthening Māori language education opportunities; increased Māori language leadership at community levels; and recognition of te reo by all New Zealanders.[3]

Meanwhile a key development in revitalisation was the formation of Kohanga Reo, a Māori immersion programme for children under five years. The aim was to introduce very young children to te reo in the hope that it would become their 'first' language and that they would be fluently bilingual. In the early days older native-speaking Māori women became the mainstay of the evolving early childhood workforce and a

'Māori-only' policy was instituted so that communication required both understanding and use of Māori. Despite misgivings from sections of the population who argued that learning Māori would compromise learning English, which might disadvantage Māori children, the Kohanga Reo movement rapidly gained in popularity. A pilot Kohanga at Wainuiomata in 1981 was followed by over 250 Kohanga being established by 1983 and within a decade the number had grown to more than 600. Between 1983 and 1993 the number of children attending kohanga reo had increased from 3,255 to 12,726.[4] Though the language was not yet secure, and extinction remained a possibility, the levels of determination to maintain te reo increased exponentially during the 1980s as evidenced by the formation of the Tino Rangatira movement in 1988, after the signing of the Matawaia Declaration.

The Kohanga immersion model led the way for Māori immersion education at primary and secondary levels.[5] Since 1987 there has been a significant growth in the number of Māori immersion and partial immersion language programmes in schools. Full immersion schools (Kura Kaupapa Māori) where te reo Māori is the language of instruction is complemented by full immersion classes in mainstream schools (Kura Teina) and classes or units where te reo is used some of the time in a limited number of subjects. Some Kura Kaupapa have moved into secondary-level education; by 2004 for example 20 had gained whare kura status (i.e. they were able to teach all or some of the secondary school curriculum using te reo Māori).[6] From 13 Kura Kaupapa and Kura Teina in 1992, by 2009 there were 72 Kura Kaupapa Māori and Kura Teina, with a total of 6,267 students. The substantial increases have raised concerns about the availability of well qualified teachers who are able to teach the entire curriculum in Māori.[7] But there is also greater clarity about what constitutes quality. Good practice in a kura means a sound knowledge of the mātāpono of Te

Aho Matua (a charter that sets out the principles and practices for learning in Kura Kaupapa Māori), a commitment by whānau and teachers to an education that respects individual identity and Iwi identity, a learning environment that encourages engagement with new ideas and discovery, a range of strategies to advance Māori language learning across the curriculum and the use of relevant assessment data.[8] To assist the Ministry to support Kura Kaupapa Māori, Te Rūnanga Nui o Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori delivers leadership and governance support and provides advice to the Ministry.

The six principles of Te Aho Matua are Te Ira Tangata (care and support for spiritual and physical needs of children), Te Reo (the use of Māori language as a medium for education), Ngā Iwi (the relationship of learners to whānau and the inclusion of whānau in education), Te Ao (the wider environments that children inhabit), Ngā Āhuatanga Ako (a learning environment that respects the dignity and latent talents of children), Te Tino Uaratanga (achievement through education enabling learners to contribute to Iwi).

Establishment of Mana Tamariki

Mana Tamariki is aptly named. Enhancing the mana of every child who enrols is the central purpose. In fulfilling that purpose, children are at the centre of policies and operations and fostering self confidence, security of identity, pride and trust, along with literacy, numeracy, and physical development are the prime objectives. The culture at Mana Tamariki reflects those objectives and the Mana Tamariki whānau shares in the responsibilities. Though placing learners at the centre, the commitment extends to whānau, community and teachers. The overarching aim, however, and the dominant ideology, is to enable children to engage with te reo Māori. Engagement

with Māori language was the prime reason for establishing the organisation and it remains a central tenet around which education occurs.

Te Kohanga Reo o Mana Tamariki was established in 1990, largely through the efforts and vision of Penny Poutu, Tony Waho, Brenda Soutar and Milton Rauhihi. Those four constituted Te Ohu Whakahaere, the leadership group, and guided Mana Tamariki through the formative years and into the 21st century. Continuity, consistency and innovation have been important features of Mana Tamariki and a distinctive and continuous thread has seen the organisation grow in a coordinated manner as part of a journey towards a wider vision. The growth has been measured anddeliberateboth retaining the central vision whilst also extending the reach and widening the influence. Within the broader contexts of Māori education and the revitalisation of te reo Māori Mana Tamariki has contributed much to whānau, community, Iwi, and the education sector and has earned a place as a lead institution in early childhood education.

Located in an urban environment in Palmerston North and since 2007 housed in a purpose built complex, it has achieved pre-eminence as a Māori language immersion school catering for early childhood, primary, and secondary school learners. The initial focus, on children under five years, clearly labelled Mana Tamariki as a kohanga reo, though it never did have a direct management relationship to the Kohanga Reo Trust. Instead a strong desire to retain a level of independence and autonomy and a concern not to compromise standards of learning nor the key aims, was to lead to a different governance and management arrangement. Mana Tamariki chose to operate under the auspices of an Incorporated Society (Mana Tamariki Inc.) which is now the umbrella organisation for the Kohanga, the Kura Kaupapa, and more recently the Whare Kura.

The objectives of the Incorporated Society are to:

- Promote the survival and retention of Māori language and culture
- Establish and provide total immersion Māori language and education learning environments, which will cater for early childhood, primary, secondary and tertiary students. The name of each learning environment will include the name Mana Tamariki.
- Develop the philosophy of each learning environment, each of which will embrace Te Aho Matua
- Operate, control, administer and maintain each learning environment, each of which will:
    - Uphold the concept of Mana Tamariki which places the students as the central focus of all activities
    - Develop students so that they are highly fluent in the Māori language and knowledgeable of Māori customs and traditions
    - Have a holistic view of human development recognising that cultural, physical and emotional wellbeing are as essential as intellectual and creative development
    - Be based on a spiritual dimension which is indigenously Māori
    - Recognise the right of disabled Māori children to their ancestral language and culture and to provide for them
    - Develop the students confidence, creativity, self esteem, pride in being Māori and love for learning
    - Aspire to standards of excellence for each learning environment and each individual student
- Foster a positive and mutually supportive relationship with Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Wānanga
- Maintain low staff student ratios in order to facilitate the speedy and efficient acquisition and retention of the Māori language
- Recognise the historical injustices that have affected Māori people in restricting their full development and to embrace the principle of equity for Māori children and their families
- Determine policies that will further these objects and consult parents of students and students as the Society in General Meeting or the Co-ordinating Committee sees fit.
- Undertake any activity which may be directly or indirectly linked to the above objects
- These objects are intended to have charitable aims and are limited to within Aotearoa-New Zealand.[9]

Since establishment of Mana Tamariki in 1990, a number of major transitions have occurred. In order to accommodate an expanded roll in 1991, a shift to new premises

was necessary and in 1994, when the owners of the rented rooms moved the building to another site, it was necessary to use temporary premises until the renovations had been completed. The establishment of a Kura Kaupapa and Whare Kura increased the demand on space and personnel and substantially changed the nature of Mana Tamariki – from an early childhood centre to a comprehensive education centre for Māori with continuity between all levels. But in June 2007 all learning environments associated with Mana Tamariki were able to move into a new building funded by a discretionary grant from the Ministry of Education. The Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa, and Whare Kura were at last all contained under the same roof and able to share expansive green fields in a down-town environment. The modern architecture and contemporary designs reflect the mission of Mana Tamariki and give expression to the objective of '... recognising that cultural, physical and emotional wellbeing are as essential as intellectual and creative development.'

The large grounds surrounding Mana Tamariki have provided an opportunity to expand the curriculum, not only with sport and games but also by planting native trees and creating vegetable gardens. Children are able to learn gardening techniques first hand and are experiencing Papatuanuku as a source of food and nurturance. That experience, not always available to urban families, converts the abstract concept of tangata whenua into a tangible reality and generates an attitude of kaitiakitanga, guardianship towards the natural environment. In a world where global warming and climate change threaten human existence, kaitiakitanga will be an increasingly important lesson.

Mana Tamariki Networks

Retaining a level of autonomy and a sense of self-determination has been important to Mana Tamariki. The independent attitude was largely the result of a wider social and political environment where Māori values and te reo Māori were not encouraged and scarcely tolerated. There was a concern that the central kaupapa – revitalisation of te reo Māori – could be readily undermined or could be simply absorbed into a wider institutional culture if it were co-located within another setting. By the same token, the Māori language immersion aim would be rendered 'optional' if children spent most of the day interacting with English speaking children. Sometimes the degree of independence was perceived by others as a 'separatist' approach to learning that might hinder future possibilities. While those concerns were not dismissed as irrelevant, the kaupapa was thought to be a greater priority.

Yet, despite the autonomy and independence, Mana Tamariki has consciously developed a wide network of relationships and alliances. Importantly, autonomy has not been perceived as isolation; indeed there has been a determined effort over the years to establish connections that will lead to mutually beneficial outcomes. This 'outward looking' approach has been possible without compromising the fundamental kaupapa or undermining other values that have been important to the Mana Tamariki agenda. Instead, being part of wider networks has provided a broad level of support and recognition that has contributed to sustainability and progress. The network has covered a number of organisations and groups including Iwi, other players in the compulsory education sector, early childhood and tertiary education organisations, marae, language revitalisation experts, and political interests.

The iwi link has been an important one. Relationships with the iwi occur at several levels and although Mana Tamariki is not an iwi organisation, nor accountable to an iwi, the principle of mana whenua is acknowledged as one of the values that strengthen the school. As part of its membership Mana Tamariki Incorporated has leaders from Rangitāne, there is a strong Rangitāne presence among the teaching staff and Rangitāne account for around one-third of the students across all three levels. Rangitāne kawa is observed at formal functions and students have been taught waiata and oriori that reflect the Rangitāne traditions.

Within the education sector there are a number of close alliances. Mana Tamariki has contributed to the Ministry of Education by translating a science text, and conducting research publishing a resource, 'Te Reo o te Whānau – the intergenerational transmission of the Maori languae within families.' Extensive involvement in the wider Maori education sector has also been achieved. For example Mana Tamariki participated in the series of Hui Taumata Mātauranga jointly convened by Sir Tumu Te Heuheu along and the Minister of Education. It has also been contracted by Ngā Kura Kaupapa Māori for the administration of that national organisation and to manage their Annual General Meeting. The Kura Kaupapa interest was evident as early as 1989 when Penny Poutu and Tony Waho completed a report on the establishment of a Kura Kaupapa in the Manawatū.[10]

While not being one of the Kohanga Reo managed by the National Kohanga Reo Trust, Mana Tamariki still has close relationship with the Trust and the Principal has served as a Trustee, taking a lead in strategic planning exercises. There has been an especially close relationship with other kura throughout the country. Not only does Mana Tamariki have regular contact with Te Kura Kaupapa Maori o Manawatū, also located in Palmerston North, but links with kura kaupapa in Otaki, Ruatoria, Rotorua,

Tolaga Bay, Dannevirke and Hastings have also been established. In effect, Mana Tamariki is part of a close association of Māori language immersion schools who share similar aspirations, protocols, and challenges.

Engagement with the tertiary education sector has two main purposes. First it provides an opportunity to identify options for students leaving the Whare Kura and to point them towards areas of academic study where the Mana Tamariki experience can be endorsed and expanded. Transitions from Mana Tamariki to university have not been easy for some students; the largely unsupervised environment, together with participating in large and often impersonal classes are in sharp contrast to the tightly knit Mana Tamariki milieu and the small numbers in each class. Second, a university connection provides a pathway for staff training and research. Mana Tamariki has a long and multi-level relationship with Massey University. It includes participation in co-constructed learning opportunities for teachers to develop and reflect on bicultural practices, as well as formal postgraduate study for staff.[11] In addition, because the University offers a four year degree programme Māori language immersion mode teaching, Mana Tamariki assist by providing students with classroom experience.

There are a number of community based organisations that also form part of the Mana Tamariki network. The New Zealand Childcare Association for example has collaborated with Mana Tamariki on many occasions and Mana Tamariki staff have participated in the Association's bicultural training programmes.[12] Close links with Māori health providers such as He Puna Hauora have been important as part of the health surveillance programme within the kohanga and kura. For more than 12 years He Puna Hauora staff have provided vision and hearing screening services within te reo Māori. Similarly Te Tai Hauāuru (Resource Teachers of Learning and Behaviour) has provided regular services and at the same time has had the opportunity to

comment on the work at Mana Tamariki. 'Mana Tamariki staff are at the vanguard of what's important in early childhood education, well informed about each child and the whānau ... and well grounded in their own identity and confident in the Māori world and in the mainstream culture.'[13]

An interest in the theory as well as the practice of language revitalisation has resulted in ties with two international research programmes, including Reggio Emilia in Italy. Staff first visited Reggio in 1999 and staff member Brenda Soutar was later the inaugural recipient of the Reggio Foundation Scholarship. Reciprocal visits have also been hosted by Mana Tamariki. Internationally acclaimed linguists, Joshua Fishman (USA) and Bernard Spolsky (Israel) interacted with Mana Tamariki on several occasions and Mana Tamariki staff were invited to celebrate Fishman's 80th birthday when his contribution to socio-linguistics was acknowledged. Contact with international theorists has added a wider dimension to the Mana Tamariki mission and has provided staff and students with additional motivation to ensure that te reo Māori does not experience the same fate as many other minority languages.

The Mana Tamariki Whānau

Whānau has dual meanings for Mana Tamariki. Using the metaphor of whānau, Mana Tamariki students, their families, and staff, refer to themselves collectively as the 'Mana Tamariki Whānau'. Their successful functioning depends on a level of co-operation and inter-dependence coupled with a commitment to common objectives and a shared cultural perspective.[14] In other words they act like a large family bound together, not by whakapapa, but by a mission to provide quality education within a Mātauranga Māori context. The whānau metaphor suits since among the members

there exists a strong sense of whanaungatanga and a readiness to support each other, even beyond the school environs.

A second meaning of whānau, however, refers to the ways in which Mana Tamariki engages with the whānau of students and the expectations that those whānau carry on behalf of their children. The position adopted makes it quite clear that meeting the educational goals outlined in the Mana Tamariki constitution cannot be achieved without the active involvement of parents, siblings, and often grandparents. In this approach, the school is sending a signal that education has both formal and informal components and the two should work in unison. Parents who feel unable to meet the expectations are not encouraged to enrol their children at Mana Tamariki. While that sometimes attracts criticism from families who do not want to be involved in the education process, many other whānau are grateful that the extent of their involvement has been outlined so that they can make informed choices.

Before a child is enrolled at Mana Tamariki, a discussion between parents and staff will have occurred. Once a tono from a parent is received a follow up meeting is held, conducted in te reo Māori. A number of matters will be raised but a critical one is the expectation that one parent will only speak Māori to the student – no matter what the context. Between 1990 and 1995 the 30 families who had children at Mana Tamariki tended to speak only English to them. Although the level of Māori spoken by the children was reasonably fluent, Mana Tamariki became aware of research findings from Fishman and Spolsky who had concluded that parents needed to be actively involved in language usage if the best results were to be achieved. Threatened languages such as Māori were more likely to be revitalised if the home, neighbourhood and community were principal players in the language revitalisation activities.[15]

From 1995 a new policy was introduced that required at least one parent of each child to speak only Māori (never English) to all children enrolled at Mana Tamariki, including their own. The new policy was deemed to have had an immediate effect on the status of language in the community and enabled monthly whānau hui to be conducted in te reo Māori. The triad of kohanga, child and home had become defined by the Māori language.

When a child first enters Mana Tamariki, the whole whānau is welcomed at a powhiri or mihi whakatau. Apart from the new whānau, the occasion involves the staff, those children who will be in the same learning cohort, and the parents of current students. The formal entry endorses the bilateral commitment: whānau have agreed to the conditions, and Mana Tamariki has undertaken to offer a quality educational experience within te reo Māori. Marking the first day with a ritual such as a powhiri is a demonstration of the desire for an inclusive approach that will be a critical part of the Mana Tamariki journey for each student and the whānau. It also indicates the particular world view (Charles Royal's Āronga) that will accompany the learning experience.

Parental involvement occurs on a daily basis supplemented by emails, telephone conversations, a regular newsletter, and displayed 'Learning Stories' designed to help parents share the learning experience. Through discussions, documentation of learning stories, whānau chats and hui whānau, families themselves connect and grow in te reo Māori. The Mana Tamariki goals become transferred to the whānau.

A third meaning of whānau at Mana Tamariki applies to the ways in which staff and students relate to each other. Not only is the metaphor of whānau adopted, but a number of students have whakapapa connections and are members of the same

whānau. Models for whānau interaction such as tuakana teina relationships are enacted on a daily basis and have become part of the social environment. Disciplinary problems are largely non-existent; teachers are afforded the respect held for parents and in turn teachers relate to each student with a sense of parental caring. Between students in the whare kura and students in the kohanga environment, a considerate relationship characterizes interaction. Far from creating a division within the school, the relatively wide age span (babies of less than a year to 16 or 17 year old adolescents) serves to augment the whānau analogy.

The Mana Tamariki Kawa

The kawa of Mana Tamariki is driven by the overarching goal of language revitalisation. Te reo Māori is the central kaupapa and the prime reason why families enrol their children. However, the broad goal is associated with several other goals, including quality education, lifestyle modelling, whānau cohesion and participation in te ao Māori. There are subsidiary goals as well such as research into language revitalisation, participation in community education, and contributions to language revitalisation at national and iwi levels. Moreover, a further goal is to prepare students for a world where Maori language may not be valued, at least not to the same extent as it is at Mana Tamariki. One of the criticisms of Māori language immersion education is that it may not prepare students adequately for future careers, possibly in other countries. However, across the globe it is not unusual for children and parents to be fluent in two or more languages. Bilingualism will carry greater facility for language learning later in life.

In any event experience at Mana Tamariki suggests that it is virtually impossible for any child in New Zealand not to gain fluency in English. Television, radio, media,

commerce, and sport are largely conducted in English. The central question is not whether Mana Tamariki children should avoid English but that they should be especially fluent in te reo Māori. As carriers of culture for the future they will play decisive roles in sustaining te reo Māori. While that may be regarded as a heavy burden for young heads, it is nonetheless the kaupapa of Mana Tamariki.

To date, fluency in te reo Māori has not been shown to be anything than an advantage and a point of difference. If there have been problems of adaptation to other environments, it is likely to have been a reflection of size and scale, rather than language. At the same time all too often, many Māori learners in large schools with high teacher-student ratios have not fared well.

Table 6 Te Kawa o Mana Tamariki

Kaupapa	Tikanga
Te Reo Māori	• Māori language immersion education • A Māori speaking parent • Domains where Māori can be spoken, heard, written
Whanaungatanga	• Whānau-like relationships at school • Whānau participation in education • Whānau based education at home • Whānau commitment to te reo Māori
Manaakitanga	• An educational environment that nurtures learners • Supportive relationships between learners • A culture of caring
Te Aho Matua	• Education that endorses: Te Ira Tangata — Te Ao Te Reo — Ngā Āhuatanga Ako Ngā Iwi — Te Tino Uaratanga
Mātauranga Māori	• Use of Maori concepts, beliefs, histories within the curriculum • Ritenga derived from te ao Māori

The Mana Tamariki kawa is essentially a kawa for learning where te reo Māori is the prime goal and four other kaupapa are also afforded priority. Table 6 summarises the five kaupapa and associated tikanga.

The central place of te reo Māori as an over-riding value for Mana Tamariki has already been emphasised. Language revitalisation has been the prime motivation and ongoing impetus. The development and implementation of tikanga that will give expression to the kaupapa has been a deliberate and consistent focus since 1990. It has resulted in a method for serious engagement with Māori language that is relevant to students as well as whānau members. Including whānau in the goal has increased levels of attainment and led to more consistent application and the requirement for one parent to always speak Māori has been challenging but also rewarding.

Whanaungatanga is a further high level kaupapa that permeates Mana Tamariki. It is evident in the relationships that exist within the school environment and also in the relationships between the school and the whānau of students. By endorsing the Mana Tamariki principles within homes, whānau provide an extension of the school environment and supplement classroom learning. Engagement of whānau in the Mana Tamariki model of education is an important part of the kawa and ways of consolidating whānau engagement have been progressively developed. A 'screening' process that excludes childrenwhose parents are not able to commit to the kaupapa, reduces wide access to Mana Tamariki but increases competence and school-wide buy-in to the kawa. For Mana Tamariki, whānau commitment to te reo and to whanaungatanga are more important than maximising access.

Manaakitanga is also a value that characterises the Mana Tamariki kawa. It is reflected in the ways that the educational environment respects and supports learners, and the ways that relationships are fostered between students. The favourable ratio of staff to students and the whānau connections that exist between staff and within the student body, adds to the expression of manaakitanga and mutual respect, respect for the kaupapa, respect for the learning process and respect for property are embedded in all aspects of the school. A culture of caring has evolved; it has led to a high levels of inclusion and the development of a safe environment.

The fourth major kaupapa is Te Aho Matua. It provides a framework for developing a pedagodgy and identifies the major components of a Māori language immersion teaching programme. It recognises the spiritual and physical aspects of learning, the use of te reo, the importance of involving whānau, the significance of a wider environment, teaching methods that will release the potential of children, and how the outcomes of education can benefit children and their whānau.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

CASE STUDY THREE:TŪ TOA

Māori in School

Māori participation in secondary education has been characterised by exceptional accomplishments but also by 'dismal failure'.[1] Although there have been significant gains since the year 2000, Māori achievement continues to lag behind non-Māori. In 2006 for example only 14 percent of Māori school leavers were qualified to attend university compared to 41 percent of non-Maori. By 2008 the gap had narrowed by two percent points but was still significant being 20 percent (Māori) and 49 percent (non-Māori).[2] Not surprisingly the same trends are evident in the tertiary sector. In 1999 for example the proportion of the Māori population over 15 years of age who had a bachelors degree or higher was 2.7 percent compared to 9.9.pecrcent for 'European' New Zealanders. By 2009 the corresponding figures were 7.5 percent and 16.7 percent, an increase for both groups but also an increase in the size of the gap.[3] Although Māori participation rates in tertiary education generally are slightly higher than for other ethnic groups, the Māori participation rates in tertiary education between 2008 and 2009 were small.[4]

The consequences of school failure in modern society are serious and disabling. Barriers to literacy are closely linked to unemployment or employment in low paying menial occupations and adults who experience problems associated with low levels of literacy have reported a mismatch between their learning styles and the ways in which information has been presented in the classroom. Many have been conscious of an

inability to learn through conventional academic ways of knowing and in contrast have found learning through activities of some kind to be more meaningful and effective. Employers also believe that literacy problems are deeply embedded in the education system and many maintain that a stronger emphasis on the 'three Rs' would better prepare students for work. While educationalists often point out that education is not necessarily only about work-readiness, being equipped to work in society must nonetheless have major implications for schooling.[5]

A number of innovations in schooling for Māori have been introduced since 1981 when Kohanga Reo emerged as an approach to early childhood education based around te reo Maori. The series of Hui Taumata Mātauranga held in Taupo between 2001 and 2006 added to the directions that might be pursued, emphasizing the importance for Māori learners to be able to remain Māori ('to live as Māori') while still being able to succeed in wider society ('and be citizens of the world'). A *Schooling Strategy* launched in 2005 endorsed those goals by recommending four strategic directions. First, continuing dialogue between Government and Māori, started at the Hui Taumata Mātauranga, should be continued so that the education system's capacity could be better aligned with Māori aspirations. Second, the *Schooling Strategy* should be responsive to the concerns and aspirations of Māori. Third, effective teaching and better relationships between school and home should lead to more relevant teaching practices. Fourth, supporting ongoing access to te reo Māori and tikanga Māori would be important for both Māori immersion schooling as well as mainstream schooling.[6]

Māori performance in secondary education is influenced by a range of factors. An important factor has been disengagement from the learning process. Disengagement escalates in years nine and ten especially for boys whose performance and attitudes have been shown to decrease at age 14 compared to age 12.[7] Similarly, the stage at which Māori leave school also give cause for concern. In 2008 for example 57 percent of Māori boys left school after year 13 compared to 74 percent of non-Māori boys but 30 percent of Māori boys left in year 12 compared to only 19 percent for non-Māori.[8]

A further critical factor in both retention and successful completion has been linked to teacher attitudes and the relationship between teachers and learners.[9] Effective teaching requires teachers to take responsibility for each student's achievement, to value diversity, and to have high expectations, and to build on students' experiences.[10] *Te Mana Kōrero: Relationships for Learning* was a programme introduced to assist schools raise levels of Māori achievement by building strong and effective school-whānau partnerships. Three priority themes were recommended. The Ako theme (effective teaching and learning) recognised that all individuals have different ways of learning and that the influence of the teacher is paramount.[11] But whānau and communities also have a highly significant influence. Māori students' learning outcomes are better when the links between schools, educators and whānau are strong and positive and when cultural knowledge as well as culturally responsive pedagogies are part of the classroom norm. The Culture Counts theme (validity and valuing culture) recognises the importance of culture to learning and the cultural distinctiveness linked to indigeneity. The theme also notes the relevance of a whānau culture. In the third theme, Productive Partnerships, the focus is on both parties

valuing and sharing each other's knowledge and expertise. It recognises that whānau have critical expertise, information and influence that can be shared with their children and educators to enhance learning outcomes. By the same token it recognizes that educators have expertise that can be shared with whānau to enhance learning outcomes.[12]

Education in the future need not be bound by the current systems of education. In 2002 the Government established a project, Secondary Futures s to consider schooling in the year 2020 and the implications for students, teachers parents, whānau, employers, and whole communities.[13] By 2006 five key themes had emerged from the numerous discussions. 'Students First' explored student-centred learning and moved away from a 'one size fits all' model to a models that could be responsive to students aspirations, needs and goals. 'Inspiring Teachers' investigated the re-definition of 'teacher' moving away from the traditional role of teachers as leaders in knowledge transfer to teachers as mentors, guides and facilitators. 'Social Effects' recognized the social impacts of education and the ways in which education enables young people to participate, contribute and succeed – 'as citizens, as part of the economy, as members of families and part of communities. 'Community Connectedness' is about the relationship between education and the community. Learning is not the sole province of schools; whānau, parents, industry leaders and community leaders are all potential sources of knowledge, inspiration, and role models. The final theme, 'The Place of Technology' investigates how technology will impact on learning and on schools. Will it render schools obsolete (home-based internet learning) or will it extend the effectiveness for learners or will it increase

access to quality education that does not depend on locality, size (of the school) or teacher availability within a single school?[14]

The TŪ TOA Initiative

Dissatisfaction with the education system and a desire to address future needs of Māori were two reasons why the TŪ TOA academy was established. While he was teaching in a local high school, Nathan Durie had become increasingly aware that Māori students who had been brought together because of reported problems in regular classes, were able to perform better in academic work, school behavior, and sport when the teaching methods aligned with Māori values and the metaphor of the whānau. However, when their performance improved, and they returned to regular classes, the gains made were quickly lost. He concluded that the use of Māori values as a basis for teaching and classroom management was compromised when the over-riding principles were not aligned to Māori world views. He had also noted that when sporting accomplishment increased, there was a corresponding increase in learning outcomes.

Frustrated by the conflicting value systems he promoted the idea of a learning centre where excellence in both sport and academic learning could be attained within a cultural context that endorsed Maori values. Meanwhile he was already involved in an academy for aspiring Māori tennis players. Ra Durie had established the academy, named TŪ TOA and had built an indoor tennis dome for indoor practice and competition as well as an adjacent small hostel where young tennis players could reside whilst in camp.. The tennis dome enabled year round training and attracted

considerable attention, not only because of the opportunity but also because of the geo-hexagonal design. Coaching for some 40 or more rangatahi occurred regularly, mostly for primary school students and was to lead to a marked increase in Māori participation in tennis competitions locally and nationally.

Recognising the high Māori interest in sport and the enthusiasm shown by whānau at the tennis academy, the idea of a similar venture for secondary school students followed. Also named TŪ TOA the secondary school venture was to incorporate schooling alongside sport. Students would be exposed to high performance training as well as high expectations for academic success. Although there was no obvious funding stream to support such an initiative, the concept was discussed with Māori teachers and sports administrators and in 2005 a Charitable Trust was formed to advance the project. The broad aim of the TŪ TOA Trust was to establish a small school that would accommodate Māori secondary school students who had ambitions in sport and could be persuaded to adopt similar ambitions in academic study.

Seven Trustees were appointed for their range of skills and backgrounds relevant to the Trust's objectives. The Trust's Constitution recognised three main aims: the development of a a culture of excellence and high attainment, sporting and academic achievement, and equitable access. Ten specific objectives were identified:

1. An education initiative based in the Manawatū to foster academic achievement utilising sporting activities as a source of educational motivation.
2. To promote good character and citizenship amongst New Zealand students of all social and socio-economic backgrounds.
3. To promote a culture of success and an expectation of higher attainment.
4. To establish a model of education that will be portable to the future structures established with similar values.

5. To promote educational development through small class ratios, customised and flexible programmes that prepare students for University study. Individual tuition by selected mentors, flexible timetables that allow for a sensible mix of study and training. Subject choice delivered through the correspondence school, close monitoring by an academic coordinator – mentor. Establish a philosophy of excellence that permeates all aspects of the programme. A link between sport and education, promoting the notion of healthy mind and healthy body.

6. To provide educational opportunities for students from lower socio-economic backgrounds in particular to fund specific cultural and sporting opportunities for such students who would otherwise be denied access to such events.

7. To promote an educational programme to entice children from lower socio-economic backgrounds who will be encouraged to remain in secondary education as long as possible.

8. To create pathways and support mechanisms for children from lower socio-economic backgrounds within education. To support the transition to tertiary education particularly with the assistance of the proposed mentoring programme.

9. To engage mentors of similar backgrounds to the students to foster an empathetic approach to the education of the students.

10. To promote educational opportunities for lower socio-economic students for the benefit of the community generally in particular by ensuring that all students of any background are encouraged to undertake higher educational attainment.[15]

Grounding the Initiative

Under the guidance of the Trustees the project was launched in 2005 by the Ministers of Education and Māori Affairs at the Aorangi Marae in the Manawatū. The marae is a Ngāti Kauwhata reservation and is home to the Ngāti Tahuriwakanui hapū. The tūpuna whare, Maniaihu, was erected in 1888 and extensively renovated in 1989. Launching TŪ TOA at Aorangi was deliberate. It was one way of ensuring that the project would be grounded and that it would have a cultural and spiritual home. Although it was never envisaged that the day to day operations would take place on

the marae, the marae anchored TŪ TOA in an Iwi context and has remained the preferred venue for formal occasions and special meetings. The end of year celebration, student retreats, fund raising ventures, and special meetings are held at Aorangi and the Ngāti Kauwhata kawa has been incorporated into the TŪ TOA kawa.

As part of a network of marae in the Manawatū, Rangitīkei and Horowhenua districts, Aorangi is strongly connected to the wider Māori community. The longstanding links mean that TŪ TOA is also part of a well tried alliance, an important consideration when credibility is being considered and support is needed. Aorangi has two sets of Iwi connections. Though bearing a Ngāti Kauwhata name and being one of three Ngāti Kauwhata marae, there is also a connection with Ngāti Rangi-te-Paia of Rangitāne. Though the customary kawa follows the Tainui traditions, the Tainui and Kurahaupo origins mean that the marae has both Ngati Raukawa-Kauwhata Iwi (Tainui) and the Rangitāne Iwi (Kurahaupo) affiliations.

Being grounded at Aorangi is reflected in the composition of the Trust Board, the staff and the students. The Chairman is from Ngāti Kauwhata and one Board member represents the Iwi. The Co-director is Ngāti Kauwhata and one third of the student body has Ngāti Kauwhata connections. The Iwi now refers to TŪ TOA as 'the Kauwhata School' and takes pride in the accomplishments, regarding the high profile as a positive reflection on the tribe. Similarly, in the practice of its kawa, TŪ TOA refers to Ngāti Kauwhata as the Iwi of origin, Maniaihu as the tūpuna whare, and Aorangi as the marae.

Establishing a Reputation

Based at Massey University, near the College of Education, TŪ TOA provides a niche learning experience for a small number of students, all of whom have high sporting ambitions not always compatible with unbending timetables and demands of regular state schools. Ten students were admitted to TŪ TOA in the first year. Their selection depended on a commitment to excellence in sport, academic study, and tikanga Māori, and required a similar high level of commitment from families. The number of students had increased to 25 by 2010 and despite a much larger number of applicants (around 80 students per year) a decision to retain a small cohort was consistent with the focus on excellence and high achievement.

The aims of TŪ TOA are derived from the Constitution and are 'to develop athletes to play sport at the highest level; to establish a school where academic excellence and sporting accomplishment will be jointly fostered, and to enhance students' well-being through traditional Māori values.' Arising from these aims are three goals: to identify athletes with the desire and talent to reach their full potential; to provide academic and sporting programmes of international standard; to create an environment where Māori values and success are integral.[16]

To accommodate training and sporting fixtures all students are enrolled in The Correspondence School. Given the small numbers, providing classroom teaching for a full range of subjects from year 9 to year 13 as well as access to some tertiary studies, would have been unrealistic. Moreover, the demands of daily training, club and provincial fixtures, and overseas sporting events would have precluded regular attendance at conventional schools. Students have often sought entry to TŪ TOA

because the schools they had been previously attending had not been able to accommodate such wide departures from the school routine. In contrast, flexible routines at TŪ TOA are possible without compromising academic demands or high academic achievement; students are encouraged to complete assignments on time and to a required standard. The TŪ TOA culture demands a work ethic fitting for high performance and excellence across all components of the educational experience.

Two student managers assist students to develop customised plans for sporting, academic and personal goals. They act as conduits between the Correspondence School, subject specialists, local and national sporting bodies, coaches, Iwi, families, and Massey University. The University link has been important. In addition to renting classroom facilities on campus, TŪ TOA students have access to sports training facilities, the University library, the College of Education marae, and a wide range of academic and sporting expertise. In addition familiarisation with a campus environment renders university a less daunting post-secondary destination. The blended approach coupled with an educational environment where high expectations are firmly embedded within an integrated model of excellence sends strong signals to students.

High academic attainment, superior sporting accomplishment, confidence as Māori and participation in Māori sporting and cultural networks has been pivotal for the programme's success. Excellence in one area such as sport tends to bolster performance in others including education.[17] In 2009 TŪ TOA won the national inter-secondary schools netball tournament, two golfers gained provincial and national ranking and the tennis team received national and international acclaim. In

the same year there was a 100 percent pass rate for NCEA levels one and two, and an 80 percent pass rate for level three. Of the ten year 13 school leavers in 2009, 6 enrolled in university study.[18]

While TŪ TOA has developed a reputation for excellence and quality, and has demonstrated a level of innovation that has led to success in two arenas, its status as a school has attracted considerable comment. For example, when initially attempting to compete in local inter-secondary netball competitions, principals from high schools in the area opposed their participation on the grounds that TŪ TOA was not actually a school. Technically that was correct but the motivation for the opposition was thought to be linked more to the likelihood of TŪ TOA winning the competition, than to a strict definition of what constituted a school. A parallel series of conversations also revolved around accusations that active poaching of senior students was underway, a concern that had no substance, nor any evidence. In the event TŪ TOA did compete in inter-secondary school netball, golf and tennis but as a group of students playing under the Correspondence School banner. Their success may not have led to any lessening of the opposition, but it more than justified the TŪ TOA right to compete.

The association with The Correspondence School has been pivotal to a successful start.[19] Some parents were initially concerned that distance education would not be suitable for Māori learners but in an era where digital learning is becoming a norm, for Māori as well as others, there is mounting evidence that rangatahi are well able to learn at a distance from the teacher. That mode of learning has certainly been embraced at TŪ TOA with good outcomes, measured by NCEA results. In addition,

supplementing the learning process with face to face supervision and specialist subject tutors has extended the reach of The Correspondence School and added to the niche environment.

Status and Funding

The TŪ TOA status has been further complicated by difficulty in arranging on-going Government funding. Some effort was spent trying to have TŪ TOA established as a satellite school, with resources being channeled through a 'parent' school. Four approaches were made to schools that may have been receptive to the idea. While they were generally enthusiastic and saw mutual advantages, the Trust was not happy with some conditions and was especially concerned that the special character of TŪ TOA would be undermined by the culture of the 'parent' school. A level of autonomy sufficient to support the goals of TŪ TOA had been an important consideration from the outset and the prospect of the ideals being diluted or diminished eventually countered the possibility of a satellite arrangement.

Other avenues were also explored including the option of becoming a registered private school. That option was initially considered impractical since it would have required a roll of around 250 and a campus that met high standards. TŪ TOA had never contemplated anything other than a small roll, less than 50 and did not have sufficient resources to purchase a well developed campus. However, after several submissions to the Ministry of Education and successive Ministers of Education, there was agreement in 2009 that TŪ TOA could be established as a private school with a special character, without necessarily meeting the requirements for a larger roll. By

the commencement of 2010, TŪ TOA had been listed as a private school and as such was subject to an Education Review Office assessment.

Meanwhile discussions to become part of a new venture, Te Tai Wānangawould see TŪ TOA as a school of special character within a network of schools associated with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. That option would enable government funds to flow into the school and would also enable TŪ TOA to be part of a group of schools all committed to exploring ways of improving outcomes for Māori secondary students.

The development of Whare Kura, Māori language immersion mode schools, saw the emergence of another option for secondary education that has created a new enthusiasm for education that has been embraced by whānau as well as students. Now, the possibility of a new range of schools with special character has emerged. Given the overall state of Māori secondary education, it is a possibility that holds the prospect of a series of smaller schools within which a consistent and meaningful kawa can be developed.

A TŪ TOA Kawa

Although compared to the other two case studies TŪ TOA has had a relatively short existence, it has nonetheless developed a kawa that gives it distinctiveness, a strong set of values, and a platform for moving forward. The kawa has two major elements. First it has a number of guiding principles, ngā taketake, that are applied to all aspects of TŪ TOA and second it observes a number of ritenga. The principles relate primarily to the focus on high achievement in all endeavours, respect for rivals, and

engagement. The ritenga depend heavily on Ngāti Kauwhata contributions but also on leadership from within the student group, both in classrooms and on sports fields.

The principles that underlie the TŪ TOA approach to education and sport, Ngā Taketake, were identified after observations and discussions with staff and students over a three year period. To a greater or lesser extent they are evident in all aspects of the student experience. Collectively they form the basis for the kawa and can be divided into two groups: those principles that inspire high performance and those that are more concerned with engagement. The principles have two levels of application; sometimes they focus on individuals and sometimes on groups, and sometimes they are to foster engagement within TŪ TOA and sometimes engagement with other groups. These dimensions, although moving in opposite directions are not incompatible; instead they reflect more on the notion of consistency across the several areas that make up the TŪ TOA field of operation. The taketake include some that have already been noted in chapter 4 and in the other case studies as well as some that are quite distinctive: Taumata Whakahirahira, Mahinga Tahi, Te Hiringa, Whanaungatanga, Whakaaro Nui, Tū Motuhake (Table 7).

Table 7 Nga Taketake o TŪ TOA

Ngā Taketake	**The TŪ TOA principles**
Taumata Whakahirahira	Excellence and high achievement
Mahinga Tahi	Teamwork and cooperation
Te Hiringa	Endurance
Whanaungatanga	Relationship building
Whakaaro Nui	Respect for others
Tū Motuhake	Autonomy

Taumata Whakahirahira is the principle of excellence and high achievement. When students agree to be part of the TŪ TOA whānau they agree to excel in all they do. The prospect covers the three main goals of TŪ TOA – educational performance, performance in sport, cultural competency. Accomplishment in sport is to be matched by accomplishment in the two other areas and inclusion in sporting events depends on satisfactory achievement in all areas.[20] The principle is reinforced during training sessions, in the classroom and when in other environments. Taumata Whakhirahira is accompanied by high expectations from staff, parents and the Trust Board. Failure is not an option and coming second (rather than first) is not regarded as a good enough result.

Mahinga Tahi refers to teamwork, cooperation and group cohesion. Those principles are a part the answer to high achievement. Through endurance training, team sport, group study, and combined cultural participation, the possibility of excellence becomes real and the gains made when there is a framework for united action are repeatedly demonstrated. In a context where individual talents are part of the reason

for superior accomplishments in sport, teamwork is promoted as a way of adding value to personal skills. Students who are involved in golf for example find that their game is improved when they can join others during training or when applying themselves to study. Despite students having varied programmes of study, the approach to study is based around common ideals and methods of study, within a group setting.

Te Hiringa expreses the principle of endurance and is similar to the Tū Kaha objective described in chapter 4. The TŪ TOA kawa places importance on promoting endurance as a key to high achievement. Students follow a demanding schedule that includes regular morning training runs, and conditioning, a shared breakfast, dedicated study time, dietary monitoring, on-time reporting to the Correspondence School and personal time management. In addition for each of the sporting codes represented at TŪ TOA regular participation in competitive sport and intensive pre-match training are required. Most students are able to sustain the pace, partly because they are committed but also because of the wider context of the school within which endurance is an integral and shared value.

Whanaungatanga is a principle that is shared with other case studies. In the TŪ TOA context it equates with establishing working relationships within the school as well beyond the school. Relationships between school and whānau are especially important. Families play important roles in fund raising, supporting teams that are travelling to sporting events, providing hospitality to visitors and assisting with the maintenance of training schedules. Relationships with other educational institutions in the district have also been fostered including Massey University (a Memorandum

of Understanding and an Agreement for Service), Te Wānanga o Raukawa, University College of Learning, Mana Tamariki, Hato Paora College, and The Correspondence School. Relationships with Sports Manawatu, the New Zealand Netball Association, the Manawatu Golf Club, and the Māori Tennis Association have enabled access to sporting opportunities and wider support.

Whakaaro Nui refers to the principle of respect for others, and especially, in the TŪ TOA context, respect for rivals. Students are encouraged to be gracious in defeat and humble in victory. Demonstrating those values in national sporting competitions has attracted favourable comment particularly from Māori audiences whose children have been in opposing teams. Humility is part of the Rangitāne tradition and the location of TŪ TOA in the Manawatū affirms that attitude and acknowledges the status of Rangitāne as tangata whenua in the region. Whakaaro nui is also relevant to the way TŪ TOA values associations with other institutions and with various sporting codes. The principle applies equally to students and staff.

Tū Motuhake is about autonomy and independence. It has more than one level of meaning. Each student is required to construct a unique development plan that covers educational, sporting cultural and career ambitions. The goal is that students should be conscious of their own strengths and identities and develop plans that will extend their capabilities into the future. In addition, the autonomy principle applies to TŪ TOA as a whole. The importance placed on independence and reluctance to compromise if fundamental values will be undermined has already been discussed. Operating as a private school is an option that carries greater prospect of maintaining a degree of independence than other options. But independence also depends on other

factors including economic viability and pressure to shift the kawa away from a focus on high performance and excellence to a focus on access. Meanwhile along with Taumata Whakahirahira, Tū Motuhake is a paramount principle.

Impacts of the Kawa

Research into the impact of the TŪ TOA programmes on students, staff and whānau was undertaken in 2008/09.[21] A major conclusion was that most of the students were succeeding as champions in sport and were achieving excellent results in education. However, not all components of the kawa were as evident as others. Students and whanau sometimes felt unable to display mutual support as much as they would like, and engagement with te reo Māori and other aspects of tikanga Māori was not as strong as for the sporting and academic dimensions. At the same time the excellent academic results suggested that rangatahi were realising their educational potential within the TŪ TOA environment. Moreover, students were reaching their physical and psychological potential through balanced well-being, especially regarding sport and education. A conclusion was that passion and commitment can be effective drivers for the realisation of potential.

Further evidence of impact was contained in an Education Review Office report in 2010. The Report concluded that TŪ TOA was efficient as defined by section 35A of the Education Act 1989 in providing suitable premises, equipment, curriculum, and tuition. The report noted the significance of the Aorangi marae as a 'spiritual home', and acknowledged the active involvement of whānau. Māori values such as whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, aroha and humarie were considered to be inherent and demonstrated throughout the day. 'They [the students] know about, understand

and confidently demonstrate appropriate kawa when needed.'[22] The report also commented on the students' confidence, self motivation and clear understandings of their future pathways. Both sporting and educational achievements were acknowledged.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

THEMES FOR A KAWA

A Kawa for Engagement

This chapter discusses the findings from the case studies and their relationship to the research question: '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to Maori participation in a range of situations in modern times?*'

This thesis is primarily about the application of Mātauranga Māori to shaping socio-cultural environments so that engagement is secured and goals might be achieved. The three case studies are built on the common assumption that human outcomes are not only dependent on personal qualities but also on the social and cultural environments within which achievement occurs.[1] For each case study, the development and implementation of an appropriate kawa has been discussed. Building on those insights it has been possible to identify common threads that can be regarded as themes for participation i.e. themes that contribute to engagement and achievement. Although each case study has specific characteristics and perspectives, all three share a number of principles and pathways that contribute to both engagement and achievement relevant especially to Māori youth.

Before discussing the significance of the findings from the case studies it is necessary to consider the relationship between engagement and achievement. Experiences in many spheres, including the education and health sectors, have shown that unless engagement is meaningful and committed, optimal achievement is unlikely. Successful engagement depends on at least two immediate variables – the two parties to the engagement process. Failure to complete or to reach best possible outcomes

does not only reflect individual motivation, but is also influenced by the interaction that occurs when a relationship is being established. Marae kawa clearly demonstrates how engagement is a two-way process. It requires bilateral agreements and explorations of the common ground – or the past misunderstandings. Successful engagement depends on recognising common ideals, joint expectations, shared values, similar patterns of communication, mutual benefits and an agreed understanding of cultural nuances. Under those circumstances the protocols for engagement are precursors for good outcomes.

In addition to successful engagement, achievement also has many other determinants. The achievement of rangatahi depends on a wide range of factors including personal factors (such as health status, intellect, identity formation[2]), social factors (such as the level of social inclusion and relationships with parents, peers, and mentors[3]), economic factors (including household incomes, access to goods and services[4]), environmental factors (short distance impacts arising from the physical environment and long distance factors associated with political policies and national priorities[5]). In that respect the findings from the three case studies are limited as they do not attempt to provide statistical evidence of causal relationships nor do they provide a comprehensive exploration of all the possible success factors. Instead the focus is on the specific questions: does kawa make a difference and what are the key elements of a kawa that will contribute to full participation?

Research into rangatahi wellbeing and success has often been overshadowed by research into ill health and failure. In both health and education, for example, there is abundant research into the marginalisation of Māori youth, and the reasons why disparities between Māori and non-Māori are so high.[6] There are no real surprises. Low achievement is associated with socio-economic disadvantage, social exclusion,

diminished access to quality services, cultural mismatch between consumers and providers, cultural alienation, and discrimination if not frank racism.[7] These studies have been important because they have identified those factors that contribute to failure and impoverishment and have offered clues about the types of interventions that might reduce disparities.

However, this thesis is concerned less with the identification of factors contributing to failure. It is more concerned with the factors that lead to success. Although they are related, the two sets of factors are not necessarily flip sides of the same coin. The pathways to success and high achievement can be distinguished from those pathways that inevitably lead towards failure. Avoiding failure does not necessarily guarantee success nor do pathways leading to success, necessarily guarantee against failure.. To that end this thesis is about uncovering pathways that lead to effective participation in certain situations. The TŪ TOA case study is not a panacea for the success of all rangatahi; *Te Kawa o te Ako* and *Kawa Oranga* cannot be transferred to any situation where there are rangatahi; and the Mana Tamariki example will not be applicable to all Māori communities. From that perspective, the thesis findings relate to situations that are bound by distinctive contexts, derived from particular aspirations, and built on innovative energies.

Importantly also, the thesis is not simply about the participation of all young people. First, while the Mana Tamariki and Te Wānanga o Raukawa case studies include tamariki and pakake respectively, the focus in all three case studies is on rangatahi. Rangatahi refers to young Māori people, aged somewhere between the teen years and the early adult years. The wide span does not match biological development, but does reflect critical periods in early life where informed decisions about future pathways can be made so that the later years are more certain and more aligned with aspirations.

Rangatahi are young enough to acquire skills, develop adaptive habits and patterns, and absorb values and that will be important in later years, but not yet old enough to have opted for irreversible lifestyles or ways of life that are limited by narrowed vision and selective knowledge.

Being rangatahi is also about being Māori. Quite apart from the dual focus on youthfulness and achievement, this thesis, and the three case studies, also explores the significance of being Māori. Rangatahi are Māori and being Māori implies being part of Te Ao Māori. From that point of view the case studies highlight Māori participation in the Māori world and the relevance of Mātauranga Māori to modern pursuits. It has already been noted in chapter four that the elements of kawa are derived from Māori values, culture and custom. Te reo Māori, whakapapa, and karakia, are all aspects of 'being Māori' and they all feature prominently in the case studies.

Not all rangatahi will have the same sense of attachment to 'being Māori' or alternately will interpret 'being Māori' in quite different ways to the meanings adopted by the young people involved in the case studies. To many, 'being Māori' might mean associating with other Māori people, or having ancestors who were Māori, or wearing a Māori pendant, but not necessarily participating in Māori institutions or adopting values that underpin Māori cultural heritage. Sometimes a Māori identity will equate with narrowing a frame of reference.[8] For that reason, the findings from this study will not be applicable to all young Māori. They will, however, have relevance for rangatahi who aspire to achieve 'as Māori' and in ways that incorporate the values and practices that constitute kawa.

A third rider to the case studies is the notion of successful engagement and achievement. Success as Māori in sport, schooling, higher study, and personal health are the broader aims of the case studies. Other Māori will have different interpretations of success. Advanced performance in music, higher university qualifications, skills in trades, commerce, and agriculture, will be more important to many Māori than the acquisition of a code of behavior that is based on tikanga Māori. To some extent, however, the case studies are about laying foundations for success in a range of endeavors. Although the three studies are limited to highly specific situations, they are not necessarily irrelevant to a wider range of vocations and ambitions that could be enhanced by the application of 'success motivating' kawa. Indeed chapter 9 explores the relevance of kawa to the future. Those extensions, however, are beyond the immediate range of this chapter.

The distinction between participation and alienation, which is an implicit question in this thesis, also raises questions about the meaning of estrangement. Alienation is not necessarily viewed through the same lens by all cultures. New Zealand, like many other states in the OECD community is strongly influenced by competiveness and increasingly endorses the idea that self interest is a dominate force that acts as a powerful motivator. The economy demands winners and losers, and educational success is as much a reflection of the numbers who fail as well as the few who achieve at high levels.

Often for example an 'A' grade is not awarded to more than ten percent of students who pass, regardless of the standards achieved. A highly individualistic approach to achievement is a culture-bound approach that was not evident in any of the case studies.

Although the case studies are pivotal to the conclusions reached in this thesis, they are not necessarily germane to all rangatahi or to all situations. Instead their relevance is primarily to those rangatahi who have opted to seek participation in situations where Māori values and a commitment to Māori ideals have been made. In that context, full participation is not necessarily paired with alienation.

The Analysis

In order to understand the characteristics of a kawa that can be usefully applied to programmes for rangatahi, an analysis of the three case studies was undertaken, with a particular aim of determining whether there were common themes. The three case studies encompass quite different situations but they all contribute to understandings of kawa in modern times and in contemporary circumstances. In turn, the kawa described in each case study reflects the negotiation of pathways that lead to engagement and achievement, with less focus on the profiles of individual participants. At its simplest, kawa is about the ways that groups of people interact with each other and with the wider environment.

In analysing the kawa in the case studies, the framework discussed in Chapter 4 (Table 4.1) provided a starting point. It will be recalled that the framework was derived from interviews with marae elders, as well as the literature. The focus in the framework and in this analysis is on the cultural forces operating within a system to modify and shape behavior. Other types of analyses focus on individuals and their personal attributes and make assumptions that the context within which they operate is fixed and relatively benign, so that outcomes are a reflection of personal attributes or deficits rather than system-wide variables. Sporting teams, however, know that

their successes only partly depend on their individual skills; the perfection of team work, cultural affirmation and the team spirit provide the winning formula.[9]

Assumptions about the relevance of the operating context are not new. Increasingly the relationship between environment and human endeavor has highlighted the impact of external pressures on individual behavior. Marketing strategies for cigarettes, alcohol and food, for example, can influence behavior in ways that compromise health and wellbeing. Systems theory, public health perspectives, and economic models are all concerned with demonstrating the link between environment and human circumstances. Diabetes is a prime example. Whilst much research and effort has been undertaken towards the medical treatment and management of type 2 diabetes, it is well known that the disease can be prevented through wise nutrition, exercise, and the avoidance of other risk factors such as tobacco.[10] Yet across the globe, it has been known for some years that the prevalence of diabetes is rising as sedentary lifestyles and fast food intakes increase.[11]

The Key Themes

Table 8 Key Themes

Foundations for Kawa	*Descriptor*	*Key Themes*
The Domains of Kawa	Rongomātāne	1 Productive and creative learning
	Tūmatauenga	2 A warrior attitude
The Purposes of Kawa	Whakawhanaungatanga	3 Connectedness
	Whakawātea te ara	4 Risk assessment & management
	Whakapiri tāngata	5 Team bonding & cohesion
	Whakamana	6 Self determination & self management
	Whakahihiwa	7 Focus and concentration
The Elements of Kawa	Ngā Kaupapa Ngā Ritenga	8 Mātauranga Māori & cultural markers
The Ownership of Kawa	Kaitiakitanga	9 Inspirational mentors
	Tū Motuhake	10 A distinctive identity

In the analysis of case studies, and based on the *Framework for Discussing Kawa,* ten common themes applicable to rangatahi programmes could be identified. The key themes emerge from the domains of kawa, the purposes of kawa, the elements of kawa, and the ownership of kawa, as outlined in chapter 4. The themes, summarised in Table 8 above were common to all case studies.

Theme 1: Rongomātāne - A Philosophy of Productive and Creative Learning

All three case studies were the products of innovative and creative energies. They were primarily aimed at developing an approach to achievement that would harness resourcefulness and release the potential of rangatahi. In that respect the over-riding aims were peaceable and productive. The realm of Rongomātāne includes the pursuit of knowledge, productivity, and the arts. Activities within some whare wānanga for example were dedicated to Rongomātāne and similarly the skills and industry associated with the cultivation of crops were also dedicated to Rongomātāne.

In constructing *Te Kawa o te Ako*, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, sought to provide opportunities for young people to engage with tertiary education and to achieve within a context enriched by cultural approaches to learning and achievement and devoid of negative influences.[12] *Te Kawa Oranga* also emphasised the importance of cultural factors to learning while similarly recognising the need for the development of intellectual and physical skills and the acquisition of new knowledge. In both instances, the resulting kawa embraces industry (productiveness), peaceful

endeavours, and the creation of new pathways for rangatahi – all goals that are within the influence of Rongomātāne.

The kawa emerging from Mana Tamariki is also primarily concerned with participation in education at three levels (early childhood, primary, secondary).[13] But its distinctiveness lies in an underlying philosophy of whānau co-operation, concerted effort, and peaceful mediation of pathways towards achievement. Like Te Wānanga o Raukawa there is a strong ethos of industry and the acquisition of skills, values and knowledge that will enable young children to realise their potential later in life.

The Mana Tamariki kawa is generative; it is about human growth within a wider environment. Since establishment on a new site, the kawa has also recognised the significance of the earth and has established a garden project that encourages children to learn about cultivation and eco-cycles. The relevance to Rongomātāne has been apparent from the beginning and has become an increasingly important aspect of the operating environment.

Like both other case studies, the TŪ TOA kawa is built around creative and productive learning. It is a relatively small enterprise that has some of the elements of a whare wānanga and others of a sports academy. But in both respects it stands for industry, productivity, and eco-sensitivity. TŪ TOA has a special concern about nutrition and the origins of food. Meals are prepared on-site according to a formula that encourages 'natural' foods and discourages mass produced high calorie foods that owe more to technology and artificial flavouring than to the bounty of Papatuanuku. Students are made aware of the differences of food quality and the relationship of nutrition to performance. The skills, knowledge, and lifestyles promoted at TŪ TOA

owe much to the domain of Rongomātāne, and the links between the natural environment and human achievement.

Theme 2: Tūmatauenga - A Warrior Attitude

Although Rongomātāne and Tūmatauenga stand for opposing principles, the former being concerned with peaceful pursuits and the latter with war, marae kawa allows for both to be afforded respect, even on the same location. The marae ātea is regarded as the domain of Tūmatauenga while the domain of Rongomātāne prevails inside the wharenui. This element of duality recognises two approaches that are necessary at different times. Once conflicts have been resolved, other more peaceful endeavours can continue.

The TŪ TOA kawa places strong emphasis on winning, both in team and individual sports and in academic subjects. The winning attitude, at least in sport, recognises that the opposition must be outsmarted and dominated in all aspects of the game; playing only for relaxation and pleasure is not part of the kawa. Playing to win has more in common with the domain of Tūmatauenga than Rongomātāne and suggests that while the game is in progress a different mind-set prevails from the more peaceful attitudes evident when the competition is over. In a different context TŪ TOA has also had to 'do battle' with educational authorities over government funding for the enterprise. Confrontation and challenge has been necessary, with some success, if no sustainable solution. The success of TŪ TOA students in a variety of sports and equally within the classroom, suggests that the mix between Rongomātāne and Tūmatauenga is compatible and that one may actually augment the other. More widely, the same is true on a marae where the success of a Hui depends on a kawa

that provides for both challenge and debate on the marae, as well as productive discussions within the house.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa has a well practiced tradition of both challenge and harmony. While much of the Wānanga activity focuses on productive learning – the realm of Rongomātāne - marae encounters are also important to *Te Kawa o te Ako*. Visitors to the Wānanga are routinely received on the marae and are appropriately challenged. For the most part the challenge is overshadowed by words of welcome and assurances of friendship, but from time to time the reception is less congenial, more openly confrontational, and clearly within the domain of Tūmatauenga. Challenge has not only been exercised on the Wānanga marae but also in government offices. A major concern of the Wānanga, even before it was formally established, had been the attitude of the Crown towards Māori institutions of learning and the consequent breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Challenge, confrontation and demand have been part of the kawa adopted to realise aspirations and to have rights to learning within a Māori context recognised and funded; those aspects of the kawa are closely aligned to the domain of Tūmatauenga.

Similar claims on Government for funding and recognition have also been part of the Mana Tamariki experience. Mana Tamariki has a kawa that is strongly centred around the domain of Rongomātāne and most debate occurs within the school buildings rather than outside on a marae atea. In fact, like TŪ TOA, there is no defined marae ātea. But when the operation has been threatened, either by Government tardiness or by parents who were not willing to accept a necessary level of responsibility towards the mission, the spirit of Tūmatauenga has been summoned to deal with the threat.

Theme 3: Whakawhanaungatanga - Connectedness

In Chapter 4, the importance of kawa as a way of building relationships was discussed. Whakawhanaungatanga is part of a process where relationship building is actively pursued, either by reconnecting groups with common ancestors, or by affirming common aspirations and goals. Mana Tamariki is part of a network of Māori immersion educational institutions. Although not formed under the Kohanga Reo Trust, as most other Kohanga are, it has actively established working relationships with the Trust and with a range of other local and national entities. Moreover, the connections with Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Kura are strong and extend across the country.

All three case study organisations have a wide range of relationships but of particular significance to this thesis are the relationships with mana whenua. Te Wānanga o Raukawa, for example, is an integral part of a tribal alliance that includes Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa, and Ngāti Toarangatira. Mana Tamariki is based in the Manawatu and the whānau of students have affiliations with a range of iwi. However, the institution has maintained close links with the mana whenua tribe, Rangitāne. The link is reflected in the waiata, protocols, and karakia and is strengthened by Rangitāne staff members, parents, and students. Rangitāne kaumātua are invited to open and close formal occasions and when protocols are required, they follow Rangitāne traditions.

TŪ TOA is also located in Palmerston North but the spiritual home is on the Aorangi Marae, near Feilding. Ngāti Kauwhata, who have mana whenua in the district, have been actively involved in the establishment and ongoing governance and management of TŪ TOA since its inception. The relationship has mutual benefits. It adds to Iwi educational opportunities, contributes to the Iwi sporting profile and provides the Iwi

with a model for rangatahi achievement. In addition, because the programme attracts high profile athletes and educators, it brings kudos and reputational gains to the Iwi. In return, TŪ TOA has a 'place to stand,' a marae that is firmly connected to wider iwi networks and a supportive group of kaumātua who endorse the programme's objectives and its operations.

Relationships between the organisations in this study and Iwi are not necessarily cemented in documents or law. One of the case studies, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, however, does have a formal relationship with Iwi. The Raukawa Trustees (which includes Ngati Raukawa, Te Ati Awa and Ngati Toarangatira) is the parent body of the Wānanga and appoints three members to Te Mana Whakahaere, the governing council. The connection to the Trustees, and through them to the three Iwi, is important. Not only does it strengthen the identity of the Wānanga and validate it in Māori eyes, but it also provides a pathway through which the Wānanga can contribute to Iwi and in turn, be supported by Iwi.

In contrast to Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the Raukawa Trustees, Mana Tamariki does not have a formal relationship with Rangitāne. However, there is a clear understanding between the entities; the Iwi provides a mantle that endorses Mana Tamariki, its aims, objectives, and presence. TŪ TOA has a well developed association with Ngāti Kauwhata. The association is not formalised in any agreement but is strengthened by a strong Iwi presence on the Trust Board and on the staff. Because of the connection, a relatively high proportion of students are also from Ngāti Kauwhata. When TŪ TOA was established, it was launched on the Aorangi Marae (Ngāti Kauwhata) and each year students and whānau return to the marae for the annual prize giving as well as for periodic retreats, training sessions and fundraising

events. The Deed establishing the TŪ TOA Charitable Trust was also signed at the Aorangi Marae.

Theme 4: Whakawatea te Ara – Avoiding Risk

Marae kawa is largely devoted to ensuring that the marae and its people are protected from any risks that might be inflicted from outside. In modern times that fundamental aspect is often overlooked in favour of a less cautious approach and a spirit of hospitality towards visitors. But protecting the integrity of the marae remains an important part of caring for a marae. The same care applies to the three case studies. Each has a kawa for ensuring that the core values and purposes are upheld and not exposed to risk of dilution or assimilation.

In order to maintain its ideals, TŪ TOA for example, has developed a kawa that is applicable to all students. First, there is an expectation that academic achievement will not be compromised by sporting interests – excellence -taumata whakahirahira - in both is the aim. Second, all students are expected to be actively involved in regular and demanding training exercises, regardless of their individual codes. Third, to foster a 'winning attitude', students must be able to demonstrate earlier accomplishments in sport and to have aspirations for national representation. Fourth, in the TŪ TOA kawa, participation in cultural enrichment and Iwi networks is required. The kawa goes someway to ensuring that the risks of abandoning the high ideals are reduced. A student who cannot meet the requirements of the kawa is not encouraged to return.

A major risk for Mana Tamariki is that the emphasis on te reo Māori will be diminished if English becomes an accepted language in the classrooms or on the site. Consequently the Mana Tamariki kawa demands that English is not spoken at all except in English language classes for senior students. Maintaining a Māori-only policy has implications for staff, parents, and visitors. Visiting health workers for example have been asked to observe the policy, and agencies have been requested to send workers who are speakers of Māori. The policy has also been extended into the homes where at least one parent is expected to always speak Māori to the child. Introducing a kawa of 'no-English' has attracted some criticism but has been robustly defended and survives as a workable way of diminishing the risk of reduced Māori language usage.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa has guarded against risk by instituting a kawa (Te Kawa o Te Ako) that affirms Māori values and practices. When cultural values and principles are likely to be undermined, the kawa requires corrective action so that the risk is minimised. There are several examples. Methods of student assessment for instance do not follow the pattern of awarding grades that differentiate students on the basis of achievement. Students who do not complete a course to the required standard, fail. But all other students are awarded a pass. The Wānanga has also been in extensive discussions with the Tertiary Education Commission over the Performance Based Research Fund. The Wānanga argument is that the criteria are based on individual performance in research, rather than overall institutional performance; that approach would compromise the philosophy and kawa of the Wānanga.

Within the kawa, risks to learning such as drug-taking are not tolerated. Of greater importance to the Wānanga, however, is the maintenance and development of Māori knowledge. A risk that those elements will be subsumed under other methodologies

has been reduced by a requirement that the curriculum for all courses of study will include te reo Māori as well as hapū and iwi studies as a consequence an increasing number of students study from their own marae.

Theme 5: Whakapiri Tangata - Team Bonding and Cohesion

On marae there are rules, regulations and practices that make for a uniform approach to day to day activities and acceptable standards. The standards are enforced by the marae kawa and may refer to individual behaviours or to collective actions; they are usually part of the history and overall philosophies underlying the organisation. A cohesive group that is able to move in unison, work cooperatively, and share knowledge and skills, is more likely to meet the collective goals. Team bonding, a similar concept, sets out to make all players committed to the team and to each other, and is associated with higher levels of achievement.

Bonding and cohesion are important considerations in the three case studies and the principle of kotahitanga was evident. Te Wānanga o Raukawa for example has a high level of unity based not only on commitment to Mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge) but also on a commitment to tino rangatiratanga (Māori self determination). Students, staff, and Te Mana Whakahaere (the governing body) value autonomy as well as a curriculum based on tikanga Māori. Their unity is driven as much by a desire for greater Māori authority as by the acquisition of knowledge. In addition unity is underlined in the guiding kaupapa of the Wānanga including kotahitanga, and manaakitanga, and whanaungatanga.[14]

Similarly Mana Tamariki has a strong sense of unity strengthened by a mission. The unity is evident in the adoption by students, staff, and parents of values, practices, and routines based around tikanga Māori. The mission is the revitalisation of te reo Māori and the extension of domains of usage. As already noted a policy of Māori-only within the school grounds and within homes, at least from one parent, is a condition of entry. It reflects the main rationale for establishing Mana Tamariki and remains a driving force that augments cohesion and bonding while also achieving a dual purpose – education within te reo Māori.

The unity evident in TŪ TOA also has dual origins. The educational aim is to achieve high academic success and the sporting aim is to win. Working together as a group is actively promoted through team building exercises, shared responsibilities, group training sessions and whole-of-school retreats at marae. But unity is also evident in the shared mission to excel in sport, as teams and as individuals, in order to achieve high ranking. Not only does cohesiveness contribute to distinctiveness but it also reduces the likelihood of fragmentation, divisiveness, and confusion.

In all three case studies, enhanced achievement emerged as a theme that recognised and encouraged individual excellence without compromising group values and group aspirations. Excellence was seen as a value that could be applied to individuals as well as groups though was accompanied by other values (such as conformity and discipline) that fostered individual achievement within the context of group achievement. At TŪ TOA for example, although most students were involved in team sports (netball), excellence in individual sports including tennis and golf, was encouraged as a part of an institutional mission.

Theme 6: Whakamana - Self Determination and Self Management

A prime function of marae kawa is to uphold the mana of the marae and the people. Mana has many meanings and connotations but essentially hinges on a capacity for self management and self direction, a sense of dignity and authority, and the necessary knowledge and skills to achieve desired goals. Rather than being a product of inborn capability, mana is earned and bestowed. An individual has mana only if others acknowledge the mana. A marae, or a school, or an institution has mana if the community agrees to recognise it as an important contributor and one that has a measure of authority. All three case studies have acquired self governance but not necessarily self determination. Many of their activities are constrained by state requirements and state funding policies. Though self managing, they are not able to decide on standards, student enrolments, the size of the roll without some approval from Government.

Nonetheless an element of self determination is evident in the arrangements for governance. All case studies have formal legal governing bodies. But in addition they have accountabilities to Māori communities upon whom they depend for authentication and validity. Te Wānanga o Raukawa is an approved Wānanga under the Education Amendment Act 1989. It has a governing body, Te Mana Whakahaere with members appointed by the Government, by neighbouring universities (Massey, Victoria), a local body, and the three founding Iwi (Ngāti Raukawa, Te Āti Awa, and Ngāti Toa). Mana Whakahere has overall responsibility for setting the strategy, ensuring that accountabilities are met, and reporting to the Government for the expenditure of public funds. In addition, the Wānanga has two other levels of governance, Te Purutanga Mauri, made up of elders from the three Iwi, and the Raukawa Trustees. Purutanga Mauri advises the Mana Whakahaere on matters of

tikanga and culture while the Raukawa Trustees has a watchdog role and provides a close link between the Wānanga and mana whenua. The roles of Purutanga Mauri and the Raukawa Trustees reflect the Wānanga as an institution belonging to the Iwi and embedded in Iwi accountability systems. Among the guiding kaupapa of the Wānanga is the principle of rangatiratanga that further articulates the institution's aspiration for autonomy.

TŪ TOA was established as a Charitable Trust in 2005 and has a Board of Trustees appointed to reflect sporting, educational and Iwi interests. The Board fulfills a governance role, enters into agreements with other institutions and organisations, and appoints staff. Currently the Chair of the Board is from Ngāti Kauwhata along with two other Board members. The whānau of TŪ TOA (parents, staff, students) elects board members. As well as a Board of Trustees, TŪ TOA also has a relationship with Ngāti Kauwhata and although there is no formal reporting line, the Iwi maintains a close interest, offering support and providing a tribal base. In return, TŪ TOA ensures that the Iwi are kept abreast of developments and are able to offer advice on new directions. The dual accountabilities – a formal link to the Charitable Trusts Commission and an ethical link to Ngāti Kauwhata – are consistent with the dual contexts that shape TŪ TOA.

As a registered school, Mana Tamariki is governed by a Board of Trustees, in accordance with state regulations. Trustees are appointed from staff, student and whanau constituencies. But the wider governing function is also undertaken by an Incorporated Society, Mana Tamariki Inc thathas appointed trustees. In addition, Te Ohu Whakahaere, a body appointed by whānau, makes executive decisions and maintains faith with the wider Māori community. Rangitāne is part of the governance network and major decisions such as relocation, naming policies and waiata

composed to commemorate local Iwi histories, involve Iwi members. Mana Tamariki has traditionally placed emphasis on the contribution of whānau to the directions taken and has encouraged whānau participation as a major contributor to self determination.

Theme 7: Whakahihiwa - Focus and Concentration

The theme of 'team bonding and cohesion' emphasises group performance and group values. Achievement by the organisation as a whole is a priority but that aspiration could be at odds with the notion of personal achievement. One of the dilemmas for programmes that prioritise group attainment is the possibility of an implicit parallel process that downplays individual performance. The 'tall poppy syndrome' is said to disadvantage those who stand out as exceptional or aspire to exceed a group norm. However, in all three case studies enhanced achievement emerged as a theme that recognised and encouraged individual excellence without compromising group values and group aspirations.

Excellence was seen as a value that could be applied to individuals as well as groups though was accompanied by other values (such as conformity and discipline) that fostered individual achievement within the context of group achievement. At TŪ TOA for example, although most students were involved in team sport (netball), excellence in individual sports including tennis and golf, was encouraged as a part of an institutional mission. Regardless of the individual-group distinction, the TŪ TOA kawa stresses focus, concentration and high achievement. A culture of commitment associated with high expectations and a readiness to undertake long hours of training

or studying, is part of the kawa. Parents and students are made aware of the expectations and the need for dedicated focus.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa similarly demands an intense focus on kaupapa Māori, tikanga, and hapū and iwi participation. Pūkengatanga, one of the guiding kaupapa, expresses the Wānanga concern that scholarship and learning should underlie the Wānanga kawa. Focused attention is facilitated by noho marae, two or three day residential seminars held on marae or at the Wānanga itself. During that time students observe *Te Kawa o Te Ako*, a kawa designed to increase mental alertness, boost attention span, and avoid external distractions. Requirements that student research will involve kaumātua from the students' own hapū adds further to the mental concentration. Reading articles and texts are valuable but interviewing kaumātua about their marae or life experiences requires another level of concentration, sensitivity, commitment and focus.

The Mana Tamariki experience hinges on te reo Māori and a pledge to speak Māori on all occasions while at school. The institution-wide commitment provides a centre of attention and a stimulus for maintain the mission. It acts as a powerful catalyst for thinking, speaking, writing and visualising in Māori so that student attention is totally focused on te reo as the primary means of communication. Focus is further intensified by inspirational teachers who have been able to create attractive resources, in te reo Māori, that can hold attention and excite the learning process. Their passion, coupled with enthusiastic parents and grandparents, underlie the mobilisation of attention, concentration, and application that characterise Mana Tamariki.

Theme 8: Ngā Kaupapa me Ngā Ritenga – Mātauranga Māori and Cultural Markers

In all case studies, the underlying philosophical framework was based on Mātauranga Maori; and the kawa not only reflected mātauranga but also the expressions of culture that are derived from Mātauranga Maori. Chapter 2 explained how the research method adopted for this thesis has been drawn from a mātauranga Maori framework and outlined some of the difference between that framework, kaupapa Māori research paradigms and western research methodologies. In Chapter 3, the key informants discussed the relative meanings of kawa, kaupapa, and tikanga and in Chapter 4 marae elders also indicated how those concepts were applied to the practice of marae kawa.

Within the case studies it was possible to draw a distinction between the philosophical or theoretical base (Mātauranga Maori), sets of values aligned to Māori world views (ngā kaupapa or nga taketake), and actions that gave expressions to those values (ngā tikanga, or ngā ritenga). The kawa reflected a combination of all three aspects: mātauranga Māori, ngā kaupapa (taketake), ngā tikanga (ritenga). The kaupapa were not dissimilar between case studies and some common values were evident including whanaungatanga, tino rangatiratanga andmanaakitanga. Mātauranga Māori was also noted as a kaupapa. In addition for each study specific defining kaupapa were identified including for example Pukengatanga (at Te Wānanga o Raukawa), Te Reo Māori (at Mana Tamariki) and Taumata Whakahirahira (at TŪ TOA).

The tikanga or ritenga adopted in the case studies also showed some common features. Karakia, for example, were integral components of the kawa in the three case studies. While there are many of types of karakia, including those based on Māori environmental ethics and those derived from a variety of religious practices, all

karakia have a spiritual foundation that adds an additional dimension to kawa. In Chapter 4, the similarities and differences between karakia were noted. Reciting karakia recognises that the human condition is dependent on higher forces, and that spiritual connections can impact on wellbeing. Commencing a ceremony with a karakia for example introduces a new level of awareness and signals detachment from mundane day to day preoccupations so that the task ahead can be given due attention.

Through karakia the mood is altered; self interest is balanced by wider perspectives; individual aims are welded into a communal objective; and the capabilities of humankind are enhanced by connections with nature. Working in harmony with those forces can increase human potential.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa has historic connections with the Otaki and Porirua Trusts Board, established by the Church of England (Diocese of Wellington) to support Māori education through secondary school scholarships. The Board was formed as the result of a series of inquiries into lands gifted by Ngāti Toa and Ngāi Raukawa to the Church for education, but never used for that purpose. Te Wānanga o Raukawa is built on a property owned by the Board (and still uses some of the buildings of the former the Otaki Māori Boys College, managed by the Church) and the Board's office is located at the Wānanga. The association between the Wānanga and the Board reflects the long-standing relationships with the Church of England. The Anglican tradition remains evident in the kawa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Karakia used at the Wānanga are generally based on Anglican rituals and are offered at formal meetings, during teaching sessions, and to receive visitors. Other types of karakia are also used, including those that focus on Māori respect for nature and the environment, but Christian karakia are more frequently heard. Importantly wairuatanga is one of the

guiding kaupapa and recognises the significance of spirituality as part of the wider Wānanga kawa.

In contrast, Mana Tamariki excludes Christian karakia from the kawa. The deliberate omission is partly motivated by a concern that Christianity had been part of a colonising process which had actively discouraged customary karakia. But there was additional interest in revitalising Māori knowledge, including Māori reverence for environmental systems represented by regents such as Rongomātāne, Haumietiketike, and Tawhirimātea. Children at *Mana Tamariki* learn a wide range of karakia and can apply them appropriately. Like *Te Wānanga o Raukawa*, the kawa includes the recitation of karakia during meetings, at the commencement of classes, and before events that might be challenging or of high importance to the wider goal of language revitalisation.

Of the three case studies, the TŪ TOA kawa is the most secular. Nonetheless karakia remain distinctive elements of the programme. Karakia are included in formal meetings and during powhiri for visitors. Importantly they are also regularly offered before sporting events. Despite intensive physical training, TŪ TOA appreciates the relevance of a spiritual aspect to success. The spiritual dimension adds an extraordinary strength, sometimes compared to mental toughness, and introduces a motivational aim that goes beyond the satisfaction of winning. Karakia provide the time and the space to elevate the sights creating a spiritual and mental platform for a super-human effort. Moreover, after an event, and no matter what the result, karakia are again offered as a token of appreciation for the privilege of playing and for the opportunity to participate.

In addition to karakia, kawa is defined by other cultural markers. Haka and waiata confer distinctiveness and increase a sense of collectivity and group cohesion. Some hakaare part of specific Iwi traditions and are markers of tribal strength and determination. Similarly most waiata are composed in response to a particular event or to commemorate a new development. The choice of haka or waiata not only provides a clue to the identity of the performers but also provides an indication of strength and confidence.

TŪ TOA, Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Mana Tamariki have all composed distinctive waiata to reflect their own missions and their own people. The Wānanga frequently performs waiata that have Ngāti Raukawa origins and often present a tribal haka (*Ka Mate*) that signifies their ongoing affiliations with Ngāti Toa. TŪ TOA and Mana Tamariki on the other hand have a range of waiata that focus on their goals and objectives more than their Iwi affiliations. Both waiata and haka can generate motivation and for that reason are used to inspire higher levels of achievement and sometimes to intimidate opponents.

Orderliness, discipline, and respect are products of kawa and are reinforced by *ngā ritenga.* In the three case studies, discipline formed an important part of the institutional culture requiring relatively high levels of conformity. However, there were few references to punishment if the guidelines were not followed. Instead behaviour appeared to be shaped by a communal will and a shared expectation that all individuals would subscribe to the community code. At TŪ TOA, for example, students knew that failure to complete assignments could lead to forfeiting a game; the goal of academic achievement was on a par with sporting excellence and non-achievement in either would have reputational impacts on the whole community. The Mana Tamariki experience is that a kawa need not be punitive; rather it provides a

template for social engagement, even for very young children. The kawa does not only apply to Māori language usage but also to the values of manaakitanga, mahi-tahi, and mutual respect between parents and their children. Reference has already been made to the kawa for learning adopted at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and the impact it has on students across a range of ages.

Theme 9: Kaitiakitanga – Inspirational Mentorship

Guiding the kawa and ensuring that it remains relevant to agreed goals, continues to sustain the mana of the marae, and provides a framework for growth, development, and success requires strong and visionary leadership. On marae, leadership is provided by kaumātua who are knowledgeable, respected, and committed to the several responsibilities on their marae. While being guided by earlier examples and drawing on past traditions, they must also be able to address new situations for which there may be no precedent. The test is to meet new challenges in ways that are consistent with the principles underlying kawa and have wide approval from whānau, hapū and Iwi.

Marae leadership in the past was especially concerned with protecting interests and avoiding take-over from neighbouring groups. Leadership in modern times is probably more notable when it leads to new alliances, strengthened networks, and opening up fresh opportunities. Inspirational leadership moves in that direction; it is creative, persuasive, responsive (to the needs of followers) and confers advantages and benefits that might not otherwise be available. Leaders who operate within a system of kawa may encounter a conflict between maintaining the time-worn status quo, and adding new elements to kawa in order to address new situations. All three

case studies in this research have benefited by leaders who have been able to inspire others and to create new kawa that can contribute to success and high achievement.

At Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the concept of Kaitiakitanga is one of the guiding kauapapa and is an integral element of the Wānanga kawa. To illustrate the point, Professor Whatarangi Winiata has provided the leadership and initiative necessary for a new approach to tertiary education in New Zealand that is built around Māori values and beliefs. Under his stewardship, and assisted by other including Dr Turoa Royal (Chair, Mana Whakahaere), the Wānanga emerged as a major contributor to scholarship and learning, both in Aotearoa and in wider indigenous communities elsewhere in the globe.[15] Professor Winiata doubted that New Zealand universities would ever be able to transmit Māori knowledge safely, or extend unconditional welcomes to the growing number of young Māori who were increasingly and visibly dissatisfied with a mono-cultural take on life and learning. Te Wānanga o Raukawa, as the 'tribal centre of learning' became known, broke new ground. Initially the focus was on language revitalisation and the Wānanga pioneered immersion mode learning and teaching. An early emphasis on hapū studies also ensured that the curriculum was grounded in a marae context and cultivated by exponents of tikanga and kawa. Later, a raft of other programmes was added in health, philosophy, law, hapū studies, environmental management, performing arts and visual arts. Diploma and degrees were offered and postgraduate qualifications including masters degrees were added.

Under the Education Amendment Act 1989 when three Wānanga were approved for Government support, Te Wānanga o Raukawa at last had access to funding based on the number of enrolled students. It grew in stature and reputation though resisted the temptation to abandon a tikanga-driven approach simply to attract students or increase sources of revenue. Instead, the core elements of te reo Māori and tikanga Māori

were incorporated into all programmes and all students were expected to make contact with their own marae in order to complete assignments and research.

In some respects the origins of Mana Tamariki were similar. They depended on inspirational leadership of people who were committed to te reo Māori and to an environment where tikanga Māori could flourish as a vehicle for education. Penny and Tony Waho, Brenda Soutar and Milton Rauhihi were committed to an early childhood educational opportunity where Māori would be the sole language of instruction and care. Although the Kohanga Reo movement had already begun, their vision was for an integrated and extended educational centre. Mana Tamariki was initially established as a pre-school facility but later developed a kura kaupapa primary school facility and then a whare kura for secondary students. Under their leadership a kawa took shape that prioritised te reo Māori and demanded high quality educational outcomes.

Convincing parents that the survival of te reo Māori depended on their efforts at home, as well as the efforts at school, required persuasive powers and a firm conviction that the goals for te reo Māori were compatible with the goals for education, and that both could achieve excellence. Restricting enrolments and requiring commitment to the kawa from whānau did not always meet community approval but the school's subsequent progress and its successes have demonstrated that the dual goals are possible. In the process the mission has been taken up by new generations.

The TŪ TOA origins are more recent. Established as a Charitable Trust in 2005, TŪ TOA provided a niche learning experience for a small number of students, all of whom had high sporting ambitions that were not always compatible with unbending

timetables and demands of regular state schools. It is driven by high expectations that firmly embedded within an integrated model of excellence. High academic attainment, superior sporting accomplishment, confidence as Māori and participation in Māori sporting and cultural networks has been pivotal for the programme's success. Like Mana Tamariki, TŪ TOA was founded by a couple, Nathan Durie and Yvette McCausland-Durie who has witnessed promising Māori talent become dissipated in secondary schools because accomplishment in sport was not matched by academic accomplishment. Convinced that high achievement in sport could be a catalyst for academic achievement they instituted a system that valued both equally. Flexibility in school routines, recourse to distance education through the Correspondence School, and an association with the Aorangi Marae and with Massey University, were to become hallmarks for success. In 2009, for example, TŪ TOA won the national inter-secondary schools netball tournament, and in 2010 a relatively young team won the Lower North Island netball tournament; two golfers gained provincial and national ranking in 2009 and the tennis team received national and international acclaim. In the same year there was a 100 percent pass rate for NCEA levels one and two, and an 80 percent pass rate for level three.

The selection of students into TŪ TOA depends on ambitions to excel in sport, academic study, and tikanga Māori, and requires a similar high level of commitment from families. The TŪ TOA whānau agree that inspirational leadership has been the key to the establishment of a kawa that has led to triple achievements – in sport, education, and tikanga Māori.

Theme 10: Tū Motuhake – A Distinctive Identity

Of the key themes, institutional distinctiveness is especially important because it enables a programme or organisation to be distinguished from other entities and sends a signal of intent to prospective participants. Regardless of their similarities, TŪ TOA differs from Mana Tamariki in several respects including the overall objectives and the expectations. Similarly, Te Wānanga o Raukawa differs from both other case studies; as well as having a tertiary education focus it also has a distinctive history that separates it out from other tertiary education institutes and other Wānanga. Distinctiveness serves two purposes. On the one hand an element of uniqueness can be a basis for emphasising difference with other related organisations, and on the other distinctiveness can be used as a reason for recognition by the community generally and by sponsors. Institutional distinctiveness is reflected in branding, participant profiles, stakeholders, and the ways in which members conduct themselves. All three organisations in the case studies are part of the same wider community of interest but each has characteristics that afford individuality and distinctiveness.

At the same time, points of distinction between institutions can also be points of similarity with other institutions. On the basis of their level of education (early childhood and tertiary) for example, Mana Tamariki is different from Te Wānanga o Raukawa. But it has similarities with Kohanga Reo because it offers early childhood education. TŪ TOA is quite different from Te Wānanga o Raukawa though is similar to programmes offered at Mana Tamariki and by some other secondary schools insofar as it focuses on Māori secondary educational achievement. Similarities are also strengthened by kawa. The development of kapa haka within the education sector, and the revitalisation of te reo Māori, particularly evident in schools, has

created a common platform for education that is increasingly shared by many schools. The annual Manu Kōrero Secondary School Speech Competitions and kapa haka festivals held regionally and nationally, are signs of a common approach. While the words and significance of each haka may be different, the use of haka as an identifier is part of the collective context that signals an alliance between participating schools.

But while the development of a kawa contributes to similarities, in each case study, it was the kawa that added most to highlighting the distinctiveness. As already noted, Te Wānanga o Raukawa has a kawa that is strongly influenced by the Tainui tradition; the waiata and haka they perform are aligned to Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toa. And as previously explained, Mana Tamariki adopts a set of Rangitāne protocols, including waiata, while the kawa of TŪ TOA is shaped by affiliations with Ngāti Kauwhata.

Distinctiveness is an important way of distinguishing between entities and gaining visibility, a 'brand' based on uniqueness. However, using kawa to create a distinctive identity raises three concerns. First, the concept of a 'brand' often has commercial connotations which can offend the cultural context within which kawa have evolved. Second, while an identifiable brand has many advantages such as attracting potential students and promoting sound objectives, it can also draw unwanted attention when, for whatever reason, a low profile would be more beneficial. Third, a brand is often a short hand descriptor appreciated for its succinctness and its marketability rather than its depth and significance to those who are most involved.

At the same time, the transformation of a kawa to a brand does not necessarily require an abandonment of values, or any diminishment of importance. TŪ TOA for example, is itself a brand but the brand's wider meaning comes from the underlying

kawa. Mana Tamariki is also a nationally recognised brand, though without the well defined kawa, the brand would lack substance. By using the institution's name for its brand, Te Wānanga o Raukawa has been able to signify the Iwi origins from which a distinctive kawa has emerged.

The Themes In Perspective

So far this chapter has identified ten key themes that emerged from the three case studies. The themes all relate to the nature, function, and significance of kawa as it applies to engagement and achievement by young Māori. Despite differences in the objectives, histories and circumstances, the themes were discernable in all case studies and in that respect have some claim to being relevant to other situations where rangatahi are involved. Those situations could well include education at pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary levels, health services and health promotion, sport, recreation and exercise, cultural endeavours such as kapa haka, and participation in vocations including the armed forces and the public service.

Importantly, however, the elements of kawa identified in this analysis have particular relevance to situations where rangatahi act as collectives, rather than individuals. Collectivity could well be the eleventh theme, though it is implied in all themes and is especially apparent in the theme of team bonding and cohesion. The question arises therefore as to whether the application of kawa to individual pursuits such as golf or tennis is useful or not. In fact, however, endeavours that seem to be totally dependent on individual actions usually involve others. Tennis players have coaches, managers, supporters, sponsors and whānau. Although the spotlight might be on an individual, a team is behind the action. A kawa would be reflected in the relationship between

player and coach and the shared commitment of the whole team, no matter how small, to a suite of protocols.

Another question of applicability concerns the composition of the group. Is kawa only applicable to Māori? If non-Māori youth are part of the group, do the themes apply? An examination of the ten themes suggests that many themes could have wide applicability. The themes of connectedness, risk management, focus and determination for example are generic themes that could apply to youthful activities across the world. But other key themes that actually underpin kawa such as mātauranga Māori and cultural markers, are so closely linked to Māori values, knowledge, spirituality and customs that they could only have significance to Māori. Moreover, quite apart from non-Māori, Māori who did not subscribe to those views might derive limited value from them.

These questions highlight the essential nature of kawa. While, for the purposes of analysis it has been possible to identify ten themes, kawa is multi-dimensional; it consists of a series of linked elements that together constitute the kawa. Connectedness, avoiding risk, inspirational leadership and maintaining concentration are all part of a kawa that also includes a commitment to the domains of Rongomātāne and Tūmatauenga, kaupapa and ritenga, karakia, waiata, haka and Iwi affiliation. Kawa is therefore distinguishable from 'routines', regulations, and procedures by a cultural matrix that binds the several components together. Observing only one aspect of a kawa, such as a haka (before a game or prior to a performance), reduces the impact and relevance of kawa. In short, kawa is made up of a number of attitudes, activities, beliefs and rituals underpinned by Māori world views and mātauranga.

The first two themes within this chapter, Rongomātāne and Tūmatauenga, are high level themes that position human activity in either the realm of productivity and peaceful endeavour (such as the pursuit of knowledge) or in the realm of competition, physical challenges and conflict. Both are pertinent to rangatahi participation, engagement and achievement. Acquiring knowledge on the one hand, and seeking victory against an opponent on the other are goals encountered by rangtahi in many walks of life. In this study, the coexistence of the two goals was seen as part of the challenge faced by rangatahi as they seek to find a place in the world. Acquiring knowledge to better understand the world (Rongomātāne), and striving to obtain a position of security in the world (Tūmatauenga) are not necessarily oppositional goals but they invoke different attitudes and behaviours.

The third theme, whakawhanaungatanga, is an expression of relationship building. Peer relationships and relationships with societal institutions constitute an important developmental sequence for rangatahi. In a world where relationships can be transient, helpful or harmful, competitive or cooperative, a kawa for connecting with others offers guidance. Increasingly rangatahi will be global travellers and will be confronted with many options for engagement with others.[16] A protocol to assist in the process, a 'template,' will reduce the danger of forming potentially destructive relationships.

In the fourth theme, Whakawātea Te Ara, avoiding risk is a major objective. Rangatahi live in a world where threats to wellbeing are different from the risks faced by parents and grandparents, and are probably less predictable. New technologies, globalisation, climate change, over-population, and economic fluctuations will present rangatahi with challenges that will demand greater capacity to engage with change and achieve well in the face of high levels of competition. A kawa that can increase

awareness of external threats and lead to the avoidance of unnecessary risk, will ease their journeys into increasingly complex societies.

Collective effort, rather than individualism, lies at the heart of Whakapiri Tangata, the fifth theme. Fostering social cohesion, cooperation, and team work requires active effort and encouragement. Cooperation as a necessary component of team sport is well known, but is less well appreciated in other fields, including academic pursuits where individual attributes tend to be more highly valued that joint efforts. However, it was considered to be an important factor in the success of Māori university students who participated in a scholarship programme, Te Rau Puawai.[17] A kawa that cultivates shared responsibilities, and is able to harness collective efforts will be useful to rangatahi in a competitive world where national and international pressures will progressively impact on opportunities for Māori.

The sixth theme, Whakamana, is consistent with indigenous aspirations for greater autonomy and self governance. The theme recognises that self determination and self management require relevant organisations to gain recognition from their communities and to build governance arrangements that will also have legal recognition. Independence is never absolute but on a continuum that stretches from total reliance on others to self sufficiency, achievement is likely to be greater when it emerges from the self sufficiency end of the range. The sixth theme recognises that a kawa can support autonomy by instilling a confident attitude, demonstrating a readiness to be self managing, gaining recognition from others, and maintaining high expectations on those who subscribe to the kawa.

Increasing human abilities, especially mental facilities, is the critical point of theme seven. Technological innovation and geographic mobility create new avenues for

rangatahi. But they can also introduce so many options that rangatahi become distracted from any single endeavour. A well constructed kawa offers a method for focusing the mind so that concentration is enhanced and energies are not dissipated. Maintaining the kawa requires opportunities for frequent reinforcement of the central mission and total buy-in from all of the participants.

Theme eight, Ngā Kaupapa me ngā ritnenga, introduces a strong cultural element. Identity diffusion through cultural alienation has been described as a significant barrier to rangatahi living in contemporary societies.[18] Values derived from mātauranga Māori as well as tikanga that reflect those values on the other hand, increase engagement and achievement by reinforcing a Māori identity and allowing rangatahi to express that identity within a unique cultural context. Te reo Māori is a foundation for Mātauranga Māori and has been a driving force in two of the case studies. Other efforts to promote te reo have also involved new expertise including, for example, broadcasting technologies.[19] In addition, cultural markers also carry spiritual connotations that balance the instrumental tasks that typify day to day concerns. A sense of connection with the environment is likely to become even more important as future generations contend with climate change and environmental protection; that likelihood is explored further in chapter 9.

Kaitiakitanga, theme nine, is essentially about leadership. Leaders who can develop and then maintain a kawa that is conducive to engagement and achievement will facilitate rangatahi journeys into the future. As champions for culture, excellence, concerted effort, and high achievement, there will be a call for leaders who can position themselves in wider society while also generating opportunities for rangatahi to excel as Māori. Excelling as Māori means being able to reach high levels of accomplishment in sport, professions, music or other careers, while also retaining

Māori values and networks. Being able to inspire others is a hallmark of the type of leadership necessary for the promotion of a facilitatory kawa.

The final theme, Tū Motuhake, highlights the significance of distinctiveness in modern society. Tribal distinctiveness was important in former times and remains important when ownership of intellectual property, cultural histories, and resources such as land, fish, and the foreshore, are under consideration. But increasing competitiveness in metropolitan areas, where most rangatahi spend their day to day lives, is also a matter of concern. Having a distinctive identity will confer advantage especially when the identity is built on a kawa that accelerates engagement and achievement. A tribal identity will often achieve that purpose but an identity built around a particular goal and underpinned by a set of protocols that will lead to that goal, will have different connotations in other (non-tribal) situations.

In summary, this chapter has analysed the kawa adopted in the three case studies. Common themes emerged, all of which can contribute to engagement and achievement. When considered as a group, the themes point to a type of kawa that has the possibility of being transposed to many situations confronting rangatahi in modern times. Those situations are likely to be increasingly challenging. Though grounded in customary values and world views, this chapter concludes by suggesting that kawa is not bound by time nor by the priorities that faced Iwi in the past, or that will even face Iwi in the future. Kawa has the potential to increase Māori participation and to create an advantage over others in a competitive world.

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CHAPTER NINE

KAWA IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Custom Today

In the parts of the world that are dominated by technology, consumerism, science and empirical claims to knowledge, indigenous customs can sometimes seem out of touch. Based largely on centuries of experience with the natural environment, and driven by a sense of collective survival, indigenous peoples have maintained customs and values that have enabled them to live, work, and endure in worlds that have often been harsh.[1] In that respect, being 'out of touch' could seem to contain an element of truth. Traditions that the first fish of a catch should be returned to the ocean,[2] or that a bird nesting its young should be spared, go against the general thrust of consumerism and the search for exotic gourmet delights. Similarly using the bark from a kōwhai tree to reduce the pain and swelling caused by a sprained ankle would seem a long way from diathermy, anti-inflammatory medication, and medical science.[3] Reciting a karakia before the commencement of a competitive game could also be seen as a way of avoiding the realities of a tough and demanding match, or simply a lack of confidence in personal skills.

But from an indigenous perspective, being 'out of touch' has quite a different inference. Far from referring to antiquated indigenous world views, being 'out of touch' could be more aptly seen to apply to societies that have lost contact with nature and with the relationship between people, the natural environment, and the wider universe.[4] The laws of commerce, politics, and jurisprudence are not derived from the

lores of nature or from ecological principles but from the codes of conduct that govern relative strangers living alongside each other. As a way of avoiding confusion, anarchy, and unethical behavior, regulations have been drafted to maintain an orderly society. To a greater or lesser extent the laws and regulations address what they were intended to accomplish, but are not entirely effective and in any case are not infrequently associated with perverse effects derived from unanticipated environmental impacts. Increasingly global concern about climate change, the depletion of natural resources, and the failure of science or commerce to avert world-wide health problems such as diabetes, suggest that the developed countries of the world have ignored the relationship with nature.[5]

Land and sea mining for resources that will increase affluent lifestyles are not without serious consequences. The havoc wreaked by excessive mining and failed technology are vivid illustrations of the consequences when developed societies take the environment for granted and treat it regardless of the longer term penalties. A giant oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010 for example served as a stark reminder that environmental exploitation is a risk arising from imbalance between productivity, wealth, and technology on the one hand, and environmental protection on the other.[6]

At the heart of indigenous knowledge is the notion of a relationship with the environment. Customary knowledge about dangerous sites in particular localities and predictors of weather patterns, or tidal movements continue to have modern-day meaning, perhaps more so as fewer and fewer people possess the inclination or the necessary skills for reading environmental signs.[7] Recent interest in the use of native plants to heal a variety of ailments also suggests that Māori awareness of natural resources to improve the human condition reflected an advanced understanding of the people-environment relationship which now interests the wider health professions.[8]

Though coming from a different knowledge base than science, and employing a framework for understanding validated by time, rather than empirical data, indigenous custom represents the outward expression of a distinctive body of knowledge that has continuing relevance despite man-made changes to the environment.[9] Further, as part of the relationship with the natural environment, the nature of relationships with other beings that inhabit the same environment is similarly a critical aspect of custom.[10] Despite having originated in distant times well before the advent of modern science, customary attitudes and accompanying rituals provide insights into complex relationships and offer significance guidance to relationships with others - that at least is the contention in *He Kawa Oranga*.

This thesis attempts to answer the question '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to Māori participation in a range of situations in modern times?*' So far the research question has been addressed by reference to the accounts of kawa from key exponents (Chapter 3), the objectives of kawa (Chapter 4), three case studies (Chapters 5, 6, 7) and an identification of key themes arising from the application of kawa (Chapter 8). Although each case study is built around relatively recent educational initiatives, Chapter 9 explores additional sites and situations where kawa might act as a beneficial force for cementing engagement. It builds on the findings from those case studies, as well as the analysis contained in Chapter 8, and focuses on situations that are likely to have increasing impacts on society in the decades ahead.

Given the pace of change typified by accelerated technological innovation and new levels of global mobility, the ability to engage with novel situations and to do so in ways that minimise risk while contributing to best outcomes, will be increasingly important to Māori. Engagement with transgenic research for example requires an approach that can recognise the natural order of things, and at the same time construct

a pathway to enable the benefits of discovery to flow on to Māori. That pathway will constitute a kawa if it contains elements of the key themes described in chapter 8. Global travel will bring other examples of new situations where engagement could be fraught with risk or alternately could create new opportunities without forfeiting any sense of being Māori. Engaging with migrants to New Zealand or with communities in foreign lands requires a capacity to enter conversations where being Māori adds value to the encounter but does not diminish the identity of either party.

In this chapter, discussions with key informant, Mason Durie, added to the views expressed by informants in Chapter 3. He identified a number of situations for which a kawa could be useful. All of them are associated with uncertainty and a lack of clarity. Often there is also a conflict between the values within mātauranga Māori and wider global values.

While the emphasis in this chapter is placed on Māori management of change through the construction of kawa, a parallel process can be detected in wider New Zealand society. There are already some highly visible signs that aspects of Māori kawa are being adapted for use by all New Zealanders. The haka is a good example. As already noted in chapter three, part of the All Black rugby team's trademark is the pre-match haka, often led by a non Māori and increasingly embraced with fervor by all members of the team. State funerals for national heroes such as former Prime Minister David Lange, the world famous explorer Sir Edmond Hillary and the first soldier to lose his life during combat in the Afghanistan conflict, Lieutenant Tim O'Donnell, also incorporated elements of kawa including karakia, karanga and haka. Many schools, including those with low or even zero Māori enrolments, have composed waiata to perform as part of the school's identity statement. Often the words acknowledge Māori place names and create a level of distinctiveness that

defines the school and its wider relationships. Moreover, societal institutions such as universities, government departments, and parliament, now regularly employ kaumatua to oversee the development and practice of kawa, to ensure that the mana is upheld, and to facilitate the establishment with external groups including Iwi.

Chapter 9 explores the application of kawa to several emerging situations. The possibility that kawa could guide engagement in a rapidly changing and uncertain world was raised by three key informants in this study. They viewed the rapidity of change as a potential risk to Māori youth and considered that a kawa would be helpful to them. In their view kawa should not be portrayed as an ancient ritual but rather as a practice that has meaning for some of today's more challenging trends. Should Māori take advantage of developments in gene technology for example, even if that approach offended a sense of violation? And should Māori participate in web-based networking if details about whakapapa were to be shared with strangers? Yet despite the risks, they agreed that risk would be less if it were within a context of kawa.

The exact type of kawa necessary to give protection in the future is not canvassed in this chapter. Although principles and values can be recommended, the final shape of the kawa should also take into account the purpose of the engagement, the desired outcomes, and the ways in which competing priorities can be accommodated. Table 4 identified four parameters of kawa that can provide some guidance across a range of situations: the kawa should be grounded; it should have specific objectives; the central message of the kawa should be enforced by rituals; and the kawa should have integrity of its own. Within those broad parameters there is room for more precise dimensions to be added. Importantly, however, although kawa can be innovative, it should retain those key values that are derived from a Māori world view.

Table 9 Emerging Trends, New Situations, and Kawa

Situation	Threat	Implications for Kawa
The changing circumstances of Whānau	Because of competing value systems and high mobility, whānau could lack a sound basis for engaging with society, with Te Ao Māori, themselves, and future generations. Health and safety, and cultural survival will be threatened.	A kawa to guide whānau in contemporary situations will enhance cultural identity, increase confidence in a range of situations, and facilitate inter-generational transfers.
Climate change	Environmental disasters and accompanying risks will threaten whānau safety and long term survival.	A kawa to assist with the management of climate change and the management of natural disasters will be necessary to reduce the impacts of climate change.
Cyberspace	E-communication and web-based encounters are largely devoid of rules for engagement. Unethical behavior will pose risks for rangatahi.	A kawa to guide internet usage will provide greater personal safety through wise usage.
Enterprise	Māori entry into commercial endeavors is relatively recent. Adopting conventional business practices without a kawa may compromise Māori cultural values.	A kawa that accommodates both commercial ideals and Māori values will support Māori participation in business.
Multiculturalism	The pace at which New Zealand's ethnic profile is changing runs the risk of introducing tensions between groups.	A kawa to guide interaction with other cultures in New Zealand will reduce tensions and increase opportunities for mutual benefits.
Genetic engineering	Genetic engineering is a relatively unchartered territory for Māori. There are concerns that Māori DNA and other genetic markers will be distorted.	A kawa will facilitate engagement with genetic science and add ethical safeguards to avoid undesirable impacts.
Justice	Current systems of justice are frequently ineffective especially for rangatahi and re-offending occurs	A kawa can lead to improved approaches to the dispensation of justice for young Māori offenders.

The twenty-first century will bring a range of new situations, many of which cannot yet be contemplated. Māori engagement will sometimes bring rewards but will also bring predicable risks and in any case will compete with engagement by other groups. The situations contained in Table 9 have not been randomly chosen. At a class exercise at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, students were asked to predict the situations that would be most problematic for young people in the two decades ahead. After a group discussion seven situations most likely to pose serious threats were identified. The list is not exhaustive and includes some situations that are already part of Te Ao Māori.

Kawa and Whānau

Improving the circumstances of whānau has been identified as a key aim to complement hapū and iwi development.[11] A crucial element of that aim is whānau self management, an outcome goal recommended by the Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives.[12] Self management depends not only on a range of social and economic programmes but also on the readiness of whānau to convey knowledge, culture and values between generations. In the Taskforce's Report, *Whānau Ora*, the importance of Māori culture, values and knowledge to whānau wellbeing is emphasised and there is a clear expectation that agencies that deliver services to whānau will both facilitate and enhance the whānau in their roles as agents for cultural transmission. In addition, however, the report argues that cultural values should underpin all aspects of whānau life. Two foundation principles in *Whānau Ora* are 'Ngā kaupapa tuku iho' (the ways in which Māori values,beliefs, obligations and responsibilities are available to guide whānau in their day to day lives) and

'whānau integrity' (acknowledges whānau accountability, whānau innovation and whānau dignity. It assumes that a code of responsibility is present in all whānau though for various reasons may be dormant).[13]

While agencies generally approach whānau from sectoral perspectives such as health, social welfare or education, *Whānau Ora* is about an integrated approach to wellbeing so that social, economic and cultural dimensions are linked.[14] What is often missing, however, is a thread - a kawa - that can tie those aspects together and provide a sense of cohesion, certainty, and stability to the whānau as members engage with each other and with wider society.

A whānau kawa that could be applied to eating, learning, working, entertaining, and travelling for example, would contribute to whānau integrity, accountability and dignity as well as bringing a sense of purpose and a set of values to guide encounters and promote safety to individuals or to the whānau as a whole. Referring back to the framework developed in chapter three, the kawa would serve a number of purposes especially establishing relationships, reducing risk, and promoting social cohesion. Relationships within the family as well as with teachers, employers, authorities, relatives, have been shown to be critical factors for whānau wellbeing[15] and in an environment where hazards to health take many forms, risk reduction is a similarly important preventative measure. Obesity, with its serious complications including diabetes, heart disease and stroke, is a significant twenty-first century problem for Māori, yet is preventable. A kawa for eating would seek to minimise the impacts of highly processed foods including that of fast food outlets and ultimately avoid unbalanced nutritional patterns by linking food intake to a whānau routine that includes wise shopping strategies, heightened awareness of optimal nutrition and strengthened by a whānau karakia endorsed by Haumietiketike. Similarly binge

drinking and drug misuse are modern risks to health that threaten Māori wellbeing, especially for rangatahi. A kawa would not necessarily prohibit alcohol usage but would promote sensible rules for drinking.

In several respects the TŪ TOA case study contains elements of a whānau kawa. It includes a clear set of guidelines around food intake, incorporates an approach to learning based on self discipline, and fosters high levels of sporting achievement and team work. Between students and staff there are intergenerational transfers of knowledge, skills and authority and among all participants there is a strong sense of commitment to a common cause. In short, a model for a whānau kawa can be found in the TŪ TOA kawa. However, embedding a common set of values within a whānau is different from the TŪ TOA approach in two important ways.

First, unlike TŪ TOA where students and staff are in close physical proximity to each other for large parts of each day throughout the school year, whānau may not spent very much time in the same place for reasons of work, school or other outside activities. Second, whānau allegiances are based on whakapapa rather than a 'common cause'. Whakapapa by itself does not necessarily constitute a reason for committing to a shared set of values and behavioural codes but it adds a common heritage and a common set of relatives. Individual whānau members are exposed to a wide set of influences that are often at odds with the values of other members even in the same household. At the same time, whānau networks are wide and households within a whānau can be influenced by members who live far away. There are more options for leadership and greater access to a wider range of expertise. The development of a kawa, or a series of kawa, that will ground whānau in a secure cultural heritage and at the same time provide guidance to adapt positively to modern lifestyles is already a reality for many whānau but has yet to be realized by all

whānau. A combination of urbanisation, cultural estrangement, alienation from whānau lands, and exclusion from education and the economy have contributed to the plight of many households. An absence of consistent and adaptive strategies for achieving wellbeing create a platform for risk-laden lifestyles and disengagement from both general society and Te Ao Māori.[16]

Elements of a whānau kawa were also apparent in the Mana Tamariki case study. In order to develop facility in te reo Māori, at least one parent is required to speak to the son or daughter only in Māori. In this way the whānau creates a home culture where te reo Māori is the norm. Moreover, the home environment is expected to incorporate values and attitudes that are consistent with tikanga Māori and with the cultural standards maintained at Mana Tamariki. In that way learners are exposed to a set of values that are ethical, consistent and linked to Te Ao Māori. The Mana Tamariki approach fosters the intergenerational transmission of language, culture and values, and provides whānau with the tools to engage with each other and with others outside the whānau. It has many of the characteristics of a whānau kawa.

A conclusion from this thesis is that the promotion of kawa as a strategy for whānau wellbeing and achieving the outcome goals described by the Taskforce on Whānau Centred Initiatives deserves greater attention. In that respect, the agenda for whānau practitioners might reasonably include the construction of a whānau-centered kawa.

Kawa and Climate Change

Global warming is widely considered to be the most serious threat to the planet. There is now widespread agreement that the earth is warming, due to emissions of greenhouse gases caused by human activity. It is also clear that current trends in energy use development and population growth will lead to continuing and more severe climate change.[17]

Some scientists disagree about the significance of global warming maintaining that climatic changes are simply part of a natural cycle that had operated for millennia. Others, however, insist that the world's expanding population and the accompanying production of excessive carbon especially from burning fossil fuels, have altered the atmosphere to the extent that humanity is under threat. Increasingly the evidence supports the reality of climate change and global warming. The impacts are now so glaringly obvious that the arguments expounded by the global warming sceptics have become unsustainable.

The science behind climate change hinges largely on two parallel observations. First as urbanisation has spread and natural vegetation has been cleared to make way for housing, roading and industry, carbon depots in ancient forests have been released into the atmosphere. Second, the expanding world population has burned excessive amounts of fossil fuels releasing in the process large amounts of gaseous carbon that has in turn thinned a protective ozone layer in the atmosphere. The result has been unprecedented exposure to the sun's rays with a consequent warming of the earth. Evidence of the global impacts of climate change have been seen in the increasing incidence of natural disasters such as the tsunami in Indonesia in 2007, the Pacific

tsunami in 2009 which devastated parts of low-lying Samoa and Tonga, and the major simultaneous floods in Pakistan and China in August 2010.

The changing climate will inevitably affect the basic requirements for maintaining health: clean air and water, sufficient food and adequate shelter. Each year, about 80,000 people die from causes attributable to urban air pollution, 1.8 million from diarrhoea largely resulting from lack of access to clean water supply and sanitation, and from poor hygiene, 3.5 million from malnutrition and approximately 60 000 in natural disasters. A warmer and more variable climate threatens to lead to higher levels of some air pollutants, increase transmission of diseases through unclean water and through contaminated food, to compromise agricultural production in some of the least developed countries, and to increase the hazards of extreme weather.[18]

Climate change also brings new challenges to the control of infectious diseases. Many of the major killers are highly climate sensitive as regards temperature and rainfall, including cholera and the diarrhoea diseases, as well as diseases including malaria, dengue and other infections carried by vectors. In summary, climate change threatens to slow, halt or reverse the progress that the global public health community is now making against many of these diseases.[19]

The long term impact of climate change on large populations could be even more devastating than sudden disasters. An increase in night time temperatures for example has already contributed to reduced yields of rice by as much as ten to twenty percent. Rice is the staple crop that feeds half the world's population. In other parts of the world rising water levels, as glaciers and ice caps melt, will increasingly threaten coastal villages and already the survival of whole Pacific Islands is in doubt, prompting calls for wholesale assisted resettlement.

New Zealand has not been spared from increasing climatic change.[20] Flooding in both the North and South Islands in recent years has occurred with greater ferocity than in the past and with greater frequency. Although urban development has occurred in formerly rural areas throughout the country, climate change in Aotearoa is also linked to high carbon emissions resulting from methane gas released by farm stock, especially cows.

Apart from agriculture, deforestation over the years has been of more than passing interest to Māori since much of the land clearing was done by settlers with scant regard for Māori values or eco-ethics.[21] Now indigenous forests which hold relatively high levels of carbon have assumed greater importance for the country's emissions trading scheme. Meanwhile New Zealand has attracted global concern because of its high levels of bio-diversity decline. More than 2788 species are under threat of extinction including two-thirds of freshwater fish such as freshwater mussels and crayfish.[22]

Like many other indigenous peoples, Māori have close bonds with the natural environment. Tribal identity is often a function of the local landscape and reciprocal relationships with land, waterways, the sea and forests have long been part of tribal journeys.[23] It has already been noted in chapter 4 that a number of kawa were employed to regulate environmental encounters and to limit human exploitation of natural resources. Maintaining water cleanliness was a critical concern and an extensive classification of water according to degrees of purity existed. The principles of conservation and environmental protection known to Māori deserve further attention.[24] The impacts of global warming are sufficiently serious to warrant the development of a modern eco-kawa that will be useful to local authorities, regional planners and whole communities as they struggle to reduce carbon emissions and clean up polluted water sources.

Continuing concern about the state of the Manawatū River for example eventually prompted civic, business, conservation and Iwi leaders to sign an accord in 2010 agreeing to take urgent action to decrease levels of river pollution.[25] Only Federated Farmers declined to participate, though later explained that the full support of members was needed first.[26] Iwi were among the first to express disappointment that pollution had been allowed to develop to the extent that it had and were insistent on being part of the leaders group. With a large body of ancient knowledge behind them, and new applications of old knowledge made public through the Waitangi Tribunal in a series of claims that began with the Motunui case, a kawa for modern times has the prospect of contributing to a national dilemma and a global problem.[27]

A key starting point for a kawa relevant to climate change and environmental management is clarifying the significance of the domains of kawa. In Chapter Three the domains of kawa were linked to environmental regents including Rongomātāne, Tūmatauenga, Haumietiketike, Tānemahuta and Tangaroa. Understanding the human-environmental connection and the relationships between all forms of life lays the foundations for understanding environmental balance, synergies between different forms of life, and generating policies and programmes that support eco-sustainability within a context of Māori world views and values.[28]

Kawa in Cyberspace

Digital technologies have already revolutionised communication patterns – at home, in schools, at work; between towns, cities, countries and continents. The web has become a commercial centre (e.g. 'Trade Me'), a place for social encounters (e.g. 'Facebook'), an encyclopedia (e.g. 'Wikipedia'), a billboard (e.g. 'home sites'), and a post office (e.g. on-line transactions). The accelerating pace of change in the information technology industry suggests that innovations in communication will continue at a faster rate than in the past and make direct real-place encounters increasingly redundant. The importance of face to face interaction, kanohi ki te kanohi, has long been recognised as an important cultural method of communicating for Māori and for older people 'he kanohi i kitea' ('a face seen') is especially valued.[29] But younger generations have embraced the new technologies with enthusiasm and have become adept at texting messages, entering websites and using web-based social networking options.

While there is agreement that the web has overcome the problem of physical distance and has been able to bring 'the world' to homes everywhere, as well as providing a totally new approach to education and learning, there is also concern that the ready availability of information and personal details can have serious consequences. Because there is an unlimited amount of information available on the web, gaining access to information becomes less problematic than assessing the quality of information. Users do not always have the necessary tools to decide which website is the most relevant or the most up-to-date or which of the many Wikipedia entries is going to be most accurate. Fraudulent claims are hard to detect and unsuspecting users can readily become victims of scams. In that respect the avalanche of unverified information is a modern problem that is likely to escalate.

Similarly, personal information can now be distributed to wide audiences most of whom will not be known to the owner of that information. Details relating to identity, whakapapa, wealth, health status, residence, and whānau can readily be obtained from the web. Seemingly harmless exchanges in internet 'chat rooms' or on social networking sites, can be part of a deliberate grooming exercise aimed at securing an advantage over gullible participants. Extracting financial commitments or arranging a rendezvous with a naive teenager have become increasingly frequent as internet usage has increased. Identity theft is a variant of the same theme. Collating details about date of birth, bank accounts, passport numbers, educational qualifications and the names of other family members through the web, makes an assumed identity easier to assume.

It would be an overstatement to claim that electronic communication systems have been the antithesis of wellbeing. Indeed they have brought unprecedented opportunities for Māori and are likely to lead to learning and teaching methods that will surpass face to face methods, at least for students who do not have other forms of access or who are handicapped by limited resources or whose learning is blocked by negative teacher-student relationships.[30] But given the relatively recent emergence of the technology, there has been insufficient time to establish rules for participation or to prepare guidelines for online encountering. Many parents are unaware of the virtual world within which their children live, and have little of no idea about the e-messages relayed through mass circulation to friends, acquaintances, and even rivals.

Digital communication techniques are in sharp contrast to marae encounters where facial gesture, body language, subtle references, intonation, and group endorsement provide clear signals about expected behaviour, purpose, and motivation. Marae kawa prescribes a format within which relationships are tested and decisions are made

about entering into further contact. The marae atea is a testing groundwhere there is both time and space to determine whether an association with others should be pursued or discouraged.[31] As explained in Chapter Three, establishing relationships and ensuring safety are two major functions of kawa, especially on a marae.

The web can be regarded as a modern marae-equivalent. There is at least one recent example of a tangi which was web-cast from a marae in New Zealand to Sydney and London where whānau members were able to participate from a distance. The web is a site where relationships are formed, information shared, and commitments made. But it lacks rules of encounter. Establishing a kawa for internet activities deserves further research. An internet kawa might be based on some of the same principles that guide marae kawa, including identifying the participants, challenging motive, seeking familiar points of intersection that have occurred over time, establishing whakapapa, and determining if there are sufficient commonalities to proceed. A whānau kawa might include a kawa for using the web that recognizes boundaries, limits, and human dignity, as well as a system for regulating use (kaitiakitanga) and maintaining consistent standards (pūmautanga). Moreover, the incorporation of ritenga within the kawa should provide a mechanism for anchoring the web within a real world within which real relationships are endorsed and unnecessary risks are avoided. In addition to providing guidance for internet users, elements of an internet kawa could also be reasonably expected to contribute to wider policies regarding internet use and other forms of electronic communication.

Kawa and Enterprise

The engagement of Māori in business over the past 25 years raises the question about the characteristics of Māori commercial practice and whether a Māori business has any distinguishing markers. Often there are no readily observable differences and in that case a Māori business can be simply defined as a business owned or operated by Māori. But there is also increasing evidence that Māori are more likely to successfully engage in business if there is an incorporation of Māori world views alongside business principles.[32] Māori service providers in health and education for example often underpin practice with tikanga and at the same time undertake those activities that are expected of all providers, regardless of cultural affiliation.

While there is no single definition of a Māori business, it is nonetheless possible to identify the characteristics of a business that can be called Māori-centred; a business that deliberately revolves around Māori people, Māori assets, and Māori priorities and uses both tikanga and kawa to guide practice. Such a business is usually part of a wider Māori network and has credibility within Māori communities. The network may be based around Iwi or community, and in that respect the business is party to a collective endeavour. A Māori business also adopts Māori values in both governance and management and is geared to meet the needs of Māori clients.

A set of principles that underpin Māori-centred businesses can be constructed from the experiences and aspirations of a range of Māori business models that have emerged over the past two decades. There is no exhaustive list of principles, nor does a Māori-centred business necessarily ignore the established global commercial principles including a profit motive. But there is widespread agreement that Māori-

centred businesses are aligned with Māori aspirations. There is a significant difference between Māori aspirations and Māori needs. Māori needs are often defined by outsiders who bring their own priorities to the business. Māori aspirations, on the other hand, are priorities identified by Māori communities, hapū or Iwi and reflect a collective aim.[33] Businesses that are designed to promote Māori interests are often not synchronised with Māori aspirations, leading to problems later on. Another way of making the same point is to stress that alignment with the broad aims of Māori development, is likely to lead to a business that will be relevant to Māori and to Māori advancement. Alignment also has other connotations. For example because Māori development depends on the interaction of social, economic and cultural goals, cross-sectoral alignment is desirable. Too often Māori businesses are forced to operate within the constraints of a single sector such as social services, or health, or education, when what is needed to meet Māori aspirations is an approach that goes across sectors. *Whānau Ora* is a policy that attempts to meet that intersectoral goal.

Māori businesses have multiple responsibilities and levels of accountability. There is a direct responsibility to shareholders and key stakeholders, though sometimes this is masked by a more pressing sense of responsibility to a funder. Accountability to the funder, a requirement of many contracts is not, however, the sole level of accountability. A Māori-centred business should also consider how it will report back to Māori with whom it may share common interests, even when there is no legal requirement to do so. The annual report, used by most conventional businesses as a way of bringing parties up to date, would not entirely satisfy a Māori audience. The development of a system of accountability that can address both legal and moral accountabilities is necessary to meet obligations to Māori stakeholders and their communities.

There may be many reasons why a business is established. The purpose may be entirely driven by a profit motive.. That is not necessarily a lesser motive than any other and in fact constitutes a powerful driver for New Zealanders including Māori. But in a Māori-centred business the profit motive is not the only motive. In land based businesses for example, the heritage motive is equally strong if not stronger.[34] At meetings of Māori corporations and land trusts, there will be predictable conflict about the point of the exercise. Is it to preserve the land at all costs – the heritage motive – or is it to use the land to gain the best possible financial returns – the profit motive. Māori health provider organisations face similar dilemmas. Is the prime motive about delivering highly specific services in order to meet the terms of a contract and the monetary rewards, or is it about addressing the needs and aspirations of whānau, regardless of whether they are part of a contract for service or not?

The reality is that multiple motivations always exist and wise governance is about balancing the motives, rather than attempting to deny the relevance of one or the other. Because there are many motivations for a business the goals may be quite divergent. The divergence cannot be ignored but must be carefully managed. Sound management of a Māori-centred business is about developing a business that can accommodate a range of goals, even when there is an element of conflict between them. If balancing motives is a governance task, then managing the diverse goals is a requirement of good management. A single bottom line such as a credit or debit figure is a simplistic accounting act that undermines other intentions of the business.

A successful business is one that produces the best possible returns for the shareholders or beneficiaries. However, care must be taken to ensure that the

indicators of 'best possible return' reflect the balanced motives and the integrated goals. The conventional business indicators of performance are financial. But they need to be seen alongside social indicators, cultural indicators and broader economic indicators to give a more comprehensive picture of outcome. Further, successful outcomes should not completely disregard the processes by which those outcomes are obtained. A good financial result that has been achieved at the expense of tikanga and has defied an agreed kawa cannot be viewed as a successful business.

A Māori business ethic, then, is underpinned by a kawa that incorporates a number of principles including alignment with Māori aspirations, accountability to Māori communities, dual motives (financial rewards, sustaining Māori cultural values), and indicators of success that reflect social and cultural gains as well as financial benefits. Maintaining the kawa in the face of competing models of business requires a level of governance that is able to blend approaches without sacrificing any one. Compromise will be a necessary part of the formula but if Māori are to fully engage, the degree of compromise should not mask the underlying kawa and the world views that support it.

Kawa and Multiculturalism

Three trends are re-shaping the New Zealand population profile. First, the general population is ageing; there will be increasingly more New Zealanders over the age of 65 years. In 2010 the total population was 4.37 million and the median age was 35.5 years for men and 37.6 years for women. Although the median age for Māori (around 24 years) is less than the national average the ageing trend is also evident, though is slower, the lag being primarily due to a larger baseline cohort of young people.[35] Second, the rate of increase of the Māori population is higher than for the non-Māori

sector and this will lead to an increase in the proportion of Māori in the population rising from some fourteen percent in 2010 to more than eighteen percent in 2021.[36] Third, the increase in New Zealand's total population will not only come from a birth rate that exceeds the death rate, but also from immigration. The increase of 51,000 from 2008/09 to 2009/10 for example comprised 35,400 from births and 16,500 from immigration.[37]

Immigration to New Zealand is not a new phenomenon. Since 1840 there has been a steady flow of new settlers; indeed that was one reason for the Crown's interest in a Treaty with the tribes. In the preamble to the Treaty of Waitangi there is a reference to the 'steady stream of migrants and the expected increase". During the reminder of the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century, many migrants were from the northern hemisphere, largely from Europe. Even when English was not their native language they were quickly absorbed into the broad New Zealand culture; their physical characteristics resembled those of Kiwis, and the European backgrounds meant they were not unfamiliar with British history and culture. While they may have had little understanding of Māori culture and values, they did not stand out as significantly different from other non-Māori New Zealanders.

Towards the end of the twentieth century and in the first decade of the twenty-first century however, the immigration pattern changed. Migration from Pacific Island nations increased and a greater Pacific presence was felt in the nation's institutions – in secondary schools (especially in Auckland), in health services, in sport (especially rugby, netball, and rugby league) and in the visual and performing arts. Many of the values and customary practices of Māori were not unfamiliar to the Pacific migrants but there were significant differences among the various Island populations and between the new migrants and Māori.

Over the same period of time, but especially since 2000 migration from Asia has also changed New Zealand's population mix. Although accounting for less than three percent in 1991, by 2021 the Asian population will make up nearly twelve percent of New Zealand's five million people. They will have come mainly from Korea, China, India, Thailand, and Sri Lanka. A strong Asian presence will be felt in schools so that Māori children will increasingly have first hand interaction with Asian children and in later years Māori-Asian marriages will lead to a much higher proportion of mixed Māori-Asian identities.

Intermarriage and mixed identities are not necessarily new for Māori. Over a 150 year period Māori and Pakeha unions have been frequent to the extent that most Māori families have at least one Pakeha ancestor and more likely two or three. The cultural mix has led to changes in kawa. By 1900 for example the custom of koha had changed from gifts of food, garments, and ornaments, to cash contributions. By 1990, the length of a tangi had been substantially reduced from a week or more to two or three days. Accompanying that change was a departure from a kawa that did not favour arriving at a marae after dark. For practical reasons, such as work commitments, attending a tangi at night has become a widely accepted practice made even more feasible by artificial lighting that reduces some of the risks associated with receiving visitors in the hours of darkness. On some marae the kawa has also been altered to allow languages other than Māori, usually English, to be spoken in deference to Pākehā visitors.

It is entirely likely that larger Pacific and Asian populations in New Zealand will also lead to changes in kawa. Some Asian migrants are opposed to close body contact and they will recoil from greetings that involve hongi or kissing. Similarly, different food preferences could lead to significant changes to hospitality and to the ways in which

food is served. Quite probably, changing the kawa to accommodate Asian norms in food or in styles of greeting will be met by resistance from some Māori who might understandably argue that custom will be diluted or even lost if it attempts to respond to all new situations. But if, among other things, a purpose of kawa is to display generosity, then the question arises as to whether the domain of Rongomātāne (peaceful pursuits) is more or less important that the domain of Tūmatauenga (battle, a warrior attitude). Or even if the value of whakamana (asserting authority), is more relevant than the value of whakawhānaungatanga (establishing relationships).

Decisions about 'bending' the kawa cannot be decided in isolation of a wider context. The guardians of kawa, ngā kaitiaki, need to take into account wider perspectives than simply what the 'usual' pattern has been. In guiding their people, whether the kawa be marae kawa or kawa in some other situation, the kaitiaki of kawa will most likely be concerned with adopting a position that will be offer the greatest long term advantage to their people without undermining more fundamental values. In Chapter 3, the key informants for this study identified the domains of kawa and the associated karakia as more fundamental elements than the outward expressions. Presuming that engagement with new settlers is a prime objective for some Māori in the future, then the domain of Rongomātāne and the purpose of whakawhanaungatanga will be given some priority. On the other hand, if there is concern that engagement with other cultures would create disadvantages, then the domain of Tūmatauenga and the purpose of whakamana, asserting authority would be more relevant to kawa.

Kawa and Genetic Engineering

The domains of kawa summarised in Chapter 4, have a common origin; they are all linked to the environment and the relationship of humans to the environment. The domains of Tangaroa, Tūmatauenga, Haumietiketike, Tawhirimātea, and Rongomātāne reflect the diversity of the natural world and the environment within which Māori lived until modern times. They remain relevant but there are now other environmental domains that are not readily accommodated in that framework. Modern urban environments are more likely to be built around man-made structures, synthetic materials, and highly processed foods. Without kawa to guide day to day encounters, generations of Māori living in those environments, have assumed lifestyles that are often incompatible with health and wellbeing.

Many modern environments are risk laden insofar as they are associated with motor vehicle accidents, overcrowding, substandard housing, and lack of exercise. They also contribute to obesity which in turn is a consequence of sedentary lifestyles, stress-eating and unbalanced dietary habits. The increased prevalence of obesity among Māori is a matter of particular concern because of complications such as heart disease, and diabetes. Diabetes is now thought to endemic among indigenous peoples and addressing the problem has followed two broad paths: the wider question of how Māori handle contemporary food environments, and the narrower question of how the cells of Māori diabetics handle insulin. Both approaches are important but since the second approach has introduced the possibility of transplanting cells from the pancreas of pigs to augment insulin production in the human body, it has raised questions about genetics and genetic manipulation.

Many Māori have serious objections to procedures such as xenotransplantation because they involve mixing tissues from different organisms in this case from a pig to a human.[38] While the relationship between species is part of the story of Rangi and Papa, referred to in Chapter 4, the distinctiveness of each species is also an important Māori ethical consideration. Because all objects have a 'mauri', they possess an integrity that sets them apart from other objects. Human integrity is therefore compromised when the mauri from one species is introduced into another. In that view, in addition to any health risks or physical imbalances, cultural offence results from a mixing of genes between species and the possibility of imbalances of nature.'[39] The debate is not necessarily about the sacredness of humankind but about the uniqueness of all species and the dynamic relationships that have developed between them over time.

On the other hand, an important consideration for Māori, in the past and equally in modern times is about survival and the quality of survival. Human behaviour often revolves around ensuring that future generations will be secure and continuity of whakapapa (genealogical lines) will be guaranteed. Many of the customs that evolved after Māori reached Aotearoa 1000 years ago were geared towards survival even if they jeopardised the lives of others. Warfare between tribes over territories and associated resources resulted in extensive loss of life and there were instances where children were sacrificed least they cried and betrayed the whereabouts of a party intent on escape from an enemy. Further, early accounts of cannibalism often associated eating the organs of a captive (especially the heart) with gaining power from the victim so that the tribal superiority could be retained, both literally and symbolically. When group survival is under threat, the ends appear to justify the means.[40] The idea that a disease such as diabetes could threaten the survival of a

people has already been raised on world-wide platforms and though speculative does nonetheless introduce cause for concern.[41]

Therefore while xenotransplants can be seen as inconsistent with Māori values and world views because they contaminate the mauri of two different species, from another point of view they might be justified if they avoid the threat of genocide.[42] In Chapter Three, Ahorangi Pou Temara referred to the same dilemma and concluded that survival may be a higher order priority than whakapapa.

More and more Māori will be faced with decisions about participating in the new procedures and reconciling different perspectives. Pre-birth genetic testing and to a lesser extent pre-implantation genetic diagnosis for example will raise many concerns about mauri, mana and whakapapa. Where the testing is associated with a preventable disorder there is likely to be less conflict or contention. But, regardless, the active involvement of Māori in decision-making has been seen as an important process. A tikanga Māori framework to guide the assessment of genetic testing has been suggested as a way of assessing and balancing the risk and benefits. The framework might include 'tests' around five key concepts. Does the procedure breach tapu? Has the mauri of the embryo been placed at risk? Should there be a breach of tapu or an offence aginst the mauri, what action should follow? Is there a precedent? What is the impact of pre-implantation genetic diagnosis on whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana, noa and tika?[43]

Constructing a kawa to engage with genetic engineering will be increasingly important as medical science advances and people with previously incurable conditions are given new hope. The direction of the kawa will largely depend on how the 'the protection of human dignity' (an objective of kawa) is interpreted. If the risk

of a whānau dying out because of an intergenerational disease were considered to be more important than the risk of contaminating the integrity of a human individual, then an appropriate kawa would clear the way for the procedure to take place and the karakia and other rituals would focus on strengthening the resolve and aspirations of the whānau for a successful outcome. On the other hand, if the risks of the procedure were felt to outweigh any benefits then a kawa of engagement with xenotransplantation would not be contemplated. Instead it might be argued that a more enduring and more relevant kawa would be one that guided nutritional habits – then the emphasis would be on prevention rather than cure and the kawa would reinforce messages about moderation, wise eating, choice, and personal and group determination. Again, as in the discussion about a kawa for engagement with other cultures, much will depend on the wisdom of the kaitiaki of the kawa and their ability to consider the matter within a wide framework that takes into account survival alongside other culturally important values such as human dignity.

Kawa and Justice

When conducting hearings into claims against the Crown for breaches of the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, the Waitangi Tribunal was able to transform the austerity of formal hearings into community occasions, often held on marae, with wide tribal participation and oral as well as written submissions.[44] The kawa of the hearings had more in common with marae kawa than the protocols of a court room, though lost none of the legal sharpness necessary for getting to the truth. For claimants, the environment and the kawa allowed for easier participation and higher levels of scrutiny from peers, while for the Crown team the marae environment was sometimes a challenging experience. For Tribunal members, hearings were

sometimes prolonged especially when oral submissions unfolded at a slow pace and traversed a wide number of related matters. But to compensate for the extra time at hearings, the Tribunal was better able to appreciate the wide impacts of Treaty breaches and the subsequent impacts that local communities had endured.

Changing the kawa of Waitangi Tribunal hearings also led to the development of type of jurisprudence based on Māori values and understandings of right and wrong, and introduced an indigenous perspective into New Zealand's system of justice. The Tribunal did not have the powers of a court and in the end could only make recommendations rather than binding decisions. But they pioneered an approach to justice that recognised mātauranga Māori and was shaped by marae kawa.

Reshaping the courts and their dealings with Māori has also been seen in the Youth Courts. Māori youth offending is sufficiently high to be a cause for serious concern by Māori leaders and whānau. There is evidence that it occurs at a higher rate than for other ethnic groups in New Zealand and leads to significant Māori over-representation in criminal convictions and court appearances. Māori account for 19 percent of those aged 14 to 16 years, but are 49 percent of those at that age apprehended by the police. In addition, 53 percent of those who appear in the Youth Court and up to 66 percent of those in youth custody are Māori.[45] There are no simple explanations for the levels of offending and nor are there ready remedies that will address the situation. Often the problem is regarded as a reflection of the choices made by individuals but equally often it is also seen as a reflection on wider society. 'Classical' (dispositional) views regard crime as a personal choice while 'positivist' (situational) views see crime as a product of circumstances. Most people take a position somewhere between the two poles.[46] The situation in New Zealand has much in common with that pertaining to indigenous youth in other countries, an observation

that raises the question whether oppression and colonization may be factors alongside other socio-economic determinants such as educational failure.[47] Part of the colonization argument is that cultural alienation has left young people bereft of a secure identity and prone to aimlessness in a risk-laden environment.

Re-offending is a further concern. It suggests that the procedures in place to address the problem do not always have a corrective influence. But failure to learn from a previous mistake is not necessarily an indictment on the offender. It might equally suggest that the problem itself has not been addressed or understood or that the process by which address has been attempted has not been appropriate. While Youth Courts have particular expertise in dealing with young people, and are provided with documentation that will assist the Courts to understand the parameters of the problem, they do not always create an environment that will have a positive impact on a young offender. The Court may be too easily dismissed as a 'colonial' imposition or a sign of Pākehā bias.

Creating an environment where cultural and community influences are brought to bear, and where individual offenders are brought face to face with their own people and their own whānau, modifies the context and offers a wider range of options for addressing the problem. In that respect the establishment of Rangatahi Courts in 2008 at Gisborne, led by Judge Taumaunu is a step towards building a kawa around Court protocols. Based on principles of natural justice the Te Kōti Rangatahi (Rangatahi Courts) are for offenders who have already appeared in a conventional Youth Court and have admitted to the charges laid. Referral to Te Kōti Rangatahi requires the offender to attend a court hearing held on a marae in the presence of kaumātua, whānau members, police, social workers and the judge. Marae kawa is observed before and during each session and when the individual cases are heard, offenders are

expected to speak to the whole assembly and to preface their remarks by identifying their own whakapapa links. Strengthening cultural identity is one objective of Te Kōti Rangatahi but the wider aims are to reduce reoffending and to encourage better rehabilitation by engaging youths with their culture, whānau and local community.[48]

Although 325 youths had been through the Rangatahi Courts between 2008 and 2010, the impact of the scheme has yet to be assessed. Rates of reoffending would provide relevant measures of success but other measures would be necessary to gauge gains in social cohesion, cultural affirmation, marae leadership, and the quality of relationships between Māori and the courts. Importantly also, the impact of kawa on all parties including the police, court officials and social agencies, as well as the offender, would merit attention. Generally Te Kōti Rangatahi have relied on local marae kawa to set the scene but over time the Rangatahi Court may evolve a kawa that is distinctive to the task, and transferable to other settings. Such a kawa, if it were oriented to reconciliation and rehabilitation as Te Kōti Rangatahi appear to be, would favour the domain of Rongomātāne. In the eyes of many Māori, current court protocols with the heavy emphasis on adversarial bargaining and prosecutor fervor, seem to have greater affinity with the domain of Tūmatauenga.

Creating Kawa

The resurgence of Māori culture and te reo Māori since 1984 has significantly transformed New Zealand society generating a groundswell of enthusiasm from both Māori and Pākehā. While many of the nation's institutions have adopted Māori names and used Māori images to support the cultural revitalisation, the outward symbols of Māoritanga do not always match the mode of operation or the institutional culture. In many (if not most) cases that may not be unreasonable especially if

institutional practices are so influenced by professional or vocational cultures that any attempt to present a Māori world view would lack conviction or integrity. But if Māori are to engage with societal institutions and to contribute as Māori, then the use of Māori words and symbols needs to be matched by conventions that allow culture to be practiced.

The introduction of Māori cultural frames into jails, hospitals and schools has occurred with greater frequency since the early 1980s. The rationale has been based on the well documented observation that outcomes are better if cultural congruence is evident. However, some of the Māori cultural programmes have floundered or been discontinued, not necessarily because they have been ineffective but because they have not been able to retain integrity within a culture where other values prevail. Kawa involves a commitment to a set of beliefs and practices that do not always coincide with wider societal beliefs and the two may not be compatible. That is one reason why Kura Kaupapa Māori were established. Even though bicultural classroom streams were available in many schools, a kawa-driven system could not be applied in a school context where other values were afforded priority.

The Department of Corrections has had some experience with the practice of Māori culture within the Department. However, their efforts to replicate marae kawa were derailed when other values and other world views competed with Māori values. The particular problem revolved around seating arrangements and whether women and men should both sit in the front row. One woman complained arguing that gender equality demanded equal seating rights and objected to being relegated to a back row. If gender was the basis for deciding seating arrangements, then her point would have carried conviction. But the kawa was less concerned with gender equality and more concerned that mana should be upheld. The front row should be reserved for people who could defend the marae, through whaikōrero and if necessary through physical force.

In any event, it is clear that kawa is not confined to marae, though marae remains the sites where kawa is most consistently applied and observed. Marae elders support and guide their kawa and are at pains to ensure that it is not diminished by forces beyond the marae. That approach is consistent with the notion that marae are bastions of Māori culture and knowledge and have important roles as guardians and champions for tikanga. However, by associating kawa and other aspects of culture only with marae, opportunities for expanding mātauranga and tikanga to meet the challenges of increasingly complex societies are lost. *He Kawa Oranga* has explored the possibility that cultural evolution is always occurring and needs to occur if it is to be relevant to changing times. From that perspective kawa is not a set of static rules or a collection of ancient rituals that are only applicable to the 'natural' world. Instead, as an integral component of Māori culture and an outward expression of Mātauranga Māori, kawa has the same level of adaptability as culture itself.

This chapter has introduced the possibility that kawa will be useful in the decades ahead as Māori grapple with new environments, new technologies, and new neighbours. Global technologies and transitions such as xenotransplantation, climate change and cyber-communication have enveloped the world but have developed without the advantage of a kawa to guide them. Some might argue that Māori kawa cannot be applied to situations far removed from natural environments, especially if 'being grounded' is an important aspect of kawa. But, based on accounts from experts, observations of transitions over time for marae kawa, and the recent emergence of kawa to address contemporary situations, as illustrated in the case studies and in Te Kooti Rangatahi, a conclusion in this thesis is that kawa is not limited by an historic time frame. Just as mātauranga Māori will continue to evolve, so the creation and application of kawa can be expected to guide Māori engagement in new situations as the century progresses.

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CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS

The Thesis

He Kawa Oranga is about Māori wellbeing in a modern world. Kawa also needs to be distinguished from a set of guidelines or a list of actions. It has a spiritual and cultural base that is derived from āronga, kaupapa and tikanga. It does not prescribe a set of rules or make detailed recommendations about a correct way of behaving or engaging with others. Instead the main object has been to explore the dimensions of kawa, consider the contemporary relevance of kawa, and examine the ways in which kawa might confer advantages to Māori in the years ahead. Drawing on the knowledge of experts in Te Ao Māori, as well as examining the characteristics of marae encounters, and learning from three modem applications of kawa, it has been possible to reach a number of conclusions that all address the research question, '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to a range of situations in modern times?*'

Two parallel threads are woven into the text of this thesis. First there is a functional thread concerned with the purposes of kawa, the reasons why it has value, and the ways in which it is practised. Second there is a theoretical thread that considers the origins and cultural significance of kawa. Both threads are important. If kawa is to be more than the observation of rituals, then it must be relevant to contemporary times; and if kawa is to be more than a series of regulations governing behaviour, then it must be underpinned by depth of meaning that inspires participants rather than simply demanding compliance. Philosophical positions taken in Chapters 2 and 3 is not at odds with the functional analysis of kawa contained in Chapter 4, but when one thread is detached from the other, the significance of kawa runs the risk of becoming lost.

For those reasons *He Kawa Oranga* has recognised kawa as a multi-dimensional custom that embraces a range of insights and understandings and a variety of practices. In the context of the thesis, the notion of a 'multidimensional custom' refers to the observation of key values that underlie all aspects of an organisation as well as to actions that span physical, spiritual, social, and intellectual elements and involve individuals as well as groups. It is an approach that has the potential to impact on the several senses of personal experience including sight, sound, touch, and movement, and to create a process that will clarify relationships between people and between groups. Sometimes the clarification of relationships will lead to greater cohesion but the process of kawa also has the potential to mark out the boundaries more sharply; indeed a fundamental function of marae kawa is to test out the relationship between groups, not necessarily to cement relationships.

A further dimension of kawa is linked to the future. Though focused on contemporary relevance, *He Kawa Oranga* recognises the rich history behind the custom. Like other customs that have survived radical changes within society, the roots of kawa are to be found in the natural world of Māori. Despite the impacts of pastoral farming, industrialisation and urbanisation, and the accompanying progressive moves from small rural settlements to metropolitan environments, Māori knowledge remains aligned to the natural world, shaped by indigenous forests and indigenous sources of food. However, most Māori do not live their day to day lives in those environments; they are now more accustomed to environments created by urban sprawl. But the earlier memories of a different time when life depended on a close bond with Haumietiketike, Rongomātāne, and Tangaroa continue to anchor Māori perceptions and world views. Further, as

concerns grow about climate change and the depletion of carbon stores in kauri forests or stands of kahikātea, Māori ties to the natural world will if anything increase in significance.

He Kawa Oranga does not propose that Māori should attempt to turn back the clock and live in a bygone era, but it does suggest that the past remains relevant to Māori futures. Moreover, there is the possibility, raised by Charles Royal, that much of the natural world is hidden, yet to be identified.[1] Kawa Oranga in action ought to empower participants to work collectively towards common goals, aspirations and objectives. Kawa Oranga in action should enable mana-enhancing relationships to prosper, and through collective engagement, focus positive group energy (ihi), enabling achievement across fields of endeavour within the twenty-first century.

Within the research question, the application of kawa to a range of situations has been raised and some specific situations have been discussed in detail. A methodological approach relevant to the exploration of kawa has been discussed in Chapter 2, and the conceptual understandings associated with kawa as well as some applications formed the basis for Chapter 3. Kawa pertaining to marae was outlined in Chapter 4 while the three case studies are concerned with situations linked to Māori education at primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. In each case, the ways in which kawa has been woven into the culture of the institution has been analysed and common themes have been identified. Chapter 9 extends the discussion on kawa in 'a range of situations' by identifying settings that might challenge Māori in the future. A kawa for engaging with cyber-communication or with genetic engineering or climate change might seem a long way from kawa to receive guests on a marae or to ensure success in battle so that the group will survive, or to declare fishing grounds off limits; on the surface they represent vastly different

situations. But encounters in cyber-space are likely to share a number of principles pertinent to marae encounters, and the dilemmas around xeno-transplantation are related to survival - not from the threats of neighbouring tribes or imperial forces.. The new threats will require greater attention to resource sustainability, if necessary by declaring food sources off limits. In effect, although over time the 'range of situations' will increase, the lessons learned in earlier times may have continuing relevance to the new situations.

An important aspect of the research question concerns 'modern times'. For the purposes of this research, 'modern times' refers to the early twenty-first century; a distinction is drawn between distant times (eighteenth or nineteenth centuries) and current times.

Underlying the distinction is an inference that customs such as kawa, which have long histories, are not bound by time nor do they necessarily need to remain static with the march of time. Addressing 'a range of situations in modern times,' introduces the prospect that new kawa will be constructed so that its application might remain relevant and useful. The view that culture should be retained in unchanging form is not a conclusion from this thesis. Nor does the evidence support that notion. Instead, an adaptive culture is one that does change, at least in outward form, while retaining those values and beliefs that underpin its distinctiveness. In that respect the views of key informants provided helpful explanations of the balance between change, integrity, and relevance.

Key Insights from Chapter Three 'Ngā Reo Tohunga'

The theoretical underpinnings of *He Kawa Oranga* were enunciated by four key informants all of whom were exponents of te reo Māori, Mātauranga Māori, and tikanga Māori. In addition they had extensive experience in western academies and were therefore well placed to compare knowledge systems and to appreciate the distinctiveness of each.

The contributions of the key informants to understanding kawa could be grouped into five main areas: the relationship between kawa and tikanga; the changing views on tikanga over time; the endorsement of kawa by atua (and a reconsideration of atua – less as a religious concept and more as an environmental marker); ways in which kawa could be maintained and developed; and the adaptation of kawa to meet new situations.

The interviews with experts explained how kawa has a depth of meaning that is bound to Mātauranga Māori. A simplistic notion about kawa being prescribed sets of rules was overshadowed by their explanation of kawa as an organic and purposeful process. Importantly they also confirmed that Mātauranga Māori is not a static knowledge system but one that is always growing to incorporate new concepts and truths.

In that respect they were able to apply mātauranga to new situations and to locate kawa within a modern world – not as a vestige of a distant past but as a tool for modern living and for exploring the future. Using kawa to engage with contemporary environments, a point made by all informants, did not mean that all established kawa should be updated or revised. In fact for some kawa the unchanged continuation of expressions of tikanga were critical to the integrity of the kawa. They should not be changed. But retaining aspects of the past did not mean standing still; new situations required new approaches. However, sometimes it was less a matter of

incorporating new concepts or developing new theories about kawa, but being more able to identify aspects of a Māori world view that had always been present but had hitherto been hidden. In that respect, the informants concluded that the kaupapa for kawa - the values that are the foundations of kawa - are able to follow Māori into situations that are novel, providing in the process a method for safe engagement.

The Chapter Four Framework 'Ngā Momo Kawa'

On the basis of several accounts of kawa practiced on marae, supplemented by researcher observations, a framework for discussing kawa was constructed. The framework contains four dimensions: the domains of kawa, the objectives of kawa, the key elements contained in kawa (the kaupapa and ritenga), and the ownership of kawa. Although primarily developed to accommodate marae kawa and to address the special circumstances that prevail on a marae, as opposed to other situations, the framework nonetheless provides a useful way for thinking about kawa in other situations. Of the four dimensions, the first locates kawa in an ecological context; the kawa is grounded. Within this paradigm all kawa are associated with one or more environmental markers – the oceans, trees and bird life, ferns and foods, creativity and cultivation, and the human propensity for battle and warfare. Typically, for example, encounters on the marae atea are associated with Tūmatauenga – a human dimension whereas kawa for weeding and harvesting kumara were associated with Rongomātāne another human dimension but concerned with cultivation rather than warfare. Kawa to guide fishing expeditions were within the realm of Tangaroa.

A major finding of this thesis is that kawa has applications beyond the marae and is increasingly likely to be applied to situations that are not immediately connected to the natural environment. How for example is a kawa for engaging with the internet associated with an environmental marker? Or does the absence of a clear link mean that engaging with the internet is outside the scope of kawa? These questions raise two further questions. First, is the ecological dimension out of step with a society that favours man-made, synthetic options or, second, is society's lack of regard for the environment an indication that is on a pathway that does not have the benefit of kawa, and is therefore placing the planet at risk? The answer to both questions, at least from a Māori world view, is that the relationship between people and the wider ecological environment is always a consideration and a fundamental purpose of kawa is to endorse that relationship. To that end, kawa is a product of the mātauranga Māori knowledge base and cannot necessarily be rationalised from other systems of knowledge.

The second dimension of kawa contained in the framework concerns the objectives of kawa, the pathways that will lead to desired outcomes. Several objectives have been identified: establishing relationships, protecting human dignity, promoting social cohesion, asserting authority and enhancing concentration. All objectives can be identified in modern situations and are highly germane to outcomes across many endeavours. Although the establishment of relationships usually refers to human relationships, especially on marae, it may also refer to relationships with the environment, or with new technologies. As the population profile comes to reflect an increasingly diverse ethnic mix and relationships between groups are at risk of misunderstandings, the objective of establishing relationships will assume corresponding importance.

Of equal importance will be the objective of protecting human dignity. This objective has several levels of meaning. At one level protecting dignity can be aimed at avoiding insulting remarks or insinuation but at another it can imply protection against untoward effects of technology that could compromise genetic inheritance, or protection against media invasion and a reduction of privacy. The process of kawa is concerned with creating pathways that will reduce those possibilities. Human dignity has a culture-specific component; derisive remarks about hapū or iwi can be seen as personal insults for members from those tribes and drawing attention to alienation from land, marae, or culture generally, can be equally insulting. In broad terms, a kawa to protect human dignity will include an element of risk assessment and risk management.

Two other functions of kawa identified in the framework deserve further comment. Whakamana, the assertion of authority, is often presumed to amount to a show of power. More often, however, the assertion of authority entails a readiness to show generosity and share resources. Authority in that sense is about taking responsibility for others, and for the environment, and working to fulfill, the obligations that go with positions of influence. Tangata whenua in each locality have particular responsibilities that extend beyond proclamations of status. A kawa that recognizes the position of tangata whenua carries with it expectations that tangata whenua will demonstrate manaakitanga. Another function of kawa, whakahihiwa, enhancing concentration, depends on a series of rituals that focus the mind, minimise external distractions and keep on track. This function is especially important in a world where distractions make it hard to sustain attention. Cell phones, competing schedules, and television noise are phenomena of modem living. A kawa that can exclude extraneous sights and sounds

so that attention can be focused will create a favourable environment for learning and responding.

The third dimension of kawa, Ngā Kaupapa me Ngā Ritenga, is about the values underpinning actions, and the ways in which those values are given effect. Transferring information is one of those actions. In contrast to other ways of disseminating information which are often based on precise written or oral language, kawa employ a number of modes of communication to endorse a message. The various modes are culturally aligned and on marae include karakia, karanga, whaikōrero, waiata, and sometimes haka. All modes underline a central point and although none may be explicit, together they create a message and paint a picture. The message is enforced not by a single explicit statement but by a multi-sensory delivery that is heard, felt, sensed, and sung. The message is also strengthened by a prevailing set of kaupapa that define the cultural values and principles associated with an organisation. While Ngā Ritenga are the outward markers of kawa, the kaupapa are the underlying standards and principles that are experienced everyday and by all participants. A question for the future is whether kawa can have the same impact if it employs a language other than Māori and if the accompanying values and rituals are divorced from Māori world views.

In the fourth domain of kawa, the question of ownership arises. Who develops the kawa, leads it, acts as a champion for it and monitors its ongoing application? Marae kawa tends to be the responsibility of kaumātua and is 'owned' collectively by whānau from the marae. In contrast, kawa in situations such as churches or educational institutions is 'owned' by those institutions. While the kawa may have been developed by a Māori advisor, over time ownership tends to be assumed by the organisation. The question of ownership, however, will become increasingly important as part of a wider debate on intellectual property rights and claims to ownership of

cultural material. Ownership of a kawa that is highly distinctive (for example to a school or a sports team) will be more readily accepted as belonging to a group or institution but where the kawa, or elements of it, have wider usage, assigning ownership might be exceedingly difficult.

The framework for discussing kawa provides broad guidance for understanding kawa and how it might assist Māori engagement with societal institutions. For convenience the framework has been divided into four dimensions. However, it is not intended that any one dimension should be considered in isolation of the others. Observing ritenga such as karakia or waiata without appreciating the ecological significance or the objectives or the ownership, runs the risk of confusing kawa with entertainment, and in the process diminishing impact. Ritenga will only make sense if they are seen within a wider context that has purpose, history, and a consistent set of behaviours.

Key Themes From Chapter Eight

An analysis of the three case studies in Chapters 5, 6, 7, led to the identification of ten themes, each reflecting a particular characteristic of kawa (Chapter 8). The themes are related to the philosophical underpinnings (Chapter 3) and to the foundations (Chapter 4) and provide further insights into the nature of kawa. Although largely emerging from the case studies, the themes are likely to have much wider application to many other settings and have the potential to inform the quality of kawa across a range of situations. The key themes extend the boundaries of the framework described in chapter 4 and are a mix of processes, approaches, attributes, goals and outcomes. They complement the objectives contained in the second dimension of the Chapter 4 framework and reflect the underlying significance of the respective kawa. Together, the ten themes capture the essence of kawa, at least as they can be applied to the case studies. They

provide insights into how the philosophies underpinning the three institutions can be converted into a 'way of doing things', a kawa, that not only reflects what the institution stands for but also how the institution maintains its own integrity in a consistent manner. Transforming philosophy into kawa enables participants to feel the values as well as to hear about them, and to rehearse them as part of a daily experience.

All themes were evident in each case study though not necessarily to the same extent. For example, Tūmatauenga, a warrior attitude, was given greater emphasis in the TU TOA case study but was manifest to a lesser extent in the other two. The use of ritenga on the other hand was consistently greater at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and Mana Tamariki, but also played a part at TŪ TOA. In addition to Tūmatauenga and Rongomātāne who represent war and peace respectively, other themes also appear contradictory. Whakapiri Tangata (team bonding and cohesion) could seem the opposite of whakamana (self determination and self management). However, team bonding and cohesion, a major part of the TŪ TOA kawa, is more of a precursor to self management, than a contradiction of self management. Building a strong team spirit is likely to result in a more cohesive group that will be more ready to manage themselves and decide their own pathways. By the same token adopting a team brand does not necessarily diminish spiritual motivation and cultural markers. A team identity, Tū Motuhake, is a characteristic of all three case studies; each enjoys a sense of distinctiveness built around a projected image and a distinctive curriculum. But the identity is also an outcome of the ritenga adopted by each organisation so that distinctiveness is as much a spiritual feature as the creation of an image. Outward appearances may mask the depth of spirituality underlying a 'brand'; or, alternately, a kawa that has rich cultural markers may also have a strong commercial brand.

What is important about the themes, however, is that together they confer balance. All are seen to be necessary and all are evident in the case studies, albeit to different degrees.

Perhaps the denominator most common to all the themes, however, is Mātauranga Māori. The derivation of kawa from Māori knowledge applies across all themes and the inherent meaning within each theme reflects Māori world views. The differences between kawa on the one hand and protocols or regulations on the other, are not found in the translation of Māori words but in the ways that kawa is grounded in a Māori conceptual framework. Ritenga such as karakia or waiata facilitate access Te Ao Māori but so does a consistent ecological orientation that connects mental and physical energies with the natural environment. In this respect kawa is grounded by a world view where participation is governed by the nature of relationships and relationships are a function of agreed commitments to shared values and beliefs.

All of the identified themes could be applied to marae encounters. While none of the case studies was marae based, the kawa adopted by the three institutions was compatible with marae kawa and contained similar processes and priorities to those that are typically found on marae. The similarities should not be surprising since they are founded on the same values and beliefs which are in turn derived from Mātauranga Māori. The difference is, however, that marae kawa has retained a significance that has been lost in many other situations. TŪ TOA, Mana Tamariki, and Te Wānanga o Raukawa are late twentieth century and early twenty-first century institutions that operate within a Māori cultural context and have been able to instil a kawa as a central model for all activities. Other institutions such as Kura Kaupapa Māori have created similar environments, but apart from marae, kawa-driven organisations are relatively infrequent.

A further premise underlying the ten themes is engagement. The energy generated by kawa goes outwards, towards the environment, towards groups, to challenges, or to the future. The overall aim is to connect with people (such as manuhiri, learners, other team members) or with specific situations (such as learning, sporting events, the environment) in a way that reduces uncertainty, diminishes risk, and builds solidarity. The process of engagement has both functional and cultural dimensions. It can enhance mana, rehearse local histories, celebrate distinctive ritenga, and link human endeavours with the natural environment. Kawa provides the milieu for human relationships and human endeavours to unfold within a Māori cultural context.

Another dimension that underlies all aspects of kawa is the dimension of time. Kawa is not governed by an allocation of time or a schedule based on rigid timeframes. Ritenga are long or short according to the situation being encountered.. Kawa incorporates an approach to time management that is based on giving priority to the goals and fulfilling obligations, regardless of how long it takes. That approach can run counter to management systems that are bound by set time allotments and is one reason why the observation of kawa within a culturally estranged context is difficult. The themes that characterise kawa are not bound by time but played out over time. Neither are they locked into a time warp. Although derived from values and ritenga that go back in time, the application of kawa to modern situations was endorsed in this thesis.

Lessons From Chapter Nine

While the research question for *He Kawa Oranga* has been about the application of kawa to 'modern times', Chapter 9 has shifted the focus towards future environments. A further question is therefore implied in the chapter, 'Will kawa be useful to guide Māori engagement with environments in the decades to come?' The implied question is not as abstract as might be

suggested since the environments that will shape the future are already evident. Genetic engineering for example is not new, even though the full applications of genetic research, especially stem cell research have yet to be realised. And the results of climate change are currently evident within New Zealand, in the Pacific, and in northern hemisphere continents. The expectation is that those changes will become even more accentuated over the next three decades and will have even more dramatic consequences.

Global travel and new patterns of migration will introduce new types of environments. Chapter 9 has referred to the possible impacts of multiculturalism on kawa and the likelihood that kawa will be increasingly shaped by other cultural perspectives, especially those from Asian countries.

In other environments, such as the whānau environment, changes will be more subtle but no less significant. Whānau structure and functions are changing at an accelerated pace. Blended families are increasingly frequent, a proportionate increase in older whānau members is predicted, and global mobility for whānau members and for whole whānau will inevitably escalate.[2] Maintaining links with Te Ao Māori and at the same time entering a global community will generate challenges for whānau and for a whānau kawa. In addition the impacts of genetic engineering may have major implications for whakapapa and heritage. Access to justice has also been discussed in Chapter 9. Relocating the court room, with its own distinctive customs, to the marae has enabled a new form of justice to emerge, based less on the conventional narrow parameters of guilty or not guilty and more on the relationship between offender and community. Will it lead to better outcomes, judged not only on rehabilitative measures but also on better understandings about risk-taking, ethical ideals, and community influence on young people? Preliminary impressions from Te Kōti Rangatahi suggest that it might.

However, even though Chapter 9 speculates that kawa will be useful to future environments, two concerns may limit that possibility. First, *He Kawa Oranga* has identified kawa as a product of Mātauranga Māori and has further demonstrated how kawa can be enacted in environments where the dominant culture is also shaped around Māori values and Māori people. Second, while the principles underlying kawa might have wider applicability in the future, there is a significant difference between some of the universal values embedded within kawa (such as caring for others, social cohesion, and the protection of human dignity), and the philosophical foundations that distinguish kawa.

In respect of the first concern, that kawa is primarily relevant to Māori-centred endeavour, many of the future environments discussed in Chapter 9 will have more in common with global cultures and bodies of knowledge based on science, rather than on indigenous cultures and indigenous knowledge. There has been sufficient experience in Aotearoa to suggest that when Māori values are promoted within a larger organisation or system, the result is often disappointing. Invariably, as Māori experience in Parliament and many other settings has shown, the values that drive the whole organisation take precedence over Māori values, including kawa.[3] As indicated in Chapter 9, that is one reason why 'independent' Māori entities such as wānanga have been formed. The bicultural approach, though valuable as a vehicle for promoting Māori language and culture, and for aligning all New Zealanders with indigenous perspectives, has limitations. Because the essential features of kawa depend on a context where Māori values and beliefs can be consistently observed, global environments will present challenges that may be inconsistent with the tenets of kawa.

The second concern, that the principles of kawa might be more widely applicable across a range of cultures, introduces another argument. All cultures have beliefs and systems of knowledge

that overlap with other cultures. No single culture for example, has a monopoly over a belief in the sanctity of life or the need for civil obedience, or recognition of the family as a cornerstone of society. However, not all cultures place the same emphasis on provenance, community, relationships or distribution. Indigenous cultures see a close link between human endeavours and the natural environment, incorporate landscape into identity, focus more readily on collectives such as whole communities (rather than individuals) and have rules for allocation that do not depend on ability to purchase. In contrast there are concerns that global environments in the future will be driven by personal profit, unbridled science and technology, and the exploitation of nature. Those concerns have prompted many leaders to advocate for greater respect for indigenous values and knowledge as a way of countering the global trends.[4]

For indigenous peoples the opportunity to share values and beliefs for a greater national good has been welcomed as a radical departure from earlier times when indigenous views on land and water ownership, custom, and responsibility were largely ignored and over-ridden. Despite the new interest being seen as too late, after the alienation of resources and culture, there has been nonetheless considerable enthusiasm for advancing indigenous knowledge and custom within wider society. But sharing knowledge and custom does raise the possibility of modification or even assumed ownership. Many Māori are concerned that Māori knowledge could well be usurped, reconfigured within other cultural frameworks, and 'globalised', a possibility that has reignited memories of other forms of resource alienation especially land. The perceived threat is less if, for example, the discussion on climate change is confined to the application of Māori conservation principles but could be much greater if the widespread application of kawa is attempted within a context where Māori values are not likely to be applied with any consistency.

Conclusions

The brief answer to the research question, '*Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to a range of situations in modern times?*' is 'yes'. But it is a qualified 'yes' insofar as some sites of application bring the risk of undermining the authenticity and impact of kawa. In other words when the outward expression of kawa is detached from the philosophical base of kawa, then kawa is unlikely to be useful, at least in the long term. A kawa that is alienated from a Mātauranga Māori base soon becomes a shallow set of procedures that have greater theatrical significance than a genuine pathway towards engagement. *He Kawa Oranga* has scoped kawa from several perspectives and has considered a number of situations where it might be useful. The three case studies for example illustrate how kawa can lead to successful engagement and meet an organisational mission. Additionally, according to the key experts in Chapter 3, kawa has the power to connect people with each other, with their environment and with their identity.

The research has also discussed the theoretical underpinnings of kawa and the links between kawa and Mātauranga Māori. Those links are strengthened by the tikanga and ritenga employed to give expression to the kawa and also by the choice of karakia, waiata, and other modes of expression such as haka. The most significant finding is that the integrity, authenticity, and value of kawa depend on the ways in which it is used, the purposes for which it is used, and the benefits that arise from its use. Further, the value of kawa is often a function of the context within which is used. When introduced to a situation where two or more value systems are operating kawa may be misrepresented. If the two systems are so far apart that the significance of one set is only judged by what is significant to the other, little will be achieved. At the same time, if kawa is to be a meaningful part of the lives of Māori in the future, then inevitably there will be an increasing number of situations where two value sets prevail. The challenge will be to

develop kawa that are built on secure cultural foundations, can maintain a set of kaupapa, and can be practised without undermining either set of values. In other words the kawa should be mana enhancing.[5]

The concept of mana underlines the five main conclusions of this thesis and represents an amalgamation of the findings from earlier chapters. In particular the conclusions draw on the development of a methodology to guide the study (Chapter 2), the literature, interviews with key informants (Chapter 3), the views of elders and the personal observations made about marae kawa (Chapter 4), three case studies (Chapters 5, 6, 7) the key themes common to all three case studies (Chapter 8), and the anticipation of new situations where kawa might be relevant in the future (Chapter 9).

The following table provides an overview of the key findings from this research. It draws attention to the several dimensions of mana and their significance to kawa. The five dimensions of mana are premised on atua, tangata, wairua, whakahaere, and rangatira and for each dimension the implications for kawa and the application of kawa are shown.

Table 10 Kawa and Mana

Mana	The Descriptor	The Link to Kawa	The Impact
Mana Atua	The philosophical and theoretical foundations of kawa have an ecological origin.	Māori knowledge underpins the values that sustain kawa.	Kawa engages participants in a Māori world view that has strong connections to the environment
Mana Tangata	The empowerment of people through kawa.	The standing of people can be enhanced by kawa.	Kawa mediates human relationships and human dignity.
Mana Wairua	The use of kaupapa and ritenga as tools for engagement	The kaupapa and rituals of kawa contain cultural and spiritual dimensions that are distinctive to Māori.	The impact of Kawa is increased by cultural and spiritual components.
Mana Whakahaere	The processes of kawa and the applications of kawa	Kawa provides guidance for the development of processes to facilitate engagement.	Kawa creates certainty and orderliness through a consistent approach to active engagement.
Mana Rangatira	The critical role of leaders in the maintenance and practice of kawa.	Kawa will be enhanced by leadership that is skilled in intergenerational transmissionand attuned to societal changes.	The maintenance and ongoing development of Kawa depends on effective leadership.

Mana is a major element of kawa and refers to: the value placed on Mātauranga Māori and an ecological perspective; the recognition given to participants; the maintenance of, values; the nature of ritenga used; the uses of kawa and the quality of leadership. Table 10 summarises five aspects of mana that represent the five major conclusions of *He Kawa Oranga*.

Conclusion One: Mana Atua

A major conclusion from this thesis is that the foundation of kawa is Mātauranga Māori. Like other indigenous populations, Māori regard the relationship between people and the environment as an important basis for the organisation of knowledge, the categorisation of life experiences, and the shaping of attitudes and patterns of thinking. Because identity is regarded as an extension of the environment, there is an element of inseparability between people and the natural world. The individual is a part of all creation and the idea that the world or creation exists for the purpose of human domination and exploitation is absent from indigenous world-views.[6]

Māori views of the natural world, including human existence, are consolidated in the story of Papatuanuku and Ranginui – the earth mother and the sky father. After a long period of darkness during which Ranginui and Papatuanuku were firmly entwined, their children pushed them apart so that they could grow and light could appear. Each of the children was to become a regent – atua – with responsibility for the various natural elements that made up the environment. The Atua Tawhirimātea for example was the regent for wind while Haumietiketike assumed responsibility for ferns and crops and Tūmatauenga had oversight over human beings.

An ecological approach based on a symbiotic relationship with the environment, has not only led to sense of stewardship to the environment and natural resources, but also to a way of thinking within which people are viewed as products of relationships - between individuals and wider social circles, and between people and the natural world. In this thesis, that ecological orientation was given high importance by the key informants and was a priority consideration in

the case studies. The search for knowledge and understanding especially in connection with the human condition and the application of kawa, requires an outward flow of energy (a centrifugal pathway) rather than an introspective (centripetal) focus.[7] Mātauranga Māori recognises the inter-relatedness of all things, draws on observations from the natural environment, and is imbued with a life force (mauri) and a spirituality (tapu) that accentuates the integrity of the knowledge system.[8]

Because all objects, including inanimate objects, have a mauri, engagement with them becomes possible. Thus a kawa to launch a canoe, or open a house, or launch a book or even instigate a new website, would recognise the human relationship to the object and the mutual benefits that might be derived from the relationship. In addition to mauri, tapu is a further concept that accentuates the integrity of a Māori knowledge system. Tapu objects, people and places have special qualities that demand caution and respect. The tapu state either suggests that they might carry an element of risk, or might be imbued with higher spiritual energy. Noa objects, however, are neutral as to risk or special powers. A kawa to declare an object tapu or to remove the tapu qualifier would draw attention to the importance of the object to the community and reasons why a change in status (from noa to tapu or vice-versa) was necessary.

Both indigenous knowledge and science are shaped by particular world views and each is bounded by a set of conventions that confer credibility and consistency - as well as limitations. Importantly the tools of one should not used to analyse and understand the foundations of another, nor should it be concluded that a system of knowledge that cannot withstand scientific

scrutiny, or alternately a body of knowledge that is incapable of locating people within the natural world, lacks credibility.

To illustrate the point, people often hold different values related to the utilisation of space and time. In some cultures, to pave the way for a closer relationship, physical distance is maintained until certain formalities have been completed. According to the customs of many tribes, crossing the marae atea prematurely can cause offence and create anxiety since space allows any risk from an encounter to be assessed before an agreement is reached. That perspective characterises kawa. The kawa of the pōwhiri, a key feature of the TŪ TOA, Mana Tamariki, and Te Wānanga o Raukawa protocols, enables prospective students and their families to gain a better understanding of the situation before a final commitment is made. However, in other cultures maintaining space can have the opposite effect – it creates unease and a sense of separation; the tendency will be to bridge the gap as quickly as possible in order to minimise awkwardness and create a friendly environment. Formality may be immediately replaced by informality and close physical contact.

Similarly cultures have different understandings of time. Being 'on time' may be seen as less critical than allowing sufficient time, even if it goes against the dictates of the clock. In this instance priority is given to enabling the completion of essential tasks in an unhurried manner and not proceeding until a prior step has been ratified; the amount of time taken is considered a good investment for future relationships. Values surrounding time can be easily misconstrued in institutional settings. Busy schedules can result in a rigid approach to time management which over-rides the niceties and subtleties of engagement and ranks significance by the amount of time available. Kawa that is based on Mātauranga Māori, however, has a method of time

management where significance is based on ensuring that sufficient time is available for essential processes.

The two approaches to time management are often in conflict and as a result, kawa may be undermined by the restriction of whaikōrero or karakia to a strict allocation of time. While that may help hectic schedules, it reduces kawa to a one-dimensional performance, a superficial encounter that falls short of a genuine engagement and bypasses the substantial matter. A two or three minute speech or karakia at the beginning of a ceremony recognises a Māori dimension, which might in itself be important, but falls well short of usual understandings of kawa.

The key informants also pointed out another misconception about mātauranga Māori. Although based on ancient values and traditions, Mātauranga Māori is not relevant only to the distant past, nor is it a static form of knowledge. The basis for knowledge creation is the dynamic relationships that arise from the interaction of people with the environment, generations with each other, and social and physical relationships. A creative and inventive capacity forms the core of an indigenous knowledge system and the emerging cultural beliefs.

A thrust for development is part of the indigenous journey; it is a product of a dynamic system, an integral part of the physical and social environment of communities, and a collective good. Because Mātauranga Māori is a system of knowledge that can respond to changing environments kawa is is also method of engagement that can meet changing environments.[9]

Conclusion Two: Mana Tangata

A second conclusion from this thesis is that kawa enables human dignity to be maintained and human potential to be realised. Kawa has several implications for human potential including the link between individual potential and group potential, and the distinction between the potential of one group as opposed to the potential of another. Kawa also embeds a world view than can give individuals and groups a sense of purpose and the confidence to attain new heights. Potential is reached because there is support, endorsement of worth, and guidelines that foster safety, wellbeing, integrity, and opportunity.

In respect of the link between individual potential and group potential, the emphasis in *He Kawa Oranga* has been on kawa as a group effort. While individual members might play different roles, the combined effort contributes to the standing and wellbeing of the whole group. The kaikōrero for example has the critical role of stating the groups 'case' and clarifying the terms of engagement, but of equal importance, the 'case' is also reinforced by waiata or karakia or haka, delivered by other members of the group. Similarly, maintaining the kaupapa associated with kawa such as manaakitanga, whakawhanaungtanga, and wairuatanga requires a consolidated approach which draws on a range of skills and not only affords respect to others but also demonstrates the combined effectiveness of the whole group.

When kawa enhances the mana of the whole group, whether it be a marae, school, or sports team, the mana of each person is also enhanced. By the same token the actions of one person are capable of diminishing the standing of the whole group. Clearly, the relationships between individual members and the larger group that makes up a whānau, hapū or a community of interest have mutually reinforcing impacts. However, the group context that typifies kawa is in contrast to New Zealand's wider societal emphasis on individualism and individual freedoms.

The collective nature of kawa can sometimes appear to contradict the values contained in doctrines of individual rights. However, as already noted, a kawa that reduces the dignity of an individual also has undesired repercussions for the group.

A further function of kawa discussed in this thesis is the mediation of relationships between groups. Chapter 4 discussed the ways in which group relationships are reconciled on a marae so that risk between both parties are minimised and the mana of each can be appreciated. Kawa provides a format that allows various groups to demonstrate how their landscapes, histories, waiata, haka, and other interests define their uniqueness. There is then the opportunity to indicate how that distinctiveness might coincide with other groups on the marae. Efforts to promote cohesion are often part of a mana tangata agenda though when groups are moving in opposite directions, the kawa might give greater emphasis to the differences. In that respect the aim of kawa is not necessarily to create close relationships but to clarify the nature of relationships.

In the TŪ TOA case study, for example, relationships with other groups were important aspects of the kawa. Sporting opponents were not seen as allies but as rivals who had to be defeated; the primary purpose of the kawa was to bolster the confidence and capacity of TŪ TOA students so that their performance would be enhanced and their chances of victory made greater. At the same time, although the kawa focused on winning, it also promoted respect for other teams. Recognition of the mana of opposing teams meant that victory over them did not diminish respect for them and for the mana they brought.

Relationships within groups, rather than between groups, are more common themes at Te Wānanga o Ruakawa and Mana Tamariki. The respective kawa deliberately foster cohesion –

closeness between learners, between teachers, between parents and whānau members and between other groups who have similar missions. The prime objective is to produce an approach that will lead to all members being committed to the same values and aspirations. Kawa is a way of encouraging strong relationships based around a similar mission, commitments to a set of kaupapa, and regular collective engagement in actions that enforce group solidarity.

A particular instance of group potential is the whānau. Within all whānau individuals have specific attributes and personal aspirations. But the realisation of those aspirations is largely dependent on the ways in which the whānau as a whole transmits values, provides guidelines, and encourages success. This thesis has raised the possibility of a kawa, or a series of kawa that will be relevant to whānau in their every-day lives. Whānau kawa might include a set of protocols around food, or sport, or education, based on mātauranga Māori but relevant to contemporary society. Though they need not be oppositional, a whānau kawa should be able to balance collective whānau goals with the goals of individuals.

The argument that kawa fosters group unity and performance at the expense of individual excellence, overlooks the opportunities for individuals to gain confidence and strength from group solidarity so that their more personal ambitions can be fulfilled. In Chapter 8 the relationship between individual performance and group cohesion was explored in connection with the TŪ TOA sporting codes. The kawa adopted by TŪ TOA promoted group cohesion as well as high achievement; individuals gained self-assurance from the group context and were able to transfer the messages of achievement to individualistic sports such as golf and tennis. Moreover, although competing in wider society where Māori values were not widely supported,

students were nonetheless able to retain a cultural world view that fostered both group and individual achievement.

Conclusion Three: Mana Wairua

A third conclusion in this thesis is that the practice of kawa incorporates kaupapa and ritenga (or tikanga) that convey both secular and spiritual messages. The messages may be aimed at welcoming visitors, acknowledging deceased relatives, challenging rivals, encouraging children or promoting unity. They may also focus on very specific matters such as advocating te reo Māori or abandoning tobacco use, or reclaiming land lost through unfair means. The choices of ritenga largely define the actions of kawa and identify the participants involved in the kawa, while the performance of ritenga demonstrates the strength and commitment of the participants to enforce whatever message is intended. All ritenga contain metaphor and allusion that add meaning to the occasion and often provide a wider historic context.

Of all ritenga, whaikōrero provide the most transparent and direct messages but they also are often couched in metaphorical language that extends the meaning and draws attention to connections with nature. Comparing people with trees ('kua hinga te totara o te wao nui a Tane') or identifying visitors by a landmark ('kua tae mai a Hikurangi') paints an ecological picture and endorses human and environmental connectedness. The connection is essentially a reflection of a spiritual element that complements the more obvious point. Whaikōrero can be a powerful motivator when it combines abstract and literal language.

However, apart from whaikōrero other forms of ritenga are regularly incorporated into kawa. In Chapter 4 the use and meaning of karanga, karakia, waiata and haka were discussed and their spiritual significance was emphasised. Insofar as they have strong cultural origins and add a

cultural perspective to learning or to competition, they are motivational. But because they also contain a spiritual element that often defies explanation, the impact is multi-sensory. The haka for instance not only has physical, intellectual, cultural, and rhythmic dimensions but it also generates a sense of pride, determination and fortitude that cannot be sensed or experienced by other means.

Not all kawa employ the same ritenga or use ritenga to the same extent. A whānau kawa for example might use ritenga that have particular relevance to the whānau but not necessarily to others outside the whānau. Ritenga used in a kura will be different to those used by defence forces or a rugby team. But despite the variable situations a theme of spirituality will be evident within the kawa and will be an essential component of it. Because spiritual experience cannot be easily measured, the dimension is often regarded as spurious. However, that conclusion may be more a reflection on the limitations of science than the authenticity of spiritual meaning. Key informants in this thesis all identified the spiritual dimension as a key component of kawa.

In a largely secular world where spiritual and religious experiences are afforded less value than experiences that can be quantified by numerical measures, or which compete with technologies such as iPods that readily captivate young minds, the spiritual dimension can seem outdated. However, that has not been a finding in this thesis. Instead the degree of commitment to ritenga in Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Mana Tamariki and TŪ TOA suggests that young minds in modern times are able to integrate spiritual and material values and concepts without any sense of contradiction. As a result their levels of engagement with a kaupapa are high and sustained.

Many kawa include karakia derived from Christian religious practices alongside karakia derived from Māori custom. In former times the two sets of values and beliefs were seen as conflicting

and incompatible. Often missionaries were hostile to aspects of Māori custom and decried their practice. More recently many Māori have come to regard Christian prayers and practices as evidence of a colonising process and have advocated returning to customary Māori beliefs. Mana Tamariki subscribes to that view though in practice the values it promotes have more in common with Christian values that with the values of secular educational organisations. The conclusion in this thesis, that spirituality is a core component of kawa that can heighten the level of engagement, accepts that kawa can be constructed in different ways and that a spiritual dimension can be derived from religious as well as customary traditions. By the same token, a kawa without any spiritual component lacks a key motivating factor.

Conclusion Four: Mana Whakahaere

A fourth conclusion of *He Kawa Oranga* is that kawa facilitates engagement through a process that inspires commitment, guides behaviour, and generates confidence. Essentially kawa is a process that enables people to engage with others, with language, with culture, with society, with a range of contemporary agendas, and with the future. The process is structured but not inflexible and recognises the different needs of groups and the different levels of engagement that are appropriate for various situations. While kawa differs between situations there are similar elements across all kawa and this thesis identifies both the commonalities and the points of departure. Five levels of engagement are discussed in this section: engagement with people, engagement with Te Ao Māori, engagement with societal institutions, engagement with a variety of contemporary agendas, and engagement with the future.

Engagement with people is a fundamental aim of kawa. The distinctions between engagement with individuals and groups, and the use of kawa to mediate between groups have already been

discussed. Generally the engagement process is a phased one. Most often the kawa starts a formal process where the intending parties can make clear their respective intentions. A pōwhiri may be the first step towards engagement; while generally regarded as a welcoming ceremony, more correctly it is an opportunity for speakers and their supporters to explore the terms of the new relationship. A second step is symbolised by the hongi – a sign that both groups have accepted the terms and are now ready to engage on clear terms.

Further engagement occurs when the key players agree to a joint effort that will achieve a common goal. In the case of Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the common goal is the pursuit of knowledge within a mātauranga Māori framework. At Mana Tamariki parents accept conditions about the use of te reo Māori and a joint commitment to a set of values that will support educational objectives, school cohesion, and active parental participation. TŪ TOA students agree to aim for excellence in sport and study. Strengthening the aim is a kawa woven around tikanga, Mātauranga Māori, and a commitment to common kaupapa.

Inevitably kawa provides a pathway for engagement with Te Ao Māori. The rituals used to embed the kawa are derived from Māori culture and knowledge, and participants are offered entry into that world. Even though the primary aim of a kawa may be to engage in a particular activity or endeavour that is not directly linked to Māori culture, the kawa nonetheless leads to an engagement with the culture. Because it involves Māori culture and people, an association with kawa also raises the increased likelihood of association with a network of Māori organisations. Kawa do not occur in isolation. They are being shaped and practised in a wider context that encompasses Iwi, hapū, marae, urban Māori organisations and Māori service providers. This thesis has examined three educational environments where kawa plays an important role.Those situations are linked by kawa to Māori health providers, Māori social

service providers and whānau. Participating in kawa carries with it the prospect of participation in other dimensions of Te Ao Māori.

Not only does kawa facilitate participation with groups, and Māori networks, but it also enables participation with societal institutions and a range of different programmes. Māori involvement with education for example would have been much less active if kawa for learning had not been developed. The three case studies in this thesis illustrate how kawa can foster a high level of participation in learning at primary, secondary and tertiary levels. The same process has been seen in the health sector. Since 1984 the rapid evolution of Māori Non-Government Organisations funded to provide health services to Māori, has been associated with the employment of a kawa for health. Services are delivered within a framework where Māori values, language, and custom act as catalysts for active whānau engagement. Māori participation in conservation programmes has similarly escalated after the development of a conservation kawa. The kawa provides a basis for Māori to participate as Māori and to contribute to the wider conservation goals within a Māori paradigm.

In Chapter 4, the introduction of a haka for the New Zealand Armed Forces was discussed. The army has also established a marae at the Waiouru base and a distinctive Army kawa has emerged. A similar kawa operates at the naval base in Devonport. Even though the wider context for the kawa at Waiouru and Devonport is not based around Māori values and world views, but around army and navy protocols, the kawa is thought to strengthen Māori participation in the forces. It also suggests kawa might be compatible with other types of protocols, provided there are agreements about when one prevails over the other.

There is also some suggestion that Māori participation in the professions is being facilitated by a process of kawa. Māori accountants for example are exploring the link between economic measures and measures related to tikanga and kaupapa; Māori lawyers have been increasingly interested in the development of a jurisprudence that recognises Māori values and tikanga; Māori medical practitioners have identified elements of a Māori approach to the delivery of medical services that has the hallmarks of a kawa and which are compatible with evidence based medical services. These developments, occurring since 1990, recognise that Māori participation in societal institutions will lead to some revisions to conventional operating procedures and the inclusion of a set of protocols that are based on Mātauranga Māori and constitute a kawa. The extent to which those kawa can prevail within systems that are heavily aligned in other directions is a matter for further research. Meanwhile, the findings from this thesis, suggest that at least for education, a kawa can facilitate high levels of participation and commitment.

The question of the use of kawa to facilitate Māori engagement with new situations in the future was raised in chapters 3 and 9 and further discussed earlier in this chapter. Briefly, rules for engagement with many new technologies and global patterns are poorly developed and while the new technologies offer potential benefits they also present high levels of risk. Scientific and technological innovations appear to have outstripped the necessary rules and ethics to manage them. Because the complexities that will arise are beyond current systems of management and governance, equally complex solutions will be needed and there is no reason to doubt that kawa will be among the solutions to managing new age discoveries. The challenge will be to develop kawa that are firmly based on Mātauranga Māori, employ ritenga that are derived from custom, and are able to mediate between diverse world views and groups.

Conclusion Five: Mana Rangatira

The fifth conclusion from this thesis is that the maintenance and ongoing development of kawa depends on effective leadership. Strong leadership is the reason why kawa has continued to flourish on marae and in other locations, even after the major social dislocations that accompanied urbanisation. Without strong and informed leadership kawa will be difficult to maintain and even more difficult to survive in new circumstances without losing the values and world views that lend authenticity and distinctiveness. Not only does leadership for kawa require passing on the teachings from earlier generations, but increasingly it will require a type of leadership that can facilitate the practice of kawa in new situations.

Guardianship of kawa is important for a number of reasons. Unless the tikanga and ritenga that underpin kawa are meaningful to the circumstance, they will have little more than token value. Guardianship implies a capacity to know which ritenga are relevant to site and situation; which are grounded in local environments; and which hold significance to the participants and the reasons that have brought them together. A kawa for learning will be different to a kawa for a tangi or a kawa for whānau hospitality. As guardians of kawa, leaders also carry some responsibility to monitor the ways in which ritenga are delivered and to tutor those who will carry out the delivery. Kawa performed in a casual or inaccurate way will negate any benefits and in the process undermine the integrity of the kawa itself.

In addition to being guardians of kawa, and ensuring that they are authentic, accurate, and appropriate, the leaders of kawa also have responsibilities to explain to the participants the significance of karakia, waiata, haka and other ritenga. Many participants in kawa will have little understanding of the deeper meanings behind the words or songs and as a result their active participation will be limited. Although the impact of kawa can often be 'sensed' as a spiritual

experience, intellectual understanding of the implications of metaphorical language and the meaning of words not often used in colloquial conversation, adds to the impact. Findings from this thesis suggest that engagement in kawa is more enthusiastic when participants can comprehend the literal and symbolic meanings and can fully appreciate the significance of the ritenga to a particular occasion.

Apart from guarding the integrity of kawa and the faithful transmission of Mātauranga Māori between generations, leaders of kawa will be increasingly called upon to recommend and lead kawa in novel situations. Chapter 9 has scoped some of the possibilities. For leaders, that expectation will give rise to at least two challenges. First, predictably, the post-modern context will not be based around Māori world views or values; more likely it will be driven by global trends and universal concepts. If the kawa is to have any value, it will be to facilitate Māori involvement in the new environment; a kawa that is developed to ease the transition from one environment to another will be especially valuable to Māori who might be struggling to engage with a new situation.

A second challenge will be to develop a kawa that can be relevant and sustainable in a wider context where being Māori is not necessarily afforded high priority. Students and staff at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Mana Tamariki and TŪ TOA were enveloped in an environment where being Māori was the norm and the application of kawa was a normalised experience. Commitment to a kawa where being Maori is not the norm, as it had become when English land law replaced Māori land tenure, will require leaders to create prompts and cues that can be employed once outside a Māori responsive environment.[10] Alternately leaders may decide that because an environment is incompatible with Māori values, instituting a kawa might create a conflict that could hinder rather than facilitate engagement with a new situation. Leaders in that

situation might advise against a kawa, not only to reduce conflicts for would-be participants, but also to safeguard the integrity of kawa and the potential devaluing of Mātauranga Māori.

As well as deciding whether a kawa would be useful or not, a further task for the future is to measure the impacts of kawa. This thesis has not attempted to quantify all the benefits or risks of kawa. While accounts from key players in each of the case studies point towards very positive outcomes, measured by engagement in the kaupapa, the flow on effects from engagement have not been explored for Mana Tamariki or Te Wānanga o Raukawa. In the case of TŪ TOA it was possible to demonstrate high sporting performance and equally impressive academic results and to attribute some of those gains at least, to the kawa. At the same time, although those indicators are relevant, there may be other indicators which are more relevant to the impacts of kawa, including for example engagement with Te Ao Māori. More research is needed to answer those questions and the attribution of outcomes to kawa rather than to other variables.

He Kawa Oranga

He Kawa Oranga has explored the dimensions of kawa and the practice of kawa in modern times. It has reached five major conclusions: the foundation of kawa is Mātauranga Māori; kawa enables human dignity to be maintained and human potential to be realised; the impact of kawa is intensified by kaupapa and ritenga that convey both secular and spiritual messages; kawa facilitates engagement through a process that inspires commitment, guides behaviour, and generates confidence; and the maintenance and ongoing development of kawa depends on effective leadership.

Underlying all five conclusions is the theme of engagement; engagement with people, place, objects, innovation, learning and discovery. The value of kawa as vehicle for guiding social encounters and facilitating environmental connectedness has been illustrated and the potential of kawa as a way of engaging with new environments has been suggested. Over the next few decades those environments will often be part of a global cultural expansion within which Māori tikanga and knowledge will play relatively little part. While the strength and significance of kawa is heightened when it occurs within a wider context where Māori values and world views prevail, there is also a suggestion that kawa might be useful to Māori in situations where the wider context is shaped by other values and beliefs.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as waves of settlers from Europe took up residence, Māori were exposed to entirely new situations and lifestyles. Alienation from land, language and culture occurred in quick succession with serious consequences for survival. Within half a century the Māori population declined from an estimated 200,000 to less than 42,000.[11] For many of the subsequent years it seemed that Maori ways of life and the associated cultural knowledge would be irrelevant and would confer no advantage in the new order. But by the latter half of the twentieth century a renaissance was experienced and by the turn of the twenty-first century, the evidence suggested that cultural values, knowledge, and practices could actually facilitate engagement with health, education, technology, broadcasting, defence, and commercial practice. Although the wider societal environment was still largely driven by western ideals, the application of kawa could nonetheless increase Māori participation in contemporary fields.

That observation has been confirmed in this thesis. Moreover, the application of kawa to future environments which are as different as genetic engineering and climate change, and the use of kawa to guide whānau during times of increasingly rapid change, have been seen as distinct possibilities. But the thesis also warns that in order to be effective, kawa needs to retain a theoretical and philosophical base that is derived from Mātauranga Māori. Impact will not only depend on the ways in which kaupapa are maintained and ritenga are used, but also by a type of leadership that can mediate between yesterday and tomorrow. While some doubt is raised about the sustainability of kawa in environments that are indifferent or hostile to Māori values, the thesis also suggests that kawa based on Mātauranga Māori can contribute positively to those same environments.

Within this thesis the origins and understandings of kawa have been discussed and the application of kawa to modern times has been demonstrated. There has also been a preliminary exploration of the use of kawa to future circumstances. While the latter has been largely speculative, there is nonetheless evidence that over time, and despite major societal changes, kawa has not only survived but has also provided important insights to understanding new environments. In that sense there is room to conclude that within the future worlds where Māori will live, kawa will be a source of energy, a vehicle for negotiating new pathways, and a touchstone for linking one world and one era with another.

In brief, kawa is a concept and a practice that has the potential to guide Māori into twenty-first century environments and at the same time to retain strong connections with Māori values and world views. The applications of kawa and the values that underpin kawa are not bound by time, technology, place, or global imperialism, but are derived from ancient knowledge and are built around principles that have withstood change in the past and will be relevant to change in the future.

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.

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