TITIRO WHAKAMURI KIA MARAMA AI TE WAO NEI: WHAKAPAPA EPISTEMOLOGIES AND MANIAPOTO MAORI CULTURAL IDENTITIES.

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KORERO WHAKAMARAMA

The work I have presented here pulls together Maori epistemologies as evidenced in the whakapapa knowledge particularly of Ngati Maniapoto to see if and where connection lies with understandings of Maori cultural wellbeing. Whakapapa knowledge is the unbounded collection of theory, observation and experience as seen through Maori eyes. It is intricately connected by whakapapa, a tool for working with and extrapolating understanding and is the common thread that binds hapu, whanau and iwi (O'Regan, 2001). The aim is to investigate contemporary Maori realities with a strong interest in these traditions of wisdom and knowing.

The rangahau presented here is of necessity both deconstructive and reconstructive. As a deconstructive project the rangahau seeks to place under the microscope of indigenous gaze the colonial theoretical, ethical, moral and political construction of Maori ways of knowing and being and the ontological orders of western paradigms and non-Maori worldview (Romero-Little, 2006). As a constructive project I am concerned with placing on the record and opening up sites for, but not defining, Maori epistemology as legitimate and 'tika' and at the same time putting forward 'alternate epistemologies' (Collins, 1991; Lopez, 1998; Smith, 1999; Marsden, 2003) that challenge certified knowledge and critically challenges dominant constructions of the truth as related to knowing.

The implications of these explorations of epistemologies for Maori lives, opportunities and experience are also considered. This work argues for the maintenance of Maori cultural identities via whakapapa knowledge using connections to Maori ways of knowing. This includes examination of the effects of coming to terms with, of encountering, coming to terms with and engaging with Maori cultural practices, as well as, processes commonly referred to as 'culture shock' (Weaver, 1993) the psychological, emotional and physical responses to the phenomenon of identity reclamation and how these realities can be negotiated.

What I found is that Maori knowledge systems are replete with elements that contribute positively to the maintenance of cultural identities and these identities are uniquely and distinctively contextually and culturally relevant. These systems have been and continue to be threatened by the impacts of colonisation and colonial ideologies. The work has found that elders and relevant contexts retain and provide a large volume of knowledge that when engaged with can provide useful insights into living within Maori paradigms that can enhance wellbeing in the present.

Maori communities and whanau are under high levels of stress with the pressures of contemporary living and the dis-location from ancestral lands, and the living activities, knowledge sharing opportunities and learning practices they support. This work seeks to offer up solutions via the maintenance, enhancement and advancement of cultural identities as a way for mediating and removing some of the effects of the stresses.

The implications are that the continued disconnection of Maori from unique cultural identities informed by whakapapa korero knowledge may serve to weaken important elements and connections to an individual's and group's cultural identity, including personal history, stories, land and people. The potential exists for further investigation of how crucial cultural connections that acknowledge contemporary realities and yet support the maintenance of cultural identities with strong and vibrant connections to whakapapa korero knowledge connections might be maintained, enhanced and advanced. Additionally, the work here opens up the space for and advocates for much deeper exploration of distinctive elements of a groups identity through contextually located knowledge in forms such as waiata, purakau, pakiwaitara, whakairo, rongoa, wairua and the many other knowledge forms of tea o Maori to further depths/heights not yet achieved to reclaim (k)new and subjugated knowledge forms. This potential is exciting but there are a range of risks involved (including appropriations of indigenous knowledge) that requires certain minimum standards of knowledge protection such as discerning which knowledge is suitable for public consumption and that which is not. This is most suitably done after receiving guidance from the knowledge holders as to what the appropriate forums for such knowledge might be and analysing risks for abuse, risks of misinterpretation and risks of unintended use that might cause whakama.

The enquiry suggested above as being of benefit is of course a deeply personal exploration and ideas of what is appropriate for public consumption and what is not is something that must be explored at the time of enquiry. As in my work here I was asked to include some things and to exclude others as a result of views by the elders that the public consumption of some knowledge they contributed was inappropriate to be shared beyond our korero because it could be perceived in a number of ways, some helpful and some not, for the people concerned, or for different groups of people. The knowledge that has been shared here and that which has not has therefore been discerned.

NGA MIHI WHANUI

No endeavour such as the research and writing of a doctoral thesis is done well without the support of significant others. The work presented here owes its success in no small part to significant others who have supported me in numerous ways to completing this work to the level presented here. I acknowledge them all for their support, guidance, friendship, critique and humour.

First and foremost, my sincere gratitude to the many elders, our kaumatua and kuia who have provided me with rich experiences, for the conversations, the wisdoms, the common sense logic and continual encouragement. For some the requirements and realities of a doctoral thesis were something many of you were not overly familiar with but you provided the continual inspiration and ethic of hard work and perseverance. Some of you have now left us, ki a koutou kua haere ki te kahui whetu, moe mai, moe mai ra, e oki.

To our family, mama, the kids, the kararehe and the whenua, thank you for the sanity of the insanity, a young family, new arrivals during the course of the work, full time work, Maori realities of marae, family commitments and the unrealistic 'maintaining balance.'

To Uncle Nik and Aunty Linda, for being continual mentors, advisors, protectors, parents and grandparents, for caring about us all – my deepest gratitude and aroha.

Our thanks to Tim McCreanor, my super-(ad)visor. His patience, critique, perseverance and respectful support were essential and a key element of success. Thanks also go to the whanau at Motakotako marae who supported my application to the Tainui Trust Board for the educational funding support received to make the journey easier and the financial burden manageable. In the same vein my gratitude to Te Roopu Whariki at Massey University and Massey University Doctoral Scholarship that also supported us financially for part of the period of study.

To my critical friends who gave of their time to read and advise me on this work, to Garrick Cooper, Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai and Virginia Shaw, a debt of gratitude.

Finally, my mates and friends in the many spaces and places, for no other reason than the laughs and the breaks you gave me from the work and the continual asking, 'how's the doctorate going?'

Tena koutou, tena tatou.

Shane Edwards
April 2009

IHIRANGI

WAHANGA TUATAHI

TE HAERE TAHI – JOURNEYS TOGETHER

WAHANGA TUATAHI

KORERO WHAKATAKI

Ka haere tatou ki whea? Where shall we go?

Setting a Context

My own story is one of a continuing relocation, reconnection, reclamation and re-identification to both a personal space and ancestral lands and re-orientation to the practices of my hapu, whanau and iwi[1] as part of my Maori cultural identity. This transformation from a largely European and mainstream cultural identity to a combined Maori/European cultural identity has proved both powerful and beneficial to our family, giving us a fuller appreciation of who we are and supporting our own ideas of ourselves, leading to enhancing our happiness, fulfilment and wellbeing.

Whilst I talk here about my early cultural identity being largely European I am also cognisant that the subculture of that identity was couched in experiences that are largely shared by the lower classes and the historically disenfranchised in this country. Experiences of urbanisation, poverty, unemployment, illness, violence, crime, addictions and those aspects of life commonly experienced by these groups were also among my early experiences. Donna Rapira's (1993:21) poem titled, 'Who am I' struck a chord and has proved to be a common theme in the lives of other people who I have come into contact with. In this poem Donna poses the question 'who am I?' as one that all of us ask at some point in our lives.

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[1] In 2000 I had numerous discussions with the late Sir John Turei of Ngai Tuhoe as part of a working relationship we shared at Unitec in Auckland. He frequently reminded and guided me to think of Maori social entities as he had known them in terms of hapu, whanau and iwi. I continue to use those teachings in how I order these entities. I appreciate that other authors such as O'Regan (2001:47) may order them differently.

Who am I?

Beneath which poupou do I stand?
    Seeking the empty space at the head of your house,
I ask…
    Help me to know who I am.
That my head spins about the walls
    Etched beneath your great stance,
        Here in the north…there in the south,
Yonder east or west,
I ask…
    Help me to know who I am.
For unlike the winds
    that roar outside your footings,
        I have no source in which to return.
Your name…
    A name that echoes throughout the valleys,
        across ridges high,
            murmured in incantations by many
    a relished manuhiri
I ask…
    Help me to know
that I may look to you with head high,
    that I may embrace the walls,
        beneath your stance,
          that I may know,
Who am I?   (Rapira, 1993)

The poem evokes for me ideas of connection, history, space and place that are elements of whakapapa korero and that feature strongly in the desires of many Maori in contemporary contexts. It reinforces the importance of identity and powerfully visiblilises the journey that occurs for many indigenous people against a backdrop of colonisation and ideological oppression.

My exploration of the current bi-cultural identities I experience has provided the inspiration for an extended examination of the place of what I refer to as whakapapa knowledge, the body of knowledge that is inextricably linked and forms the unbounded collection of Maori theory, observation and experience and as represented in Maori eyes, in the construction, development and maintenance of Maori cultural identities and wellbeing. This interrogation of whakapapa korero is strongly informed by knowledge shared by elders that I have come into contact with.

This study sets out to consider the relationships between the acquisition and application of whakapapa knowledge, as Maori epistemology on the one hand, and its impacts on lived Maori cultural identities on the other. My aim is to examine whether whakapapa knowledge supports and enhances the lives of Maori and if so, how, why and to what ends? This project involves the detailed analysis of expressions of whakapapa knowledge and the influences they have on the development, maintenance, enhancement and advancement of Maori cultural identities as patterns of belief and practice that inform and make existing social situations appear as natural. These patterns differ markedly from conventional sociological and psychological ways of articulating and understanding cultural identities, but, I believe that they are entirely appropriate to understanding identity in Maori contexts. Relationships between these and whakapapa knowledge are considered to articulate their functional support for Maori communities and individuals, how they reproduce our world and the benefits that they provide in contemporary contexts.

Whakapapa knowledge in the context that I employ it in this work refers to lived and practiced epistemological truths underpinned by distinct Maori theoretical positions relevant to context. For this work the context is Maniapoto people in Maniapoto country. The knowledge is thus localised. Escobar (2001:153) explains the relevance of localised knowledge and context;

> *Local knowledge is a mode of place-based consciousness, a place-specific way of endowing the world with meaning. Yet the fact remains that in our concern with globalisation place often drops out of sight.*

Many Maori apply Maori epistemologies in their everyday lived and esoteric lives and utilise whakapapa knowledge as a way of making sense of, knowing and interacting in the world as lived practice. In many ways though, it is my experience that the thinking and practice is so tacit amongst many practitioners so as to make it difficult to explain to others and even to see it as relevant such is the normalisation of this theory and practice within Maori circles.   Whakapapa knowledge in the lives of these people is utilised for determining and guiding actions and as explanations for things in the world that make sense explaining reality and phenomena in distinctly appropriate ways.

This descriptive rather than prescriptive approach that follows reinforces what I have always known to be true for me, that tribal or indigenous preferred methods of gathering information and re-searching (if that is an appropriate term for this activity) are more sophisticated and comprehensive than western criticisms would have us believe. In our context no data are disregarded as unimportant, the individual and collective whanau and community wisdoms and experiences, the prophecies, dreams and visions gathered by previous generations together with information received from animals, birds and nature are all rich sources that are understood and evaluated as a unified, systematic amalgam and body of knowledge in a centrifugal way.

I will argue that whakapapa knowledge is a powerful way to frame the world, that it is supportive of diverse secure Maori cultural identities (Durie, 2004) that enhance wellbeing in particular settings and that it is an educational tool for critical transformation and conscientisation (Freire, 1972) that supports the 'naming' (Morrow & Torres, 2002) of the power relations that define our world. In defining our world and advancing secure Maori cultural identities I recognise, highlight and celebrate positive difference, a position that challenges the positions of many other commentators in Aotearoa/New Zealand by opening up and expanding a range of identity options for Maori.   I will expand on these ideas further on within the work as these are ideas that others (Durie, 2003; Borell, 2005) have worked on in a range of ways and around which there is considerable debate.

I examine and explain how whakapapa knowledge evolved and accommodated to the rapid changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand society as part of my argument that

whakapapa knowledge supports diverse, secure Maori cultural identities and wellbeing. I illustrate the operation of whakapapa knowledge as a system for explaining the world in uniquely Maori terms, together with the purposes, functions and expressions of whakapapa knowledge in Maori cultural identity development and maintenance.

The work elaborates ways in which understanding and expression of whakapapa knowledge functions as a powerful system for critical transformation of self and collective that serves to re-locate and reclaim our Maori cultural identities and wellbeing. Indigenous ways of examining reality readily acknowledge eclectic representations and these are what I utilise here, mingling, connecting and synthesising theories and techniques from multiple paradigms, consciously choosing to not remain attached to a single theoretical perspective but rather draw widely from a range of ideas and views, moving within and between different positions that are sometimes at some levels in competition with each other.

Ko wai, no whea? – who and where from?

Like most other Maori I am able to claim ancestral ties with many of the other Maori peoples of New Zealand. However, I lay claim to my descent line from the Tainui waka as a preference. Of the many groups that can claim Tainui origins I affirm my identity as a member of two iwi groups, namely Waikato and Ngati Maniapoto. Of these two larger groupings I belong to several smaller kinship groups or hapu within these, namely Ngati Hourua and Ngati Whare of Waikato and Ngati Matakore and Ngati Maniapoto of Ngati Maniapoto. My re-connection to these affiliations is a fairly recent event having only occurred in the last fifteen years as a journey of self and collective discovery and experience. My recently lived but long held identity forms the backdrop for the work, a personal ethnogenesis, as I grow in appreciation and understanding with and of my ancestral and ancient history.

My particular journey has brought my partner, our children and myself back to live in the homeland of the original Tainui arrivals at Kawhia. Kawhia is described (Hemara, 2004:112) as the northern boundary of the rohe potae on the west coast of New Zealand's North Island and as one of the most significant west coast harbours because of its clear harbour and central location to the lush Waipa basin and sits within Ngati

Maniapoto 'country.'[2] Kawhia and the people that come from here are often referred to by the whakatauki;

> *Kawhia moana, Kawhia kai, Kawhia tangata.*
> *Kawhia the sea, Kawhia the food basket, Kawhia the people.*

This relocation has included reconnection, reclamation and re-identification and has brought our family into closer contact with a generation of older Maori who themselves (and particularly their parents) are deeply immersed in a world in which the social orders were strongly controlled and regulated by aronga Maori, Maori world views. Our family has learnt to speak our own dialect of te reo Maori, to gather, grow and prepare kai Maori (Maori foods), and to interact in Maori settings, to value land and people within Maori constructs. For example, in our area we have different people and families that are known for the food they prepare and share. One of our uncles takes the responsibility of preparing koki - dried shark liver that is considered by our people to be a delicacy. He also produces another delicacy, kanga wai or fermented corn, another aunty of ours is acknowledged as the bread maker, another aunty is considered to be a very good grower of potatoes. Recently my family has taken a strong interest and role in growing watermelon for the people of our area and our children will frequently go to each elder's house and deliver the water melons we have grown. This living practice has bought a greater understanding of tikanga Maori, particularly in the example provided here of koha, the giving away of items, as the contextual normative system by which we judge things to be correct or otherwise (Mead, 2003:6). Living, working and being in our 'country' has also taught me that Maori live and act in our own unique ways that are specific to each particular group and the context within which a particular group operates. Being immersed in the Ngati Maniapoto setting has influenced our identity and we are the sum of the influences of the community we live, learn and grow in. The centrality of place has been important in our journey and is an element of well being that is discussed in this work. In regards to place and its importance Escobar (2001:140) writes;

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[2] Country is an interesting topic. The view that countries only existed with the advent of European definitions and boundaries of land areas highlights the colonisation of land for the interest and benefit of the oppressive regimes of colonial powers. The fact is that 'countries' existed long before colonial arrivals came to Aotearoa/New Zealand and it can be argued that indigenous knowledges exist in 'country,' in the sense that knowledge is inscribed in particular lives in specific locations.

> *Yet the fact remains that place continues to be important in the lives of many people, perhaps most, if we understand by place the experience of a particular location with some measures of groundedness, sense of boundaries and connections to everyday life even if its identity is constructed, traversed by power, and never fixed. There is an 'implacement' that counts for me than we want to acknowledge, which makes one wonder of 'getting back into place.'*

The whakatauki (proverb) that says, 'He tina ki runga, he tamore ki raro,' (literally, 'contentment above, firmly rooted from below') referring to satisfaction in life resulting from secure grounding in place, culture, family and heritage, certainly applies in our case. Central to our new learning has been the relevance of whakapapa knowledge as a basis for quality living, contentment, wellbeing, health, identity and satisfaction. The desire to share the value that this has added to our lives is the impetus for this work. It is my hope that this work may support other Maori in affirming them, their families and their journeys.

A key and unique feature of this work and the Whakapapa Korero Methodology employed is that I am an insider of the group at a very close level. As an insider I am able to identify, via genealogical connections, with the people that were interviewed, as they are me and I am them. Just who are we then?

Nga hononga – the multileveled connections
Like many Maori we are connected to other tribal groupings through genealogical linkages. We are principally descended from Hoturoa, kaihautu (captain) of the Tainui canoe and so claim Tainui lineage as our primary waka descent[3] and land territories.

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[3] This epistemological identity is in contrast to and exists despite colonial fantasies of 'original discovery' of the country evidenced in acts of re-naming and re-presenting.
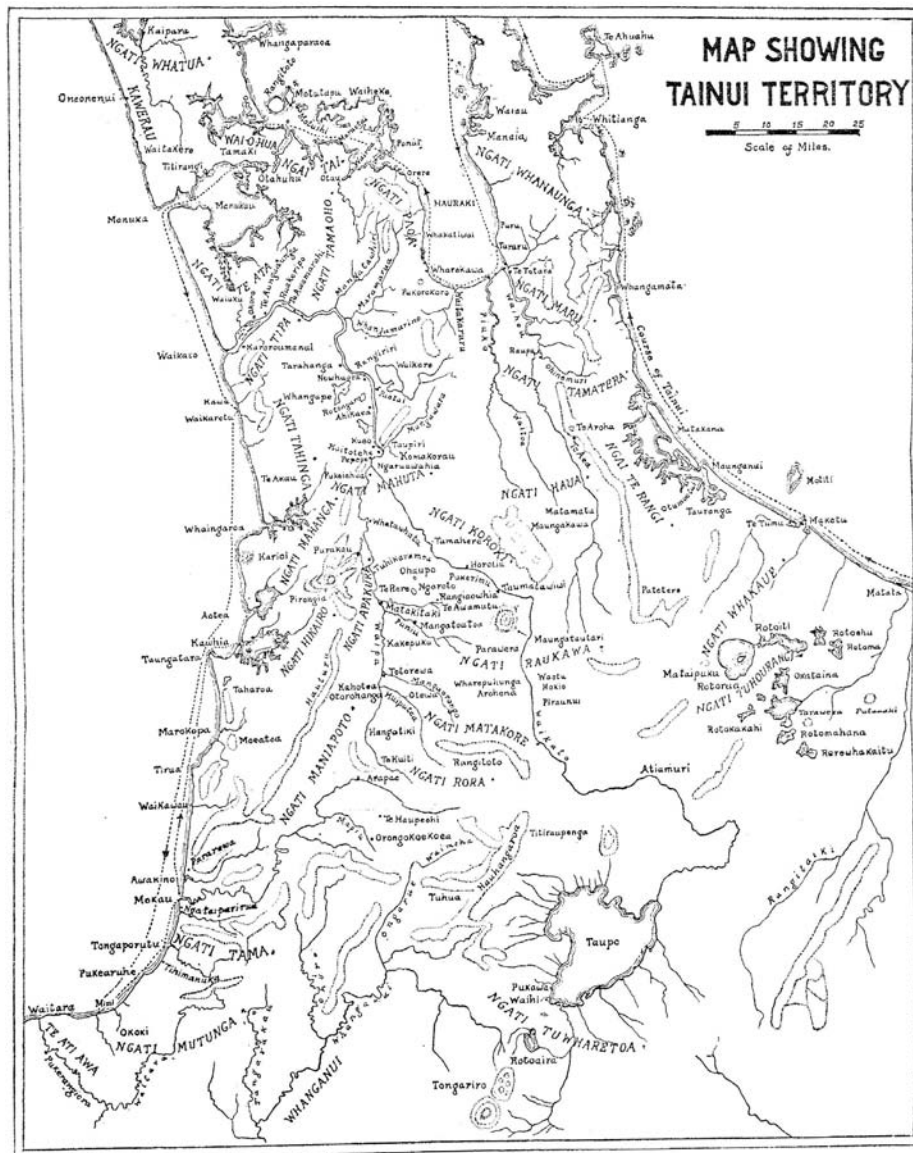
Source: Tainui, by Leslie Kelly.

Our eponymous ancestors are Maniapoto and his father Rereahu. We are a genealogically affiliated group of descendants of Maniapoto and his siblings but also combine as Maniapoto the iwi through other earlier ancestors. Rereahu was the son of Raukawa and Turongoihi. Rereahu was born in a cave called Kaitangata. He was named after a meteor that went over the head of his father Raukawa as he stood outside the birthing cave awaiting the arrival of his son. Rereahu was trained in the whare wananga, the ancestral institution of higher learning, and had vast land holdings inherited from his ancestor Rakamaomao. Rereahu married Rangianewa and they had Te Ihingaarangi. Rereahu later married Hineaupounamu and had eight children, Maniapoto, Matakore, Kinohaku, Turongotapuarau, Te Io Wananga,

Kahuariari, Tuwhakahekeao and Turongorito.   Like Maniapoto many became eponymous ancestors in their own right (E.g. Kinohaku and Matakore) that have over time been absorbed in some contexts within a larger confederation known as Ngati Maniapoto but each of whom still holds their own distinctive identities.[4]

Hoturoa

/

Hotuope

/

Hotumatapu

/

Motai

/

Ue

/

Rakamaomao

/

Kakati

/

Tawhao

/

Turongo

/

Raukawa

/

Rereahu

/

Maniapoto

In the last 150 years these groups have more commonly come together under the banner of Ngati Maniapoto, but they are in fact distinct groups in themselves. Maniapoto country is most commonly known today as the King Country as referred to

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[4] For a more detailed case study of Ngati Maniapoto refer to Hemara (2004).

by the British of the period and in reference to the second Maori King, Tawhiao, who left Waikato when the British troops were pursuing him in the 1860s and stayed with his relatives in Maniapoto lands.
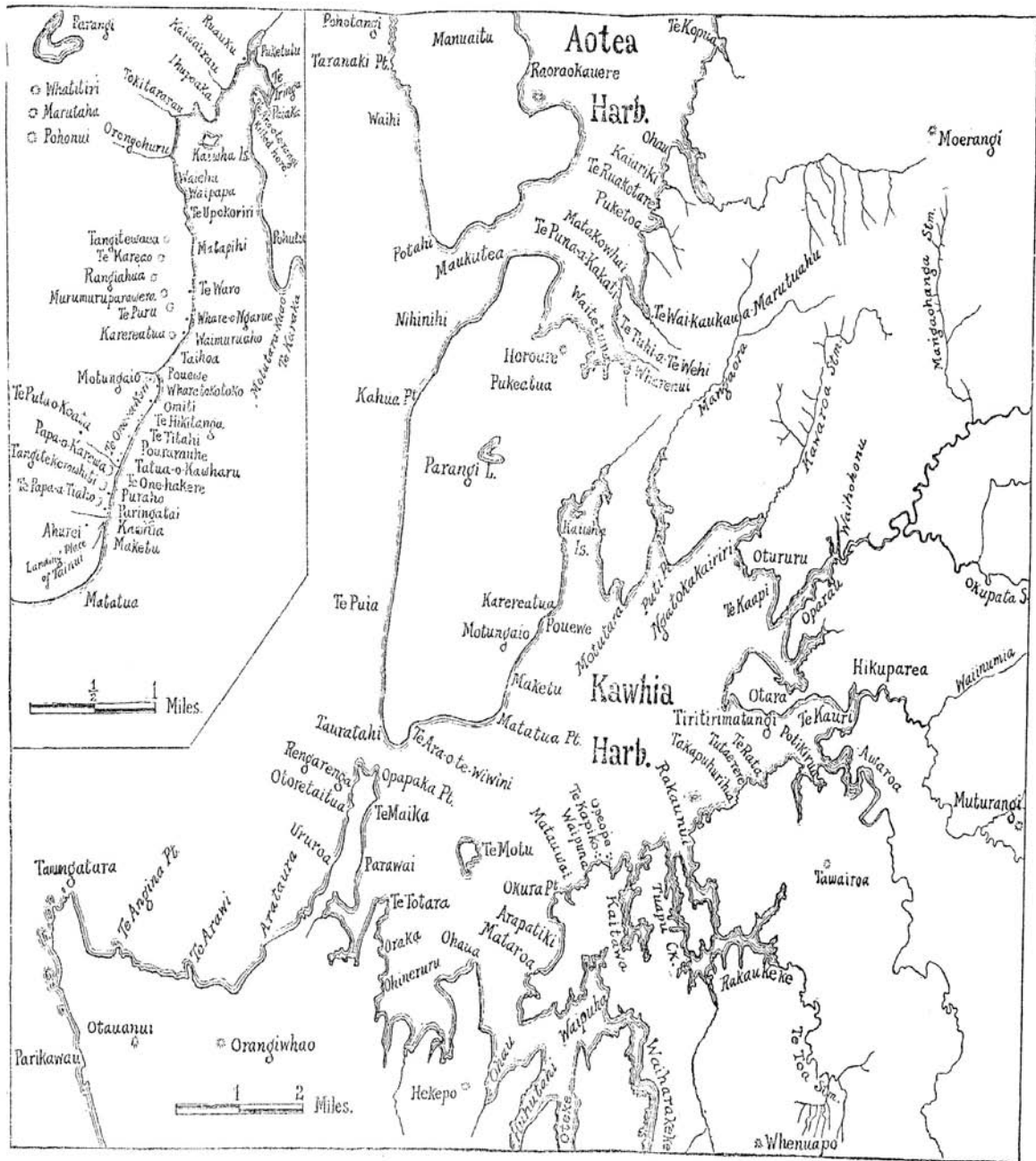
Source: Tainui, by Leslie Kelly.

As the map above highlights the various hapu, whanau and iwi of Kawhia are intricately connected and located in this space. We share and are joined by our splendid differences that often provide us with a balance of tension and cohesion. We are located within and centre a large amount of our identity to the various marae that

are scattered throughout the area, but our primary marker is the moana, the sea of Kawhia through which we are all inter-connected. It is through the genealogical connections however of the many hapu referred to above of Maniapoto that we come together as tribal people; these connections inform our relationships and our ways of knowing each other (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001).

This thesis acknowledges the works of many that precede me in thinking about the nature, vitality and futures of Maori societies (Ngata, Te Puea, Buck). It is indebted to a second generation of scholars of Maoridom (Smith, Walker, Mead, Karetu) and of Ngati Maniapoto (Jones, Kelly, Cowell and Biggs). My journey takes off from the pathways they have forged in an attempt to encompass a contemporary exploration that does not engage with these works but rather forges into its own particular domain, upon the shoulders of those giants but independent and reliant on the grounded wisdom of whakapapa knowledge. Accepting the work of my elders in this field as I have, I have allowed myself the freedom to engage mainly with a more recent third generation of Maori scholarship that has been less utilised in the field to date.

The thesis is written in English despite the limitations of this medium and takes for granted the primacy of Te Reo Rangatira for rangahau Maori. Again I have chosen not to explore the challenges facing Maori researchers whose outputs are produced in a foreign language as part of the disciplinary requirements of colonial institutions, but rather to focus on elements that do not receive as much attention.

Finally I have elected to focus my theoretical efforts quite strongly in the scholarship of indigenous peoples internationally as a way of drawing on the commonplaces of indigenous people under colonisation in order to draw the strength of international solidarity into Maori struggles.

Each of these self-disciplines is commented upon in more detail at appropriate points in relevant chapters.

Outline of chapters

The work presented here is made up of 4 wahanga or parts. In brief, wahanga tuatahi comprises kowae 1 through 10. the first locates me as the author and follows an

exploration of whakapapa in a narrow sense and gradually building up to examine it in the widest sense. 'Research' or what I refer to as 'rangahau' seen through distinctively Maori eyes is detailed and a methodological contribution called whakapapa korero methodology is highlighted. Kowae tuarua examines key and distinctive words that represent bodies of knowledge discussed throughout the thesis. These words are Whakapapa, Whakapapa Korero Methodology, Whakapapa knowledge and Whakapapa korero. The takarangi is a key theoretical concept that binds this work and the bodies encapsulated in the words above.

The place of the 'academy' is critically reassessed in kowae tuatoru and the relevance of Maori ethics as tikanga is discussed in the following kowae as is a discussion on the methods employed in the work. Kowae tuaono discusses the four key themes that emerged from the data. The themes are presented and have been illustrated with verbatim excerpts from the data together with examples from experiences. These themes are;

- Epistemes
- Mauri ora
- Worldview and Identity
- Te Tai Ao

The thesis then examines in kowae tuawhitu through to kowae tekau the relationship between cultural identity and wellbeing and those elements that support both. Participant data is used to examine in greater depth the ideas of whakapapa, whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero as a system for understanding the universe and as a system for experiencing wellbeing. This section examines the idea of epistemology, how we know we know, and Maori ideas of mohio, matau and marama as our own constructions that explain our reality. As part of the discussion the work highlights some of the ways Maori construct reality, including discussions and examinations of language, land, arts and story. It highlights the sharp contrasts in an attempt to understand the distinctions between indigenous worldviews and those of others with particular emphasis on Maori worldview.

Wahanga tuarua examines in detail the ideas of identity, in particular cultural identity starting with a discussion in kowae tekau ma tahi contrasting whakapapa and genealogy. Kowae tekau ma rua highlights the relationship between culture and identity and examines common theories of identity. Maori cultural identity and the relationship to wellbeing is re-examined through the complex idea of culture. Kowae tekau ma toru explores the effects of colonisation both past and present on Maori identity and wellbeing.

Wahanga tuatoru examines the transformational potentials for our lives of secure Maori cultural identities as supported by whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero before examining the complex idea of the authentic. Wahanga tuawha concludes the thesis.

KOWAE TUATAHI
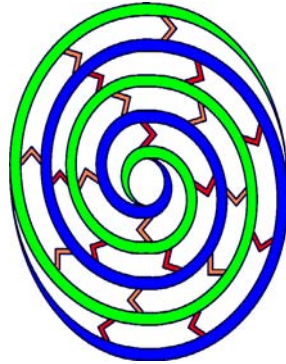
Whakakiki nga here o te waka kia haere. Preparing for the Journey: Epistemological Voyaging.

Koro, I have to do a research assignment for university and I wanted to do it on our whanau.

Ok.

Yeah, my paper they gave me says I have to identify a problem, choose a methodology and explain it, identify the methods I chose and why, collect the data, analyse the data and present a set of findings and conclusions and reference using APA style, I need to use times roman size 12.

Can you help me?

Ah, umm, no I can't moko, that sounds out of my league.

Oh, um…… sorry koro.

Introduction

Rangahau Maori, Maori research, is highly complex reflecting the nature of Maori thought and being. It involves distinctive thought and practice across social, physical,

spiritual and intellectual arenas of importance to maintain personal, family and community health and wellbeing. Rangahau Maori involves critical approaches to enquiry, scholarship, theory and practice contained within unique methodological and ethical paradigms which are discussed throughout this work.

Unique to rangahau Maori are Maori epistemological systems within which Maori epistemological truths, referring to those things that are considered the essential principles of knowing and being for those within a culture and that provide the bedrock of theory and practice. In our context this includes affirming relationships to ancestors and their activities, to land, to spiritual essence, to esteem and to people.

These epistemological truths act to inform a 'revolution' of values in contemporary contexts, a desire to lead lives that are underpinned by Maori ways of knowing and being. These ways of being include and emphasise a number of ideas, including, but not limited to, whanaungatanga (intricate relationships), tapu (sanctity and necessary protections), mana (esteem and influence) and wairua (spiritual essence), that are in essence features of ahuatanga and tikanga Maori (Mead, 2003:27-30).

The steady accretion of knowledge accrued from empirical observation and analysis via rangahau Maori over scores of generations of independent existence has equipped us to live well in these lands. The dynamics that are outlined above that underpin rangahau Maori are some of the more contemporary elements of counter hegemonic thought and practice that recognises that Maori have always been 'researchers' (Smith, 1999; Edwards, 2005; Moewaka Barnes, 2006) but more importantly, active rangahau proponents.

On the other hand, the robustness and utility of rangahau Maori suggests that methodologies and ethics from western worldviews do not adequately acknowledge and support Maori in ways and to levels that we should be happy with (Harrison, 2001; Moewaka Barnes, 2006). Those of us Maori who engage in rangahau Maori are and need to continue to be acutely aware of the differences that exist between our worldviews and dominant ideological constructs that currently constrain Maori epistemological development. From other indigenous contexts Minniecon, Franks

and Heffernan (2007) have captured these relationships and tensions between distinctive paradigms and realities and reproduced them in graphic form as below:

SOCIO-POLITICAL-CULTURAL
LANDSCAPE
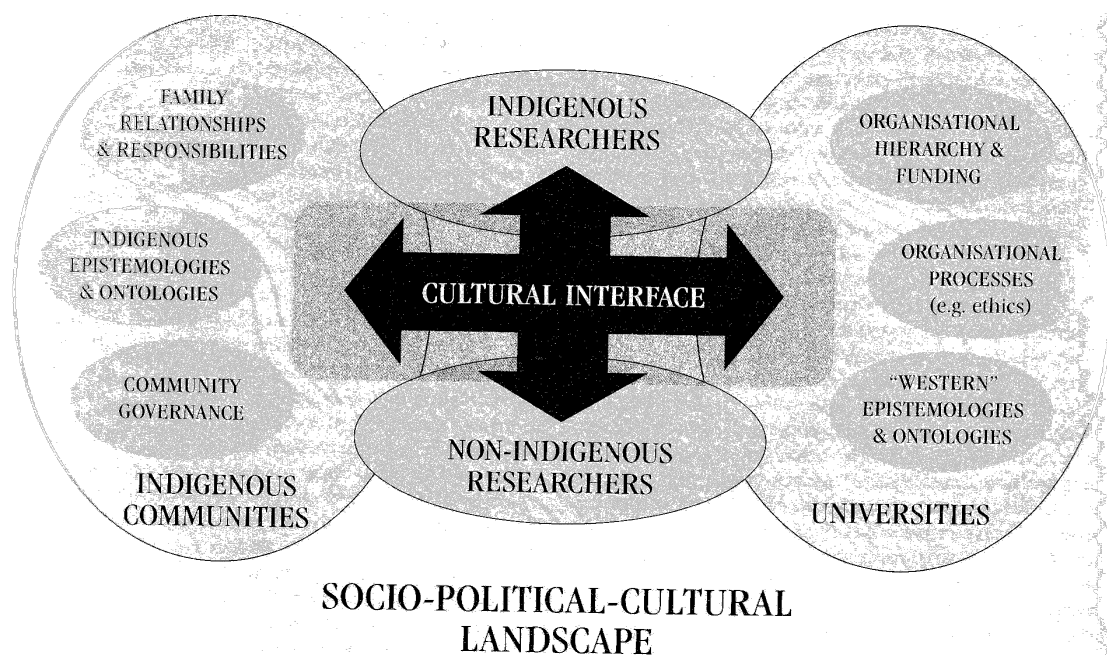
This diagram illustrates how different groups interact in the realm of research. I argue that in reality the indigenous researcher and our epistemologies confront a high level of scrutiny and face great challenges in engaging with dominant paradigms. It is my experience that it is primarily the indigenous researchers that do the border crossings. Additionally I have found that Maori communities and sites are more welcoming and accommodating of non-western worldviews and practices than western sites and contexts are of indigenous worldviews. This idea of intellectual borders is discussed further on.

By conscientising ourselves and having a high level of clarity about the unique and distinctive nature of Maori worldviews we are better able to engage in rangahau Maori that supports and 'improves the lot of others'[5] (Wilson, 2004:69).

This chapter examines some of the challenges and considerations that I encountered in engaging in rangahau for my thesis within this context and looks to counter

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[5] In November, 2004 I had a conversation with Dr. Ngapare Hopa of Ngati Wairere, Waikato, who explained that, in her view, the aim of research was to 'improve the lot of others.'

hegemonic practices to create space for Maori epistemological rangahau practices. I argue that the centring of rangahau on Maori epistemologies is an important step in advancing rangahau practices and Maori knowledge.

Developing a Rangahau Rationale

The charter for rangahau in Maori culture is laid down in a Maori explanation of the genesis of the world. In this particular version (Walker, 2004) of the Maori genesis of the world Tane and his siblings lived in a world devoid of light between their sky father and earth mother. The siblings saw the light through the armpit of their father and this formed the question of what was beyond, light, the metaphor for knowledge became the catalyst for rangahau. They wished to separate their parents from their primeval embrace so as to experience the world outside their parents. They were also faced with the dilemma of whether separating their parents was ethical. Some of the siblings supported the idea and some did not and they had to solve the problem of just how to separate their parents. Many of them tried, unsuccessfully, as they tested their theories on how best to achieve their goal. Eventually it was Tane who as a result of his searching nature, separated his parents (Walker, 2004). The spirit of enquiry, theorising, empirical testing and knowledge created and inscribed in the Maori creation is woven through other ancient narratives. Similarly they highlight the idea of 'crossing borders' and improving the lot of others.

The human progenitor of re-search and re-discovery from ancient Maori culture is the demigod Maui (Walker, 2004). Maui was a renowned kairangahau. He was inquisitive, asked questions, sought out answers to problems to satisfy his own ego and attempted to provide solutions that would improve the lot of human beings. He was responsible for rangahau that saw, amongst other things, the creation of ropes, hooks and weapons, slowing of the sun and the capture of fire that improved the health and wellbeing of people. His methods incorporated elements of empiricism, deduction, hypothesis testing and theory building.

Another event early on in Maui's life was an 'identity' project,' his search for his parents and siblings so that he might better know himself and connect with whanau as a basis for living. Maui's act of connecting with his whanau was his first conscious quest after being placed at sea by his mother at birth. As a result of his gains in

knowledge of his cultural identity, the inter-relationships and inter-connectedness, Maui was ultimately acknowledged by his father, Makea Tutara, via the tohi (naming) ceremony, and was enabled to embark on his journeys of rangahau and discovery that would ultimately benefit human kind. This first deed of Maui sets out a precedent to suggest that before great works can be engaged in, that the kairangahau be solidly grounded in her/his identity in order to achieve their fullest potentials. The stories and events related here of Maui reinforce an established tradition[6] of rangahau and provide cultural rationales for our continued involvement.

Early East Polynesian navigators and arrivals to New Zealand are examples of kairangahau more recent than Maui. These early Maori used rangahau in all aspects of their journey managing to systematically navigate a world 995 parts water and 5 parts land (Howe, 2003). They encountered a world with different climate, geographical features, resources and life forms. They left lands such as Rarotonga and Tahiti with warm climates, safe lagoons and known food sources for a land with strong winds, cold winters and a preponderance of exposed coastlines (Durie, 2003:16). Faced with problems of survival they actively sought out, tested and analysed empirical data to find answers and solutions to the challenges of a new environment. The ultimate testament to the quality of their rangahau is that their descendants exist, resilient and resurgent, as Maori today.

The kairangahau were many. Our own waka, Tainui, had kairangahau on board whose descendants would eventually form the many hapu of Ngati Maniapoto and associated iwi. The results of some of their rangahau activities are still in evidence today and continue to sustain us a millennium later. For example, close to our current home, on the Aotea Harbour, is a place called Hawaiki, which draws its name from its Pacific origins. In this area is a stream that runs into the harbour from which we collect whitebait and watercress. Up near the spring of the stream are large taro that

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[6] The word tradition came into the English language in the 14th century from the Latin *tradicion* meaning to hand over, deliver and pass on. In this context I apply the term in the active sense and acknowledge that something only has to occur between two generations for it to form tradition. This application may differ to other interpretations that often refer to tradition as something old, non-active and belonging to another time but not this time and in some cases used as indifference or with overdone reverence. For a fuller analysis of this term refer to; 'Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society' by Raymond Williams.

were originally planted by Whakaotirangi, wife of the kaihautu of the Tainui waka, Hoturoa, and that have sustained our people. Whakaotirangi also was responsible for establishing the first kumara seed crop at Te Raukumara, literally, the place of many kumara, that lies directly above Hawaiki. She was ultimately responsible for ensuring the ready supply of both of these key foodstuffs for the people. She became engaged in intense and high stakes rangahau. In both these activities Whakaotirangi encountered a new land with different weather and soil conditions than she was used to that required her to test and assess conditions to find the best place to replant the previous seed crop. After assessing many spots for suitability she chose Hawaiki and Raukumara respectively and planted there on north-facing slopes, sheltered from cold southerly winds, above the frost line and drought resistant because of the spring.

The taro still grows there today and you can still see the rua kumara (kumara growing areas) made and used by our people over long periods of time. Both of these are testament to her rangahau skills, of being faced with a challenge or problem, of engaging in collecting data on best sites and soil for cultivation, of testing and then recommending best places and practices for planting. Her work represents phenomenal acts of rangahau activity of which the magnitude becomes even more real given that the consequence of poor rangahau outcomes would have most likely been failure of the crop, loss of the seed, hunger and perhaps death of the people.

These are examples of some of the events that have been told to us by our elders over many generations and are still frequently recalled by our people at different times whether they be for the purposes of emphasising points, providing timely reminders, for educational purposes or for transmission and archival reasons. As Hemara (2004:108) reminds us;

> *Today most of the population, resources and land have either been scattered, diminished or alienated. Even though Maori have found themselves in the unenviable position of being the disenfranchised and marginalised other, their fears of disappearing from the planet have been stymied by a combination of their own recall and wishful thinking. Their ancestors had crossed vast oceans to settle and stake their claim. Ngati Maniapoto are not prepared to forget that fact.*

Where their ancestors settled and called their own underscores their identities as individuals and communities of individuals.

Added to this are more recent examples of rangahau and scientific prowess, including;

- The design, engineering and development of military tactical positions created by famous freedom fighters such as Kawiti in the north in the 1840's, and later Titokowaru in Taranaki in the early 1860's.[7]
- Artillery bombardment bunkers, trench warfare and guerrilla tactics, long argued as originating from Maori warfare practices developed during the land wars fought between Maori and Pakeha in the mid 1860's and later utilised in the proceeding two world wars to good effect.
- The development of passive resistance methods and theory developed by the prophets Te Whiti and Tohu of Taranaki.
- Star systems and astronomical data and empirical data bases such as calendars for food procurement including fish, birds, agriculture and horticulture.
- Time systems and clocks detailing seasons and times for activities.

While these comprehensive scientific endeavours have been only lightly touched here, they serve as examples and evidence of the highly developed knowledge systems that have resulted from rangahau. It serves to reinforce the points for us as kairangahau set out below that:

- Rangahau is a worthy pursuit.
- Rangahau is underpinned by tikanga and protocol.
- There are correct and incorrect ways of engaging in rangahau.
- There are benefits of engaging appropriately.
- There are costs of engaging inappropriately.
- Rangahau is for the benefit of others.

A contemporary articulation of rangahau, part of a growing stream of indigenous rangahau rationales and frameworks, is provided by Phil Lambert of Tuhoe, Te

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[7] For a more detailed account of the 1860's land wars refer to; Belich, J. (1989). *I shall not Die: Titokowaru's War.* Wellington: Allen & Unwind; Walker, R. (1990). *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle Without End.* Auckland: Penguin Books.

Mahurehure, who developed a rangahau framework for Te Wananga o Aotearoa, as a tertiary education institution. This allegorical structure provides ideas and guidance as to how, for whom and why rangahau is conducted within this context. This reflected ideas and concepts from korero he had acquired from his experiences in te ao Maori. His work titled, 'Te Ake Rautangi,' referring to a vine of knowledge, reads,

<div align="center">

Tupu ake e Tane

To teina[8] e Tawhaki matau ana

E kake rearea[9] ana

Ka ngau niho mati[10], ka taka rau rere iho

Ka wiri Koko[11], ka wiri Kaka[12]

Ka tau Papa[13]

Titiro ake roimata maringi mai ai

Ko te ake rau tangi.

Grow and mature young vine

And with your contemporary, harvest the fruits of understanding

Climbing like the Rearea, from branch to branch

The nails of his fingers latch onto branches and cause the leaves to fall

Flock with the larger birds, the Bellbird and the Parrot,

until landing on the ground.

Look up and see curtains of tears that seem to continue forever

That is Te Ake Rautangi.

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[8] The reference to Tawhaki as a teina (junior) and contemporary of Tane is an appropriate world-view given the authors' ancestry and the whakapapa knowledge of those regions. According to Tainui accounts Tawhaki was believed to have scaled a second vine in search of Nga Kete Wananga, the three baskets of knowledge. His karakia was not completed properly and as a result he failed in his pursuit and fell to the ground.

[9] One of the smallest birds in the forest that is said to scale one of the tallest trees (Kahikatea) by hopping from one branch to the next. This phrase emanates from the whakatauki, 'Iti rearea teitei, kahikatea ka taea.' It refers to overcoming the largest obstacles by taking small steps.

[10] From about three months of age a baby's nails, still very soft but also very sharp, need to be trimmed to prevent them from scratching themselves and scarring their face. The trimming of the baby's nails is most usually done by a parent using their teeth. This is also the stage of development where babies start to learn problem-solving skills, causal reasoning, displacement and skilled performance to a particular level, so learning potential is at a premium.

[11] For protection, mentoring and nurturing.

[12] Ibid.

[13] A reference to Papatuanuku, Earth mother.

Lambert (2004) explained the references and resonances encapsulated within this rationale. The vine is representative of the searching nature of human beings, we continue to grow, develop and gain new insights as we investigate ideas, accessing and creating knowledge. The runners of the vine are the tikanga – our epistemological practices - our processes, ethics and methodologies that we employ in our rangahau theory and practice. These tikanga serve to guide and lead us in our activities and underpin the ways considered appropriate to elements such as context, time and space and underpin the ways we engage and conduct ourselves that contributes to the relative success and continuation of our knowledge, epistemologies, rangahau theories and practices.

Each shoot is considered to be critical to the vine, that is, the rangahau process and imbued with mana that can detract or enhance our activities. The further up the vine we go, the more fragile the runners become. If we were to break a runner it does not grow back for a long time, if ever, and so we are reminded that we need to ensure our practice is exacting and rigorous in all ways to avoid cutting off the potential relationships for present and future generations by acting in inappropriate ways.

The reference to the rearea, a small bird, taking small steps to climb the vine is acknowledgement that rangahau is a staged process to be negotiated by well-timed activities if the objective is to be reached. It also serves to remind us that quite challenging feats can be achieved. The rearea latching on to the vine illustrates the acquisition of learning and knowledge that then is available for dissemination and that with mentoring and support the new information will flow on and benefit others.

This is but one simple example of how one person has applied whakapapa knowledge congruent to his ideas of Maori world view as a framework for what is often simplified as 'doing research.' These ideas remind me that the quality of the rangahau presented here will depend largely on the processes I employ in working with Maori participants, primarily my own people of Ngati Maniapoto, and if they believe this work will have collective benefit for people. Further, I need to act appropriately for the context by a staged and timely approach that is underpinned by tikanga and meets the needs and expectations of the elders and participants. If I am unable to satisfy

these requirements then I will be unable to scale the kahikatea and like Tawhaki I will return to the ground, unsuccessful in my goal. However I am encouraged when I recall that Maori have a 1,000 year track record of rangahau and development in this country. Our pioneering and seminal rangahau work has formed the basis for the rangahau activities of much later arrivals and continues in current rangahau activity in Aotearoa/New Zealand. The rationale for culturally epistemologically grounded rangahau by kairangahau is supported by a growing body of rangahau requiring Maori skill and expertise fuelled by a desire by many Maori to be the kairangahau working with Maori knowledge and society. Dr Hirini Mead (2004:1) of Ngati Awa recently emphasised this point;

> *It would be true to say that in recent times research activity into Maori issues has increased dramatically...it is evidence of scholarly wisdom that we now want to see (2004:14).*

I support Mead's rallying call that Maori continue to engage in rangahau pursuing the highest standards of scholarly rigour and the work presented here is an attempt to contribute to the wisdoms[14] that Mead is encouraging us to pursue and contributes to work currently being placed in the public domain by other kairangahau to contribute to current discussions. Not that it is necessary to rely on early European accounts alone of how rich and wise our ancestors were and that we have inherited it is appropriate to note this commentary from Ward (1839:66-67);

> *There is a natural politeness and grandeur in their deportment, a yearning after poetry, music and the fine arts, a wit and eloquence that remind us in reading all accounts of them, and in conversing with those who have resided among them, of the Greeks of Homer. Their language is rich and sonorous, abounding in metaphysical distinctions and they uphold its purity most tenaciously...they have an abundance*

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[14] The use of the word 'wisdoms' and exclusion of the word knowledge that might be expected to be found here to describe these contributions is a conscious one. I have borrowed the idea from Vine Deloria Jr. (1988:11) who explains that the outlook of his people was not one of abstract science but of simplicity (for them, but complex for many others) and mystery. He highlights that his people produce wisdom whilst their colonisers produce knowledge and use this knowledge as a commodity to deprive others. In other places throughout the work I have used the word knowledge to also include the idea of wisdom.

> *of poetry of a lyrical kind…they are passionately fond of music…they excel at carving. They have given names to each star and divided them into constellations…Baron Hugel, a distinguished botanist who visited the islands confirms, as do the missionaries, that there is not…a single tree, vegetable, or even weed, a fish or a bird for which the natives do not have a name and those names are universally known.*

Indigenous knowledge has provided great benefit to the world. This is equally true in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context where the encyclopaedic knowledge of Maori has contributed to the depth and breadth of knowledge that has supported settler cultures. Maori have been generous by bequeathing and investing large tracts of Maori knowledge in building this country and in making it successful.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has placed me as the author and our family as significant to the work in a cultural, geographical, social and historical context to allow the reader to make connections and to be able to engage and rationalise the gaze that I apply in the work presented here. The political nature of 'research' has been examined in the context of indigenous realities and I have attempted to contextualise my theory and practice within Maori paradigms employing rangahau for my own sense making and clarity of understanding. I hope to help make known a reality different to the dominant one most commonly experienced. This process has involved me presenting ideas that highlight some of the challenges and considerations that I encounter/ed in engaging in the rangahau. The chapter has identified what is commonly referred to by others as 'research,' and that I have explained as rangahau as a project that our ancestors did as normal practice. In the contexts of the times and events these activities may not have been called rangahau as we perceive it today, it was most likely called 'living.' I have argued that Maori epistemologies are alive and rich with rangahau frameworks that have acted and can continue to act as powerful catalysts for our enquiries and that support the views here that re-centring of rangahau on and in Maori epistemologies is an important step in advancing rangahau practices and Maori knowledge.

> *Koro, I have to do an assignment for uni about my ancestors, where did they come from, how did they get here, what challenges did they*

face, how did they overcome them, what teachings did they leave with us. Can you help me e koro?

Ah moko, that's easy, put the kettle on, let's have a korero and I can tell you what I know…

KOWAE TUARUA
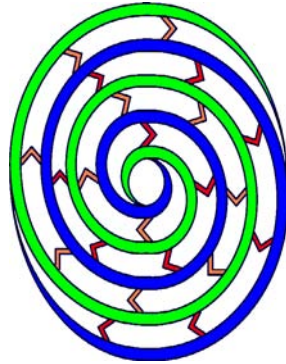
Ko tona ingoa ko rangahau. Naming our Waka: Rangahau.

Introduction

The previous chapter highlights that rangahau is a distinctive activity that occurs against a backdrop of dominant ideologies that have long considered indigenous ways of knowing as inferior. It also advanced and supported the idea that for Maori, rangahau theory and practice needs increasingly to be grounded in Maori epistemologies if its full potentials for Maori are to be realised. This chapter draws on these ideas and posits that mauri ora - Maori wellbeing is enhanced when we claim our cultural identity - our turangawaewae, the place where the past and future meet, our spirituality, our birthrights (Mead, 2003:43), access to resources, social standing, group membership and responsibilities – which is most powerful when these elements can be maintained and advanced.

I argue here also that cultural identity and wellbeing are inextricably linked; without a secure cultural identity that enables us to lay claim to and benefit from all the aspects mentioned above wellbeing is diminished. Without such a foundation mana Maori, the relative esteem that contributes significantly to wellbeing, is not as fully supported and Maori potentials and wellness are affected. The more complete the understanding of personal and group identity and self confident people can be the more security they will have. Security nurtures knowledge, wisdom and understanding providing a

strong basis for a high quality of life and the ability to negotiate and navigate difficult periods in life and times.

In this chapter I introduce and discuss terms that are not commonly found together elsewhere but are essential to advanced understandings of Maori cultural identities. Key terms include;

- Worldview
- Whakapapa
- Whakapapa Korero Methodology
- Whakapapa knowledge
- Whakapapa korero

The methodological implications of these concepts and of certain other key challenges for rangahau are synthesised in the second part of the chapter.

Worldview

The year 1769 marked the arrival of British Captain James Cook to Aotearoa and also the meeting of disparate worlds. Two oppositional trajectories into wisdom, life, balance and knowledge were bought into close proximity. The Maori world has been feeling the effects of this encounter of worldviews to the present day, to largely devastating effect. The concerted and relentless subjugation of Maori worldviews and epistemologies have had debilitating effects for generations of Maori (Salmond, 1995; Ermine, 1995).

In the western world the formal study of worldview, as noted by Royal (2007), began in the mid 19th century as the result of exploration and a period of discovery and expansion that bought different groups that had until that time largely thought the rest of the world to be either non-existent or unpopulated, into contact. The formal study was named anthropology and became a field in its own right.

As a result, thinking about the nature of Maori 'worldview' is a fairly recent event even though ancient reflections existed, (Royal, 2007). As used in the context of this

work, worldview refers to the sum experiences that at any time may have been practiced as part of Maori culture and manifest in material culture, song, story, wisdom, knowledge and in 'seeing' and other forms of insight as explained below.

Worldview in this context acknowledges positive difference, where diverse realities, views and practices exist but are seen as valued variability rather than deviance or inferiority, and advances such views as appropriate. Ultimately worldview is concerned with the world of experience as perceived and viewed by a particular group. Maori Marsden (2003) provides a most useful articulation of worldview and one I utilise to inform the ideas here. He explained worldview as the patterned perceptions of a culture as lived reality and conceptualisations and as what a culture regards as actual, probable, possible or impossible. 'Aronga,' which Royal uses for worldview, is argued by him as informing kaupapa that informs tikanga as enacted behaviours and practice. He argues that worldview is what we fundamentally believe and that lives deep within a culture. In this regard I perceive aronga and Maori epistemology to be inextricably linked and how we come to know and be in the world. Understanding Maori epistemologies or ways of knowing demystifies Maori worldviews to the point that they can be understood, rationalised, maintained, enhanced and advanced for positive effect in Maori development. Central to ideas of Maori worldview is an understanding of the myriad of contextual elements such as mauri, mana, tapu, kaitiakitanga and manaaki that support and give it life and which are detailed as Maori epistemes below.

While I have used the term 'worldview' here to link my discussion to its contemporary usage I would advocate the use of the word 'episteme' as being more useful for indigenous people to utilise in relation to their knowledge systems. Episteme is useful in covering areas of axiology, ontology, methodology, philosophy and cosmology and is able to connect them as inextricably related and includes ideas of worldview.[15]

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[15] At the time of writing I have been introduced by Whatarangi Winiata to the idea of exploring and engaging in an idea he calls the 'Matauranga Maori Continuum.' Matua Whata has asked me to reduce investment of time and space in exploring epistemology and its component parts but rather to invest intellectual energy in thinking about the Matauranga Maori Continuum. This idea is being explored at the time of submission of this work.

The use of episteme has advantages in entailing an analysis of reality that extends beyond systems and theories of knowing and to support exploration of knowledge. One benefit is that the notion of episteme encompasses a worldview which is largely a concept of technological societies that advances visual primacy in the sense of looking but not actually seeing and that this type of visual primacy as contrasted to the conscious epistemological practice of observation, what Maori refer to as titiro in the titiro/whakarongo epistemic practice, to the detriment of oral societies. Epsitemes are also adopted here as an analytic frame as part of the methods employed and discussed further on because they support indigenous ideas of invisible principles that regulate the functioning of our worlds and societies and because they avoid some of the perils of (politicised) rationalist realism that has fuelled western domination. As well the idea of episteme does not require people to be fully literate (what ever that might mean) to relate, know and be in the world.

At the heart of this thesis is the resolve to describe and analyse my elders' Ngati Maniapoto worldview in terms of the epistemes we draw upon as a resource for sharing and enhancing our collective wellbeing.

Whakapapa

I have heard several definitions and explanations of the word 'whakapapa.' Some explanations include, 'whaka-papa' meaning to make flat, flatten out or to layer together, to 'whaka-papa-tu-a-nuku', to make as to lie with our earth mother, referring to connecting to beginnings or origins, a returning to the earth from which Maori life evolved as related in the creation teachings where Tane fashioned the female element from the earth at Kurawaka (Jenkins, 1993).

Many other Maori commentators have offered views and explanations of whakapapa. For example, Professor Whatarangi Winiata (2002:10) of Ngati Raukawa explains whakapapa as the ability to ground oneself in something known. 'Whaka' he explains as 'to make as' and 'papa' as the earth or ground. He further supports an analysis of the word whakapapa as a method for understanding when he explains whakapapa as the foundation of a 'Maori worldview.' His explanation serves to reinforce that whakapapa is central to understanding Maori worldviews. Included in this explanation is a need to understand the primacy of connections and relationships with

entities both animate and inanimate and the importance for the maintenance, enhancement and advancement of these enduring relationships for wellbeing. As Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008:9) state;

> *Whakapapa turns the universe into a moral space where all things great and small are interconnected, including science and research.*

With regard to the idea above of relationships with animate and inanimate entities, this work advances that these relationships are a central feature of positive cultural identities grounded in depths of knowing across levels of space, time and place. Knowing these relationships at these levels is a powerful way to operationalise cultural identities that offer potentials for Maori to experience high levels of wellbeing. This 'knowing' is often challenging for people to recognise or accept as valid or powerful. As Smith (1999:74) states;

> *The arguments of different indigenous people based on spiritual relationships to the universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks, insects and other things seen and unseen have been difficult arguments for western systems of knowledge to deal with or accept.*

Takino (1997:287) refers to whakapapa as the ability to activate, to bring into being, to create, active foundations and intensified touches of life experience, all terms that would appear to make sense as a knowledge system. She formulates her ideas as an inter-related framework (Takino, 1998) consisting of Ira Atua, Ira Tangata, Ira Moana and Ira Whenua (examined more fully below) as a way of explaining te ao Maori (Norman, 1992) and the respective relationships of entities in the universe.

Hohepa Kereopa of Ngai Tuhoe refers to whakapapa as 'traditional ways,[16] that we are the summation of all our ancestors and their activities (Moon, 2003:41). This theme of ancestral connection is a common episteme of Maori worldview in my

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[16] The idea of 'traditional' has been used in many settings to mean different things (Royal, 2007) and this is the case in the way it is applied throughout this work. Royal identifies traditional as generally having reference to knowledge with sociological features including knowledge created, maintained and applied distinctively by indigenous people and essential to survival world wide and as a result is in many cases considered to be endangered or in decay, most commonly as a result of colonisation predominantly with Europeans.

experience. It has been explained to me by my elders that the knowing of connections and family members in a localised context are also a basis for knowing your connections to your hapu and whanau. It is also activated when different groups come together mapping relationships and histories and supporting the ability to function fully in and with a Maori context.

Aranui and Anderson (1996:4) both themselves of Ngati Maniapoto, explain the centrality of connection to and with our ancestors very clearly for me when they say;

> *...to show the characteristics of the ancient ones...These ancient ones were the stalwarts that made history...Their skills and strengths became windows which their descendants are able to draw on during passages of growth and development.*

Rose Pere (1994:8), of Ngai Tuhoe highlights the ideas of connection and relatedness when she explains whakapapa as Papatuanuku, the Maori name for the earth, and reciting things in order, including genealogy. She lists genealogy last suggesting that whakapapa is wider than genealogy alone; she alludes to the earth as being whakapapa, perhaps in the sense that it is knowledge and relationship manifest. This reinforces for me the point made above that the whole world is encapsulated in and can be viewed with and through whakapapa.

Barton (1990:7) explains whakapapa in relation to mathematics as a system for organising, processing and practicing that 'brings into dimension,' referring to the act of making a relationship real, contextual and of meaning, with those that utilise whakapapa to make sense of the world. In Barton's view Maori worldview is structured in terms of whakapapa and etymologically whakapapa refers to the source of all things. He explains his reasons for this recounting many forms and functions of whakapapa. He highlights the idea that whakapapa is employed to measure time and that it forms a body of knowledge that is learnt and employed and manipulated to serve various purposes. It also provides information about rights to land and possessions, acknowledges relationships, measures mana, defines and relates origins. Most significantly he refers to whakapapa as a method for 'rearranging experience.' An example of rearranging experience I have been told of relates to two women of the

Mataatua area, Wairaka and Muriwai. These two women are believed to be sisters by many. Some say that Wairaka is the elder and some that Muriwai is the elder. This debate is important for many as it defines roles and responsibilities. Depending on what part of the Mataatua area you are in at any time some will assert Wairaka is the elder and in another part of the area they will assert that Muriwai is the elder. This highlights how experience is rearranged as Barton refers us to.

'Rearranging experience' allows the positive difference to operate within cultural contexts to support the maintenance of social balance and the mana of the people. For example, in the west coast area I come from and live we subscribe to the belief that it was an ancestor named Tawhaki that climbed to the highest of the twelve heavens to collect the baskets of knowledge for the world, on the east coast the people there predominantly refer to Tane doing this. Both groups can whakapapa to both ancestors but the experiences in the whakapapa are different and the two ancestors are held in different esteem for and in relation to bringing the baskets to the world and we arrange our whakapapa in relation to this event to match these contrasting experiences.

Mead (2003:42-43) explains whakapapa as a fundamental attribute and gift of birth and as the 'social component of ira,' the genes both spiritual and human. He summarises his examination by saying;

> *In short, whakapapa is belonging, without it an individual is outside looking in.*

Whakapapa operates at various levels and degrees of formality depending on the context such as at hapu, whanau and iwi levels. A recent introduction has been an increased organisation at a waka level as a result of the efforts required to maintain cultural identity and prevent the dissipation of knowledge. Together with this dissipation has come increased Government pressure to only recognise the rights of

iwi and similar bodies as against hapu and whanau in negotiations with Crown over breaches of Treaty[17] and other rights.

These ideas have some things in common, primarily that whakapapa as an episteme is a core tenet of Maori worldview and is a valid and powerful methodological tool for explaining Maori worldview. As Hemara (2004:1) states;

> *Here it is argued that one of whakapapa's central functions is to rationalise existence and explain the origins of the universe…an instrument for coding and calibrating the universe within particular cultural terms of reference…whakapapa codes (identifies and names) and calibrates (measures and identifies component parts) existence through attempting to understand the collusion of space (location), time (history) and matter (communities and individuals).*

Whakapapa Korero Methodology – Epistemological Voyaging

Eileen Clarke (1998:6) of Ngati Wairere writes that epistemology, method and methodology are recognised as separate strands of research but also explains that in her view they should be woven firmly together throughout research theory and practice so as to give strength to purpose with depth and understanding. Supporting this articulate explanation is Harding's (1987:2) explanation of the same constituent parts that epistemology is a theory of knowledge, method is the technique for gathering evidence and methodology is a theory and analysis of the research process. Using these explanations I argue that whakapapa is a methodological tool for understanding and engaging with and discussions of Maori episteme, including rangahau.

Consequently, my thesis writing and presentation style does not follow a conventional style of writing where ideas are detailed and dealt with in their entirety and in a part by part methodological approach. Instead, I raise ideas and as congruent with Te Ao Maori, return to them in a centrifugal way during and throughout the course of the

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[17] In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context references to the Treaty refer to the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 signed between some Maori and the Pakeha representatives of the Queen at Waitangi. Many people refer to the Treaty as the founding document of this country.

work. This style is consistent with the way our people in my location and context are and behave. We will think, discuss and act in ways that start with a single set of ideas and then start to move outwards encompassing other things as we go and continually return to them over time as we engage with subject matter. Over time some things will find closure and others will continue on until they reach a conclusion. Sandy Grande (2008:233) in developing a methodology she calls 'Red Pedagogy' shares similar ideas in relation to indigenous methodologies;

> *Ever since I received the invitation to write this chapter, I've been thinking about methodology asking everyone I know how they define it and trying to determine whether I do it or not. Ironically through these discussions, I discovered that the social engagement of ideas is my method. Specifically, I learned that my research is about ideas in motion. That is, ideas as they come alive within and through people(s), communities, events, texts, practices policies, institutions artistic expression, ceremonies, and rituals. I engage them 'in motion' through a process of active and close observation wherein I live with, try on, and wrestle with ideas in a manner akin to Geertz's (1998) notion of 'deep hanging out' but without the distinction between participant/observer. Instead the gaze is always shifting inward, outward, and throughout the spaces-in-between, with the idea itself holding ground as the independent variable. As I engage this process, I survey viewpoints on the genealogy of ideas their representation and potential power to speak across boundaries, borders and margins and filter the gathered data through an indigenous perspective.*

In 2008, and early in 2009 I became aware of the methodological pattern running through my work here and recalled the work of a colleague, Phil Lambert (Te Mahurehure, Ngai Tuhoe), who began work on developing a Maori model of education using the takarangi spiral, a centrifugal way of explaining realities, as the frame.[18] The takarangi and my approach represents continual self reflection, due diligence and re-testing as we engage in the present - Te Wheiao (the emerging light)

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[18] I am indebted for the next section of work to the ideas of Phil Lambert. Permission to use his work has been obtained but all rights remain with him.

and as part of journeying towards the future, Te Ao Marama (the world of enlightenment). This idea acknowledges that the journey is actually boundless, dynamic and endless and that everything will never be known. Given this, we continually reflect and return to earlier ideas for grounding. As Lambert related to me;

This is reflection...Maori style.

The takarangi spiral is commonly represented in mahi toi (art) and particularly, whakairo (carving). It symbolises the unison of Rangi, the sky father and Papa, the earth mother in primordial embrace.
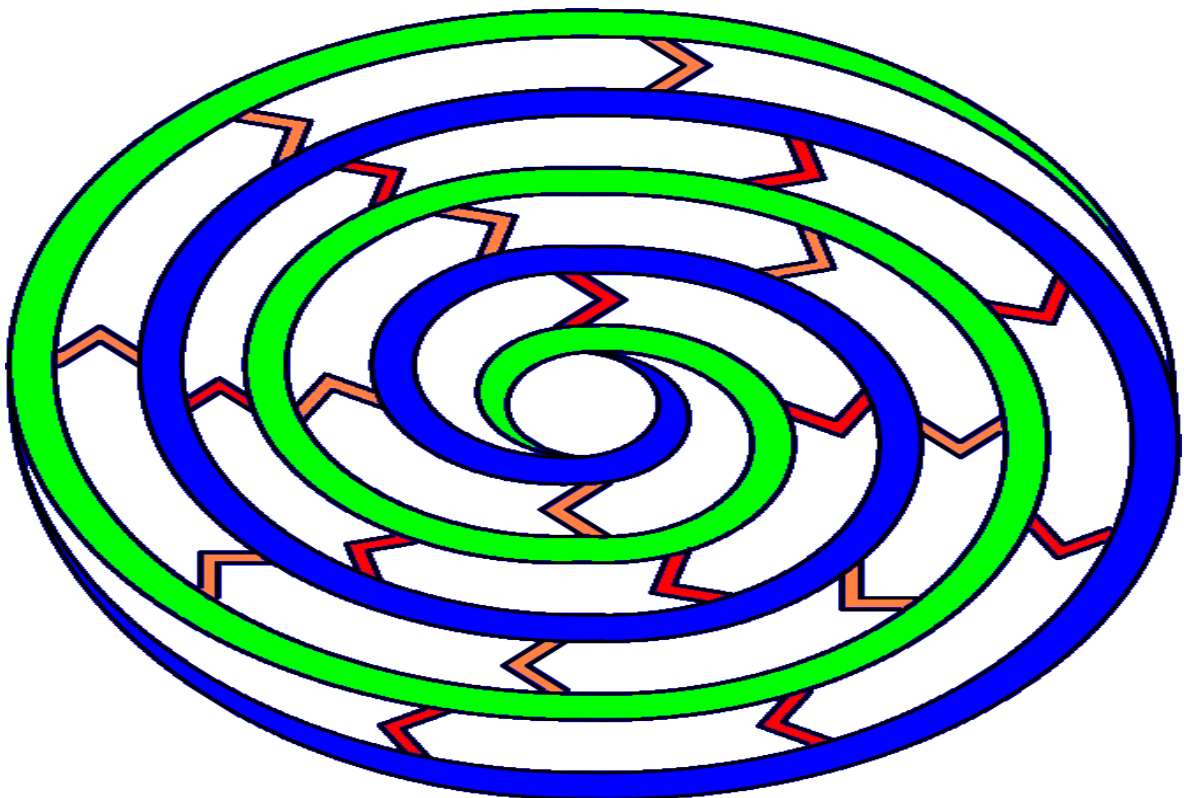
Each stage of the development of the spiral represents periods of time also explaining the genesis of the universe and the activities that occurred. Lambert explains that this was a flat spiral while the parents were in their state of intimate connection. As they began to be separated by their children the spiral started to move out until they were almost totally disconnected, forming a double vortex. This is depicted below;
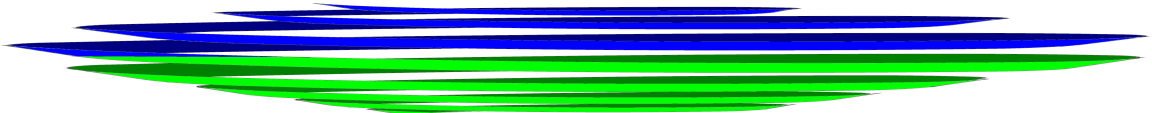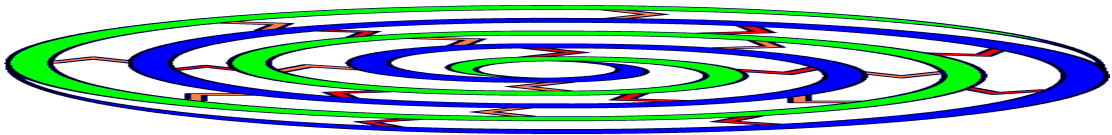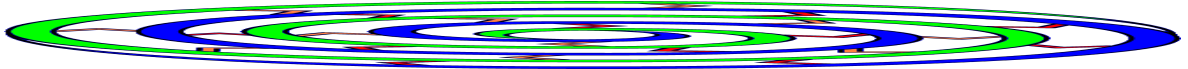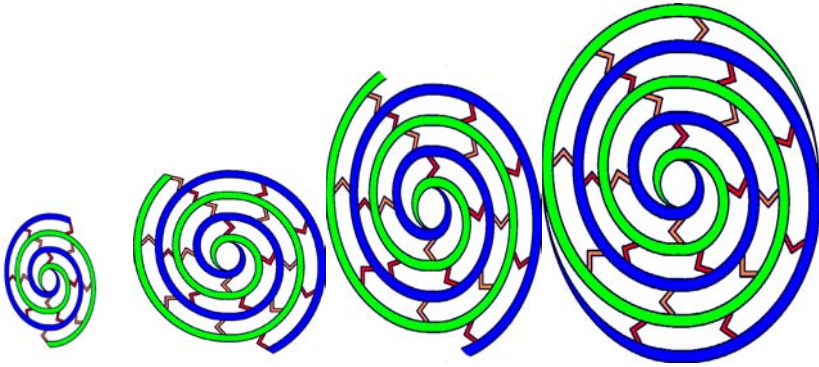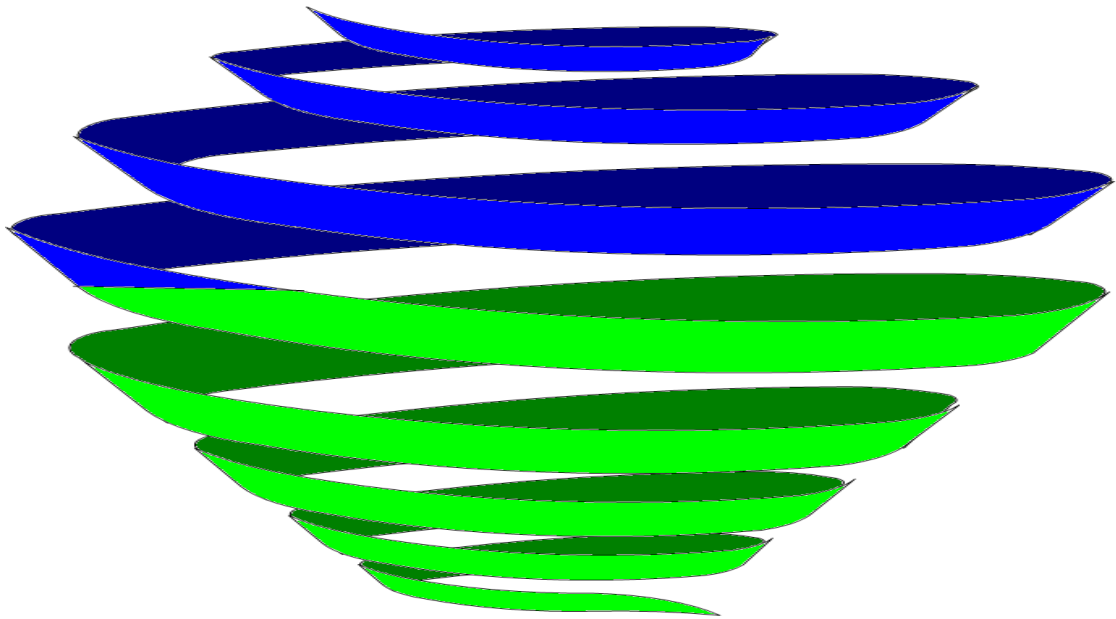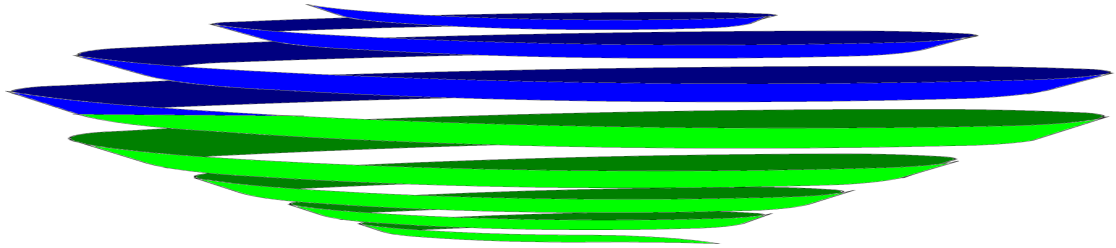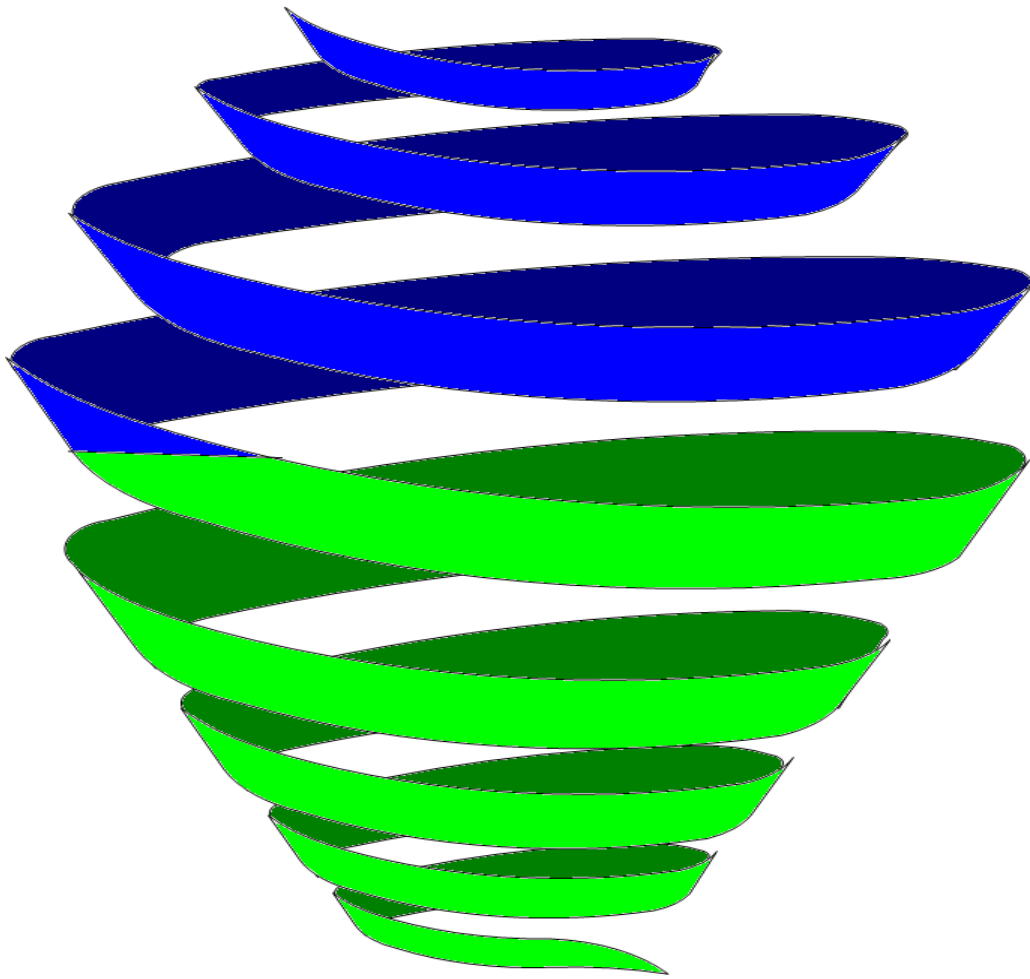
The takarangi spiral incorporates a number of ideas including the constant flux of being in and out of confusion and chaos, seeing without restriction, eternity, the world of dark and light, creation and innovation, life forces, knowledge, light and wisdom. All these ideas are present and inherent within my work. Similarly, this idea has been utilised by Stewart-Harawira (2005:34). She writes;

> *Here the ancient symbol of the double spiral provides the central metaphor or motif for my thesis, and indeed, for the nature of being. Within some Maori tribal traditions, the double spiral is known as takarangi, literally meaning chaos, and represents the concepts of pre-existence and potentiality, concepts that are central to Maori cosmological understandings. In this sense, then, the symbol of the double spiral points to an ontological form and structure and world order that indicates solutions…the symbolism inherent in the various*

representations sits at the centre of Maori epistemologies and ontologys.

The result is two connected vortices representing the different dimensions of the Maori universe and characterised in te ao Maori as Te Kauae Raro (things terrestrial, Papatuanuku) and Te Kauae Runga (things celestial, Ranginui). The eternal links provide a centripetal force that counter balances the centrifugal force of evolution. This causes us to continue to revisit the foundations of our existence and other prominent milestones along the way. This is best represented by the diagram below which outlines the lines of energy flow in the emergence of a kaupapa (topic).

Balancing of forces

Reflection

Amendment

Evolution

Reenergised kaupapa
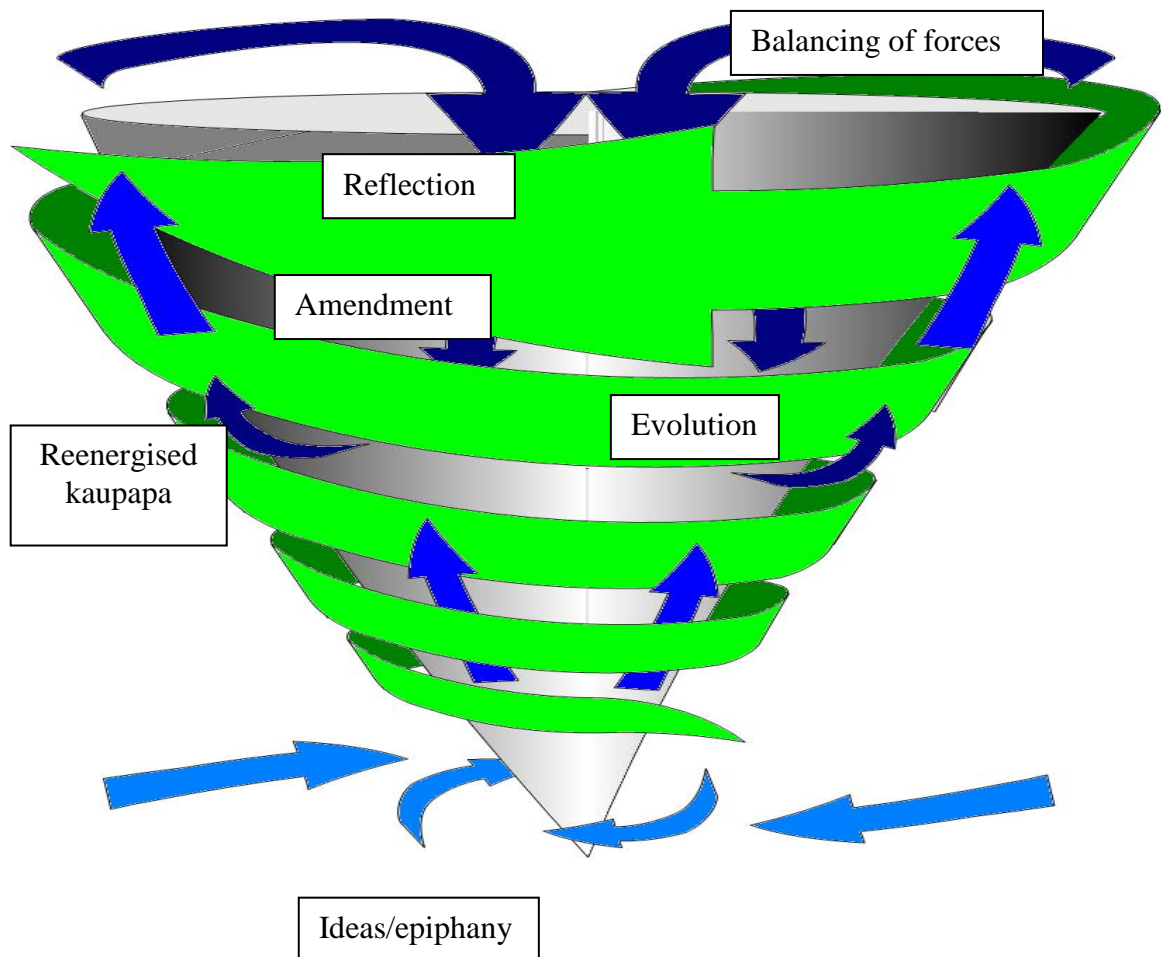
Ideas/epiphany

The initial idea/epiphany that sparks the emergence of the kaupapa into the world of light rotates and evolves driven by its mauri and simultaneously is held back and controlled by the centripetal force. At a particular stage of development, this force overcomes evolution and pulls the kaupapa back to its origins causing a period of

reflection normally culminating in an amendment for improvement. This improvement reenergises the kaupapa and further evolution is the result. In my experience this is the way Maori reason and that the Maori mind operates, in cycles with constant reflection, review and repetition.

In the context within which we live in our tribal environment this is the way we operate as normative practice. A kaupapa will emerge and will gather momentum amongst our people allowing the incorporation of new ideas as it grows, there will be continual reflection, repetition and testing of ideas frequently returning to already covered ground and using this praxis as a way to advance kaupapa forward. This will most frequently occur via hui. At a point the issues of each kaupapa will reach their conclusion and elements will be enacted or not. In my experience this allows well thought out decisions to occur as well as for the inclusion of key elements to be considered, including ideas of manaaki, tapu and mana as they affect the kaupapa and those involved.

Takarangi as I have used it here is a key concept within Whakapapa Korero Methodology (discussed in detail further on) as the theory and analysis of the rangahau process I have employed here that is discussed below, that, alongside discussions of epistemology and methods that appear further on, provide the bedrock of this work. In this analysis I use the takarangi as both a research process and as a framework that structures and shapes this work. This is referred and returned to throughout the thesis. In fact repeated conversations – korerorero, or repeated conversations as a focus for practice is a feature of the work and so repetition become both a unique feature of the work but also supports the ideas gathered from the elders that learning occurred through repeated interaction with content and gave knowledge its depth. It resonates also with the metaphor of the journey of safe return that provides names and guidance to the chapters and progression of the thesis. This idea is enlivened in this work.

In advancing Whakapapa Korero Methodology as distinct, I attempt to provide the strength and purpose with similar depth and understanding to that of Clarke above, in my arguments for Maori episteme as supporting positive Maori cultural identities, particularly in relation to Ngati Maniapoto.

Clarke (1998:6) and Royal (1996:3) reframe the western term 'methodology' to explain research procedures in uniquely indigenous terms. Clarke metaphorically refers to the research procedures as muka, the fine inner materials of harakeke, New Zealand flax. She describes the procedures of research as binding and fitting together, a function of flax for our people for centuries as part of a distinct technological and naturalised culture. Royal thinks of the procedures in terms of journey and pathways, again, strong memory images for us as a people who traversed the Pacific to make safe landfall in Aotearoa. The use by Clarke and Royal of Maori allegorical framing is a powerful way of explaining, clarifying and assuring appropriateness of epistemology, method and methodology.

Smith (1999:115-120) also reframes research within contemporary indigenous realities with the advancement of Maori methodologies that continue to develop Maori cultural practices and values incorporated as part of an agenda of transformation and change that supports Maori wellbeing. Smith enumerates twenty five forms of knowledge generation that are bound up in an indigenous research agenda that includes the elements of testimony and story telling as central features of a valid indigenous research methodology. For indigenous peoples, having experienced the trauma of colonisation, relating experience is a powerful tool for reclaiming and renaming ourselves. Testimony and storytelling form for me a powerful element of what I call 'oppression capital,' the relative value that I apply to the individual and collective oppression I have inherited and experienced via the colonial process. My oppression capital is an asset that I use to motivate me to take action to reverse and reduce the effects on myself and others in similar situations; it urges me to advance change and transformation for marginalised peoples.

The use of cultural memory sits well for many Maori and indigenous researchers (Kuokkanen, 2007), including myself, and supports the idea of re-membering (Smith, 1999) that is advanced here as a powerful feature of rangahau and supports the idea of (k)new knowledge referred to further on. Memory images provide timeless connections to ancestors, to environment, to conceptual, methodological and theoretical ideas and frameworks. I use the idea of voyaging as both metaphor and metonym for Whakapapa Korero Methodology. The image of voyaging is an

ancestral one, speaking of a relationship with and to land and sea; it reminds me of how we came to be, of where we came to be, and of why it is important to re-member these things. As the kairangahau it enhances my connections to our past and also our present in ways that I understand and relate to.

The notion of epistemological voyaging also acknowledges that for many of us we have been deprived of epistemological tools with which to navigate our existence and realities as journeys entail leaving things behind and choosing what to carry. By voyaging again we can (re)claim, (re)connect and (re)build our epistemological wisdoms and knowledge and from these points begin to (re)develop those wisdoms for whatever contexts that we may find ourselves in. In this way we are engaging in the 'boundary-busting' and 'border literature' that infers transcendence of multiple limits of established literary, cultural, scientific and ideological realms (Kuokkanen, 2007:xi).

I am encouraged by recent successful attempts to (re)claim our material indigenous voyaging techniques through expeditions such as those of Hokulea. The return passage to the islands from which our ancestors set sail to come to Aotearoa using ancestral navigation systems represents the physical manifestation of what is being allegorically utilised here. The possibility of voyaging again and returning to, as well as building on, ancestral ways of wisdom and knowing that will support our people into the future, is a journey that excites me – it is a passion of remembrance.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology is (w)holistic in that it recognises relationships and connections as primary. The methodology, in recognising the primacy of relationships then serves to guide ethical process and practice. Whakapapa Korero Methodology is employed here as an indigenous methodology that is congruent with Maori attempts to achieve social justice, political reform, anti-oppressive practice that is consistent with Maori epistemes, experience and realities (Brown & Strega, 2005). Each of these methodological approaches in its way evokes the takarangi allowing for open, undirected questing and probing around a kaupapa that travels outwards to gather useful ideas and processes, retaining the valuable materials and setting others aside for other times, contexts and purposes but journeying forward to contribute or complete a garment, a journey, a story, a testimony and other such activities.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology works in this way also, allowing me to draw strength from my connections and relationships and asks me to acknowledge, utilise and be accountable to and for these relationships. The methodological practice also supports the liberation from dominant ways of knowing that do not value the depth of collective relationships inferred in the methodology and actively dissuades these relationships from occurring to maintain dominant ways of being. Whakapapa Korero Methodology represents a desire to explore emancipatory possibilities of (k)new[19] approaches to learning through rangahau (Brown & Strega, 2005), even if it requires academic transgressions or threats to dominant group thinking.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology represents a paradigm shift from an over reliance on dominant discourses about how the intellectual activity of learning through re-searching occurs. In this context paradigm shift represents component elements of philosophy, theory and practice. Whakapapa Korero Methodology incorporates our unique ways of knowing utilised for wellbeing. This uniqueness acknowledges and celebrates diverse and multiple realities requiring multiple solutions and that accentuates and normalises positive difference and at the same time normalises difference as natural but with a less binary element of positive or negative, good or bad, it just is.

The theoretical and philosophical elements of Whakapapa Korero Methodology support multiple realities and are fluid so as to cater for contextual diversity of unique factors including gender, ethnicity and class. It is a powerful tool to utilise as it can accommodate easily multiple realities and fluid spaces and contexts. While there are similarities to constructivism, Whakapapa Korero Methodology is distinct in that it does not support those constructivist views that knowledge is an individual property, that the kairangahau is an individual in search of knowledge or that knowledge is a commodity. Whakapapa Korero Methodology is at its centre relational with all elements in the universe included in its ambit. It is the tool used to rationalise thought and practice for kairangahau and entails a relational accountability beyond

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[19] This idea of (k)new acknowledges a point made throughout this work, that the degree of our colonial infections, the subjugation of our ways of knowing and being have had the effect that things we may be constructing as 'new' may actually have already been known by our ancestors and we are simply engaging in the powerful project of 're-membering,' (Smith, 1999).

participants and contemporary human existence. This may include generations of people not yet born, ancestors who have given us life, the environment and all things in the universe that we are related to and we are accountable to all our relations when engaging in rangahau (Wilson, 2001).

Whakapapa Korero Methodology has similarities to what Wildcat (2001:34) refers to as '*habitude,*' understandings one has, deduces or acquires as part of a connectedness to a clan based system where the kairangahau is part of that 'clan.' It is a much closer level of enacted relationship than simply belonging to the group. It can include residence in traditional lands, regular practice of the unique and distinct 'clan' practices such as dialectic language, cultural practices and 'clan' theory or tikanga. This assertion assumes and posits that Whakapapa Korero Methodology has to be exercised in community and argues that the community that subscribes to this methodological approach is one based on being part of a hapu, whanau and iwi in the broader sense.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology is both a rangahau methodology and an explanation of how knowledge in the Maori world is theorised, encoded, transmitted and validated. Whakapapa Korero Methodology is ancient, it has been the way we have theorised and constructed knowledge for as long as many of us can remember. It is a critical piece in a growing body of work where indigenous researchers and scholars are turning our attentions to indigenous epistemologies as the basis for the development and liberation of our people. Similarly, the takarangi that grounds this work is a model of Whakapapa Korero Methodological thinking. It is ancient, represented in our past and coming forward with us into the present. The takarangi is an indigenous epistemic metaphor that represents theoretical, encoded and transmitted knowledge. It accentuates the constant flux of knowing, confusion and chaos, creating and innovating, light and wisdom inherent within Whakapapa Korero Methodology as a research methodology and epistemic symbol of deeper meanings.

The conscious act of thinking and acting to engage in investigation into Maori epistemologies, highlights Whakapapa Korero Methodology which is by its very essence political, a contribution to critical literacy that supports the next level of

decolonisation - dehegemonisation.[20] My use of the concepts of critical knowledge aligns my work with Bourdieu, Chamboredon and Passeron (1991) who note that this frame is a direct threat to existing systems of power through its debunking dominant groups' ideas of themselves and their orchestrated systems for maintaining superiority. Recognising that an agenda to control people and maintain the current systems is present and active practice employed by groups seeking to control and manage knowledge is a consciousness raising activity that can further support liberation. While for many this has deep and painful scars, I reframe these experiences as part of my being and as my oppression capital.

Critical literacy serves in the dehegemonisation of current realities (Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo, 2001:81). It is an attempt to undo the already established mainstream hegemony[21] that legitimises the authority of the dominant group and their worldview as 'universal' (Johnston, 1988). The maintenance of the domination by social reproduction and 'normalisation' (Foucault, 1980) of inequality that disenfranchises and marginalizes Maori is actively challenged by these actions. My work is an attempt to advance critical literacy via acts of dehegemonisation because it offers an approach and epistemic framework that does not rely on the coloniser or the colonisers' ideologies for validity.

These types of works are liberatory and attempt to make more visible, amongst our own people first and then others who may find them valuable, and to re-confirm the validity of our wisdoms and knowledge systems as ways of knowing, of making sense of reality in culturally appropriate ways as a way to experiencing wellbeing. These ways of knowing constantly have to be validated and legitimised against imperial forces and ideologies that continue to dominate and control our wellbeing. While a large part of the work pulls on ancestral ways of knowing we are unable to divorce ourselves of the present day realities that these ways of knowing are placed and contextualised in as part of our dichotomous existence. In this regard 'Maori centred

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[20] The terms 'counter hegemonic' and 'dehegemonic' have been used in parts of this research. These terms are often used interchangeably but, similar to Gegeo & Watson Gegeo (2000), I believe they are distinct. Counter hegemonic actions are those that block hegemonic actions and dehegemonic actions are those that seek to undo hegemonic actions already in place and practice.

[21] Hegemony came into the English language from the Greek *egeminia* referring to rule in a state other than their own and referring at the time to political dominance. A more detailed analysis of the term can be found in; 'Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society' by Raymond Williams.

knowledge systems' (Takino, 1998:286) may be a more appropriate term to explain parts of the work acknowledging that the ancestral knowledge of knowing and being has been supplanted and marginalized with colonial imperatives and 'false orthodoxies' (Taonui, 2005) to a very large and devastating effect as part of a growing volume of hybrid knowledge. An example shared by Taonui of a false orthodoxy is the creation of Io, who many consider to be the supreme Maori being. In this example Taonui highlights that no mention of Io appears in Maori literature previous to the 1850's but notes that the appearance of Io coincides at the same time European Christianity was taking a firm grip in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Taonui contends that Io was actually a hybrid creation by Maori of a supreme deity to mirror that of God held in high esteem by Europeans at the time. This false orthodoxy has been transplanted into Maori culture and is commonly referred to. Taonui asserts that historically Io didn't exist in Maori epistemologies prior to the 1850's.

Whakapapa knowledge

Whakapapa knowledge in the context of this rangahau is the processes and content of Maori worldviews that explain those systems and ways of knowing that are part and parcel of Maori epistemology. Whakapapa knowledge is indigenous epistemology, being our self-determined ways of theorising, encoding and re-presenting knowledge anchoring our truths in culture. From this knowing comes our organising and understanding of our patterns of being that centre Maori 'being' (Takino, 1997:287) and reinforce our worldviews and our wisdoms.

Whakapapa knowledge has no limits; it is dynamic and always changing around cores of contextual certainty. It is encoded in systems of knowing that are iterative and yet stable. This is reflected in the takarangi that acknowledges seeing without restriction, eternity, chaos, confusion and balance. Takarangi is dynamic advancing continual self reflection and inverse thought. While these systems are known they do not come into being without whakapapa korero as explained below.

Whakapapa korero

Whakapapa korero is the communicating of whakapapa knowledge; it includes the messages, signs, spirit, essences, stories, songs, korero, poetry and discourses that encapsulate Maori epistemology and whakapapa knowledge. This is represented in

takarangi taking elements from te ao marama as part of centrifugal journeying into the future via pulling from multiple elements as part of continual reflection, creation and innovation and returning regularly to touch stones for continual review and grounding.

Whakapapa korero is an active process of bringing whakapapa knowledge into being and reproducing or sharing it in knowledge transfers. Our whakapapa korero operationalises our whakapapa knowledge or, as Takirirangi Smith (1998) explains, as layers of knowledge, conceptualised in philosophical frameworks our tupuna used to describe, understand, make sense of and engage with the world at large. These views have been systematically and concertedly attacked and degraded by dominant regimes of inferiorising and othering so that not only do many non-Maori but also many Maori disregard whakapapa korero as of little relevance or value.

I have further defined whakapapa korero as presented above in the context here as the acts of bringing into the present nga taonga tuku iho, the treasures that have been passed down. As examples, whakapapa korero can be expressed as art, as ritual, as language, as animal sounds, as sounds of waves, as landscape, as dreams, as signs, as natural events and as silence. Features of whakapapa korero similar to whakapapa knowledge is that they are location and context specific, they are tangata whenua discourses and are unique occupying for example, their own spatial and temporal identities (Smith, 1997:247).

Whakapapa korero as lived Maori epistemology is evidenced by understandings of how things in the universe are related and why they are related and the acts of respect and reciprocity that emanate as part of these understandings. Whakapapa korero as an active practice enables synergies to occur and support the ability to inter-relate and inter-connect both with and between these entities.

Lost in Translation[22] - Maori epistemology and methodology in the English language

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[22] Translation comes from Latin and means, 'to bring across.' In this context translate means to bring across meaning.

A major challenge that confronted me in this rangahau was attempting to present and transmit ideas from Maori episteme to eurocentric thinkers and non-speakers of te reo Maori, in the English language. I frequently encountered translation problems that included straight and literal language translations. Additionally two other challenges that appeared were the commensurability of thought and understanding of reason and reality and working with my own people. These three elements of the rangahau presented their own challenges that I have termed translation issues but have applied the term translation in a wide context.

At a basic level it was difficult to explain Maori terms and ideas in English, and still adequately express the depth of Maori thought with the 'to and fro' required as I, the writer, move between thought and representation (Gidley, 1994:9). I realised also that sense and meaning differed when employing different types of language function in Maori and English, for example, generic–specific, synonyms-antonyms, contrastive pairs, semantic sets and multiple senses of allegorical terms.

The takarangi that forms the bedrock for the organisation of this work was disrupted by the language challenges described here as the boundless nature of Maniapoto knowledge was unable to be represented in the English language that by its nature acted to bind ideas and thought.

Beyond these language structure considerations, and being a second language learner, I was acutely aware that cultural concepts and meanings are intricately woven into the texture of te reo Maori, obviously in allegory, metaphor and metonym, but also in terms of the general lexical nature of te reo Maori. Although all languages and cultures have concepts, each language and culture conceptualises, packages and codifies concepts and meaning using different systems of understanding. Language is not a neutral tool but rather is an epistemological system through which the world is ordered and knowledge is ordered as a network of meaning actively constitutive of reality (Wetherell, 2007). In this context language is a social process that is discursive and has material consequences.

The idea of language as discourse is informed by discourse theory that acknowledges, particularly in the social sciences, that a discourse is a particular way of representing

the world, a series of social boundaries defining what can be said about a specific topic (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Discourses affect our views on all things; it is not possible to escape discourse. For example, two distinct discourses can be used about Maori reaction to breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi describing those that are active in expressing their views on the subject in terms such as 'freedom fighters' or 'dangerous radicals.' In this example it can be seen that the selected discourse delivers the vocabulary, expressions and imagery and in so doing creates meaning that enables or disqualifies different interpretations (Foucault, 1980; Foucault, 1989; Derrida, 1997).

Discourse is inextricably linked to different theories of power and state. In its generalist sense discourse is not solely composed of words said but also those unsaid as a result of what has been excluded or inferred by absence. Because knowledge and power are intrinsically linked, power relations are immanent to discourses particularly as specific discourses are not tied to the subject, but rather the subject is a social construction of the discourse (Foucault, 1980).

Salmond (1985:260) explains how a depth of understanding of Maori world view and in particular, language is essential if an accurate discourse of the culture from and of the culture is to be utilised.

> *The ontological orders of Maori knowledge are not obvious, and in seeking to begin to understand matauranga, a western epistemology cannot be presupposed. The reasonableness of matauranga rests within Maori knowledge and not in the partialities of translation, and gaps in translatability make room for political interest to enter discussions of Maori thought.*

Tau (2001:8) supports and adds to Salmond's ideas by stating,

> *Essentially, whakapapa is the system that orders knowledge and behaviour in the Maori world. The degree to which one has knowledge of whakapapa equates to the degree to which one acts in a*

> *correct or 'tika' manner in a Maori setting....thus whakapapa is also a*
> *metaphysical framework to place oneself within the world.*

Whilst I have used and referred to the idea of translation here I would argue that it also encapsulates ideas of commensurability. Beyond the concept of translation that I have highlighted I found that the mind/body split of western thought militates against struggles with the indigenous praxis that the elders I interviewed employed. The challenge that faced me was attempting to connect with and project the indigenous, primordial, metaphoric cultural concepts and meanings of Maori thought and feeling, while maintaining the integrity of meaning and sense to reflect Maori reality. In essence I was attempting to unpack complex Maori concepts and repackage them in a second language of a different culture appropriate to the concept scheme of the second language and culture, namely English and European.

One case in point was attempting to translate te reo Maori, commonly spoken in passive voice, into English and to have the translation have a contemporary feel and appearance, what Albarky (2004) calls 'narrative style.' This translation was not possible, as contemporary English is not frequently spoken in passive form and the attempt changed the sense and meaning of the message and the wairua and beauty of te reo Maori was lost as a result. Another challenge that quickly became apparent was that in translating from Maori to English a large number of explanations were needed to provide the reader with a deeper understanding of the original message. This arises from the geographical, historical and environmental elements distinct to Maori culture and language. For example, a reference to Tane fetching the baskets of knowledge would be considered 'common knowledge' for many people operating in the culture and require no further explanation for understanding, reflecting the allegorical nature of te reo. Realising that, unfortunately, a majority of people who do not operate in the Maori world would require a much deeper explanation of the journey of Tane to get across the original message.

I arrived at the conclusion that one language cannot fully express the meanings of another (Thriveni, 2000) and that in translation from Maori to English meaning and sense of the Maori world is lost. In my experience the loss of sense and meaning is caused by the translation that predisposes the author to think differently, in my case to

think as a European would understand the message. The task entails not simply seeking words with suitably similar meaning, but rather finding appropriate ways of expressing often complex issues in another language.

I have attempted to mediate parts of this challenge, if it can at all be truly mediated, by placing English translations after Maori words in parts of the work. This also has been challenging as many Maori words, mana for example, defy single word English translation but are understood in their context (Moon, 1993:2).

While I identified the tensions between languages, it was more the difference in thought processes between peoples that accounted for the difficulties in explaining Maori epistemological principles rather than a communication gap caused by the lack of a shared language.

One explanation for this and a challenge I faced was due to the ways that many indigenous people (including Maori) and Europeans reason. Indigenous peoples reason in a (w)holistic and relational way so that attention is oriented towards relationships between people and objects, while Europeans reason in an analytical way (Ji, Peng & Nisbett, 2000; Nisbett, Peng Choi & Norenzayan, 2001; Masuda & Nisbett, 2001; Nisbett, 2003, Ji, Nisbett & Zhang, 2004). Indigenous people and Europeans conceive time and space differently (Shain, 1999).

A consistent view is one that sees space divorced from time that informs sense making of the world as a realm of stasis (Massey, 1993:142). This view informs European colonial thought as regards space. Geographic areas are defined, cordoned off, mapped with a series of lines, boundaries, defining and marking points in attempts to control space. Space in this worldview and central to colonialism is marked by ideas of the line, centre and outside (Smith, 1999). As Smith (1999) points out, a spatial vocabulary of colonialism operates to position people and their corresponding worldviews to maintain ideas of dominant and inferior as part and parcel of the violent activities of naming and (re)presenting. These ideas and practices contribute to what has been referred to as 'epistemic violence' (McConaghy, 2000:124). Whilst Maori world view utilises ideas of boundaries, margins and markers these are not used for personal competitive capitalist gain nor encompassed

within a cultural context that creates this language and corresponding ideas so as to subjugate others but rather uses these terms to support collective wellbeing and not as tools of ideological, mental and physical domination.

Maori talk of time vertically as encapsulated in common Maori phrases, such as heke iho, heke iho, down to, down to, whereas Europeans speak of time horizontally and are largely monochronic as against polychronic and able to view only a single conceptualisation of time that argues that set times for things must exist and be exacting. In this sense language serves to organise and codify knowledge (Hamers & Blanc, 2000). Whakapapa knowledge is most certainly codified in time, space and context.

Levi Strauss (Wiseman & Grove, 2000:98-100) in referring to ways that different societies view, experience and explain time differentiated between 'hot' and 'cold' societies and how they conceptualise their relationship to time. Hot societies he said place the past and present on the same continuum and place this relationship as being underpinned by the idea of progress. Time in hot societies is a set of cumulative events each moment stemming from the previous and continuing into the next. In contrast cold societies, more commonly known as traditional societies, view the present as emerging from the past and parallel to it so that the mythical past continues to exist in the contemporary present, and while 'before' and 'after' exist, they function to reflect one another. Maori view and 'read' time in this way.

In attempting to translate whakapapa knowledge in te reo Maori using time when the knowledge itself is codified in a vertical sense to peoples who 'read' time horizontally there is loss of meaning and therefore comprehension is diminished. As Whorf (1956) explained, language and culture are inseparable and language is a medium for transmitting and internalising culture that acts as a powerful symbol of cultural identity that often dominates and overrides other cultural symbols and behaviours that contribute to cultural identities (O'Regan, 2001).

Nepe (1991:37) explains that in Maori interpretations and frameworks of knowledge time is valuable and highly prized as it provides the continuity of the past, present and future continua and the development inherent within these constructs of being that

explain and provide understandings that affirm individuals and collectives senses of being, esteem and identity. Time is seen as an investment in wellbeing where the past, present and future are interconnected and inter-reliant to providing important information and guidelines for experiencing wellbeing in a culturally responsive context. Time is an epistemological principle and is an important element in knowledge development. It is an implicit element within whakapapa korero and takarangi that acknowledges boundlessness and continual reflection occurring over time.

Time in any activity contributes to the accumulated knowledge bank of an individual and group. Time served as a child, as a youth, in learning roles, in doing dishes, gardening, fishing, listening to elders, speaking, thinking, travelling or spent completing valuable pieces of material culture such as a korowai, engaging in kapahaka and mau rakau are all epistemological practices that inform the knowledge domains of Maori world view. In these contexts time fosters social relationships and teaches respect, discipline, humility and patience.

I recall many trips travelling, mostly to tangi, with an uncle. We did not like him driving the far distance in the knowledge that he would return during the night and that he may be weary and prone to fall asleep. Although he never said exactly what he appreciated we were well aware by his manner and comments that he appreciated the time we freely gave. It was on one such trip that we arrived at a tangi and I searched my pocket for some money to contribute as a koha for the event. I couldn't find any money in my pocket where I thought it was. I was disappointed and explained to my uncle that I had misplaced my koha to which he replied, 'ko te tangata te koha,' the person taking the time to travel and be present was the gift. This example illustrates that the giving of time is highly valued in Maori worldview.

Shirres (1979:9) encountered these challenges in his study of tapu in what he called 'the problem of interpretation.' He identified that his investigation as a Pakeha of tapu looks through his own eyes that are influenced by his cultural background. To attempt to overcome this challenge as best he could he provided the original texts as the basis of his study and then attempted to apply meaning in the contexts of the time and location and therefore avoided defining tapu in his view but rather employed his

skills to attempt to help towards our understanding of what tapu meant to some Maori in the 1840's.

Shirres (1979) identifies that concepts are viewed quite differently between many Maori and Europeans. Maori, as he notes, reason using relationships between and to entities and organise knowledge based on relationship levels. Europeans tend to categorise knowledge and in so doing draw distinct lines to separate out knowledge such as the establishment of faculties, schools and disciplines. In Maori understandings of reality these things actually overlap and inter-relate (Herzfeld, 2003; Ji, Nisbett, & Zhang, 2004. I discovered that it is not possible to detach understanding meaning from language, including Maori sense and meaning from te reo Maori, and express these concepts adequately, other than in the cultural metaphors and allusions from which they originate and the language within which they have been shaped and nested for centuries.

Language recursively produces culture and serves as a key site from which culture is exhibited. The limits of our language become the limits of our world. Culture is expressed, explained and understood through language whether it be oral language, visual language or spiritual language. Without language we are unable to make connections and have the deep understandings required to continue the transmission and development of Maori epistemologies and cultural identities. Language informs the maintenance and development by being vehicles for expression that invite new thinking. Without the languages and knowledge of ways of knowing we place ourselves in the position of being passive observers until such time we have developed understandings and can contribute meaningfully with a basis of knowing. When this occurs we also have the case of culture producing language for the new environments and cultural responsiveness to new and different contexts. This is evidenced in Maori language and culture. Whakatauki explains that without te reo Maori and without land, Maoritanga will cease to exist;

> *Toitu te kupu, toitu te mana, toitu te whenua.*
> *The permanence of the language, of prestige and land.*

Stemming from this challenge was the transition from 'orality to literacy' (Taonui, 2005). Taonui (2005:2) in his examination of the accuracy of pre-contact oral tradition identified the challenge associated with taking ideas from orality to literacy and memory to publication that can see oral korero when written becoming fixed and less dynamic than it was intended and lost without the cultural context from which the oral literature hangs. This was a particular issue in working with my primary data which was of course oral interviews with my elders and I provide a detailed account of my process in managing those data in the next chapter. The challenge for myself, the participants and the reader is not to get lost in 'hybrid' or 'false orthodoxies' (Taonui, 2005:2) re-presented in 'Eurocorded myth' and 'Maori art,' that involves the production and recording of oral literature, conversion of it into written form using to some degree my own interpretations and either knowingly or unknowingly distorting the data.

This finding admits that the work presented here is the best that I could have done at the time of writing given the language I had to work with and the difference in cultures and worldviews and the relative systems and processes for constructing these worldviews, meanings and consequent understandings. While I acknowledge that it is the best I could have done, I also know that the consciousness/experience/thought of those of different levels of knowledge in te ao Maori and those not intimately familiar with te ao Maori would still struggle to grasp the meanings and understandings of te ao Maori such are the differences in reality.

Other challenges: 'We're always hardest on our own[23]'

A further rangahau challenge has been working with my own people, that is, people with whom I have a whakapapa relationship and genealogical connection. It s fair to say that in my experience Maori are very critically aware, this is no different among people of Ngati Maniapoto, and so, my work has faced intense scrutiny from my own people. While Maori are critical we are also very loyal and the whanau analysis that I have been faced with has been balanced by much support, guidance and care that I

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[23] This phrase is one I have heard often. It explains that your own people in an effort to train you well and to ensure that when you travel outside your rohe or represent your hapu, whanau or iwi that you do well will be very exacting of you. This has certainly been my experience.

could only get from my own people. The reason for the high level of analysis in my experience relates to the concepts of mana and whakama discussed below.

Writing as an 'insider' has meant that my own people have taken the time to ensure that what I produce honours our people and does not cause me or our people personal embarrassment or shame - whakama, in the wider community. It was, and still is, for many, a long held belief that whakama could kill a person. The loss of personal mana or threat placed on the group's mana that occurs when acting improperly resulted in the wairua, the spiritual essence of the individual being damaged. The whakama or shame of acting improperly would so consume an individual that they could spiritually and then physically die due to the shame (Metge, 1995).

Mead (2003:12-13) also discusses the challenges of working with your own people. These include the idea that Maori society may not be as complex as Pakeha society, that it is far easier for a Pakeha to work across and between cultures than it is for a Maori, that because a Pakeha may be doing the research that it is of a higher quality than that of a kairangahau. Mead concludes that these outcomes are most likely due to several layers of stereotypes. Some of the stereotypes of rangahau and kairangahau that I have come into contact with include the claim that all our rangahau is qualitative and of a story nature so less than real research. Equally rangahau is seen as family related and so not overly robust, tainted by partiality and that our kairangahau focus predominantly on what the Pakeha have taken from Maori. From this comes an orientation to what Maori should be given, that Maori are inferior 'researchers' because 'research' is actually a Pakeha activity using Pakeha ideas and practices that we are using.

My experience supports this. Many of us as Maori tend to view Pakeha in a superior position to that of ourselves, valuing Pakeha epistemologies over our own. This is no surprise given the educational and other systems and practices that have gone into achieving just this result. As a result many of our people tend to devalue many things Maori and so rangahau and the work involved is often devalued by our people simply because it is rangahau by kairangahau. At another level, because of the closeness and depth of relationships in Maori society, many kairangahau are judged by our people not on who they are individually but whom they are related to and where they come

from and what actions our relatives may have taken in the past. The final challenge that I am familiar with personally is the assumption that if you are Maori you know about being Maori and so expectations are applied that if contravened, place the 'researcher' and the 'research' in a negative light. This assumption is not applied widely to Pakeha and ignores the facts that as Maori we do not share evenly the same level of experience or knowledge of Maori epistemologies to fulfil these assumptions.

A further issue that has challenged me is knowing that the participants, my elders, in speaking of their experiences and knowledge, had had their knowledge shaped by interaction with Pakeha. This is not what I would call a good or bad thing, as healthy and vibrant cultures are remarkably eclectic in their relations with ideas and knowledge from all sources. The issue that challenged me was understanding and making sense of the degree to which the influences were different and shared amongst my elders and the effects that these experiences had on their views of Maori epistemologies.

I was aware that the theoretical ideas and ideological orientations of my elders may have changed over time or at the very least been influenced by ideas from the west (Foucault, 1980; Mikaere, 2003; Taonui, 2005:3). Taonui (2005:15) discusses this by calling it 'incorporation and feedback,' and what I refer to as subtle acculturation.[24] As with the example of 'Io' cited above, Taonui's approach is interesting because he discusses how Maori at the contact period began to incorporate western knowledge into Maori epistemologies and feed it back to western ethnographers of the time. His ideas are enlightening because of how they place the decision-making and therefore the control with Maori. In other instances though Maori were feeling their culture was under threat of being considered inferior and so the dominant orthodoxies that Taonui speaks of began to operate. They represent what Pratt (1992:6) refers to as transculturation, a phenomenon of the contact zone between different groups exercising power.

These insights support the idea that Maori culture was very strong in its ability to borrow and accommodate ideas from Pakeha culture. That Maori chose to do this is a

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[24] Acculturation is the learning of a second or additional culture and is distinct from enculturation which is the acquisition of first culture (He, 2002).

sign of our strength and the relative strength of our culture that we believed could accommodate the new and shaped it for our own purposes.

Lost in mindset

A further challenge in collecting the lived experiences of my elders was my inability to comprehend and make sense of the meanings that elders provided me with. As Stephanie Kelly (2002:7) notes the concepts that are part of whakapapa do not easily lend themselves to 'tidy' linear chronological structure, or more particularly to a mind, my own in this case, that has been historically conditioned to think in a European only way. I struggled to operate in a Maniapoto mind set and more easily understand these concepts. As a result of my own experiences my ability to view and represent things in such a frame was affected by my colonial past, my urban upbringing, my level of training in and of te ao Maori, especially as it relates to Ngati Maniapoto.

The challenge for me, and no doubt for many others in the future, has and will continue to be to regularly re-set the mind by critically reassessing and reflecting on the eyes through which I am gazing at any one time. I need to develop triggers that alert me of moments when I may be acting in counter productive ways that negatively influence health and wellbeing. This view acknowledges that I am heavily influenced by colonial ideologies and they are inherent in my being having been exposed to colonial influences over many generations. This is what I refer to as my colonial infection that often causes me to be at dis-ease. The ability to reflect and filter those elements of dominant ideology, to diagnose the infectedness that detracts from epistemologies that I have experienced or believe enhance my wellbeing is a key skill in maintaining and advancing indigenous epistemologies.

Finally, in response to the challenges identified here as regards translation in its wide context and relating this to transmission, translation and interpretation, I asked myself why not write simply in te reo Maori as a means of overcoming these difficulties? The answer for me lies in my audience, specifically many of those of us that may wish to reconnect, reclaim and reidentify positively as Maori. For many of us that may wish to do so, Maori may not be our first language and so the English language has been employed as far as possible to support those of us engaging in this critical

transformation – albeit with a cost to richness as a result. The work here represents ideas and possible strategies for responding to neo-colonial ideologies and my desire to reach as wide an audience as possible of different ethnicities and different language abilities. The choice to use English was a political one, attempting to influence as many people as possible.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined and articulated some key concepts that feature through out this work, namely;

- Worldview
- Whakapapa
- Whakapapa Korero Methodology
- Whakapapa knowledge
- Whakapapa korero

The takarangi captures these concepts and encodes them as a united framework for explaining phenomena and reality as rationalised in Maori episteme. The idea of whakapapa inherent within the takarangi is transferred to a rangahau methodology represented here.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology is presented here as a powerful methodological tool for acknowledging and valuing the lived experiences of my elders and the people to whom my family and I belong and further supported the linkages between Maori philosophy[25] and epistemology as expressed through whakapapa korero.

As well the chapter has examined some challenges in attempting to discuss ideas from Maori knowledge systems in and using the English language. The use of a language not created for the knowledge system has been acknowledged as a limiting factor in attempting to provide sense and clarity. Similarly has been my ability to relate to the ideas presented by the elders given my previous experiences that have informed my

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[25] My reference here to philosophy is in the Greek sense of the word, 'philos' meaning love and 'sophia' meaning wisdom and applying it to Maori and Ngati Maniapoto ways of knowing. For a more detailed analysis of the term philosophy the reader is referred to; 'Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society' by Raymond Williams.

worldview. My position as an insider is identified as a key strength in this work and has touched on the tensions and unique challenges that this position carries with it, particularly in Maori communities as regards responsibilities and accountabilities.

The chapter advances the use of rangahau as a valid and necessary response to the interruption of Maori epistemology caused by the arrival of and interaction with European settlement.   It argues that even given the clear and vital innovations that occurred after and/or as a result of contact with Pakeha that the development of Maori epistemologies must more fully resume and continue. In short, normal transmission must resume. We need not, nor should we depend on the approval of established European thought and therefore this work is by its nature 'counter scholarship' (Taonui, 2005:21), a project in regaining and encouraging reclamation of knowledge, or rather counter knowledge and possibility.

This project and its process of examining and developing worldviews and epistemologies that differ from dominant worldviews is part of 'intellectual sovereignty' (Warrior, 1995:87). This calls on people to be epistemologically vigilant as the hegemony of the dominant paradigm makes its way more than just another way to view the world it makes it the only valid, true and legitimate way to which all must subscribe to. Intellectual sovereignty seeks positions and resources free from the epistemological tyranny, violence and oppression of dominant discourses and paradigms.

In the following chapters this work argues that there are well-developed knowledge systems, worldviews and epistemologies that stand in contrast to dominant paradigms and offer increased wellbeing for Maori. The takarangi journeys centrifugally collecting ideas, experiences and realities and draws all these elements together mitigating and mediating our wellbeing against some of the damages of colonisation by reclaiming, reconnecting and reidentifying with fundamental Maori epistemological processes in the context of Ngati Maniapoto and as represented here.

This approach runs through and influences the work here as I collect ideas, experiences and realities from well-developed knowledge systems, worldviews and epistemologies and advance them as ways of mediating our wellbeing.

Kowae Tuatoru
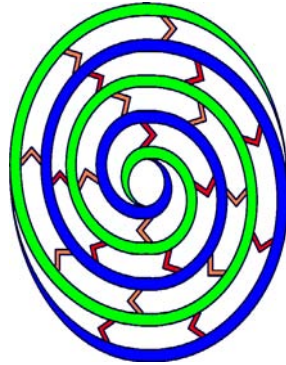
Whakatau huarahi. Setting the Course for the Waka: Whakapapa Korero Methodology.

Previous chapters positioned this work and myself as the author in a context for the reader whilst also introducing discursive terms specific to the field of study being discussed here. This chapter seeks to place the study in the context of contemporary academic systems highlighting the complex nature and realities that indigenous intellectuals confront by working within the academy. This and further sections call on 'testimony' (Smith, 1999), my experiences as part of an eclectic approach that relays lived personal realities. Testimony is an important element of whakapapa korero where personal experience recursively reinforces constructions of reality as part of centrifugal thought and practice, an element of whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero.

This chapter challenges some of the taken for granted assumptions of the academy as a system for knowledge creation, highlighting how it has come into existence, how it controls knowledge, how it has placed indigenous knowledge[26] and how it influences peoples actions, particularly indigenous intellectuals attempting to operate within its systems.

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[26] Indigenous knowledge is discussed in Kowae Tuawaru in the thesis and woven throughout.

Indigenising the Academy

This thesis attempts to discuss the ideas of wisdom, knowledge, power and identity within Maori epistemologies by examining whakapapa knowledge as outlined above and argues that in contemporary contexts - te ao hurihuri, that all are underlined by a discourse of radical freedom (Delanty & O'Mahoney, 2002:6). Radical freedom in the context of this thesis is an attempt to re-think how many of us as Maori know the world and why our ways of knowing are powerful catalysts for healthy and satisfying living and existence. How we as indigenous people know and the value and credibility attached by people to our ways of knowing have historically and continue to be informed by the academy,[27] what I argue is the western institution of higher thinking. The academy is largely recognised as the 'institution of knowing' (Kuokkanen, 2007:7) and is argued here as using overt and covert rules about what does and does not count as knowledge. This is done as a means of redistributing a fixed and fixated knowledge system that seeks to maintain western domination over other systems and ways of knowing, including Maori. Ironically this thesis privileges much of its space conforming to an archetype of the academy. The whole idea of a doctoral studies programme and the privileges and honours accorded the academy are likewise critically reflected on in this work as part of a 'critical intimacy' (Kuokkanen, 2007:xiv) that acknowledges that I am part of the academy, privileged and complicit in many ways and aspects but seeking to disrupt its authority by identifying positively different epistemologies and ways of knowing and being that exist in contrast to the western ideologically dominated academy.

This is not a lone battle, many other people and institutions are active in this agenda. Individuals and groups occupy and engage in the highly charged spaces of power where they strategise and act to disrupt the academic spaces of power and oppression that are constructed in attempts to create space for others.

This discussion serves as a critical examination of the place and purposes of the academy in relation to indigenous groups and our realities. It challenges the status quo by critically examining whether the academy serves indigenous interests or

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[27] This is especially true when we note that Maori Studies Departments throughout Aotearoa/New Zealand have their origins in Anthropology and that anthropological methods have and continue to find expression in Maori Studies. As Goldberg (1993) also highlights, anthropology was also founded as a discipline that would scientifically demonstrate European superiority.

perpetuates domination and control and if so whether academic decolonisation, or what I have coined as academic exorcisms might be a worthwhile project of inquiry. I argue that there is value in examining some of the contradictions, ideologies and contestations, and in seeking to locate and affirm indigenous knowledge in the academy as a tacit project that advances ideas of tradition, orality, ancestors, time, space, non-universal and authenticity, as part of Maori cultural identity and the affirmation of Maori epistemologies. The task of critiquing and challenging the 'dominant orthodoxies' (Findlay, 2000) from a peripheral and marginalised position is always work that has collective risks as it places the historically dominant under threat and challenges peoples positions in the structure. This supports the idea of bringing indigenous worldviews, ideas and discourses into academic life in ways that critically interrupt and encourage critical introspection and reflection of the established worldviews and understandings (Brown & Strega, 2005).

This section examines how the academy positions indigenous peoples both internally and externally using the original site Akademeia as a metonym to explain the transferred sense of knowing that is inferred by the academy to others realities and what I refer to in other conversations in other places as 'locating the viral infection.' Particular emphasis is given to show that in the contemporary context knowledge is both professionalised and institutionalised in formal learning environments and sites such as universities where knowledge is depersonalised and divided into specialised branches and disciplines (Smith, 1999). I argue that this is maintained for the benefit of the dominant to position Maori and our systems of knowing, as the inferior other.

The academy has its origins in the Mediterranean and features in both Greek and Roman mythology. Plato was instrumental in the construction of Euro-western paradigms of knowledge.[28] Plato's epistemological theory is based on the idea of epistemic agency which helped shape the Euro-western views of knowledge. The academy was sited at Akademeia, a grove of sacred olive trees outside the walls of ancient Athens. The archaic name was Hekademeia that in later classic times, around the 6th century BC, became Akademeia linked to an eponymous Athenian hero Akademos. The site of the academy was sacred to the goddess Athena and other

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[28] Plato (427-347 BC) is recognised as the first systematic Euro-western philosopher and the first person to establish a university in the Euro-western world (Thayer-Bacon, 2000).

immortals and had sheltered a cult since the Bronze Age. The cult is thought to have been associated with the hero gods called the Dioskouroi of which there were two, Castor, a great horseman and Polydeuces, a powerful boxer. They were the brothers of the famed Helen of Troy and together the brothers form the astrological Gemini, Latin for twins. On the Roman invasion, c.86BC, the grove of olive trees was axed down to build siege engines and the functions of the location lapsed. At a later date the academy was re-founded as a new institution with the installation of several scholars and philosophers. The Emperor Justinian in AD529, signalling the end of the antiquity period, closed the institution and the philosophers were exiled. In Roman mythology the twins' sister Helen was kidnapped by Theseus and Pirithous who took her to Aphidnae until she was rescued by her twin brothers, who in turn kidnapped Theseus' mother, Aethra. Later, in another, but related event, the twins kidnapped and raped Phoebe and Hilaeira, the daughters of little known Leucippus who is regarded as the founder of atomism in physics. In revenge Idas and Lynceus, the nephews of Leucippus eventually killed Castor for these acts.[29]

The academy was represented in art and painted using the fresco technique by renowned artist Raffael in 1509-1510.[30] It was titled, 'The School of Athens.' Many of the people represented here will be (uncomfortably for some) familiar to us such is our inherited and inscribed intimacy with this educational tradition. The prevalence of white males provides a powerful picture of the ideological basis from which the modern academy has its foundations and contemporary manifestations.

1: Zeno of Citium or Zeno of Elea?
2: Epicurus
3: Frederik II of Mantua?
4: Boethius or Anaximander or Empedocles?
5: Averroes
6: Pythagoras
7: Alcibiades or Alexander the Great?
8: Antisthenes or Xenophon?
9: Hypatia or Francesco Maria I della Rovere)?

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[29] Refer; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academy also, Alan Cameron, "The last days of the Academy at Athens," in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* vol 195 (n.s. 15), 1969, pp 7-29.

[30] Reference: This image is distributed by DIRECTMEDIA Publishing and is available for the public domain. Refer also; http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Raffaello_Scuola_di_Atene_numbered.svg retrieved on April 15th 2009.

10: Aeschines or Xenophon?
11: Parmenides?
12: Socrates
13: Heraclitus (features of Michelangelo)
14: Plato holding the *Timaeus* (features of Leonardo da Vinci)
15: Aristotle holding the *Ethics*
16: Diogenes of Sinope
17: Plotinus?
18: Euclid or Archimedes with students (features of Bramante)?
19: Strabo or Zoroaster?
20: Ptolemy
R: Raphael as Apelles
21: Il Sodoma as Protogenes

Understanding this history acknowledges that the academy is grounded in a European history filled with power struggles, a domination of the views of white males, rivalry such as that between Rome and Greece, bloodshed, death and immoral behaviours. The academy continues to be considered by many at one level as the major western institution of knowledge, an extension of 'Empire,' that operates as the 'Governor' of knowledge institutions that enforces and validates the knowledge doctrines of groups and at the same time relegates and subjugates other knowledge (Foucault, 1977; Goldberg, 1993; Smith 1998; Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008).

The subjective human construct, personal bias and agenda, is a feature of the academy, prevalent in both the overt and covert agendas of many of the players, the often-called 'gatekeepers' (Cordova, 1997; Mihesuah, 2004; Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008) and those that are used by the gatekeepers to form the gate.

In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context this has played out in policy where tertiary institutions that previously were allowed to enrol unlimited numbers of students are now required to operate under enrolment caps. With this measure in place institutions are having to select students for study to fit prescribed numbers. Institutions are required and choosing to make student selections based on criteria that are having some detrimental results for Maori as regards access to tertiary education. Trends since 2004 are showing that Maori enrolments in all sectors of tertiary education are declining as the traditional delivery methodologies and the fiscal costs prove unattractive to Maori students. The only exception is in wananga where the number of Maori enrolments has increased due to distinctive delivery methodologies, strong connections particularly with Maori communities and an agenda of education at no or low cost for students.[31]

While not trying to draw our attention away from the primary power plays that exist knowledge is often used to create hierarchies of superiority and in many cases the players referred to above are often our own people. In my experience I have seen and heard Maori academics describing the work of our people as non-academic or as low order academic thought. In many cases the people making these judgments are trying to ensure that people conform to their particular subjective views of academic activity. The constructs against which these kinds of value judgments are made are standards often set by non-indigenous academics, the institution they are employed by or the personal agenda from which they operate to judge indigenous ways of knowing. In my experience the standards are most commonly non-indigenous constructs that are predominantly used to maintain the power relationship of teacher/student,

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[31] Ministry of Social Development. (2008). *2008 The Social Report Indicators of Social Wellbeing in New Zealand.* Ministry of Social Development: Wellington.
 Ministry of Education. (2008). *Education Counts Participation – Provider-based enrolments File*. Retrieved January 12, 2008 from
http://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/statistics/tertiary_education/participation

master/apprentice, or powerful/powerless (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008). Such leaders colonise their own people just as they claim to have been colonised. Effectively, some of the benefits of the dominant society are given to indigenous elites in university departments in return for pacifying the indigenous dissenters (Friesen & Friesen, 2002:23).

The academy is characterised by prevalent epistemic ignorance (Kuokkanen, 2007; Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008) that acts to construct 'cognitive prisons,' (Battiste, 2000:xvii) a reference to its ability to continue to operate with practices and discourses that maintain the exclusion of minority groups and in particular, indigenous epistemic and intellectual traditions (Smith, 1999:65). In the academy and using the methods above indigenous voice is systematically silenced and many of our people are rendered voiceless when our episteme, grounded on different conceptions of the world and our ways of knowing and being, differs from those views and understandings of the dominant group. This is especially true in epistemological differences. For example; indigenous medical and healing techniques view the practices of medicine quite differently to non-indigenous groups, in particular as regards the acceptance of multiple pathways to cures that in indigenous contexts include, karakia and medicines. Indigenous healing is based on tradition accepting that the practices of the past were successful and effective as they have been tested by and over time and were gifts from atua (deities). Early contacts between Maori and Pakeha show that medical practices of the two groups were remarkably similar (Salmond, 1993). However, the effects of colonisation, with ideological acts such as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907, that outlawed traditional medical practices marginalised and denigrated Maori epistemes and practices to the point that Maori medical knowledge and practice has largely fallen into disuse. In contrast Pakeha medicine has been richly invested in and allowed to thrive as a key branch of western science.

While Maori have fought for and won many struggles that have contributed to our advancement and development, the types of worldview conflicts discussed above still proliferate and result in many Maori being silenced or struggling for their experience and voices to be validated and heard in the academy. Similarly and not surprisingly we are silenced when we attempt to have Treaty rights resolved, when we attempt to

offer education at any level within a Maori worldview or when we attempt to normalise our ways of knowing and being within an ear shot of dominant group elitists.

The academy and its central and primary sites of maintenance of dominance, including universities, continue to support the dehumanisation of minority peoples (Cordova, 1997). Knowledge and power are inextricably connected and the academy and universities continue to function as pillars for establishing knowledge as a discourse of power where the power to decide what is truth and what is not, is connected to the power to legitimate that truth. Michel Foucault (1972:131) reminds us that;

> *Each society has its regime of truth. Its 'General Politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth, the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.*

Foucault highlights that at one level, knowledge informs truth and that all knowledge is subjective and that all knowledge as subjective is connected and interested in power. Groups will seek to maintain their privileged positions of power and seek to protect the knowledge systems that construct the positions that support their continued privilege. These knowledge systems are products constructed, enhanced and validated by institutions and sites primarily established to continue the status quo.

The academy at its best offers some possibilities and can serve a useful purpose for indigenous peoples. At its best it offers a place of intellectual engagement and of cultural recovery and reclamation (Takino, 1997:288). In this regard the four recommendations provided by Cherokee writer Daniel Justice (2004:102-103), who works in the field of indigenous literatures, for indigenous scholars are worthy of mention. They are;

- This is Indigenous country-we are not invaders, this land is our inheritance and we belong to it. We have a right and a place in meaning making.

- We must not forget to be humble and respectful–be dedicated to the pursuit of truth and its connection and effectiveness to people in marginalized positions.

- Be generous of spirit in peace as well as in war-do not act with raw prejudice but be generous, even if it is to enter into a war, if required, with a goal of healing at its end rather than destruction.

- The world hasn't always been what it is, and it will be something very different in the future, look backward and forward as you go-ensure our work honours our ancestors and will it help or hinder those who follow.

With the ideas above in mind I aim to make connections of common meaning and understanding through this work with other likeminded people with similar views and agendas and that the ideas might provoke thought and action with others and a larger critical mass of indigenous intellectuals and non-indigenous allies might collectively challenge the pervasive ideologies of the academy. As Justice (2004:101) questions whether we can or should indigenise the academy;

> *The Academy is the privileged centre of meaning making in this hemisphere dominated by imperial nation-states, as such, its primary history is one that has served colonialist cultural interests, both directly and covertly.*

These points also acknowledge that western thought and practice that advances non-indigenous cultures and degrades indigenous cultures are a construct of knowledge systems based on western theories that are by their very nature diffusionist (Blaut, 1993:24) and that perpetuate ideologies that all thought and invention of consequence occurred from Europe as the centre point.

Although many indigenous scholars continue to engage from within the academy using dominant paradigms, others have looked to different epistemological paradigms and act from both within and outside the academy using and highlighting these paradigms in the form of experience and knowledge systems to bring about social justice.

The theory of science supports the ideas that objectivity can be achieved, that until things are tested they do not exist as truth and that science can explain all phenomena. The theory of science is rationalist and totalising, assuming that the universe is a single unified system and it has no tolerance of altereuro's[32] because quite simply it is 'the truth.' For example, biomedicine is positivist, created through scepticism, requiring objective proof, usually empirical, before it can be accepted and requiring the evidence to receive high scrutiny for validity. Thus bioscience is highly unlikely to accept medical systems not verified by scientific method. Scientific method is highly distrusting of elements of knowing and science that indigenous cultures view as core, such as spirituality (Waldram, Herring & Young, 2006). These are worldview conflicts and are challenged here as an attempt to highlight the arrogation of western knowledge systems and ways of knowing as superior to non-western knowledge systems and explanations for being. The manufactured superiority is transmitted and advanced as 'normal' and 'natural' and so as unnecessary of critique. In this way the prevailing dominant order remains.

In this regard the academy has and continues to act as a bastion of intellectual imperialism in and against which indigenous scholars strive to explain, lobby for and defend our cherished world views against those who wish to exploit and denigrate them (Wilson, 2004:69) as a means to maintaining and enhancing our intellectual sovereignty.

I believe that the methodologies, ideologies and rights of passage that are the academy need to be reviewed via indigenous thought and decisions as to if, when and how

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[32] Altereuro is a term I use to contrast the term and idea of 'alternative,' that is the idea of **alter**ing the **native** view of reality and dually the idea of an alter from which European ideas are 'preached' from a position of height and projected down and onto indigenous populations as common sense and as part of an ideology aimed at maintaining European superiority and indigenous inferiority and submission.

indigenous people might engage with the academy. I agree with Mihesuah (2004:x) who argues that the experiences of indigenous scholars are not the same as those of members of the dominant group and that many colonial grudges or what Deloria (2004:20) refers to as 'regenerated racism,' permeate overtly and covertly throughout the academy. Together with this are depersonalised views that indigenous or cultural research is something less than other forms of research and activity from other fields. These ideas of our rangahau are informed and reinforced by pragmatic ideological ways of seeing the world that non-indigenous science and ways of knowing cannot shed. Within these dominant fields those indigenous people that engage in rangahau in these sites often have their work thought of as inferior.

As indigenous scholars we need to meet the challenges of eurocentrsim implicit within the academy, we need to push for the inclusion of indigenous ways of knowing and to normalise them and in so doing we need to determine for ourselves the terms of involvement (De La Torre, 2004:185). Many of us engage from the inside and face challenges of eurocentric reactions from colleagues, both Maori and non-Maori. We face diverse and a 'variety of demands' (Findlay, 2000), and added responsibilities, including being cultural experts, mentors and social workers and as surrogate family members in many contexts. This adds complexity and challenge distinct to Maori in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context in engaging in radical indigenism to advance change that supports positive Maori cultural identities.

The critical scrutiny of the academy and the west creates a paradox for me that may have the helpful consequence of producing creative development out of the intellectual blockage. My experience in focusing in this way produces a marginalised non-west and our gaze remains focused on the west, to the detriment of ourselves and our time.

I would argue that 'occidentalising the west' (Nandy, 1985), that is, moving the west to a position at the margins in our rationales for thinking about our knowledge, our identities, our systems, our frameworks and our world, what I believe Bhabha (1994) is referring to as the third space, possibly hybrid, but definitely indigenous, is also a strategy to reclaim indigenous thought and being that serves a necessary counter hegemonic purpose for initial understanding and deep conscientisation.

Nandy whose work is informed by Chatterjee, Bankim and Ghandi, argues theories of liberatory freedom by not getting caught in the trap of binaries or arguing issues of power, control and dominance in the domains or terms of the dominant groups. Instead these theorists and critics move their challenges and discussions to uniquely indigenous worlds and attempt to 'indicate a different view of the world and different regimes of truth' (Mohanaram, 1995:182). I argue that this is a powerful way for Maori to conceptualise our thinking.

Indigenous intellectuals the world over continue to engage with the academy for different reasons. Some do so to subvert it, some do so to attempt to provide space for indigenous thought and knowledge that is respected and useful to indigenous communities and some to do so for power and privilege. In relation to privilege in and via the academy Linda Smith (1999:133) of Ngati Awa states;

> *The insulation of disciplines, the culture of the institution which supports disciplines and the systems of management and governance all work in ways which protect the privileges already in place.*

Many people advocate and will attempt to indigenise the academy and in so doing assume it is worthwhile trying to do so because something productive will result (Cordova, 1997; Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004:5). In so doing we are attempting to contribute to liberatory education that informs indigenous peoples, that educates non-indigenous people and so both the oppressed and oppressors are liberated by our inquiries. A goal is that our bastions of the academy, the higher learning institutions, might be turned from centres of colonialism to centres of decolonisation.

What ever we might hope for indigenous scholars and intellectuals we need to be clear that in entering the academy we are engaging in a site of struggle where the ground is contentious and that we must give serious thought to our views on the roles we are playing and the battles we are fighting. We must be aware that those in positions of power within the academy are most likely to hire, honour and appoint to positions of power indigenous scholars whose work is unthreatening to those already in power (Mihesuah, 2004:32). As a result of this insidious practice the

transformative potentials of indigenous scholarship have been neutralised by the advancement of those seen as non-threatening. Our goals of transforming the academy, its covert and overt operational conventions and the conventions of academic training, occur within this paradigm of challenging the dominant positions of others who have spent a large part of their lives living off and constructing these conventions (Gone, 2004:125). It is not unfamiliar in my experience to hear of academics who protect their preferred interests for personal benefit, to denounce practices and knowledge that does not necessarily conform to their power bases as being non-academic, inferior and not robust. These acts of defining what counts and who says so are attempts to maintain control and dominance.

These views were largely confirmed when I entered a New Zealand university in 2003 to begin a Doctorate. I had gone there because a well-respected indigenous academic at the same institution said that if I wanted to get a Doctorate with international credibility that I should study at this particular university because of its international reputation. I was later to learn that this was my introduction into academic snobbery or what I call 'mana munching.' It was a classic case of the class system that supports academic careers and transfers of staff today. I duly enrolled and arrived at my class where we were asked to keep a reflective journal and to provide this to our supervisor for viewing. In my first reflection I wrote about the first series of meetings, the discussions, the people I was in contact with and the issues that confronted me in this climate.

One issue included the recording of thoughts and feeling for review by people where no relationship had been established for the activity to occur; no coming to know each other had occurred. While many of the class were quite comfortable with this I have always believed that rituals of encounter are at the centre of knowing. I relayed these concerns to a faculty staff member and was advised that if I wanted to get a Doctorate these were the rules of agreeing to study and that these challenges were my issues to address and that I could choose to remain engaged or not. In my view, I was being asked to compromise my worldviews and my cultural norms were not being respected but the cultural capital of the dominant group was well served and catered for. I left that university shortly after and enrolled in another university where the climate and culture was closer to that of my own. I've never regretted that decision.

The words of warning that indigenous intellectuals need to heed are that the academy has, historically and in contemporary times, supported the oppression and on-going colonisation of indigenous peoples. This is achieved by maintaining the status quo of determining who controls, defines and who has access to what counts as knowledge. We must remain conscious of the role of the academy as complicit in determining what counts as knowledge for commerce and the State and that unconscious compliance with the academy ensures our discipline as we become disciples and subjects to the inherent belief systems. This is arguably true for all people and the challenge for us as Maori is to re-view whether our knowledge should be placed in environments such as these and whether we give full and informed consent to the application of our knowledge in these sites. If we do not, if we are not satisfied with these eurocentric environments we are duty bound to reject, resist, transform or create (k)new systems of our own design.

Any indigenous intellectual with the aim of subversion or committed to significant power redistribution represents a threat to the establishment; the power and authority claimed by the academy, its institutions, its people and its ideological structures. Every academic institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand is built on Maori land that has been colonised; that their physical manifestation is symbolic of Maori dispossession does little to ease tensions. While non-Maori careers are launched and advanced (Brown & Strega, 2005) within many parts of many of these institutions, many indigenous intellectuals and scholars find themselves subject to colonial gaze. This reality is magnified by the fact that the physical and material amenities of the academy are often bestowed by 'Big Business,' which directly profits from indigenous dispossession and suppression.

I believe that co-option is a major agenda but that is not to say that indigenous scholarship cannot be liberatory. Personal strategies for liberation involve examining the west to understand how it functions and where possible engaging in its ideological apparati, such as the academy, up to points at which likeminded people can challenge and interrupt the dominant social order. When this is not possible I argue that we must move the discussion to our own epistemological world and engage from this source venturing back into the west at another point where we can again influence and

subvert the dominant social order, making multiple interventions at multiple points of western society for inclusion and position. This work is an attempt to enter the western academy and subvert it from the inside by employing indigenous worldviews as a position of strength that moves the discussion to our worlds where we are the masters in our own house and restore a balance that clearly once existed. For many of us this involves (re)examining and (re)creating our own indigenous epistemologies, while for others of us it involves nullifying the proliferation of western epistemologies where ground can not be given. The work here is a contribution to the advancement of indigenous intellectual sovereignty; it is educative in nature seeking to provide critical comment that supports actions of freedom by challenging the thinking of those of us who seek change and higher levels of wellbeing for ourselves and others. In engaging with this activity many of us are attempting to avoid having our worldviews broken down into component parts and disciplines (Kuokkanen, 2007:1, 14). When the component parts of our worldviews are deconstructed into disciplines they become things unto themselves and become unrelated groups of activities and categories with their own rules, morals and ethics (Deloria, 1988:105).

At this point I wish to focus on ideas raised by Nandy (1985) of the views, approaches and theories of those Maori intellectuals 'abroad,' those that may be living outside traditional contexts and with little meaningful contact to the spaces, places and people of the ancestral domain. This consists of and includes those that may also occupy positions in mainstream academic institutions or as 'servants' of the Crown. That a large number of our people occupy such positions is a good thing in my view. We continue to infiltrate the master's house and the master's domain to create space and to transform it into something it is not already, to make it better. Freire (1972) explains why this is an important project when he highlights that not only do the oppressed have to free themselves but we are also tasked with the indigenous burden of freeing the oppressor from their colonialist state as both groups are ultimately caged in the same structures of society. There is a key difference in the history of these two groups. The Maori minority has not been involved in the construction of the sites or the rules and as a result our ways of knowing and being are given little space.

The history of Maori scholarship in the western academy is recent, less than one hundred years. I would argue that the first generation of Maori scholars included Buck, Ngata, Papakura and Pomare and whose work and focus mirrored that of their colleagues of the same generation elsewhere in the world. They centred their attentions to recording accurate accounts of the culture and practices of our people. Their work was also aimed at both correcting the work of early European writers such as Best, Smith and White and ensuring our distinctive cultural continuance. Ngata and Pomare lived dichotomous existences being both academics and politicians. The combination of government policy and the Second World War delayed earlier Maori penetration into the academy until Maharaia Winiata was appointed a tutor in Maori adult education at Auckland University in 1949 as part of the first generation Maori academics. He was followed by Bruce Biggs as lecturer in Maori language in 1951 and Matiu Te Hau in 1952 and later arrivals, many of whom are still living today but are reaching advanced stages of life and 'active duty' (Deloria, 2004:16) in institutions. The second generation of Maori scholars were/are concerned with creating space and advocating for inclusion of things Maori in mainstream society. Many of the second-generation scholars are now retired and engage in activities to further Maori causes as advisors, distinguished fellows, and other such roles.

Today's academic intellectuals are the third and fourth generations and part of a growing capacity pushing for normalising the way Maori view and interact with the world as valid practice. For example, a small sample of names such as Smith, Linda and Graham, Johnston, Pihama, Moewaka-Barnes, Durie, Cunningham and Mutu and the many others not mentioned here are commonly known in the field of Health, Education and Maori Studies. One could look across many fields and equally find a number of Maori transforming the world from their strategic points and positions, to infiltrate the academy and create spaces for others like myself to have the freedom to explore whether the academy is salvageable and whether a (k)new system is possible. They have created the space for us to dream of other ways of being and knowing. The agenda of indigenous scholarship supports transforming eurocentric theory up to the present point and resisting its continuation into the present (Battiste, 2000). This does not mean though that we are all agreed on how and where the challenges should and are being made. The spaces that people are contributing from are far more dispersed

than they have ever been, reflective of our diverse colonial realities and resistance measures and efforts.

I acknowledge the efforts and contributions of all our people at the intellectual levels and the achievements we individually and collectively make and that whilst collective identity served us in our joint attacks on colonialism in the past, identity politics must now be about subjective difference at all levels. There are distinct differences between the first, second and third generation scholars. The first generation was firmly connected with te ao Maori. Many of the second had very strong groundings and also experienced the effects of urbanisation. The third generation is largely urban employing metropolitan experiences and worldviews.

The hypothesis that I present here in brief and that represents part of a crucial debate that is being argued presently (Durie, 2003; Borell, 2005) is that Maori unity is a colonial artefact in many regards on many levels. I argue that diversity is an organic feature of indigenous experience. Of concern is the large number of third and fourth generation Maori academics who have been largely raised solely in urban, metropolitan contexts and gathered the corresponding experiences and ideas compared with the relatively small number that occupy positions of knowing and relating to both the urban/metropolitan <u>and</u> rural/hapu environments. This dilemma causes a proliferation of thinking and domination of space to be informed in neo-colonial environments by one dimensional experience and may limit the breadth of thinking and action possible with wider perspectives that include the ways of knowing that comes from those connected very firmly to the ancestral domain. This dilemma becomes even more complex when urban environments take root in places of Maori ancestral connection so that the environments become largely unrecognisable. They look, sound, smell, taste and feel like their creators and as a result only remnants and small traces of Maori society and our identity remains visible. These markers become located at the extremities of the cities and towns and are constantly under threat of attack for development, purchase and use by the sprawling urban domain. Those of our people that occupy these positions contend with attempts to remain Maori in environments that seek to displace them.

My aim here is not to authenticate ancestrally connected Maori, who occupy what I call 'home spaces,' over and above those who lead largely urban lives and in many regards may be less connected to ancestral environments and ways of knowing. These people make valuable contributions, but I acknowledge that for many of our people that occupy the home spaces we would not want our colonial oppressors to be replaced by Maori oppressors who may tend to write, speak and appear for those of us who occupy these older spaces of our distinctive identities. While I readily acknowledge that this may not be the intent or desire of those of our people in those locations I argue that this is a potential and that we as Maori are ever mindful of this debilitating and oppressive potential. I am continually reminded of an African saying (Ladson-Billings, 2005) that says;

Ubuntu – I am because we are.

This dynamic I call the Identity/Wedentity paradigm that is at the heart of differing world views and epistemologies. Ladson-Billings (2005) accentuates these contrasts by referring to this as the deliberate choice between hegemony and liberation. Authenticating some and excluding others is in and of itself self perpetuated hegemony, a symbolic violence that indigenous peoples must seek to avoid wherever possible.

Deloria (2004:17) refers to some of his own people who occupy the urban/metropolitan spaces as 'new Indians.' I do not share his choice of terms, as I believe it has judgmental connotations and detracts from the valid contributions of a large sector of people. I acknowledge that there are diverse spaces we come at things from and that there is a rich repository of knowledge that my urban relations cannot access in depth. Chastising our relations while they remain located and somewhat locked in urban centres where employment is highest for them (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001:35), and the use of such terms become divisive measures and do not support the collective.

What I would argue is that distinct differences exist between indigenous ways of knowing that are influenced from people within the ancestral domain as opposed to those who engage via strongly metropolitan influenced epistemologies – herein exists

differences through context domain. For me the essential difference is that many live, practice and engage with the west in the west where metropolitan epistemologies dominate to different degrees than in other spaces (Kuokkanen, 2007:xviii). This places great challenges and tensions for those that live outside their ancestral location and return home on regular occasions. They face challenge from their rural based relations, challenges to their rights and identity that can make returning home an unenjoyable experience.

Many different influences inform the thought and action of contemporary Maori and the loss of cultural identity and connection are contributing to practices of divide and rule that pits Maori against Maori as we struggle to be recognised in the different contexts we find ourselves. We become distant from one another and lose sight of the collective kaupapa of advancing Maori wellbeing and positive cultural identities. Our energies are expended justifying our existence and positions to each other, we lose contract and our powerful connections become fragmented. Deloria (2004), reflecting on Native American scholarship, shares his regrets that in the intervening period oversights were made as regards ensuring people remained connected to common goals for collective benefit. He argues that not foreseeing that new generations would not share the concerns of previous scholars and not ensuring that up and coming scholars remained firmly connected to their communities has created a mass of disconnected scholars writing from the academic and cultural margins. I would argue that there is value in the emancipatory power of all Maori being strongly connected to the ancestral domain and that the strengthening of these connections can support those of us who occupy and challenge in the bastion of metropolitan spaces.

Masking the academy
The indigenous intellectual who enters the academy for whatever reason has a unique experience. This experience is often a tension filled one with a large number of unmarked contradictions. In the academy other staff often see us as having 'been saved' or 'having seen the light.' We spend large amounts of time in our marginalised and peripheral spaces and we attempt to speak about positive difference and tolerance, of Maori history and worldview, to make change for our people and our oppressors. What we experience for these efforts are students and staff who, all familiar with their processes and how to manipulate them, write complaints or fail to

attend classes in the hope that they will not be faced with their burden of guilt. One common Maori response is to become diplomatic, to compromise parts of the story and sanitise it for their benefit. Because we are in the minority and often our actions for change come under scrutiny from a majority, we begin to feel under threat or at the margins we then play the role of academic and toe the line, as our master would have us. We begin to think and to teach, as they would have us. We are lost. It is much easier to support and to strengthen the status quo than to resist and fight it (Mihesuah & Wilson, 2004:12). We give up our integrities and energies in the face of oppression and marginalisation in the academy.

Unfortunately we are unable to be the doctor if we are the disease; we cannot advance our indigenous causes while we uncritically serve the master. Conversely we can become the vaccine (Battiste, 2000), we can act as agents of change and challenge unequal power relations by creating and making transparent many of our dis-eases and working unselfishly to promote change and positive transformation with approaches to achieve equity and social justice amongst and by us to support our own agency. This journey is challenging and will encounter rough seas such as those highlighted above; despite these challenges many continue to develop powerful initiatives to counter these perilous experiences in the academy.

In other contexts unfortunately many indigenous scholars in the academy, rather than contribute to the recovery of indigenous knowledge will simply 'tow the line' as they internalise the 'rules' of the academy and when the status quo is threatened they will often offer the view that maintaining positive relationships is the way to advance the cause (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). When this occurs, it highlights how the colonised can turn the colonial skills and images they have learned against others less powerful, thus mimicking their oppressors (Monture-Angus, 2002:11). What this kind of rhetoric often hides is that those saying this are often on career paths and don't want the boat rocked or they have secured places of power with the intimate enemy and want to protect that relationship. Some would argue that this was the reason they were employed in the first place, to appease the 'natives.' This 'Uncle Tom' or what Deloria refers to as 'house pet' mentality reflective of some indigenous scholars undermines indigenous attempts for freedom being actioned by a larger number.

These are the paradoxical experiences of indigenous intellectuals. At one level we are border thinkers and actors and at other levels we remain so firmly fixed behind our borders that we are unable to support the wellbeing of the very people we purport to be working for. As indigenous people we recognise and celebrate diversity, but that very diversity becomes a threat when it starts to act in ways that would support our continued domination. The academy is a site of investment in colonisation but also serves in some ways as a major site of resistance and transformation. What is clear is that there is tension in this work. These spaces are highly charged and highly complex.

The academy is part of the power structure that maintains the status quo, but while universities serve as western institutions of higher learning they did not invent learning. They do however dominate higher learning in the west and they share many characteristics of the original academies of Ancient Greece and Rome (Edwards, 2008). Even the word university from the Latin *universitas* signifying a union of scholars is based on the western intellectual tradition known as rationalism in which truth exists independent of human perceptions of it. Much later the ideas of Kant helped inform the shape of modern universities. Kant believed there were higher and lower faculties that could and should be maintained in universities and that reason shaped all thought and as such modern education and universities were modelled on this thinking. Many institutions provide Maori education, places and staff in small numbers and at the margins, simply for show, to exhibit a contribution, albeit largely meaningless comfy[33] practice that supports the view that universities are a form of cultural and epistemic imperialism (Kuokkanen, 2007:1).

One experience that highlights such tensions was shared with me by a colleague at a university when she was disrespectfully treated by a fellow staff member in a cross department meeting. On complaining to her boss who was also at the meeting and Maori, about her treatment he agreed that she was disrespected but he reminded her that they needed to remember that they had to work with this group of people regularly and that if an issue was made of this it could affect their relationships and

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[33] Comfy practice refers to 'flag waving' or employment and practice because it is non-threatening in the selection, it feels good, but is thoroughly controlled and controlling of and by the dominant and supports the dominant in maintaining positions of power.

group dynamics. The boss offered to have a 'quiet chat' with the person and asked if that would satisfy my colleague. My colleague said she wished to make a formal complaint at which time her boss became a little annoyed and again reminded my colleague firmly that it wasn't the right time for Maori to make any 'waves' as a restructure was pending. The end result was that my colleague's boss urged her not to complain; she insisted and made a formal complaint via another channel. Her boss who was asked to give his views contradicted his earlier view and said he did not think that she was disrespected.

Some of us do this without knowing we are doing so such is our unconscious oppression. Bourdieu (1985) identifies and names this practice as 'doxa' that he describes as the practice of accepting things without realising that one is being oppressed or that there are alternatives to the status quo. Wilson (2004:72) adds;

> *Some of the greatest resistors to the recovery of indigenous knowledge are our own native people who have internalised the racism and now uncritically accept ideologies of the dominant culture.*

Likewise Spivak (1995) pays attention to the complicity of academics in the maintenance of the academy as many of us obtain grants, work to budgets, hire, fire, publish or perish, in attaining tenure and other pursuits as part of the 'business of ideological production' (Kuokkanen, 1995:xv). But no matter how well meaning and empathetic we may be, we cannot ignore, no matter how much we would like to, that we are tainted by compliance and association with maintaining the academy. Even though we may be indigenous scholars we are attached to the academy by attempting to negotiate with the structures of cultural and economic imperialism that are part and parcel of the structures of the academy and academic institutions. Acknowledging this position, and for many of us, the discomfort and dis-ease we have with the academy, no matter how marginal our participation might be, we begin to evolve our ideas and support increased freedom and self determination without compromising our indigenous or human dignity.

Deloria refers to indigenous people trapped in this system as 'genetic Indians' and similarly Cordova (1997:220-225) refers to various titles held by various people in the

academy that speak to the rules of negotiation and compromise referred to above. Some positions in the academy identified by Cordova include missionary, coloniser, carpetbagger, gatekeeper, rebel and patron.

The point that needs to be emphasised is that many of us continue to question whether our contributions would be more useful, productive and purposeful if we withheld our potential contributions and ourselves from the academy and continued our work and efforts elsewhere. This is not new; these are doubtless the questions that have plagued others before us. The question for many of us is as yet unanswered. For those of us who may wish to remain with the academy and consider themselves Academics the goals would seem to me most aptly articulated by Mihesuah & Wilson (2004:14);

> *As Academics committed to our nations, we must resist institutional cooptation and continue to challenge the dominant conventions of our disciplines and at the same time we must with whatever authority, benefit, and power that derive from our positions to further promote the causes of our people. Our research skills, methodological training, and access to audience and resources can become instruments of power for our nations, if we choose to wield them in that way. However, we must simultaneously work to ensure that we don't in the process become colonising agents for colonising institutions.*

Concluding discussion

Indigenising the academy is a dynamic course of action, it is social but more importantly it is political. It is concerned with imagining a location from which we can combat the powerful forces of colonialism. This can be done most successfully I would argue by indigenous and non-indigenous scholars alike 'reconfiguring' the colonial structures and frames of mind that pervade our thoughts and actions that ensure we conform as the 'masters tools' (Lorde, 1981). If we can successfully rupture and subvert the academy in thought and action we may see a wealth of applicable resources and practice that brings back a health and wellbeing into Maori communities and individuals currently not seen (Clark, 2004). In some cases there is need for us to consider using the masters' tools to actually destroy, or at least critique

and destabilise in this instance, the foundations of the masters house (Kuokkanen, 2007:8). This is certainly the aim here.

I argue that there is a growing need for indigenous scholars and intellectuals to actively engage in this agenda but that the indigenous intelligentsia needs to be grounded in relatively high levels of tikanga and ahuatanga Maori. In doing this we must also protect ourselves from the pervading force of western ideological subversion to most powerfully alleviate the burdens of our people and present them in ways that preserve and enhance the mana of our people. This chapter has argued that the keys for this are located within our ancestral ways of knowing, our epistemes, and being applied meaningfully in contemporary contexts.

Once again my discussions following the spiral has roved over many knowledges and traditions to pull the best of the critiques of the west and concepts of indigenous epistemologies back into the methodological frame of this journey and strengthens my understanding of the way ahead.

KOWAE TUAWHA
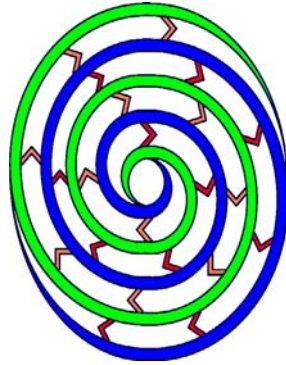
Ko tona kaupapa ko tona tika. Kaupapa of the Waka: Tikanga, Ethics and Morals.

Introduction

Increasingly Maori commentators are recently referring to ethics as tikanga (Edwards & Moeke-Pickering, 2005; Jones et al, 2006; Moewaka Barnes et al, 2008). Tikanga infers that there are practices and thought that are acceptable and wise and others that are not. This chapter examines how ethics might be constructed within Maori epistemological paradigms by examining how I have come to understand ethics as part of personal experience and incorporating the views of elders that I have come into contact with.

Tikanga is described above as wise or unwise action and more commonly spoken of by my elders as the right ways of doing things. In my experience the idea of an action being 'right' is both culturally and contextually relative and so there is a level of dynamism in the working of tikanga. These ideas share some commonality with the origins of the word ethics that comes from the Greek word 'ethos,' meaning, 'cultural traditions and acceptable ways of doing things' (Geering, 1991). Set out below are a discussion of the realities of ethics, or more correctly in Maori epistemological terms, tikanga as applied practice within rangahau activity (Jones, et al, 2006).

Indigenous ethics meets the rights of passage of the academy

My own ethical practice is informed by what I perceive to be wisest at any given time given my knowledge level, rather than what might not be considered right by others

necessarily. For myself in regards to this thesis, the greatest concern I had as regards ethics, in particular the ethics that informed my practice (Hudson, 2005:57, 63), was the effects that my activities would and could still have on collective and personal mana. In Maori communities that I am familiar with the consequences of acting improperly can stay attached to the individual and their whanau for generations, and so too do the consequences of acting properly. This is part and parcel of ira tangata-inherited mana.

The most interesting and challenging ethical dilemmas are not where right and wrong are clear but rather are conflicted. My personal ethics were informed by my knowledge of what was culturally right or wrong in my own Ngati Maniapoto context having resided, watched, listened and reproduced over years of inclusion and involvement in the cultural context. The knowledge of the potential effects on long term collective and personal mana and responsibility as hapu, whanau or iwi ambassadors, together with the whakama or shame that could 'touch' my family possibly well into the future was foremost in my mind.

Additionally for me, I needed to place the idea in front of key elders who I regularly receive support and guidance from to 'test' their responsiveness. There were a number of reasons for this. I have always gone to them for reassurance for tasks of this magnitude to assess whether I have their support or not, whether I am the right person to engage in the task, what I may not have and need to consider and to receive their guidance, advice and suggestions. This forms my primary 'ethics' committee.

In my approach I have highlighted earlier that the elders and I share whakapapa connections that have been forged into relationships over many years and many interactions. Interestingly many interactions occurred between our shared older generations that neither I nor the participants had actually ever seen ourselves but that were recalled again through our interactions with vividness and clarity during the course of our (re)connections. It was over the course of time and via these interactions that connections were established. The strength of the relationships allowed regular discussion of my development as part of their care for and of me and our family as a whole, as well as continued discussions on similar topics to the rangahau presented here, as part of my learning and development. The result was that

my elders were already supportive of me engaging in study so that when I talked to them about the possibility of interviewing them none refused.

I was less able to accommodate the impacts that gender and age may have had on the results. I interviewed a number of female elders and my being a male may have had an impact on the responses. I am also considerably younger than all the participants and this also may have had a bearing on responses.

However, having already received from my elders the ethical approval to engage in this rangahau the compromise of enrolling in a course of Doctoral study at an academic university meant that I was also required to apply for research ethics approval via the university system. In effect I, and perhaps many who engage in rangahau, are required to obtain two sets of ethical approval. As part of my ethics application to the university, given the subject matter of my rangahau I endeavoured to maintain a Ngati Maniapoto epistemological approach consistent with my cultural grounding and the theme of my rangahau.

I wrote my ethics application in te reo Maori and answered the questions precisely and concisely. For the ethics committee viewing my application this caused some angst I later found out. It was believed to be the first application received in te reo Maori and so translation was required. The brevity and pragmatic approach meant that members not familiar with the Maori world were left with more questions than answers that troubled them somewhat. As a result my supervisor and I met with the full committee to discuss my rather 'thin' application as they perceived it (Brown & Strega, 2005).

I explained to the committee in English what I was doing and whilst they were happy with that they did state that they needed to have 'something' for their records. Once the discussion had ended the Chair of the committee explained that what I had relayed about my ethical concerns and practices had enhanced their understandings greatly. Members commented that they were clearly dealing with two different systems; for me it was two different worldviews and two different ideologies a feature of worldview conflicts referred to earlier. At the conclusion the Chair requested that I write my verbal iterations up and the committee would be happy to accept the

application. I pondered for a minute in the room and asked if I might be allowed to do so orally as this was the best way I could express myself and follow the theme of my rangahau that in my view maintained the works integrity. Some members felt excited by this idea with a non-Maori lawyer member present saying that since oral evidence is acceptable in court why should oral ethics that answers the questions not be given the same space. The Chair, on behalf of the committee agreed, after requesting that I speak in English to expedite approval decisions. I agreed but not before informing him it would never be as relevant and contextual as if spoken in Maori as regards Ngati Maniapoto epistemology. The ethical approval was granted after the Chair of the ethics committee had heard my tape.

Different paradigms of equal value

In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context many examples of contrasting worldviews, similar to the example shared above, have been examined by writers (Walker, 1990; Smith, 1999; Marsden, 2003, Edwards, et al, 2005; Edwards & Moeke-Pickering, 2005) who discuss the distinct differences between Maori and European understandings. Arising from these different worldviews are differences between rangahau practice and European or 'western' research practice. The acknowledgment of differences was instrumental in the development of Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis, a theoretical approach to Maori development.

Praxis is a key aspect of this methodological approach and is a complex activity by which individuals create culture and society, and become critically conscious human beings. Praxis involves cycles of action-reflection-action that are central to liberatory education and transformation. Characteristics of praxis include intentional self-determination and creativity underpinned by a rational approach to change (Smith, 1996; Smith, 1997; Cram, 2001; Janke, 1999). As a valid methodology for engaging in research activity, Kaupapa Maori Theory and praxis sought to 'answer back' (Smith 1999) to western research practices that have served to belittle Maori and failed to represent or serve Maori interests.

The work of Smith and others in developing and entrenching Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis has conceptualised and framed Maori values and practices in research in uniquely Maori terms. For many kairangahau though, the western research approval

processes requires, as I have highlighted in my own experience above, the kairangahau to apply for ethical approval within contexts that come up short of Maori ethical realities. So whilst kairangahau may construct their rangahau within Kaupapa Maori methodologies we are still required to conform to western standards of ethics and many other dimensions of methodology and thus are ultimately forced to fit the rangahau within western notions of validity (Hudson, 2005:57).

I argue that Maori ethics and in particular relation to this rangahau, Ngati Maniapoto ethics are unique and distinct. Ethics flow from the ongoing life of the community and are embedded in the customs of the hapu, whanau and iwi and what Maori refer to as tikanga and kawa and ethical considerations involve present community realities (Deloria, 2003). Elsewhere, with a co-author, I have examined these differences and have argued that western research ethics were not suitable for kairangahau working with Maori and considered what 'altereuros' are available to rangahau (Edwards & Moeke-Pickering, 2005). We believe that elders who practise tikanga, uniquely Maori appropriate ways of being, evidenced in values, beliefs and practices, on their own and across marae are valid sources to gather information from. A major aim and position we took was to acknowledge and honour recognised elder/s, leader/s and or expert/s in a particular field of knowledge and skill in te ao Maori, as an important source of epistemologies in the Maori world.

We found that in spite of colonial discourses many Maori cultural practices have endured and continue to be practiced with a high degree of 'authenticity.'[34] There are a number of current models that are commonly drawn from that have their anchors and inspiration in te ao Maori and are of culture being applied to practice. Some of these models include those developed by Smith (1999) - Kaupapa Maori Theory and Praxis, Bishop (1996) - Whanaungatanga, Durie (1994) - Pae Mahutonga and Paiheretia and Pere (1984) - Te Wheke, and have thrust into the indigenous and intellectual arena, the view that Maori can determine their own rangahau destinies. These models take Maori epistemological truths referred to earlier and apply them to the current and contemporary context indicating how Maori practices, principles and

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[34] The idea of the authentic is discussed later on in the thesis.

values can underpin rangahau practice and how they can apply to wellbeing in the present.

However, although the directions like those above have been significant, the research arena is still predominantly western and academy based, particularly if funded. Quite clearly ethics constructed along these lines are representative and supportive of dominant group ideologies and discourse, where economic imperatives are considered primary. I argue that ethics are culturally and contextually dependent.

As mentioned previously, both Maori and non-Maori academics have pushed the boundaries of western-based ethics to be more embracing of Maori worldviews and Kaupapa Maori approaches. Ethics committees are now required to assess a large number of research proposals that are being conducted with Maori. Committee members assessing these applications are being challenged to acknowledge and accommodate applications that are framed in uniquely Maori ways, requiring a sound knowledge of te ao Maori.

In relation to ethics (Edwards & Moeke-Pickering, 2005) we found that ethics have always maintained and remain an important consideration as a central feature of Maori worldview, culture and practice. The rangahau highlights the following important ideas;

- Maori have always been guided by ethical process.
- Recognising meaning in cross-cultural translations.
- Ethical process and practice requires a depth of cultural knowledge.
- Preparation is ethical process, being ready to receive and act – Manaaki tangata.
- Aroha ki te tangata is an ethical practice.
- Different ethics are required for context, kaupapa and tikanga.
- Whakama is a guiding principle.

Maori have always been guided by ethical process - Maori have historically employed Maori ways of knowing, ethical process and practice by observation and listening and

increasing in complexity through lived interaction and exposure to challenging situations resulting in an experiential base of knowledge. Maori ethical process and practice is a culturally learned process applied in meaningful contexts. The process is gradual; the principles are timeless and easily adapted to contemporary situations.

The view that we have always been guided by ethical process highlights a view that appropriate and relevant rangahau processes and practices can and should be taken directly from Maori worldview and experience. To do otherwise is to open up opportunities for colonial ideologies and practices to permeate Maori process and practice that invisibilises and devalues Maori worldview.

Recognition of meaning in cross-cultural translations - A key feature identified in the rangahau is the connection between Maori wisdom, knowledge, language and culture. An inherent factor in Maori culture is the place and space of te reo Maori (Maori language) for explaining the Maori world. Some concepts central to Maori ethics are very difficult to render adequately in English, we were led to the insight that te reo Maori was the language constructed for the explanation of Maori culture and worldview.

Maori ethical process and practice requires a depth of cultural knowledge – following the insight above we were led to conclude that additional value is contributed when the kairangahau has a depth of cultural knowledge to 'navigate' and 'read' situations of high cultural intelligence. This is achieved through the actualisation of mana. The participants explained that a key feature of ethical process and practice was the operation of 'mana tangata,' human esteem and dignity, as a guiding principle for activity. For example, in tangihanga mana tangata is maintained and enhanced due to the responsibility to appropriately acknowledge and host people so as to uplift the integrity and dignity of the person who has died as well as the deceased's family. By doing this the mana of the host group is maintained and enhanced also.

Preparation as ethical process, being ready to receive and act – Manaaki tangata – The ability to make connections between people and maintain and enhance relationships is a key ethical practice. The ability to 'find a join' supports positive

relationships that are frequently bought back into focus. The maintenance of these relationships provides catalysts and rationales for continued recognition of these relationships that is evidenced by reciprocal attendance at events and celebrations. The action of making connections, to those entities living and dead and maintaining and enhancing these relationships is a key aspect of appropriate tikanga rangahau.

Aroha ki te tangata as ethical process – Tikanga rangahau involves acts of aroha and support so as to improve the position of others by facilitating appropriate process and practice that acknowledges and supports those participants and their hapu, whanau and iwi. These activities lay down the rationale of aroha for kairangahau. The visible signs of this are rangahau activities and practices that enhance the lives and wellbeing of others that are primarily focused as support and aroha.

Different ethics depending on context and kaupapa and tikanga - whilst tikanga pervades culturally appropriate practice in the Maori world, the application of kawa is also a central feature of practice. Kawa as referred to here is specific practices and actions unique to a particular group whether it is hapu, whanau or iwi that have meaning to that group.

The precedent set for kairangahau is that although we may have certain rangahau practices they may not be valid in certain contexts because the kawa of the particular group, the group determined norms, do not recognise our kawa or do not appreciate its practice in their domains. This requires of us as kairangahau to be familiar and connected with the context, the histories, the structures, and the people with whom we are working to ensure we do not inadvertently (or knowingly) violate kawa.

Whakama as guiding principle - The idea of whakama, and the need to avoid shame or embarrassment, as a guiding principle for action and process permeates Maori worldview. The inability to host people, to feed people, to respond to dialogue and to ready the marae are examples that could cause whakama. In older times particularly, whakama was a powerful force that guided appropriate activity and regulated actions and relationships. Whakama involves the violation of and attacks on people's esteem and self respect (Metge, 1995). This weight of ill feeling could in former times

contribute, amongst other things, to feelings of despair and caused death to those under whakama.

In the rangahau we conducted that provided the insights discussed above it was evident that tikanga existed between the participants and us as the kairangahau that were culturally informed as part of an already existing practice. These tikanga were part of the blueprint of Maori society and culture and pre-empted those ethical practices considered appropriate by western ethical tradition.

Our ability to converse in Maori provided a channel to depths of indigenous thinking and discussion that would have been limited in English. When we did converse in English and attempted to explain and tease out ideas we struggled to find the words that could articulate simply and clearly what we were thinking. This had the effect of ending conversations prematurely in some cases and a feeling by us that we had not fully explained what we were trying to. The rangahau methods for this work presented here that involved me conversing with elders whose first language was te reo Maori reinforced this finding.

The relative success of our conversations was largely due to our ability to navigate and interact in culturally appropriate ways. Conversations wove in and out of topic areas. Often we would stop and have a rest and talk about other things. Our ability to read body language, to read the spiritual essence, or what we call the wairua of interactions was a key feature of our practice. The ability to recognise that we were in the presence of elders and the respect that we held for them ensured our practices reflected their position. We would use terms of endearment such as whaea, aunty, uncle, matua and so forth as regular language showing our regard and respect. We had already known how we were related to the participants, the circles the participants moved in, what their areas of interest were so we could make connections and show our respect and preparation so as not to waste their time or to be unprepared and show a lack of respect.

The practices from Maori culture that we employed did not rely on a participant information sheet, written informed consent and the right to withdraw information. While these ideas make sense in some contexts they did not in ours, even though we

followed that process as part of our institutional requirements. When we attempted to explain the project and to get signed approval it changed the relationship to a pure researcher/researched relationship. The mood changed between us and the participants and it took further conversations and relating to rebalance the relationship and uphold the tikanga principles referred to above. It is very much a high trust high accountability relationship that exists in Maori ethical process.

In relation to the methods or practice elements of tikanga rangahau, I have developed a set of principled and values positions that inform and guide my rangahau practice to support rangahau theory. I use the three principles of tika, pono and aroha from te ao Maori and seek to ensure the elements of my methods of practice can respond to these guides for living.

- Tika – that the actions of the kairangahau, primarily engagement with others, are based in a foundation of correctness as evidenced over time in Maori values and practices for the benefit of rangahau participants.

- Pono – that the actions of the kairangahau, primarily, engagement with others, are based on truthfulness, honest and transparency for the benefit of the rangahau participants.

- Aroha – that at times that are apparent, times of confusion for the kairangahau as to how to act and whom for, and in terms of the kairangahau responsibility to their own care, the over-riding responsibility is to focus on others above oneself.

These three matapuna are the researchers responsibilities and accountabilities to their hapu, whanau and iwi (which includes the participants), namely to act in a manner that maintains or enhances the mana of the hapu, whanau or iwi and to not act in ways that detract from the mana of these entities. A set of values positions that guide the integrity and reaffirm responsibilities and accountabilities that run across all three matapuna are employed to underpin the elements of practice. These views of integrity, accountability and responsibility are indicative of timocratic societies, societies that operate under systems of honour, and are a common feature of many indigenous

societies.[35]   The uara that we suggest form the researchers responsibilities are; korerorero, kanohi ki te kanohi, whai hua, manaaki, awhiawhi, whakamana, ngakau iti and mauri tau. The elements of my practice that are accounted for by the principles are;

- Korerorero
- Kanohi ki te kanohi
- Whai hua
- Manaaki
- Awhiawhi
- Whakamana
- Ngakau iti
- Mauri tau

In broad terms korerorero is a requirement that the kairangahau engages in dialogue with the participants about the rangahau and that rangahau only takes place once all parties are satisfied and not before. For many contexts this dialogue does not occur until after connections of meaning are made. Part of the process for korerorero is ensuring that the kairangahau is conversing in the appropriate language genre.

Kanohi ki te kanohi is the view that during dialogue, especially in the initial stages until trust and connection are cemented between the kairangahau and the participants that dialogue and negotiation is done in person in the community of the participants. An extension of this that I propose is that there is a duty of the kairangahau to visit those communities again when opportunities present themselves, and especially in the case of tangi.

Whai hua refers to the production of an outcome and is based on the belief that any activity must reap benefits and rewards for the rangahau participants and their whanau.   There must be hua or 'fruits' that are a result of the participant's contributions so that their input is both valued and honoured.

Manaaki is the practice of gracious hospitality. While the acts of gracious hospitality rest with the home people in the Maori world, essentially the rangahau participants, in

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[35] Whilst timocracy has historically been a feature of indigenous societies other timocratic societies also existed, for example, the Samurai society of Japan.

the majority of cases there are appropriate processes for acknowledging the gracious hospitality that enhance the mana of those who have shown manaaki. In a rangahau context this involves the acknowledgment of the involvement, participation and support shown by the participant's.

Awhiawhi is the ongoing and continued support of participants beyond and outside the context of the rangahau itself. Awhiawhi is literally to embrace. In the Maori world when people come into contact bonds are made via the connection of the spiritual and physical elements of the human person. Maori ethics would require these connections embodied as whanaungatanga are regularly maintained, sustained and enhanced. This is achieved by continued interaction.

Whakamana refers to the view that the participants are the experts in the rangahau and the rangahau is first and foremost theirs. Reflecting this is acknowledging that the participants have possession (reflecting indigenous world view) rights to their rangahau. The role of the kairangahau is essentially to ensure that their voices are heard and that change occurs that improves the lot of the rangahau participants and others as a result.

Ngakau iti refers to the kairangahau having a humble attitude in rangahau process and practice. It is about letting others speak and the kairangahau just listening. It is about being genuinely interested and attentive to people. It is about empathy and servitude for and to hapu, whanau and iwi.

Mauri tau refers to preparing and protecting your spiritual and physical well being as you engage in rangahau and come into contact with other entities in the universe. In a connotative sense, mauri tau refers to being at ease, of being settled, of being at peace, a calmness of spirit, body and mind. Within Maori thought a person who is mauri tau is able to function and contribute fully as an individual and as a member of a collective, whether it be within hapu, whanau or iwi. In more traditional times and in some parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand still today, when a person is not in a position of mauri tau they will require intervention by an elder or knowledgeable person to achieve this state of being. This was achieved in many cases through processes of karakia and in some cases wairea. The explanation of which is beyond the scope of this discussion but which is worthy of study.

By engaging in practices for preparing and protecting the kairangahau follows principles laid down in Maori culture over generations that ensure your essence is not diminished and that you will continue to be able to support your uri, hence it is action **ma** to **uri**, for your children, family and hapu.

Nga Matapono (My principle based responsibilities and accountabilities to my hapu, whanau and iwi)	Tika	Pono	Aroha

Nga Uara
(My values based integrity, responsibilities
And accountabilities to hapu, whanau and iwi participants)

	Tika	Pono	Aroha
Korerorero	Kia korero	Kia tika te korero	Kia whaiwa
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Kia kite	Kia haere	Kia hono
Whai hua	Kia tohangia	Kia mohio atu	Kia whaiora
Manaaki	Kia pahekoheko	Kia ngawari	Kia kohangia
Awhiawhi	Kia korero	Kia hui aria	Kia whakamahiri
Whakamana	Naana te korero	Maana te korero	Whakamana te korero
Ngakau iti	Kia mahaaki	Noho pononga	Whakanui atu te tangata
Mauri tau	Kia karakia	Kia kaupare	Kia tiakina

From the experiences related above I was able to deduct some key ethical leanings that have helped inform my personal practice. These included the ability to relate and remain related at a personal level. This in my view balances the power relationship and ensures greater accountability from me to the participants as they know me in very real ways. The degree of knowing informed my practice and accountabilities and serves as a powerful regulator of my tikanga rangahau. In the work presented here I was acutely aware of these accountabilities to my elders who I will frequently come into contact with in community and who I would remain in contact with over generations as would my descendants. I was aware that the wider community of which I am a member and come face to face with daily would be my most loyal support and also my most critical judges. Given this I have attempted to ensure that

my actions, including the ideas have not denigrated people and have given value to the ideas of the elders' that participated and is something that will meet with their approval at some level.

The rangahau above showed us that tikanga rangahau are informed from Maori worldview and most significantly from a segment of Maori knowledge or matauranga Maori (Mead, 2003:13). This knowledge field includes ideas of tikanga, the contextual normative system as discussed earlier, universality, reciprocity, sharing, improving the lot of others, protection, accuracy, collection and quality standards as obligations of wisdom and knowledge.

Matauranga Maori[36] is a complex idea that is difficult to grasp in written form. Its meaning has changed and been accommodated by various users over time to fit specific purposes. For example matauranga as used in the 19th century was primarily considered in ideas of literacy as Maori took up with great zeal the written word. In this context matauranga was codified knowledge and the explicit usage of matauranga has come through its literacy background (Royal, 2007).

Whether we are speaking of traditional knowledge, indigenous knowledge, Maori knowledge or matauranga Maori it is important to note that the knowledge itself does not exist in isolation without other factors or elements or ways of knowing and being that inform and support and are an intrinsic part of indigenous epistemological knowledge systems. Such elements and ideas for knowing may include ritual, respect, silence, patience, humility, experience, reciprocity and redistribution. In conversations with elders I was given an eloquent example of these ideas. We were discussing the importance of te reo Maori for our people when the elders agreed that the continuing existence of te reo Maori was not worthy if the reo lost its wairua and mauri, its spiritual and life essence. The elders were referring to the feel of the language, the sound, the taste and its operations within key cultural principles of aroha, manaaki and tautoko. The elders explained that without these important elements the reo would become cold and not worth retaining.

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[36] Matauranga Maori as viewed by the elders in this rangahau is explained further on.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has discussed the challenges of attempting to utilise indigenous ethics in research activity when those ethics sit within dominant systems of what counts and what does not, what is acceptable and what is not and who says so. The chapter has highlighted that indigenous and Maori epistemologies have ethical processes fit for those systems that are far wider reaching than dominant group research ethics. Additionally, this chapter has examined the development of (k)new contributions of methodologies and ways of engaging with ethics that sit well within indigenous frameworks and contemporary realities.

The chapter has found that ethics and morals are, in Maori worldview, multifaceted as part of Maori knowledge systems. Tau (1999:20) points out that the skeletal backbone to Maori knowledge systems is whakapapa and that the ethics that stem from whakapapa are mana and tapu. These ethical elements affect and inform the Maori view of everything in the world. I would argue that a researcher without understandings of these terms is unable to engage meaningfully with Maori or Maori knowledge forms and that this is a central teaching to be locked into Maori epistemological teachings so that a rangahau culture practiced by kairangahau might flourish and support Maori wellbeing and cultural identities powerfully.

What is clear is that tikanga rangahau are more complex and layered than perceived or exhibited by western ethics and practice. While tikanga rangahau have particular relevance in Maori contexts the principles as illustrated above are timeless and have universal application as suggested good practice in contemporary times. The ethical practices illustrated here are grounded in a tradition and cultural context that is under stress and as a result these practices may be under pressure, especially where they come into conflict/tension with mainstream ethics.

KOWAE TUARIMA
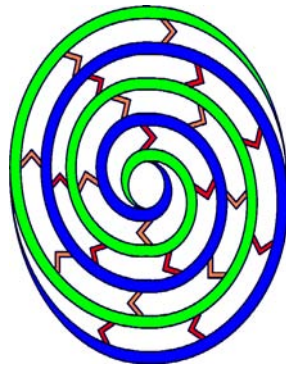
Noku ano e hanga taku whare – I shall build my own house.

Introduction

This chapter gives an account of my efforts to reconcile the inherent contradictions of being indigenous in the academy. As such it is an attempt to disrupt dominant orthodoxies and worldviews and introduce a relatively (k)new contribution to indigenous research by introducing a methodology I call Whakapapa Korero Methodology within the process of the takarangi spiral outlined above. I outline key elements for practice in a response to calls for the need for alternate indigenous research methodologies (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008), illustrate them by way of the methods employed in the current project and discuss challenges that are inherent within the methodology. The thesis and the rangahau is placed within its Ngati Maniapoto context which also entails a consideration of the impacts of grounded practice as an insider. My reason for attempting to think and reason in terms of Ngati Maniapoto is to imagine, dream, recall, experience, conceive and understand sets of complex stories, histories, relationships and ideas from a Ngati Maniapoto world view and present as far as possible an organic work.

Writing/Righting for us

Studies in colonial discourse highlight the significance of writing as one of the ideological apparati of empire (Pratt, 1992; McCreanor, 1997). The idea of indigenous scholars working for our people is about 'resistance reading and writing' (Slemon, 2001) that acknowledges Te Aho Tuhi, the tradition of writing (Norman,

2000).[37] Resistance reading and writing acknowledges that language is a medium of power and works, such as this presented here, as part of altereuro colonial literature, seeks to seize the language of the imperial centre and to master it and then use it in a discourse fully adapted to serve the colonised. Used this way the academy may serve a purpose in 'writing back' (Smith, 1999:37) in indigenous voices. The work presented here is 'autoethnographic' (Pratt, 1992:7) referring to the practice I have employed here as a member of the colonised group attempting to represent myself and our people in ways that engage with, critique, rupture and displace the colonisers own language and terms.

The process for a Maori who is critical of dominant group ideologies and advocating as a cultural critic of western cultural forms writing a Doctoral thesis in a mainstream university in Aotearoa/New Zealand presents tension. At one level I argue that the academy and writing, particularly in English, is inherently prejudicial predominantly serving the interests of colonial ideologies. However, I use the academy, writing and the English language to express these ideas. At another level I am critical of these very things that have supported my own experiences and privileged position and those of many colleagues and friends and utilise the fundamental processes of whakapapa korero and takarangi to ground and protect me in the face of these contradictions.

The balancing for me of these tensions is largely achieved by knowing that my cultural critique of these elements of society continues the practices of the public intellectual as social conscience. It is also the case that critiques such as mine of forms and discourse have long been a feature of Maori worldview and action. Maui, for example, a cultural hero socially questioned, critiqued and contested many things, seemingly unafraid to challenge powerful ideas, people and forces: the availability of fire for humans, the speed at which the sun traversed the sky and the idea of immortality. In more recent examples many Maori leaders of the last century, including Apirana Ngata, Te Rangihiroa and Maggie Papakura, have in various ways emulated the actions of Maui as intellectuals critiquing society using writing and the academy as a key tool for their work. These leaders have set examples that have been followed by large numbers of other Maori.

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[37] Waerete Norman also notes that she was told Maori wrote far more in former times than we do now, that we were prolific writers with extremely high literacy levels.

The challenge lies in the constant negotiation of ambivalence and contestation that is always present in journeys of development, acting and knowing that these acts will have highs and lows but that over time they will lead to change that benefits our people. Such actions are common to minority peoples who share histories where the 'dominance of certain types of cultural form have had to be negotiated continually in the process of liberation and identity reclamation,' (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999:12).

As part of the present world where knowledge is power and applied knowledge is emancipation, resistance writing can challenge the prevailing dominant group social order and unequal power relations. Our ability to know ourselves, to know our cultural heritage, to know the rules that currently govern and control us and the systems that maintain the control, provides us with opportunities to challenge these interlocked power networks that support the few at the expense of the many and to re-present our own orthodoxies. Whakapapa Korero Methodology is a powerful catalyst for emancipation and collective health, through the articulation and attainment of our own orthodoxies, our own sense of knowing, the potential for our own systems and ways of being. It comes as an act of praxis, of continual and continuous reflecting where, who and what we are and what is, of transforming knowledge through epistemological critique that involves not just unpacking representations but also exploring the how and why of the historical production of colonial systems (McLaren, 2000). When applied by and to indigenous epistemologies Whakapapa Korero Methodology is indigenous critical praxis, the continual reflection on the relationship between us as indigenous and non-indigenous others. This 'third space' (Bhabha, 1994), the interface between us and them/others asks what and what we want this relationship to look like without first thinking about them/others and as part of re-discovering, becomes indigenous critical pedagogy (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2000). The idea of continual reflection discussed here is a representative element of takarangi that utilises frequent reflection and revisiting of ideas as normal practice and as rationale for critique, grounding and transformation.

The discussions presented here on Maori epistemologies relate most specifically to understandings of knowledge, power and the self (Delanty and O'Mahoney, 2002:9). I search for an 'ethics of freedom' underpinned by a belief that individual and

collective human agency recursively shape power, knowledge and the self. Johnston (1998) and Pihama (1993) echo each other when they say that whakapapa is a key consideration for 'what counts as Maori.' The work presented here responds to 'negative ideology' (Larrain, 1979) that seeks to disconnect Maori from knowledge and cultural identities that are enhancing – Maori epistemologies. It seeks to actively engage in examining and reclaiming views and ideas that many of us have of whakapapa korero knowledge and actively seeks to re-engage Maori in this form of cultural reclamation in order that many more of us may formulate innovative approaches that critique our current epistemologies rather than either knowingly or unknowingly replicating subjugated or distorted knowledge. As the title of this thesis, 'me hoki whakamuri kia marama ai te wao nei' suggests, we should return to our past to better understand and live powerfully in the present.

I have made use of a variety of sources to inform this work. For example, I use inheritances of Marxism including the tools of critical theory, (such as challenging taken for granted assumptions and that critical theory can make a difference), post structuralist, social constructivist, discourse theory and indigenous theory and ideas and examined tensions between materialism and idealism and examined them within ideas of Maori episteme.

The work is a critique of dominant ideologies and serves to increase understandings and potentials for Maori cultural identities so that they may survive and thrive. Whakapapa Korero Methodology also acknowledges the long held criticism of critical theory, that it is simply an altereuro metaphysics that serves to promote a particular but nevertheless partial worldview.

This, for me, is true as using my particular worldview acknowledges that knowledge and understanding is subjective and that nothing in the world is truly objective. This rangahau is not value free; on the contrary, it is a revolution of values. The work advances our Ngati Maniapoto values as being powerful catalysts for the advancement of our cultural identities that enhance wellbeing. The subjective approach is no different to some of the ideas found in other notions that see an epistemological network that makes the world as the dominant group sees it, without conscious thought of other people's worldviews and epistemologies, how our world is

constructed, our concepts and systems for interpretation, transmission and reproduction. As Banks (1993:4) points out,

…all knowledge reflects the values and interests of its creators.

In the sense that I advance our ways of knowing and being as normal, this rangahau is emancipatory (Foucault, 1980). Being critical is essentially being political and the project is a political work that seeks to confront and challenge superstructure thinking, commonly referred to as ideology (Sim & Loon, 2001).

Methodology for the rangahau

Whakapapa Korero Methodology draws on Maori knowledge systems and Maori ways of knowing, with an emphasis on the contextualisation of knowledge building using indigenous practices such as observation, listening, reflecting, protocol, ritual and experience. I continually visualise Ngati Maniapoto, the many hapu and whanau that it consists of, the encounters, the conversation, triumphs and tragedies we have experienced, to ground my tikanga rangahau. I am also immersed in the experience and knowledge of other indigenous peoples and hold all of this at the centre of my rangahau methodology and knowledge construction (Walsh-Tapiata, 1998; Rigney, 1999). This embeddedness is the process and the strength of takarangi that gathers up all of the inspirations and frequently returns to them to ground, critique and advance transformative potentials.

Ngati Maniapoto experience at the centre of the rangahau affirms our locally, seasonally, geographically, historically and ecologically contextualised truths. These truths are narratively anchored and grounded in natural communities within complex kinship systems of relationships among people, animals and the cosmos from which our knowing, our epistemology originates and is informed (Deloria & wildcat, 2001; Bobiwash, 1999).

Narrative practices, including storytelling, whakatauki and waiata, inform and routinely reproduces Ngati Maniapoto knowledge through whakapapa korero as explained earlier. This knowledge transmission as a commodity for ensuring cultural continuance and human existence is an integrated practical ontological theory. This

theory and practice of living is informed by the study of the nature, essential properties and relations of being. Such knowledge is relational and participatory and asserts that knowing is a way of living and being in the world. This is epistemology specific to people and place (Clarke, 1998; Varadharajan, 2000; Meyer, 2006) and acknowledges that we each experience the world differently and our interpretations matter for our cultural survival and wellbeing elements such as narrative, land, signs and experiences that inform and/or are informed by Maniapoto epistemology.

I articulate Ngati Maniapoto indigenous experience as part of the methodological approach I call Whakapapa Korero Methodology. As a feature of Whakapapa Korero Methodology I employ a set of principles outlined below, practices and procedures applied to rangahau in which my Ngati Maniapoto relations are the centre. I do not seek to compete with or replace other indigenous, Maori or western methodologies but rather offer and operate from Ngati Maniapoto ways of thinking about rangahau as I have been trained to, considering what is at stake and whose rangahau questions are being discussed. Working from this epistemological frame I seek to challenge the current hegemonic structures, systems and symbols that maintain inequality and support injustice and also to up the ante of Maori qualitative rangahau and enquiry.

My desire and attempt to utilise Whakapapa Korero Methodology supports the work of other indigenous authors (Hill 2000; Womack 1999; Cajete 2000a; 2000b; Kawagley 1995) as we build up new analyses and methodologies to decolonise ourselves and our communities (Battiste, 2005:1). Both the process and practice of decolonising is part of action that contributes to Maori development that was and continues to be interrupted by colonisation and colonial ideologies. For example, the idea of nationalism and the construct of 'Maori nation' which arises from the Maori/Pakeha dichotomy is a discourse that Maori rarely employ when we engage in discussion amongst ourselves. In many cases we label ourselves Maori so as others can better understand us but these conveniences over-ride our more salient primary identities. The remembering of one aspect has a consequent forgetting as was highlighted in some work I recently completed. I was investigating a land claim for one of my hapu and in reading the Land Court minute books from the late 1880's I was made aware of a large number of other hapu whose names were no longer in use. This had occurred because these hapu, in the allotting of land titles at that time, were

all written up as one hapu for convenience sake, effectively removing the identities and subsequently the existence of our communities. The names were consequently forgotten and have in many cases now become extinct. Such examples encourage the use of Whakapapa Korero Methodology since it supports understanding and connections and their importance to wellbeing at deeper levels than those commonly labelled as 'Maori.'

Operating at the level of Ngati Maniapoto also highlights hapu, whanau and iwi identities as the macro. This methodology resists the notion of 'Maori' nationhood, rejecting its theories and labels as far as I possibly can because the superordinate identity threatens the lived identities of hapu, whanau and iwi.

The rangahau method focuses on the stories of Ngati Maniapoto elders and at the same time providing them/us with an opportunity to rationalise their/our own understandings. In their feedback on the method they noted that it reinforced their practice and gave them positive ways of making sense for/of themselves/ourselves of their/our worldviews.

The data generated for the project are the collected oral testimonies of the elders and both excerpts and my commentaries on them are inter-woven throughout the study. However, this approach is eclectic (Lorde, 1988; Edwards, 1998; Smith, 1999; Soutar, 2000; McConaghy, 2000), a theory of experience, which also involves informal interviews and discussions, observations and personal experiences; the empirical evidence that is the collective experience and sense making of elders and myself (Willig, 2001).

As such the work here is emic-insider, as distinct from etic–outsider and with a detached view (Headland, Pike and Harris, 1990; Kanuha, 2000). These terms come from linguistics in reference to phonemic and phonetic, to describe behaviours in terms meaningful both consciously and unconsciously to myself the kairangahau, as both the subject and object 'walking the margins' as is often the reality of indigenous researchers (Fine, 1994). The terms emic and etic were coined by a missionary linguist Pike (1954) to explain conscious and unconscious meanings and understandings inside members have of their culture, and statements and

understanding outsiders have of other cultures (Taonui, 2005). As an example, in the study of Maori culture Sir Apirana Ngata would be an emic researcher and Elsdon Best an etic researcher.

Whilst I lay claim to being an emic 'researcher' I am acutely aware that contact with non-Maori prior to and during my life has resulted in emic-shifting as I have over time internalised ideologies and models of being and knowledge that have resulted in hybrid (Bhabha, 1994) identities. The hybrid identities in many cases include elements of colonial ideology that may be in conflict with indigenous epistemes and worldviews. I often refer to this phenomena as infection or colonial disease, some of which I am aware of and some of which I am not.

The position I have used here of self-legitimising Ngati Maniapoto acknowledges that self imposed silence on such data is often a result of oppressive practices that have ensured we become and remain marginal and powerless. This rangahau is a culturally valid, autoethnographic (Houston, 2007) effort that seeks to speak up and out about the oppressive forces that constrain Maori cultural identities from flourishing. The work is a celebration of survival and is born out of a desire to reclaim, reconnect with and develop further our Maori cultural identities as part of epistemological enquiry. This approach positions and locates me and the work as culturally relative and is therefore strongly embedded in politics of location as emic and part of a counter hegemonic agenda (Hooks, 1989).

By choosing 'elders' I have knowingly excluded those I have not considered elders and also limited it to ten participants for the purposes of this study. The selection of elders for knowledge and wisdom rather than chronological age is based on my subjective judgment and informed by the views of others whom I respect. However the views of numerous other elders as part of eclectic experience have contributed to the thinking and have been presented here.

Methods

The idea and application of rangahau being guided by levels of connectedness and relationship that this work advances supports the idea of Whakapapa Korero Methodology. This is the view that rangahau by people who are intrinsically linked

socially and genealogically also supports whakapapa knowledge of maintaining these relationships (Ihimaera, 1974). This rangahau is but another catalyst that strengthens the ancient connections available through takarangi and is evident in the methods employed by me as living practice.

The idea of a whakapapa methodological approach is a relatively new contribution to Maori research theory and practice - rangahau. In advancing this idea of Whakapapa Korero Methodology and the associated methods discussed further on I do not seek to represent others as members of dominant groups have traditionally done (Gidley, 1994:3) but rather seek to better understand myself and our own people through ourselves. The application of what I call Whakapapa Korero Methodology, a distinctive rangahau methodology, that celebrates and builds on the powerful foundations of Kaupapa Maori Theory and Practice, by its very enunciation and articulation argues that the theoretical tools that contribute to whakapapa knowledge can be applied as a valid rangahau methodology. Sitting within a takarangi framework and process, it is hoped this contribution will provide further methodological approaches to support Kaupapa Maori approaches whilst supporting significant increases in understanding and how we might further advance culturally relevant rangahau methodologies (Sim & Loon, 2001).

This rangahau draws largely on ten in-depth interviews with elder participants of Ngati Maniapoto so as to specifically focus on a Ngati Maniapoto world and the patterns, wisdoms, knowledge and variations it contains. At the time of submission five of these elders had unfortunately passed away – haere ra koutou, moe mai ra.

The interviews were underpinned by an 'interview guide' but many of the interviews did not draw directly upon it and took the form of a 'korero,' as prescribed by the methodology, a discussion that inevitably led to discussion in the topic areas highlighted by the interview guide. The data are embodiments of the Takarangi ways of knowing and passing on knowledge and I went to some lengths not to disrupt or deflect the flow of understandings that they presented me with. The interview guide provided focus and, more importantly for me as the kairangahau, ensured I did not impose or waste the time of my participants through un-preparedness and irrelevant

questioning. Even though my questions were focused, there was space to go beyond them and to pull out deeper meanings and understandings.

The interviews were all tape recorded, eight of the ten, in the participant's homes, with two occurring in work environments. The raw data were all saved to CD for safe storage, repeated listening and analysis. The interviews lasted between 2 and 3 hours and usually occurred after or during a sharing of food. The recordings were supplied to the participants for confirmation as acceptable or not. All recordings were deemed acceptable by the kaikorero (speakers).

The participants were selected for their knowledge in diverse contexts and all knew each other. For example, the people were recognised as having one or more of the skills and knowledge in a context including, the sea, carving, waiata, whakapapa, tikanga, Maori society and food procurement. All the participants resided in rural environs close to or in their Ngati Maniapoto lands. All participants were fluent speakers of te reo Maori. As was agreed by me at the time of consent they have remained anonymous, however the elders selected are recognised as being highly knowledgable in their specific contexts and are very highly regarded in te ao Maori. They are all recognised experts in matauranga Maori, and while so recognised as such within their Ngati Maniapoto context, the majority had status in the national and global context.

As a result of the participants having te reo Maori as their first language nearly all of the interviews were in te reo Maori and certainly the majority of the texts used in this work are in te reo Maori, although some use of English did occur. The analysis is matched to the language of the data and the re-presentation for this thesis is in English. However the analysis and commentary is not translated in a literal sense but rather an account of the data and culture from which the korero comes, in a Maori understanding of the text. The grammatical structure of the language written here may not be correct however it reflects the words as they were spoken. Spoken language in any language is rarely consistently grammatically correct. Often the transfer from spoken to written text produces grammatical adaptations that in their written form appear incorrect but when spoken, meaning is achieved. I have chosen not to edit the spoken word for the written sense and left the language as spoken.

The korero (interviews) were powerful personal narratives pulling from the lived experiences of the elders. In indigenous research contexts such data are becoming increasingly common as counter narratives, testimonies, ethnobiographies and stories that disrupt dominant discourses by highlighting the complexities and contradictions that a dominant story has created. It is a powerful indigenous project as it allows previously marginalised and invisibilised subaltern voices, to speak with strength and conviction (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008).

The analysis of the korero included a thematic analysis (Patton, 1990; Wetherell et al, 2001) that picks up on key ways of knowing and understanding the Maori world as well as both costs and benefits of Maori ways of knowing in relation to the participant's understandings of the world. Key themes were teased out and their application and value in contemporary contexts examined.

Thematic analysis whilst being 'poorly demarcated, rarely acknowledged, yet widely used,' (Braun & Clarke, 2006) provided a flexible qualitative approach to the analysis of the interviews that sat well with Whakapapa Korero Methodology as discussed here and Maori epistemes. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting 'themes' from within data sets. A central attraction of thematic analysis was its flexibility and yet its ability to provide a rich and detailed yet robust account of data. It allows data sets to be 'cut' in multiple ways to allow fresh insights across diverse possibilities. Another feature is the 'discovery' that comes with thematic analysis allows ideas to be explored and extrapolated on that might otherwise have remained hidden and eventually lost.

Thematic analysis allows important and often widely used ideas or patterns of meaning, to be organised and framed as in common conversation that facilitates comparisons and contrasts that mirror real world experience. This prevents the questions asked from being the sole determinants of how the data is later read and interpreted, an element that allows new discoveries to emerge from data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Common processes in thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) that I employed in working with my data include;

- Familiarising myself with the data by multiple readings/listening of the data collected.
- Systematic organisation of potential themes.
- Coding data into the themes.
- Reviewing the themes and the data that supports the themes.
- Analysing theme content and summarising key messages and meaning.
- Writing up.

My adaption of the received thematic analytic methods reflect indigenous epistemology which argues that activities will and should only take place if they feel right. Western academic protocols and artificial hierarchical boundaries have a restricted place in indigenous methodology.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology, discussions on and of Maori knowledge, proved to be a powerful way of thinking about and building up whakapapa korero knowledge. The discussions provided the foundation for insights into health and wellbeing. Robinson (2005:3) shares a similar view when he writes,

> *Ma te whakatau ka mohio,*
> *Ma te mohio ka marama,*
> *Ma te marama ka matau,*
> *Ma te matau ka ora.*

> *By discussion comes understanding,*
> *By understanding comes light,[38]*
> *By light comes wisdom,*
> *By wisdom comes life.*

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[38] Light is a reference in this context to comprehension or deep learning.

A further feature of this methodology and intrinsic to studies of identity is the 'humanising' of people, places and events. Such entities are given life like qualities when knowledge of them is shared within an everyday reality; they live through the individuals who recall them and even if they belong to the distant past, are felt as though it was yesterday. The views of Dr Te Maire Tau (2001) of Ngai Tahu writing on oral history were not lost on me. He wrote,

> Western scholars have long viewed the oral histories of indigenous peoples with suspicion. The suspicion stems from a culturally egocentric view of the world.

In the conscious political choice of using narrative story as primary data (Smith, 1999:144; Cajete, 1994:xii; Einhorn, 2000:9), the life history and experiences from my Ngati Maniapoto elders to shape this rangahau, I chose an approach that suits many of us as Maori for understanding ourselves. This acknowledges that indigenous epistemology is 'situated in its own community' (Quanche, 2004:8), and that each has its own way of organising and applying knowledge in meaningful ways, whether it suits other groups is irrelevant.

The rise of oral history has been evident since the 1940s but most significantly came to prominence during the 1960s and 1970s. It was during this time that oral history became recognised as an approach, even a discipline in itself. Oral history rather than being a theory is a methodology for examining and analysing sets of sources and developed around two key questions. First there was an aspiration to find out more about societies that had 'no history,' that is, no written record. Authors such as Vansina (1965) in his pioneering work on Africa argued that 'oral tradition' could be used in ways that parallel texts. This approach laid the basis for the rigorous use of oral history. The second significant development was the desire to record the histories and stories of under represented and 'voiceless' peoples such as slaves, women and rural dwellers, the so-called, non-elite (Finnegan, 1992). Oral literature as the primary source for this work is also a conscious political choice to allow the anti-colonial voice to be heard, a 'permission to narrate' (Said, 1984a). It serves as a demand that Maori narrate our own stories so that we may represent ourselves, that the voices of my ancestors may be heard through us, their mokopuna, and that there

wisdoms might illuminate the world once more. In doing so we walk beside them and they amongst us.

While oral tradition, oral history, life history, whakapapa korero and knowledge are now largely considered valid, a legacy remains that sees korero as less than primary in reliability and fact (Chamberlin, 2000:139; Walker 2006:1; Kuokkanen, 2007:16). What most people forget or simply do not know is that it is the technical side of whakapapa korero, its method of delivery and expression that is central to understanding Maori worldview. From the depth of and attainment of developed understanding comes enlightenment that supports wellbeing.

For the purposes of this study I have also included my own experiential data in the pool of materials available for analysis and synthesis. Storytelling, part of the methodological approach detailed here is the act of committing to memory and physical form the events of our past and making sense of them in the present and future. Such practices amount to indigenous historical narrative using life history and life experience to help understand and give deeper meaning to personal and collective practice (Mita, 2000). Storytelling, like the discourses of western science, is not neutral. While western science has successfully devalued storytelling methodology as subjective and anecdotal, they are at their roots, practical and empirical. Stories are observations and reflections used to come to new understandings.

In western research paradigms this is called 'phenomenology,' a branch of qualitative research with resonance with other approaches including grounded theory, discourse analysis, narrative theory and social constructivist approaches. These qualitative frameworks call on researchers to collect and examine the life experiences of humans to gain understandings and develop meanings of these experiences and actions. In a Maori world view these experiences are reflected and transmitted along with their understandings and messages as a way of framing the world, our relationship to it and our accountabilities and responsibilities with whakapapa korero informed by whakapapa knowledge. This story telling approach to framing the world is a feature of what has been termed 'narrative theory,'[39] a type of discourse for making meaning.

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[39] Retrieved from http://novaonline.nv.cc.va.us on 15/07/2008.

Narrative research studies genres of story telling such as personal accounts, family stories, and cultural stories especially in myth and metaphorical expression. For indigenous peoples this is normal practice since the transmission of validated experiences also honours spiritual forces and places an emphasis on processes of knowing (Young, 2003).

In the context of this work Whakapapa Korero Methodology also regards discourse as social action (Wetherell, 2001) by utilising language terms as powerful catalysts for taking transformative action to maintain, enhance and advance cultural identities as paramount to wellbeing. Conceptualising discourse as social action provides a solid base for social change because it emphasises the importance of speaking appropriately of the challenges and complexities that exist. However, it adds complexity through competing understandings of discourse and discourse analysis, the constitutive nature of discourse and especially via the relationships between language and social life and practice. I principally use discourse in this work in two ways, firstly epistemologically to talk about how language and relationships are shaped and shape epistemological understandings of the universe and secondly to discuss the relationship between knowledge and power.

In regards to language, depending on who is speaking, who is not, what is being said and what is not, for whom and for what purposes, discourse theory argues that competing representations can be seen in conversations. A central problematic for the discourse analyst therefore becomes 'what is achieved by the text.' In this set of ideas meaning making and constructed truths that emerge as 'social realities' (Wetherell, 2001:16) and permeate discursive practices are identified. The agenda of identifying and exposing discourse that is oppressive is deeply political, determining power, access to resources, life chances and wellbeing. The political nature comes through challenging dominant ideologies that seek to maintain positions of superiority. Representations therefore are also political and power is involved as the ability to determine, control and reinforce discourses becomes a vital source of power.

Stuart Hall (1997) examines the work of French philosopher Michel Foucault who shifted discussions of language to discussions of discourse. Foucault was interested in the rules for determining truth across different time contexts. Foucault concluded

that discourse was the production of knowledge through language and that all practices have a discursive element. Discourse in Foucault's view defines what can be said about a particular topic. Through everyday use discourse constructs the topic of discussion, provides a resource of statements about the topic and is wielded by speakers as they attempt to interpret experiences and assert their social realities (often as dominant or even universal truths) in the course of navigating the dynamics of social life. Discourse then acts to determine content, practices and rules in regards to the topics reflecting the relative thinking of an individual or group and what Foucault termed its episteme. Foucault argued that epistemes are dynamic and that they are contextualised over historical periods. Importantly Foucault also argued that practices round specific discourses were not only historical but also cultural, the context of both history and culture being critical to meaning (Foucault, 1980; Hall, 1993).

Later, Foucault argued that discourse influences power and knowledge and that this is primarily done through institutional apparatus and technologies to regulate the world view of others. Systems such as those that employ monocultural rules and regulations similar to those that guide the academy, that determine what counts as knowledge and who says so, together with the various western structures and systems for gaining recognition for some forms of process and knowledge seen and constructed as valid. Foucault's conceptualisations set the foundation for ideas discussed here such as universalism, regimes of truth and regimes of othering.

Returning to culture, a complex and multi faceted term (Williams, 1988; Reagan, 2005) and its connection with discourse, a key theme discussed by Wetherell (2001:20) is the idea of 'communicative ecologies' that allow for the cultural space and knowledge to make meaning of the discourses and that the language can only be understood in the cultural context from which the discourse emanates, that is it is culturally relative (Cajete, 1994:45). First Nations writers Maenette Benham and Henrietta Mann (2003:167) share this view when they explain;

> *Language and culture identify a cohesive set of worldviews such as values, concepts and beliefs that are essential to the life of human beings.*

I argue that this is the case for Maori epistemologies in language forms that are inherently discursive since narration is a way that we generate meaning and understanding to support intelligibility from within particular socio-cultural circumstances. Narratives are both unique and bounded by what is considered to count as a well-formed story as a conveyance of fact and truth. Subjectivity prevails and objectivity in narration is not ever fully possible. Whakapapa korero as a discursive form does more than create conversational realities; it's constituent of normalised patterns and modes of social conduct support identity and wellbeing. In this sense, Whakapapa Korero Methodology is also able to function so as to support the generation, sustainability and sometimes the disruption of cultural traditions. Whakapapa korero is also a discursive achievement and through this discourse many of us arrive at a sense of individuated and collective self.

Another defining point of this work is its focus on more recent text based literary sources, primarily work largely produced after 2000 and with a high degree of influence from international indigenous literature. This conscious decision respectfully acknowledges that much of the earlier literary material has been the bedrock upon which advancements in te ao Maori have been made and to which a debt of gratitude is rightly due. However, I have also chosen to bring into the light of the present much more recent work as solid and valuable contributions to the field and so deserving of space. Then use of international indigenous literature supports my idea that the challenge of maintaining cultural indigenous identities is a global indigenous challenge and also supports the takarangai idea that permeates the thesis of pulling in from all parts, those worthwhile ideas that might contribute to a kaupapa.

This decision also acknowledges that in many cases the more recent work that I have privileged here has come from a different and more recent context that indigenous people now enjoy and responds to some uniquely new challenges and opportunities.

My decision to use first person accounts as data is strategic in that the approach allows the kaikorero, the speakers, to place their knowledge in the social and cultural contexts as they feel appropriate, they are the 'master' in this context, controlling what is conveyed and how. First person accounts of experience and claims regarding truth, knowledge, and values, are often framed in terms of 'master narratives' (Boje,

1991; Mishler, 1995), culturally available narratives (Gee, 1992; Antaki, 1994; Gergen, 1995), or cultural texts (Denzin, 1992). They are important given the theme of this thesis in that the control of the knowledge, its presentation, its inferences remains largely with the 'masters,' my elders.

Dominant discourse is often associated with cultural or contextual common sense and naturalised standard story in relation to meaning making and those views associated with meaning making. McCreanor (2008) writes in this regard stating;

> *Similarly at the level of meaning there are broad norms that determine the practices of interpretation and comprehension of all facets of lived experience. While some patterns such as traffic rules are explicit and enforced, others including acceptable sexual conduct, are negotiated and contested. These shared narratives and conventions enormously facilitate social behaviour and the interchanges between individuals because they minimise the need for discussion of social norms. The discourses of everyday talk affect and effect our interpretations of experience, which reinforce the discursive conventions in an ongoing cycle.*

Master narratives derive from tradition or ideology and they typically contain accounts of personal experience that allow the speaker to operate within established cultural standards and to utilise taken-for-granted notions of what is good and what is wrong (O'Regan, 2001) as they are the authors of these narratives, in effect the master that determines the preferred and delivery methodologies.

In relation to acts of colonisation master narratives typically refer to story that generates all other stories and create lines of logic for whole systems of thinking and belief. Examples include white superiority and terra nullius. It confers legitimacy on minor narratives that branch off it. In relation to the example of terra nullius it becomes the rational for the confiscation and alienation and use by others of 'idle lands.' Over time this comes to be seen and seem complete and obvious and universalises eurocentric perspectives.

The ideas raised above highlight the value of whakapapa korero as a qualitative approach and recognise that knowledge and understanding are embedded in our everyday world and that truth and understandings can be teased out from analysis of these everyday experiences.

The acknowledging, valuing and re-presenting of the lived experiences of elders is also an approach to understanding our past in order to explain our present; for many Maori as colonial subjects it results in identity affirmation, reclamation and cultural development. The advancement of Whakapapa Korero Methodology is also a political project that seeks to advance (k)new paradigms that challenge the colonial suppression of our epistemologies. This can be done by interrogating the colonial regimes and systems, and reconstructing our own systems for knowing and being (Houston, 2007).

A whakapapa korero approach in its reliance on examination of inter-relationships for understanding the world supports the view that Maori worldview and transmission of knowledge is expressed with knowledge of whakapapa. Whakapapa Korero Methodology is a rangahau methodology that can account for 'te ao,' the world, in Maori terms. Implicit within this view are the ideas of organisation, orderliness, sequence and evolution (Barclay, 2001). Whakapapa Korero Methodology employed in this way is an analytical tool to provide understanding and explanation. It explains nature, origin, inter-relatedness, trends, and inter-connectedness of phenomena and extrapolates and predicts future phenomena by linking these phenomena.

Hemara (2004:44-46) explains this as 'an indigenous creation and philosophical discourse,' an analytical tool to explain the nature and origin of phenomena and the inter connections of these phenomena in both past, present and future environments.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology employs links and inter-relationships that provide a strategic framework for the organisation, order, sequence and evolution of rangahau practice. It disrupts taken for granted assumptions by privileging indigenous inquiry processes and practices (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008). As an indigenous researcher it is also a context in which I have a level of 'jurisdiction' (Fixico, 1998:93).

Whakapapa in particular and Whakapapa Korero Methodology as presented here is 'rooted in a deep sense of kinship responsibility' (Wilson, 1998:27). This methodology is based in cultural practice that relays a culture and illuminates identities whilst also examining personal belonging. It is what I call a praxial rangahau methodology, relying on reflection and understanding in new and different contexts continually. Through this process the whakapapa korero as a praxial rangahau methodology also influences my identity. It is highly personal.

The use of the term 'whakapapa korero' relates the methodology in and as primarily Maori without needing to spend large amounts of time over investing in justification or differentiating and distinguishing between the ideas of oral history and oral tradition as expressed in the English language and as others have been required to do (Henige, 1982; Wilson, 1998; Einhorn, 2000).

Oral tradition refers to 'the way something is passed on rather than its age' (Wilson, 1988:29). Whakapapa korero has elements of oral history that are contained and in many cases encoded within our archive of oral traditions. In many cultures oral tradition in common with whakapapa korero, was developed through storytelling, retelling of events, that was most usually done by grandparents and parents to instil key messages for behaviour in the mind and soul of children and they in turn would recall and repeat parts or the whole story over time (Friesen & Friesen, 2002:47). This approach was time consuming and required planning for the timely delivery of the materials, the assessment and testing of the transmission, content and quality of the outputs indicating the rigorous and extensive training and indigenous scholarship involved in knowledge and cultural reproduction and cognition activities. This practice continues in our home today when we re-tell stories to our children and they in turn re-tell us the stories of their ancestor heroes and message stories that explain the world in uniquely Maori terms, and in our own context, Maniapoto terms.

Clearly, many aspects of the approach and methods that I detail here are included in other authors' work, but I also contribute new ideas that are drawn out and extended on as ways rangahau has (in my own case) or could proceed. Tenets of Whakapapa Korero Methodology are;

- He taura here
- Te whakaiti
- He mohiotanga ki te ao Maori
- Ka haere tonu te awhiawhi
- Mauri tau

a. He taura here – Connectedness and bindings

In my view, the methodology of whakapapa theory and practice requires connections and tensions between the kairangahau and participants to be negotiated and confirmed from the outset so that a hononga – a join, a transaction of meaning that forms the basis for the development of a relationship can be established. This view of finding a join supports the critiques of previous authors (Smith, 1999; Rigney, 1999; Gegeo, 2001) of research conducted by 'outsiders' as being deficient due to lack of meaningful connection and efficient understanding to develop in-depth and grounded interpretations of local data upon which transformative social change can be built.

The idea of connectedness is supported by Kaupapa Maori methodology that highlights identity, more particularly that identifying as Maori and as a kairangahau is a 'critical element' of the approach (Smith, 1999). In this view, simply being a 'Maori researcher' is not enough to engage in rangahau with Maori communities with integrity. Whakapapa theory and practice takes the view of 'insider research' one step further by requiring that there be a connection of significance and meaning between the kairangahau and participants, that must be re-discovered in many cases and that is negotiated and based upon constructions and cultural views of whakapapa knowledge.

The ability to engage, to negotiate and to navigate in Maori settings and across multiple relationships and social positions in uniquely Maori ways is an essential element for quality relationships and rangahau.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology as an approach is also a 'decolonised methodology' (Crazy Bull, 1997a) that 'normalises' Maori attitudes and approaches to relationships and rangahau in both theory and practice. Whakapapa Korero Methodology supports decolonising research and the human mind in approaches to research by offering a

methodology that is critically evaluated by the researched and offering ethically and culturally appropriate approaches to research. As Smith (1999:39) writes, the decolonisation of research is,

> *…about centring our concepts and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and practice from our own perspective and for our own purposes.*

Whilst Smith addresses a global audience I apply her point at a local level and in a community context that requires the knowledge and acknowledgment of a previous connection or the formation of a new connection before rangahau activity can and is engaged in. The importance placed on confirming connections before rangahau is engaged in places located Maori experiences and worldviews at the centre of rangahau theory and practice.

Stephanie Kelly (2002:13) highlights the view held by an elder from Ngai Tahu with whom she worked (in the area of whakapapa and identity) that there are what he termed 'new Ngai Tahu,' a reference to people recently returned to their geographical location. The interesting point this elder raised was while diversity should be encouraged that there is great significance attached to geographical location in maintaining Maori cultural identity; that cultural identity is most powerfully supported in relation with ancestral surroundings. This elder's view emphasises as primary the significance of geographical location. This view if wielded in particular ways can be seriously exclusionary of Maori who may for whatever reason be unable to make connections of meaning. I have seen this in practice. At a marae meeting we had some time ago some visitors arrived who had been living in town for some time but could claim connection to the area we live in. The topic moved onto the control of spartina, a noxious weed that strangles the harbour water ways. We supported the control and poisoning of the spartina. The visitors then began to enquire as to had we thought of the effects on other life, was this the best method and did it work? After some discussion on this a number of elders became a little 'hot' and began to remind the visitors that they didn't live here, they didn't know, they weren't on the water every day like them and they weren't alive to remember when spartina nearly took over the harbour and the fish life. In this example the geographical distance has

meant that the visitors no longer have a close association with the environment or access to those who have ingrained experiences.

The Ngai Tahu elder referred to above emphasises the need to consider ways of maintaining connections of meaning to avert the weakening for many of the threads of connection to cultural identities. This idea supports my own views that cultural identity is strengthened by ancestral connections being maintained, enhanced and advanced positively whilst still providing opportunities for people to lead lives that are cognisant of contemporary realities as they see them.

The elder's contemporary challenges, not only of non-Maori involvement and theorising of and for Maori, but also around many Maori who have Maori identity but are outsiders looking in, what might be termed 'genetic Maori' mirror in some regards the earlier comments on genetic indigenes. Realities such as these make cultural identity work complex and tension filled if we ascribe to attempting to decide who counts and who does. This is a resonate point in light of views on the notion of insider and outsider research. The elder's determining mark for identities, such as insider or outsider are whakapapa and residence as supported by 'doing time at the pa;' the validity of which is contested in some quarters (Durie, 2004; Borell, 2005).

Bishop's (1996) examination of whanaungatanga as research methodology highlights further these complex issues of connection and meaning of Maori engaging in research within their own communities where they may occupy positions as both researcher and participant. He highlights that intricate relationships are a powerful platform for qualitative research and serve as a culturally appropriate research methodology quite frequently operationalised through 'chats,' 'hui' and 'narrative inquiry' (1996:10-15).

An example of community connection and acceptance as a rationale for appropriate engagement occurred in my involvement in community education. I was asked to travel to Waitara, one home of the people of Te Ati Awa, to explain the organisational plans, objectives and aspirations of the organisation I was employed by, for the North Taranaki region. In our formal meeting I was appropriately greeted and welcomed and information pertaining to the local people and the landmarks associated with the

locality was filtered across in the dialogue. Having been trained by my elders to read the signs of formal greeting contexts by listening and watching I was well aware that I had been fed information with which I was required to attach myself and add to so as to strengthen the join and establish a strong basis for a continued relationship. This was successfully achieved by relating some of the connections between my own people of Tainui and those of Taranaki as well as at a more personal level of connections through my ancestors coming to and being buried in Taranaki. This connection ensured a successful relationship that I knew would be remembered and carried into future relationships both in my time and most likely in future generations. The appropriateness of our actions and connections determined the level of access with the community. So too it is with Whakapapa Korero Methodology where the strength of the relative whakapapa connections negotiated between the kairangahau and the participant/s determine the access to knowledge.

b. Te whakaiti – Humility and respect

Respect in the Maori world is explained and enacted by mana, tapu and tika. These terms are examined in greater detail later but simply are Maori expressions of what western research loosely refers to as ethics and protocols although they have wider meaning and are encapsulated in Maori worldview (Mikaere, 2003). In a Maori worldview everything has mauri, an existence and presence imbued with distinctive essence (Metge, 1995). Being in relationship with entities of the world and acknowledging they have mauri requires us to interact more respectfully lest we damage the mauri of another entity and cause violation of the relationships.

Mana, tapu[40] and tika though are more pervasive than western ethics and protocols. Whereas ethics and protocols relate strongly to values, norms, practices and ideology they may be defined for a kairangahau as a set of compliances that must be adhered to, in most cases, institutional rules and regulations. In my experience these do not reflect, nor represent Maori ethics. The latter entail mana, tika and tapu as tenets of

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[40] The Maori idea of tapu has strong correlations to the Hawaiian kapu system, a system for defining and organising every element of life and was central to Hawaiian life (Benham & Heck, 1998).

beliefs that receive powerful influence from the spiritual elements of Maori worldview. They also require modesty, humility and respect, along with balanced thinking and attention to whakama – (embarrassment or shame), as guiding rationale;

Whakaiti, the idea of 'making ones self small' by way of respect and humility as a theoretical tenet and practice of Whakapapa Korero Methodology compliments the imperative of connectedness discussed above and helps us to come to know the relationship between entities so that balance can be achieved and maintained. Balance acts to move power relations so that people can engage as equals.

c. He mohiotanga ki te ao Maori – groundings

Engaging in rangahau in the Maori world based on the tenets detailed above is not for the uninitiated, it requires support structures, skills and experience. Rangahau requires a solid grounding in Maori worldview and practice and this is most commonly achieved through people's everyday experiences. Such experiences, often supported by elders double as rangahau development and entail opportunities for group members to participate in key events, groups and discussion. These opportunities most frequently occur over a graduated period and through an internal apprenticeship. As one of my own elders (Ormsby, 2005) reminded me;

> *All our learnings start from the kauta (kitchen), we learn in that place, about manaaki, whanau, relationships, who's who, humour, we can hear the korero outside, we can see people arriving and then when they come in for a kai. The kitchen was one of our classrooms. It starts there.*

To be able to make connections of meaning, to know whakaiti and its deeper meanings and its foundations requires training that can only be achieved by operating in Maori environs over a sustained period of time. For example, I have heard from many different parts of Aotearoa/New Zealand that all learning starts in the marae kitchen and progresses as you work your way up until your elders tell you that they have a new role for you. One of the key pedagogies that seem to pervade Maori learning, and is common also to empirical research methods, affirms that observation

provides data and conversation puts data in context; titiro, whakarongo – look and listen. I often hear my elders say,

> *Na te titiro me te whakarongo ka mohio.*
> *By watching and listening you will know.*

This saying teaches us that the first level of accessing knowledge is the ability to watch and listen. We are encouraged to take up the opportunities to watch and to listen at all times as learning experiences present themselves in a number of different ways.

A further point that should not be under emphasised is the importance of language in indigenous worldview as a way of understanding the depth of any group's culture and ways of knowing (Cajete, 2000:183-186).[41] Authors (Fishman, 1972; Edwards, 1985; Edwards, 1991; Billig, 1995) affirm that language is still considered by many as the 'central pillar' of identity. Although discussed in detail further on, grounding in te ao Maori, a Maori worldview, would include the ability to engage using te reo Maori – Maori language, for an enhanced understanding and knowing. Ideologies are given space and presence through language and support ideological consciousness (Billig, 1995:17) that can serve or subjugate people. Language is a powerful tool for reclaiming or denying cultural wellbeing. This point acknowledges that language usage is political and that working within the confines of a 'world language' involves a capitulation to European cultural standards crudely disguised as universalism. The use of English in this context then supports shaping the social and political consciousness of the reader to that of the dominant is a reinforcer and contributor to cultural alienation. The message and warning is clear, beware the English language when examining indigenous and Maori knowledge. European languages have and continue to be a formidable tool for the denial of Maori and indigenous languages and

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[41] In 2007 I attended a hui at Kuratini Marae, Wellington. At this hui Professor Whatarangi Winiata of Ngati Raukawa reminded me that te reo Maori is a taonga tuku iho, an ancestral treasure handed and gifted to succeeding generations, and that because its future is not certain neither is ours. He said; 'If it goes, we go, just toto Maori (Maori blood).' What I have come to believe he meant was that a key feature of our identity is our unique language that explains and allows us to engage with our world in culturally appropriate ways and using mediums specifically designed for the cultural context and that te reo Maori is both a cornerstone and touchstone of our relative health and well being as related to our cultural identity. He believes that a blood quotient alone is not the strongest element of a healthy cultural identity, particularly biological determinants in isolation.

our collective self that contributes to a cultural and cognitive structure of dependence that is perpetuated by neo-colonialism and imperialism that covertly 'moves the centre' (Afoloyan, 2002) so that the limits of language limit my world and my being.

This view does not mean that kairangahau with limited Maori language skills are not able to engage or do not make capable kairangahau, but rather that Maori language ability is a skill that enhances the individual and collective rangahau relationship and the potentials for those that may have acquired those skills to engage in a more meaningful way.

d. Ka haere tonu te awhiawhi – being in relationship brings new and enduring responsibilities.

Whakapapa Korero Methodology acknowledges and accepts that by being in relationship and connected with Maori that there is an expectation by Maori that the relationship will be enduring. The kairangahau can expect to be a confidante, source of help and resource available to those that have been involved in the rangahau should they be required to accept some new responsibility at some point in time. This obligation and responsibility may be in the form of ongoing and continued support of participants beyond and outside the context of the rangahau itself. Awhiawhi is literally to embrace. In the Maori world when people come into contact bonds are made via the connection of the spiritual and physical elements of the human person. Whakapapa Korero Methodology readily acknowledges and accepts that these connections embodied as whanaungatanga are regularly maintained, sustained and enhanced.

e. Mauri tau – he mana, he tapu tou – respect your mauri.

This element acknowledges that the kairangahau that utilises Whakapapa Korero Methodology has mauri, mana and tapu and that an important part of this approach is respecting and caring for your mauri, mana and tapu. This most commonly takes the form of preparing and protecting your spiritual and physical wellbeing as you engage in rangahau and come into contact with other entities in the universe (Edwards et al, 2005). In a connotative sense, mauri tau refers to being at ease, of being settled, of being at peace, a calmness of spirit, body and mind. Within Maori thought a person who is mauri tau is able to function and contribute fully as an individual and as a

member of a collective, whether it is within hapu, whanau or iwi. In more traditional times and in some parts of New Zealand today, when a person is not in a position of mauri tau they will require intervention by an elder or knowledgeable person to achieve this state of being.

In preparing and protecting the kairangahau follows principles laid down in Maori culture over generations that ensure one's essence is not diminished and that you will continue to be able to support your uri - descendants, hence it is action **ma** to **uri**, ma referring to 'for the benefit of' and uri, 'descendants,' including family and hapu. This activity is supported by Maori proverb that says;

> *Ka tupu koe i tou mauri, ma tou mauri koe ka tupu.*
> *If you look after your mauri then your mauri will look after you.*

The engagements with spiritual entities that are common in indigenous research practice can leave indelible marks on researchers. For many kairangahau karakia plays a central part of tikanga rangahau in maintaining mauri tau. In traditional times all activity took place with karakia present throughout. The effect of successive colonial acts to disrupt connectedness to Maori spirituality meant that common activities and practices such as karakia began to play less of a role in the everyday lives of Maori as previously experienced. In many cases karakia was replaced by inoi – prayer as part of the influence. This is still the case in the majority of situations today. I recall this in my own practice (Edwards et al, 2005) when I reflect on my own practice as advised by my elders;

> *I make a mental note that I will have karakia both before and after the project for my personal safety. These karakia are karakia kaupare, or karakia to protect myself from being 'touched' from anything, another name for these forms known to me are 'takutaku.' Again, these are karakia to protect oneself when coming into contact with things, including people that have the potential to influence the health of the individual.*

Karakia is still a powerful force in preparing a kairangahau for activity. This is especially so when coming into contact with other people and heightened when the

purpose is of a sensitive nature. Some kairangahau are known to do their own karakia before they engage in activity; others have a member of their whanau do karakia for them before they engage in rangahau activity. They also repeat this process in situations that call for it and at the completion of activity. Many others after interviews and field rangahau will find places to wash their hands with water to lift the tapu associated with human encounter.

In presenting here a Whakapapa Korero Methodology I also contribute and add an altereuro research methodology to those of the western world that do not account adequately for Maori realities (Smith, 1999) and ways of knowing. This contribution is an attempt to support our continued re-engagement, re-connections, re-identification and re-clamation of many of our Maori understandings and knowledge and as a result it attempts to define the work as positively different to conventional research. As Crazy Bull (1997a:19) argues,

> *Continuing our use of western methods would separate us from our understanding; knowledge would be external rather than integrated into our lives if we do not put our tribal mark on research.*

Some may claim that Whakapapa Korero Methodology does not belong to any existing theory, that it does not count as methodology (Cook-Lynn, 1997:21), but rather is some variant of other methodologies or is illegitimate. The same could be applied here in relation to Kaupapa Maori Theory and Practice that was discussed earlier (see Kowae Tuawha), that the idea of Whakapapa Korero Methodology draws some of its impetus from Kaupapa Maori Theory and Practice. However, there are key differences in Whakapapa Korero Methodology functionality and utility and it also comes from a distinctly different primary point, whakapapa, and is therefore inherently relational, culturally relative and centred on epistemology. Whilst there are some overlap between both methodologies they complement each other in advancing Maori agency and transformation.

Discussions of validity and legitimacy of this nature usually occur as a compare and contrast activity where any new innovation, new knowledge or new idea is measured against existing methodologies. This legitimising activity is usually done by non-

indigenous academics that set up their own ethnocentric methodologies as the benchmark against which all other methodologies must be critiqued to be considered valid. I argue that the right to define and legitimise does not rest with others but with those most familiar and part of the culture represented by the methodology and that they are the right group to assert their truth and that what others may think is actually irrelevant.

Rangahau Issues

The work presented here incorporates the worldviews of Ngati Maniapoto elders and those considered and recognised by references to them by many others, as knowledgeable in the field of whakapapa knowledge from Ngati Maniapoto[42]. Their grandparents primarily and parents have transmitted large tracts of knowledge orally and spiritually as part of an enduring relationship, an encyclopaedic knowledge of the natural world and natural orders, including the ability to make sense of our world, along with an ability to innovate and create.

A major challenge has been teasing out what counts as 'western research' and what counts as Maori or more correctly in this case 'Rangahau Ngati Maniapoto.' In doing so I am working in altereuro ways to supplant the epistemological dominance of what Hall (1992:280) calls the 'west.' Hall suggests that conceptually the 'west' functions in ways that,

- Allows us to characterise and classify societies into categories.
- Condenses complex images of other societies through a system of representation.
- Provides a standard model of comparison.
- Provides criteria of evaluation against which other societies can be ranked.

I actively seek to resist being 'coded' into the western system of knowledge. My relative success in attempting to rangahau organically as Ngati Maniapoto is affected and challenged by my own education and experiences as a pupil in a cultural system

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[42] I have used the label 'Ngati Maniapoto' throughout the work but this is a broad description that incorporates the many iwi and hapu that are part of the Ngati Maniapoto group of people.

of classification and representation that has taught and trained me to conform to the 'west's' standards of academy.

The conscious choice to collect the stories of Maniapoto elders was easy. For some time, Maori in particular, have bemoaned the volume of Pakeha works on Maori subjects and the dearth of references to Maori scholars writing about and for us. While the contributions by Pakeha authors, including Smith, Best, Schwimmer, Ritchie, King, Belich and Salmond and many others have made positive impacts, many have had flaws in their approaches. The earlier authors in particular were a mixture of amateur ethnologists and anthropologists (Biggs, 2006:20) having received no formal ethnographic training and all employed a rather colonistic gaze. This was in part due to the period as 'anthropology' arose out of Europe in the 1800's (Goldberg, 1993). Anthropology has relied heavily on and was closely aligned to scientific and ideological studies of the period and as a result has from inception been closely tied to colonialism and imperialism (Reagan, 2005; Cook-Lynn, 2001:199). As a result little in the way of formal training existed. In addition, the origin of this and related disciplines was overtly supremacist seeking justifications and evidence of indigenous inferiority (Golderg, 1993).

My rangahau seeks to employ Maori sources, Maniapoto sources, as primary data and as a means of honouring Maniapoto ways of being and Maniapoto knowledge. This is a conscious choice and acknowledges that 'Maori' has been constructed in relation to ideas of identity contrasted to that of Pakeha identities (O'Regan, 2001) and occurs against the back drop of the pervasive historical process – de-localisation,' (Pelto & Pelto, 1975:31) the explicit tendency of a defined population to become increasingly dependant on resources, information flows and socio-economic linkages with systems outside their particular area. The thesis attempts to resist de-localisation by approaching the rangahau with a located approach and a return to the centre. Ngati Maniapoto uses knowledge and science interchangeably to include things such as art, metaphysics, spirituality, ecology, architecture, practical technologies, agriculture, ritual, ceremony, astronomy, farming, medicine, hunting, fishing and geology. This methodological approach supports and responds to a point highlighted by Mead (2003:11);

> *As a nation we tend to ignore Maori researchers and Maori scholars generally. We do not write articles about them and it is only very rarely that we honour them.*[43]

This work acknowledges the scholarly abilities and qualities of the people on my 'doorstep' and provides me with an opportunity to humbly honour them. In doing so I seek to explain Maori knowledge from a uniquely Ngati Maniapoto informed view.

Concluding discussion

The words of Lucius Outlaw (1995:305-306) seem to me to be a very useful summary that synthesises the work thus far in relation to ethnicity, epistemology, knowledge, us and me and in so doing resonates powerfully the agenda of this project.

> *Why race and ethnicity in relation to philosophy? In short I am convinced that we are living through a period in which race and ethnicity are so challenging to the prospect of our enjoying a future in which we can and will flourish that we are compelled to undertake a fundamental revision of some of our basic convictions regarding who we are, what our lives should be about and how we will achieve our goals, both individually and collectively. Since such concerns have provided the motivating core for much of western philosophy (and its sibling fields of inquiry) for more than two thousand years...Finally, there is the deeply personal dimension to...focussing on these issues, for they come together in a poignant way to constitute my very being and to inform my daily life, and thereby to condition the lives of all who interact with me: I am a philosopher; I teach portions of the history of the discipline; but I do so as a person of a racial/ethnic group whose existence is marked by the holocaust of enslavement and other forms of oppression which have been rationalised by some of the 'best' minds in the pantheon of western philosophers. Thus, not only in practical living must I contend with constricting factors having to do with the politics of race and identity, I must do battle as well, inside the*

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[43] An exception to this would be the Royal Society of New Zealand that has endowed a medal for social scientists in the name of Te Rangi Hiroa.

very citadel of reason where enlightenment leading to enhanced living is supposed to have its wellspring...I have committed myself to confronting this seedy aspect of its underside and to the clearing of intellectual and social spaces in which we might come together to work and dwell in peace and harmony with justice.

This chapter has shown how writing and answering back can be one way to rupture dominant group worldviews that marginalise and make inferior indigenous ways of knowing and being. I have argued that the (re)creation of our own methodologies and systems for understanding are important intellectual, political and cultural projects that can support this goal. To this end I have attempted to introduce methodological elements that are collectively called Whakapapa Korero Methodology. From this I have described selected methods considered most useful in advancing my specific rangahau project. These methods entail thematic analysis of qualitative data and story from personal and shared experience which are culturally relevant and powerful tools for working with indigenous epistemes and knowledge.

KOWAE TUAONO
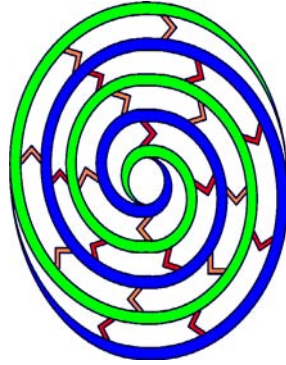
Ko Te Kai a te Rangatira he Korero: The food of leaders is speech.

Introduction

This chapter analyses the korero shared by my elders relaying it in themes. The data collection and presentation had a vibrancy offering some challenges. As detailed in an earlier section that explains the method I have employed and acknowledging that the participants had te reo Maori as their first language I asked the questions from the interview guide in Maori. This may have been a cue or trigger that predetermined their choice of language, they were certainly able to communicate in both Maori and English if they chose and in some cases the participants moved between languages when trying to clarify and emphasise ideas. Those that did speak English at different points found themselves repeating their views or emphasising them in Maori. This repetition and focus were attempts to get clarity of meaning and largely because it was difficult to explain (in the English language) the ideas and meanings encapsulated within their thinking and inherent within the concept of whakapapa and the other points they were expressing. This was made apparent at the conclusion of one of the interviews in what was a more informal period when one elder said;

> *You know, it's bloody hard trying to explain Maori things in Pakeha.*
> *Even when you say it in Pakeha its not the same as what it is in Maori.*

The themes have been presented here and have been illustrated with verbatim excerpts from the data together with examples from experiences. Four major themes have been identified from the data. These are;

- Epistemes
- Mauri ora
- Worldview and Identity
- Te Tai Ao

Each theme has a number of subthemes commenting on and contributing to aspects of each of the primary ideas expressed. This section reports on epistemes with the other themes in the next chapter and highlights that epistemes and knowledge systems are inextricably connected. I advocate for this context the use of the word 'episteme' as being more helpful for this work presented here in relation to our knowledge systems. I find that episteme speaks to areas of maramatanga – wisdom, philosophy and its many elements inherent within the ideas of knowledge, knowledge systems, world views and culture and so is a useful term for encapsulating the broad meanings and nuances of those areas of study. For me, episteme has great utility and invites a breadth of coverage of a wide range of ideas and words that often cause confusion to the point of distraction as people attempt to deconstruct and differentiate them from each other.

Whakapapa korero was viewed by the elders as a central pillar of Maori epistemes and that the continued maintenance, enhancement and advancement of Maori epistemes were integral for the maintenance of Maori cultural identities of significant meaning. The elders highlighted the challenges to whakapapa korero, potentials for reclamation of whakapapa korero and initiatives that support the transmission of whakapapa korero and knowledge for the continued existence and development of Maori epistemes, including Maori cultural identities.

Epistemes

Centrality of whakapapa korero

Whakapapa korero was explained by the elders as central to Maori knowing and thought and to be found present at all levels and in all spaces within the Maori world as part of Maori episteme. Whakapapa korero, according to the elders, encapsulated what Maori often refer to as, te hohonutanga o nga mea katoa, - the depth of understanding of all things, as one participant explained. Locations such as the ngahere (forests), moana (oceans) and rangi (sky) utilise whakapapa korero as the primary tool for the ontological ordering and explanation of the Maori world. For example, the tension filled relationships between Tane as atua for land and Tangaroa as atua for the moana explains and provides rationale for the activity of erosion where Tangaroa continues to eat away at Tane as retribution for separating their parents.

Other examples include a place at Kawhia we call Hawaiki, when we tell of its significance in story to our children. As related above (see Kowae Tuatahi) this is where an ancestor planted kumara on arrival to Aotearoa that provided for our survival. Our connections to the ancestral origins in the Pacific, Hawaiki, support and provide explanation for why we hold this place in deep respect and prefer it to remain untouched and undisturbed.

Ideas of kaitiakitanga or stewardship are encapsulated in this practice where we are able to take ancestrally inherited ideas of kaitiakitanga and apply them to our contemporary realities so that we can continue to be in relationship with our environments.

The idea of relationships is carried over to human relationships when we cook or harvest food from our garden and share it out with elders in our area as part of an unwritten responsibility to look after our elders.

Selection and Access to Whakapapa Knowledge

Knowledge of different sorts was alluded to by the elders as having different value depending on the context and relative importance to particular people. The value applied to knowledge forms differed between groups and individuals. This was often seen with knowledge that was freely given to some but not to others because of subjective but informed decision making that can be based on relationship, expertise,

reciprocity and the position or state of the giver at the time. Other knowledge may be nurtured or protected for similar reasons.

Knowledge of high value was not uncritically or indiscreetly shared but careful selection decisions about what knowledge to share and with whom was made by holders to ensure that knowledge was shared with those who could respect and act appropriately as the current stewards. It was explained that knowledge has value and worth and was not to be shared so freely that it might become common to the extent that your or your family's mana and that of those who may have been responsible for you having a level of knowledge, might be diminished or damaged as a result of it becoming common or abused. One kuia explained;

> *They used to say if, mehemea ka ako koe i te tauhou, ki tangata ke, ka ngaro to mana, you lose it*

> *If you teach a stranger, someone from another place you will lose that which gives you your uniqueness and make it common.*

This idea acknowledges the mana and tapu associated with knowledge considered valuable and speaks to the links between knowledge and unique identity. In relation to theories of knowledge it has multi levelled meanings saying that there is not a large amount of articulation of it but as highlighted above there are clear guidelines, that can be highly subjective, in terms of transmission, preservation and selection.

The elders did not easily articulate in spoken form the ideas or the thinking behind things such as knowledge transmission and the perpetuation of culture. This, they explained, was because they did not devote large amounts of time reflecting on the thinking but more time on actual living practice as active practitioners of things such as conservation and knowledge sharing as a tacit activity, a cultural praxis, of reflection in action. One example was highlighted by the elders;

> *He aha te take ka ako waiata tonu tatou?*

*Mai ra ano tenei kaupapa, kia mohio matou ki nga mea e ngakau nui
ana, kia kore e ngaro, hei manaaki i a tatou pea, kare matou i te ata
mea atu, anei te take, engari ka mohio te wairua, te ngakau, e tika ana.*

Why do we still learn waiata?

*We have always done so, perhaps it is so we can retain the things we
value, so that those things will stay with us, so that they can support
us, we don't detail at great length why, yet our spirit and hearts know
that it is right for us to do so.*

Participants reported that in their experience, particularly as youngsters, individuals who showed particular interest in learning were most commonly initially denied access to discussions and korero on the subject primarily as a test to see if they had the required desire and persistence. Those that showed the requisite skills after this initiation period, were actively encouraged to attend and participate in fora from which they were actively supported and directly, indirectly and subtly trained in an informal 'apprenticeship.' Whilst knowledge acquisition was encouraged and advanced, perseverance by those selected to become more engaged was a highly valued characteristic over and above early aptitude. Demonstration of perseverance guaranteed greater support and encouragement from mentors.

Several of the elders, particularly those from 'arts' fields, including whakairo and raranga, shared the significance of the experience and centrality of their first activity or piece of completed work in their lives as a direct result of their training and the teachings they had received. Activities such as their first waiata, karanga, whaikorero, whakairo or raranga all remained very clear in their minds highlighting the importance and significance of the event. These activities, that they remembered so vividly, were the culmination of their knowledge acquisition at that time, what they called their 'tauira', their first creation. Tauira refers to an example: it can also mean your 'ira' or spiritual essence and worth that has been bestowed (tau) into the elements you have created. The idea of giving away your first piece is also acknowledgement that knowledge was freely given to you and that you must also freely give it away. This idea of giving away knowledge or the results of knowledge

acquisition underpins much of Maori thinking about knowledge, that is, it is to be given and shared with others as tacit acts of redistribution for wellbeing both personal and collective. This was a vivid memory for one of the elders interviewed. She explained;

> *When I finished my first piece my dad was really over the moon and he said the first thing you do, that's your tauira and you must give it away, I said I didn't want to give it away, he said, "no," that's your incentive to make one bigger and better, anyway I forgot about it and anyhow later he invited this old koroua to come over and during the course of the visit he handed him my tauira and said, "anei te tauira o to mokopuna."*

The importance of first works and the recognition of its significance are more than solely acknowledgment of achievement. They also serves as an articulation of having made the grade to continue, an expectation of more to come, a wider acknowledgment by others and as growing expertise as part of a theory of knowledge.

This example illustrates that much knowledge was given and received simply as ancestral practice. The requisite skills or abilities held by some members of a particular whanau were freely shared to support the continuation and wellbeing of individuals and collectives. Critical inquiry into practices and reinforcement of theories most commonly occurred through reflective re-interpretation and appropriate questioning seeking to gain greater clarity or comprehension. Often, understandings were not on the surface of things quite obvious but usually required deep thinking and arriving at individual interpretations, after a period that could run into years of contemplation (Young, 2003). An example in relation to my own contexts refers to the kawau, the cormorant or sea shag. Before our eponymous ancestor Maniapoto died he said, 'Kia mau ki te kawau maro, whanake ake, whanake ake.' Literally be like the sea shag. The sea shag is a bird that as it takes off and when it flies it projects its neck out and makes it rigid and its body into an arrow head shape to be more aero dynamic. For many years many of us have been told that it meant that by all of our people being united and working together, we would be able to make the arrow shape of the kawau and over come all obstacles as, similar to the kawau, we flew in a flock.

Recently an elder has critiqued this and has commented that he has never personally seen this, although he has seen many kawau. In his view the meaning may have been that we should be resolute and determined. Latterly we were talking about this and the elder commented on another incident he had heard of as regards the kawau. His father was visited by an old couple who had bought with them a letter from their grandson living overseas. In the letter the grandson said, "Ka maro te kaki a te kawau a te Rahoroi," literally, the neck of the kawau will become rigid on Saturday. The couple asked the father of my elder for its meaning, fearing it was an ill omen. He reassured them and advised that their grandson would return to them on Saturday. On the Saturday the grandson did in fact return to the old couple. Sometime later the old couple visited my elder's father and queried how he knew that the grandson would return. He explained that it was quite simple as the kawau stretches out and makes rigid its neck just before it flies and so he knew this was a reference to flying home. These examples illustrate that meanings are not always obvious in Maori worldview and can be interpreted in multiple ways. Additionally, connection to those elements of 'code' and lived experience plays a large part in deciphering and making sense and meaning of reality.

The value applied by many to aspects of Maori knowledge changed to differing degrees when Maori knowledge became actively discriminated against by forms of Christian theology, English legislation and education, so that Maori knowledge became subjugated and marginalised. Recognising that Maori knowledge was at risk many experts began to innovate and train and actively teach others outside the normally recognised group, including Pakeha to ensure cultural continuation. In many cases this was an underground type of practice in that it occurred informally and usually without fanfare or wide promotion and against a backdrop of government activities to extinguish Maori knowledge. One kuia shared what her mother had told her;

> *Well, the thing was, the Maori Women's Welfare League started, then she (my mother) said, well if anyone wanted to learn how to make a kit that she would teach them, and I said to her did she have to be careful, and she said that if you were in doubt say a little prayer.*

The concept of teaching your own had until the introduction and assimilation of non-Maori worldviews and practices supported the idea of safe and ethical practice. Teaching your own whanau was seen as a preferred option. One elder commented;

> *He pai kia whakaako i to tamaiti, to whanaunga ranei, mena ka he to mahi ka noho tonu i roto i a koutou, e kore e pa atu ki tetahi atu whanau, hapu, a, e kore te whakama e pa mai ki to whanau.*

> *It is best that you teach your own children or relatives, if what you teach is wrong it will stay within your family, it won't affect others more distant and your family will not feel the consequences of the mistake.*

Another element of knowing as detailed by the elders is how you 'manage' your knowing. It is a commonly held view and practice that I have witnessed that those most knowledgeable and most appropriate in Maori societies usually speak least, but that when they do speak it is unique and of a level not frequently heard in common discussions. Another similar idea is that when a member of a family related to you does well you do not sing their praises as it is considered that your degree of connection is so close that when you sing the praises of someone close to you that you are also in fact singing your own praises and pursuing glorification for yourself which is frowned upon in Maori society. This is encapsulated in korero such as;

> *E kore te kumara e korero ana mo tona mango,*
> *The kumara does not speak of its sweetness.*

and,

> *Me noho whakaiti,*
> *be humble.*

In relation to sharing knowledge or teachings and wisdoms you may have received one elder commented on the importance on how you conducted yourself explaining;

Me maumahara, kaua e puta mohio. Mehemea ka puta mohio ka puhaehae etahi, tera pea ka he to mohio, ka pewhea tatou o te kainga? Ka noho tatou i te whakama.

We must remember not to show off how much we may know. If we do so some others will become envious, perhaps we may be wrong in what we know. What will that mean for those others of us? We may all become accountable for the actions of a few.

Each body of knowledge in Maori society also has its own terms, ideas and discourse and is replete with elements that connect succinctly the many social, cultural and spiritual aspects of Maori society into a logical and coordinated body. For example patterns in muka korowai (traditional cloaks) such as hukahuka and pokinikini refer and remind us of snow flakes in the case of hukahuka and tears or stars in the sky in the case of pokinikini that refer to and remind us of those that have departed and who have 'wheturangitia,' or gone to shine like stars in the night sky. These ideas respectively, link us to the physical and spiritual environs that are fully appreciated in the case of muka korowai when the korowai is worn and allows the coming together of all those elements described above and considered integral to Maori world views. Many terms were able to be applied in other contexts also but usually had similar but different meanings in another context.

Whakapapa korero endangered

The elders highlighted the effects of colonisation and that with the move by Maori to cities came the dislocation of large numbers of Maori from ancestral connections to kainga, marae and lands, that whakapapa korero and associated meanings and practices had gradually diminished. An elder said;

Na te haere ki nga taone i ngaro haere aua tikanga, kare ratou i noho i nga kainga, korero ai, kare i hoki ki nga marae, noho ai, ko nga tangi anake nga tino kaupapa e haere ana i enei ra i runga i nga marae. Na tera ka waiho nga tikanga, te taha Maori.

Because people moved to cities the cultural practices have become lost and the practices of home have ceased, participation in and of marae have decreased. Funerals are the primary activity of marae today and the primary reason people come back. Because of these things our Maori ways of being and knowing have been swept aside.

They explained that in their view whakapapa knowledge started to change in the 19th century when the Native Land Court system that required people to whakapapa to land meant that whakapapa did not get used or heard as much, as it was commonly being used by people to stake land claims and disinherit others as competition for land increased. This resulted in disruption of Maori knowledge. One kaumatua well versed in whakapapa explained;

Ko te take, ka whanakohia etahi i to whenua i tenei mea te whakapapa.

Whakapapa knowledge was used to steal the land of others.[44]

As well, Maori up until the war years and even into the 1960's lived in closer communities that meant Maori principles and practices encompassed and encapsulated in whakapapa korero were in common usage including visiting relations, talking, singing and relating through the day and night at kainga. This changed as people left kainga and ancestral locations and contexts to find work and as a result the opportunities to meet became less frequent. To respond to these challenges a lot of whakapapa was committed to books so that future generations could remain connected without fully disclosing publically elements of whakapapa korero that could be used for inappropriate purposes. Whilst whakapapa korero in these written contexts was limited and defined and did not provide the level of depth, fluidity, context and dynamism that oral whakapapa korero did, it was a way to ensure continuity that would have otherwise been difficult to maintain.

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[44] In some environs Maori are arguing that this practice is still occurring via the current Treaty of Waitangi settlements processes.

The centrality of the kainga in knowledge transmission and its gradual change in focus was considered by the elders as a key loss for Maori cultural identities. One put it this way;

> *Kua mahue te kainga. Kua noho taone te nuinga. Engari kei te kainga, kei te whenua, kei te marae nga korero hei tu tika, tu pai te tangata.*

> *The kainga has been left behind and forgotten. Most live in cities. But the knowledge lies in the homelands, in the land and at the marae to support human wellbeing.*

The elders believed that whakapapa korero was still endangered and facing challenges today. They highlighted that whakapapa korero is a tool and system that is not designed for speed but requires patience, time and a lived commitment. This is inconsistent with the contemporary world that advances practices of high speed as highly valued and also advances non-oral communications over oral communications, although this is not a recent phenomenon. These elements of patience, time and commitment conflict with the requirements and practices needed to acquire meaningfully the elements of whakapapa korero as a body of knowledge.

As well, the passing of large numbers of kaumatua and kuia, many of whom had whakapapa knowledge was causing concern to the elders interviewed as it is their view that this information is being lost at an alarming rate and not many systems exist for its protection, reclamation and maintenance. One elder shared;

> *Ko te raru ki au nei, e ngaro haere ana nga kaumatua, titiro ki to tatou marae, ko maua anake ko taku hoa e whakahaere ana te marae, ahakoa kua tae ke atu maua ki te ripo tauarai. E noho taone ana a maua tamariki, kare i te ako nga mea o te kainga, ko ta ratou, kia whai putea mo te whanau.*

> *The problem is the continual loss of elders, look at our marae, only my wife and I are here to run the marae and we are quite old. Our kids*

live in town and so they aren't able to learn the things they need to, they are working to support their families.

Elements of Reclamation

Whilst elders showed concerns for the continuation of whakapapa korero and the maintenance of Maori epistemes they did believe that there are initiatives that can and are supporting Maori epistemic survival and sustainability. The elders highlighted that contexts for learning and knowing have shifted from central places such as our kainga, our marae and our landscape environments, to institutions, predominantly located in major cities, to continue the transmission. However, this change was tempered by views that these institutions operate under systems that do not give Maori knowledge centrality so that it is more generalised and controlled by fiscal realities for those who deliver it.

The participants argued that learning occurs across spiritual, physical, social and cognitive dimensions and that the Maori world view is an interconnected system for creating reality. That system I argue is whakapapa korero. One elder said;

> *Learning is not just a physical activity, all learning has a spiritual element, that is from te ao wairua, our dead ancestors teach us, some have dreams, some can read signs, some have visions, that is all spiritual. The physical and spiritual is also connected to what we do with knowledge and how we use it for our people. This connects the physical, spiritual and social into one whole system.*

The elders believed that connections of meaning and relationship were maintained, acknowledged and actualised through etiquette such as karanga, powhiri and poroporoaki. Knowing came from being in a kainga and the context of the times. While it was acknowledged that contemporary realities do not always make for ideal learning opportunities, the elders did believe that with the investment of time there was potential for developed understandings of whakapapa korero and whakapapa knowledge relevant to the current times. An elder explained with an inquiring tone;

Tera pea ka ora tonu to tatou Maoritanga i roto i nga wharekura, whare wananga hoki, tera pea ma nga wananga, ki whea ranei, ka mohio ai tatou ki nga mohiotanga i waiho ratou ma, kia ora tonu, kia ora pai tatou i tenei ao.

Perhaps our ways of knowing and being will find life in schools and universities, perhaps by having wananga held in different places we will be able to engage in the wisdoms and knowledge of our ancestors so that we might live sustainably in this time and in this world.

The strength and capacity of the elder's grandparents to learn and retain whakapapa knowledge was largely put down to the investment of time. For whakapapa knowledge to be a feature of contemporary Maori society in meaningful ways, committed time or activities in connection with kainga, knowledgeable people and tikanga was a necessary ingredient for maintaining, enhancing and advancing Maori knowledge systems and identities.

The elders believed intensive wananga held potential reclamation opportunities for whakapapa knowledge systems and transmission but that the most appropriate and powerful possibilities were best supported in the kainga or home and at the marae surrounded by those knowledgeable and also within the context of ancestral locations as part of a way of normalised living. One of the elders emphasised this point by stating;

Ki te mohio ki te whakapapa...he pai i roto i nga whare wananga mehemea kei reira koe e noho ana, kei reira koe e ako ana, he pai. Engari kia tuturu mau, kei te hiahia tera tangata, a wai ra, kia tika, kia tino mau, me akonga i te kainga.

To know whakapapa...it's okay to learn in universities if that's where you are living or studying, but to know intimately, if that is the true desire of an individual, to receive fully and know deeply, that can only be learnt in ancestral locations.

The idea of ancestral locations referred to here refers to spaces, places and times where a whakapapa connection by blood, occupation, event or activity provides a connection of meaning for an individual or group that relates the contemporary individual and/or collective to that context.

Knowledge acquisition and transmission

Inextricably linked to discussions of knowledge, worldviews, culture, whakapapa korero and such epistemic ideas was the frequent use of some overarching terms. These terms were used by the elders in explaining Maori knowledge systems. These terms were shown as applicable across fields and domains of Maori knowledge and were used by the elders for levelling, highlighting degrees of knowing, sense of meaning and importance.

As an illustration, aho matua in taniko (lattice) is the first line of the taniko work and is the foundation from which all other taniko lines will be linked, connected and aligned. In whakapapa language aho matua refers to the main line of a lineage from which all other pekapeka, or branches and lines of descend develop. The idea of aho and matua show a space of significance and high regard as well as a position. This has relevance when people relate to each other and there is mutual acknowledgement that a person comes from the aho matua line of a family or group and confers on that person a privilege that is reserved for those from that line.

In relation to the ideas of whakapapa korero and knowledge the key and common terms that appeared during conversations highlighting degrees and depth of knowing were matauranga and mohio, matau and marama. What was absent but was queried was the term kaupapa Maori. The first set of terms are still in common usage today and provide an interesting insight into views and explanations of knowledge, whilst the views of the elders of the more recent term kaupapa Maori also highlighted interesting developments in Maori society. In addition I discuss a series of less widely used concepts referred to by participants.

a. Matauranga

Matauranga is frequently referred to today to mean education or knowledge. Interestingly, none of the elders had heard of matauranga when they were growing up.

They said that this term had only recently come into use to refer to knowledge. They believed this word was used to refer to what they called Pakeha knowledge, or knowledge gained through European style education and most commonly taught by Europeans to Maori. One male elder when asked what he thought of matauranga replied;

> *Kahore e tuturu tera whakaaro. Na te Pakeha tena whakaaro, he korero mo ta ratou mohio ki te ao. Kua riro tera kupu mo te matauranga i nga whare wananga.*

> *That is not original Maori thinking. That belongs to Pakeha, it explains their knowledge of the world. That word now refers to knowledge acquired in Pakeha universities.*

Matauranga, he believed, was a term used to explain Pakeha knowledge and was he believed a Pakeha discourse of Maori knowledge systems and practice. This view emphasised more recent and growing concerns held about the way the term matauranga has been captured and re-invented and in the process has limited (and denigrated) Maori epistemes as the tension between Maori and non-Maori epistemologies grows in intensity. Another elder had similar thoughts,

> *A word you hear a lot now days is matauranga, when you were growing up did you hear that word often?*

> *No! Never ever heard it, lot of these words we never ever heard, cause those are all Pakeha terms, they were just a word for Pakeha things...I never ever heard those words!*

This potentially asks the question of what this means for matauranga Maori. I believe we have two potential options. One is to reclaim the term and re-present matauranga Maori in ways that we se as fit or move our thinking to maramatanga Maori – Maori wisdoms and articulate it for ourselves and then to protect the articulation form abuse.

b. Kaupapa Maori

Another common term that was discussed was Kaupapa Maori that has great saliency today and is arguable a reclamation strategy to signal to both Maori and Pakeha that this domain is Maori. The elders' shared some valuable insights and views. When asked about Kaupapa Maori one replied;

> *Do you recall your parents' generation talking about Kaupapa Maori?*

> *Well, no they never spoke about kaupapa Maori, they just spoke about the kaupapa for something, the kaupapa of this, it was never differentiated that there was kaupapa Maori cause Maori was everything, everything they did was a kaupapa, you never said it was kaupapa Maori, who's the other kaupapas?*

This view highlights the Pakeha and Maori relationship as the elders interviewed, on the whole, did not grow up with much Pakeha interaction and as a result they did not spend a lot of time invested in Maori/Pakeha relations and so Kaupapa Maori as a discourse and relationship is largely foreign to them.

This recent invention highlights the increasing relationship occurring with and between Maori and non-Maori epistemologies. There are both benefits and costs of this relationship continuing, no matter how inevitable it may be. The benefits include the continued acknowledgement and the conversations of Maori epistemologies that are happening. These discussions help make visible and central discussions about wellbeing, including those of cultural identity that can inform solutions based thinking to increase Maori wellbeing that is, importantly, underpinned by Maori culture and world view.

However, the conversations usually focus much of the attention on the role of non-Maori and engagements with Pakeha discourses rather than encouraging investment in our own epistemologies. We run very real risks of compromising to the point that we uncritically import elements of non-Maori epistemologies into our episteme and being and as a result replicate the colonial viruses and infect ourselves with those things that we are seeking to shed and that may actually not be in our best interests.

In relation to Matauranga Maori and Kaupapa Maori and the views of the elders we are able to see the development of intellectual thought as conscientisation and transformation aimed at emancipation. Within these paradigms I believe we are today in a place of moving from Kaupapa Maori, that has created the space for our enquiries, as the only way of conceptualising and operationalising the emancipation agenda and are more fully exploring Matauranga Maori potentials, much of which is not predetermined. This offers us (k)new space to think about our freedom.

c. Mohio, Matau, Marama

It was apparent from the discussions that stages of knowing are stratified ranging from mohio to matau or matatau to marama and yet the uses and applications were diverse and changeable depending on the prefix.

In differentiating between these terms participants discussed;

- Mohio - having a knowledge of something,
- Matau/matatau – having a developed knowledge, but additionally an understanding of how and when to apply the knowledge in appropriately meaningful contexts.
- Marama – depending on usage it can mean a level of understanding and comprehension that occurs across levels ranging from low to deep and enlightened of a high order.

The key difference appeared to be that someone who is mohio has knowing that can be quantified whereas with matau it is known that they are knowledgeable but it is unsure how much they know. This was detailed by one of the elders;

> *Mohio is just to know, he has knowledge, he knows, matau is…not an expert but coming up to be an expert, like you know and your quite an authority and that, mohio is just..he mohio tera tangata, oh yeah he knows, but one doesn't know how much he knows, matau, well he knows all about that.*

What was clear is that these terms are subjectively used and could only be fully understand as to the level of knowledge that was being referred to within the context of which it was said and being applied to.

Experience and experimentation

The elders collectively believed the ability to experience and experiment with knowledge was central to the way Maori come to know. They believed that Maori shared knowledge but that in the majority of cases it was up to the individual to experience and experiment further on teachings they had received as part of developing deeper personal understandings. This formed the basis of Maori empirical and inductive methodology where large tracts of knowledge were built up over generations of observation, discussion and reflection contributing to a body or bodies of knowledge that is used to inform practice and to support articulations of realities. An elder highlighted this;

> *My father taught us what he knew, what had been taught to him by his grandparents who had in turn been taught by their grandparents. By listening to what he was taught, and applying those things he was taught in different situations, he learnt new things and we benefited from all the learning's. Hopefully I have listened and learnt what he knew and can add what I have learnt and experienced and can pass that on to others by them talking with me or seeing how I do things. I guess, a lot of what we now take for granted as the way to do things is because of the combined teachings of all those people right up to now.*

The elders believed that effective teachers didn't direct the learning but rather guided and that passive approaches were most useful. One of the elders explained it like this;

> *E kore te kaumatua e tohutohu, engari na te titiro, te whakarongo me te korero hoki, ka mau.*

> *It was not the way of the elders to tell people how to think, but by watching, listening and discussion came understanding.*

The elders felt disappointment that in their view we no longer place as much emphasis on practices of active listening and as a result our levels of knowledge and relationship with knowledge have been eroded. One kuia said;

Kua wareware tatou ki te whakarongo.

We have forgotten how to listen.

Key ancestral skills brought forward into contemporary times, such as the ability to work with traditional materials, to develop and design tools for cultural application such as whakairo and waiata, the ability to live in substantial balance with the environment, the ability to perform and the ability to mediate relationships were highly respected and identified a high degree of expertise. There were a number of factors that the elders recognised as contributing value to any production including, a combination of the degree of depth of thinking, the preparation time required for raw materials, particularly older sources of raw material and the continued practice of older ways of knowing and doing that they had memory of. The contribution of time, perseverance, patience and connection with space and time were all highly respected.

The elders were not averse to progress and new technology. They collectively encouraged experimentation and adaptation for personal and contemporary contexts. One explained;

E maha nga mea o te ao hurihuri nei e pai ana ma tatou, nga mea hei whakamama i te mahi, era momo mea.

There are a large number of new things that are valuable for us now, those things that make our lives easier.

They said that in their experience experimentation usually occurred in personal and private settings to see if ideas worked. The good ones could then be shared more widely both humbly and without fanfare lest breach of Maori principles of whakaiti or humility occur and cause personal and collective shame.

He momo – characteristics of the knowledge holders

In most cases families or individuals within families were recognised by communities at large as being wise and knowledgeable and as having particular knowledge in a certain context. In this case the wisdom and knowledge had been passed down from one generation to another to selected individuals who had shown interest. This is commonly referred to as 'he momo,' a characteristic or trait within that particular whanau.

> *Aunty, ko tenei mea te waiata, ka taea nga tangata katoa te tito, te waiata hoki?*
>
> *Oh ae! Engari, kei etahi te momo, ka ora tonu ki roto i taua rarangi.*
>
> *Aunty, is it possible for anyone to create, teach and sing waiata?*
>
> *Most definitely! However some have it in their family line and character, it still lives within that particular family line.*

Amongst the elders it was recognised that momo still existed within families and they were able to recount families or individuals that had and continued the transmission of knowledge amongst succeeding generations. The elders considered that learning nurtured key relationships amongst family members, entities and the universe and that as a result of this view learning was more than an individual event. They also supported the idea that learning and them as transmitters were responsible for transmitting values, culture and identity and that learning was a contributor to wellbeing and collective cultural capital. They identified people who held status in areas such as whaikorero, waiata, raranga, whakairo, whakapapa and rongoa and were essentially recognised for these contributions within families.

The idea of momo as highlighted above, the continued redistribution of knowledge amongst a select group of people was recognised by the elders as a key responsibility of knowledge holders and that this usually occurred amongst people who had an intimate and close relationship and connection.

The extended family and the family was the central and primary group responsible for maintaining, enhancing and advancing knowledge. Families took it on themselves to teach each other and to share knowledge. As one elder explained;

The only way that I can see and I saw that with our dad was that because everything was recited all the time, they just kept reciting it ...and it's like their waiatas...they just kept singing them, but I know with dad right till the day he passed away, we used to hear him talk about history and so and so, the dates never ever changed...and yet he never had it written down, so it had to be through, just telling the stories all the time, just reciting it.

From daylight to dark that's all they did...they sat around and talked, talked whakapapa, talked history, talked, because there were no written books.

From your memory Uncle do we do that as much now as what they did then when you were growing up?

No! They don't do that now that's why now virtually everything is lost...The only time I used to see that was when we used to have people come to stay all the time they used to sit in the room and talk and you'd hear them going for hours and hours, you see that's when children were to be seen and not heard and half the time you were told to go out, you never hung around and it was really the nosy ones that used to...want to listen...they talked day and night, I can remember even at the huis, at the huis in the meeting house, they would be going all night and it was sort of a one-up-manship. On one side of the house might be the manuwhiri and on the other side was tangata whenua, and they would always be telling stories to see who could out do each other and they'd talk whakapapa, they talk...all sorts, but they just talked.

And then go to bed?

> *No, but they were in bed, they were in bed, but they never slept, the others that might be wanting a sleep, tell them to shut up, well those ones never learnt anything, the ones that stayed up and never got any sleep, well they learnt. I can always remember my dad and mum early in the mornings, it would be early in the morning I could hear them singing waiatas, learning waiata or brushing up on their waiata.*

The ideal teachers and pedagogies

The elders clearly differentiated between Pakeha and Maori knowledge. This distinction was due to the practices for teaching and learning, the values inherent within the practices and the purposes of and for knowledge being clearly different and distinct between the different epistemes and knowledge systems. One elder explained;

> *He orite te whakaako a te Maori ki te Pakeha?*

> *E kao! He mohio ano to tatou, a, he whare ako ano hoki. Ko ta matou ka ako mai nga whanaunga i te ao i te po, i nga waahi katoa. Karekau he wa ki te ako, kare he waahi mo te ako, a, ma te whanau ano e whakaako ona mohiotanga hei painga mo te whanau.*

> *Is Maori and Pakeha knowledge transmission similar?*

> *Certainly not! We have our own knowledge systems, and a framework for the transmission also. We rely on our relations to teach us, all day and all night we learn and in all spaces. We don't have a set time or set space for learning and we rely on whanau teaching those things it sees as valuable for collective benefit.*

The ancestors were the models from which the elders developed their own teaching models. They identified key competencies of experience, wisdom and patience as essential elements in the ancestors skill set. All the elders interviewed had at some time been raised by people other than their parents, most commonly their grandparents and as they explained this served to ensure cultural continuity and that

ways of knowing were shared and lived. In particular the first born male grandchild was held in high regard and it was normal and expected that the first child would be given to grandparents to sow knowledge for the collective benefit of the group so that knowledge transmission and continuity was actively planned and catered for. This was articulated by one of the elders;

> *Ka whanau mai he tama, he tamahine ranei, ka whangai e ratou nga kaumatua...te tama tuatahi i whanau mai, ka tangohia ratou kia korero tonu ratou, kia whangai tonu ratou kia mohio tonu tera tama era mea, kia mohio pai nga tikanga, nga whakapapa, nga mea mahi, etahi wa he tamahine.*

> *If a boy or girl was born the old people would take them, the first born boy, they would talk and talk to them and educate them so that they might learn well the practices, protocols, histories and connections and how to procure food for sustaining the people, sometimes this would also be a girl.*

Grandparent environments were common learning backgrounds that had been experienced by the elders and provided a large amount of empirical data for their views. These environments were considered by the elders to be rich with development opportunities.

> *Ko nga tino kaiako i au e tamariki ana ko nga tupuna, toku tupuna whaea, toku tupuna matua, na raua au i whangai. Ia ra ka akona e au etahi mea hou. Ki te kore au i noho i o raua waewae e kore au e mohio ki nga mea o te ao Maori.*

> *The real teachers whilst I was a child were my grandparents, my grandmother and grandfather, they provided me with learning. Each day I was exposed to new learnings. Had I not grown up at the feet of my grandparents I would not know the things I know today.*

Grandparents as teachers were remembered as a group who encouraged and extended learning and supported experimentation and adaptation in the experiences of the participants. One elder explained that grandparents supported other family members in knowing who they were by their context, their histories, their practices and their relationships with each other and the environment. She explained that had she not been raised by her grandparents she would not have known who she was;

> *Mehemea kaore au i tipu ake i te taha o aku tupuna, kaore au e mohio nga mea e mohio and au. Kaore au e mohio ko wai au.*

> *If I did not grow up with my elders I would not have known the things I now know, I would not know who I am.*

Large tracts of knowledge transmission were supported by rhythm that acted as stimulus for learning. Waiata, most commonly in the form of oriori (lullaby) was the most common early form of knowledge and learning stimulation experienced by the elders. In this case stimulus and transmission occurred in the period before sleep took over when lessons could be most powerfully absorbed. Maori speak and refer to this tacit practice as rongo momoe and tura moe, the absorption of knowledge in the stages of sleep and consciousness. Rongo momoe and tura moe are ways Maori know and explain the world. This practice and indigenous pedagogy is supported by the contexts of talking into the small hours of the morning at the marae and in the kainga that was related earlier. These practices supported the transmission and acquisition of knowledge.

Many elders recalled their elders teaching about and with dreams as matekite, the ability to vision and perceive events in advance or to make sense of past events. This was considered by all the participants as normal and real and that this activity was as relevant today as in past times. These events in our own community are still powerful ways that we come to know, understand and explain existence. Matekite knowledge was explained as resting within the Maori spiritual realm and not the Christian realm although the elders could move easily between both values systems.

This ability to distinguish and respect both systems of knowing poignantly reminds me of a case in my own family. Family records about my own great grandfather, John Henry Edwards and his death explains the level of understanding and explanation associated with spiritual knowing linked to whakapapa and is a powerful reminder of the place of spiritual knowledge in maintaining whakapapa connections between animate and inanimate entities and spanning generations.

Four centuries ago an ancestor of John's named Rua lost his sacred adze, Papataunaki in a hollow totara tree whilst snaring kereru and kaka. As a result the name and mana of Papataunaki lived on in the tree that eventually became personified, as was normal, as Papataunaki. Over the passage of time the tree died and dried and got carried away with flooding, resting on John's farm. Though dead and dried the tree was still revered by Maori as the personification of Papataunaki. John, being the son of a Pakeha father and Maori mother, and a matter-of-fact man with a Pakeha education and Pakeha connection decided to split the tree into much needed posts and set about doing so despite protests from his Maori relations. One remarked, "What! Cut up your ancestor for posts!" He prophesied dire consequences. John would not be dissuaded and carried on watched with apprehension by his relations and neighbours. Sure enough as two of the workmen were working by driving in the splitting wedges the tree suddenly split knocking one worker into the creek and badly injuring the other. The onlookers became excited exclaiming, "Ana! The spirit of Papataunaki still lives on in the tree, it is right and good." John, being indignant at events, carried on with the task and used some of the chips to cook food, being an act vilified by Maori as it made common the mana and tapu of Papataunaki. As a result John's house was declared tapu and John was boycotted for several months. The tohunga Hopa reluctantly removed the tapu using his own fire to cook food for John. Some time later John became ill with the Pakeha doctor prescribing bath treatment in the thermal waters of Rotorua. The course did no good and John returned home to Kio Kio. One night the signs of death, lightning were seen over John's home. John's

mother Rakapa attempted to ward off death by walking round the house in the dark reciting karakia but to no avail. To Maori and for John's actions this was tika - correct.

Some time later Helen, John's sister who was living with her mother Rakapa at Kio Kio heard a knock at the door that awakened her. She was aware someone was at the door and went back to sleep without waking her mother. The next morning she told her mother of the event and her mother explained, "I know, it was John telling me all was well with him."

This event from my own family history would have a sequel some 100 years later in my own experience. Several years ago a family member whom I had never met visited me from Australia seeking to know more of her family history, her genealogy, to add to her own base of knowledge. When I shared this story above with her as had been told to me she quickly came up with the decision that our great grandfather had been poisoned as this was the only explanation possible. She was unable to accept the spiritual nature of his death and passing and so invalidated it. She never received what she was seeking.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined the centrality of whakapapa korero in ideas and discussions of Maori episteme. Additionally key ideas for reclamation, terms specific to knowledge that are inextricably related to whakapapa korero and Maori episteme were extrapolated on including ideas of knowing and learning styles.

Knowing came most powerfully through interaction beside and with others, particularly interaction with elders in work activities where lessons and knowledge were covertly transmitted. This instruction has similarities to guided learning and mentoring. In this case many lessons and knowledge was deducted knowledge and learning and knowledge acquisition was an active process. Memory skills were encouraged and so activities required memory that was stretched, challenged and accuracy promoted.

This chapter has argued that knowing that emanates from learning recognises that in our world view learning was/is;

- Lifelong – what was considered to be 'womb to the tomb' as one participant said and involves a duty to ensure intergenerational transmission.

- Spiritually informed and oriented – te taha wairua and te ira atua – the spiritual dimensions of human beingness were recognised as part and parcel of any secular learning and knowing. This includes a respect and appreciation for visions, dreams and signs.

- A whanau activity – knowing and learning centres round the idea of whanau, a process and practice that includes and acknowledges family members and responsibility.

- Experiential – connected and informed by our lived experience through empirical observation, tikanga and ahuatanga as ritual practice and transmission in story, art and symbol.

In short Maori learning and knowing is (w)holistic, an integrated and inter-reliant whole system of life that supports the development of peoples at physical, social, human and intellectual levels.

KOWAE TUAWHITU
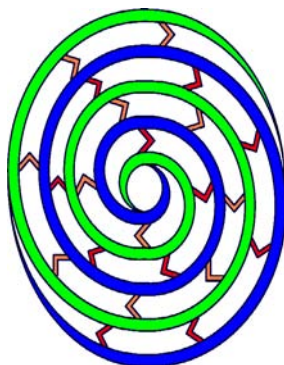
Tiakina to mauri, na to mauri to mana e tiaki: Caring for and supporting wellbeing.

Introduction

Mauri ora was identified as a second theme within discussion threads with the elders and seen as essential for supporting powerful potentials and identities. Mauri ora was a state of being that included ideas of being at ease, being well, a balance between all of the spirit, body and mind. The elders believed that a person whose mauri was in a state of wellness is able to function and contribute fully as an individual and as a member of a collective. Key elements that support mauri ora highlighted by the elders include whakapapa and turangawaewae as connections to entities including people and land.

The third theme identified was whakapapa, social order and identity. This theme highlights the role that whakapapa korero takes in supporting orderliness, understanding and meaning and in creating relationships of responsibility, respect and reciprocity.

The presence of these elements identified above in enhancing both strong individual and collective identities was further supported by discussions presented in the fourth theme, relationships with Te Tai Ao, the environment in the widest sense. Te tai ao relationships promoted greater understanding of self so that self-identity and inter-relationships can be strengthened. With this deeper and more meaningful

understanding and knowledge the elders' believed that Maori can navigate and negotiate the world at large with great confidence.

This chapter examines themes drawn from the korero shared by the elders, namely mauri ora, worldview and identity and te tai ao and explains their inter-relationships and relevance to our cultural identities.

Mauri Ora

The elders framed their views and thinking within Maori paradigms and rationales that consciously guides and invite us to engage with Maori epistemes. For example, they would frequently look to examples in nature, historical events, waiata and whakatauki to illustrate what they were saying or as the precursor to what they were about to say, constantly looking for some 'rule of law' that had occurred earlier as a precedent with which to base their views on. Often they would break into song, place a whakatauki in the dialogue or look out the window as though steering into the past or the forests and sea, drawing inspiration, as they spoke.

Participants saw mauri ora as a principle of individual and collective wellbeing, achieved through a balance of spirituality and knowledge, and as being essential to positive Maori identities.

Maori Marsden (2003) identified three features of mauri that operate in the world. Maori saw mauri as an energy that;

- Stimulated all things;
- Created order out of disorder; <u>and</u>
- Showed a sureness of touch that stems from inner clarity.

A key goal of living as viewed by the participants was the pursuit of mauri ora. As such mauri ora serves to stimulate activity, support orderliness and provide inner clarity. Mauri ora as participants spoke of it is a cultural response to our human beingness, the significance of moving beyond ourselves to affirm our uniqueness; the reality of always engaging in life with enquiring minds. One participant said;

As Maori we use our culture as a way of living, our culture enhances our mauri and our mauri is part of our culture. This is how we see the world, it might be slightly different to others, but through our culture we are able to have good and happy lives. If we didn't have our cultural identity who would we be?

Maori reasoning accepts that there is a common centre from which all mauri emanates a puna or putake from which everything is created and connected. Putake signals the original idea, ideal and principle with their attendant intent, purpose and obligations, indicating what, how and why practice, behaviours and attitudes should be fashioned and considered. In this fusion, a kaupapa and relationship-specific energy is engineered and so too the birth of a special and distinct mauri. An elder explained to me;

Na te whakarite kaupapa, kei tera kaupapa ano tana ake mauri.

As a specific activity emanates it is manifest with its own unique and particular mauri.

Every year we prepare a hangi to sell in our local town on New Year's day to support our marae. Despite it being a holiday period many of our people will return to our marae to help, we are not sure if it is actually to raise money for the marae solely or to maintain whanaungatanga, only our elders know their reasons, what we know is that our elders have asked us and so we do it. We grumble and moan about the heat, being on holiday and having to do a hangi, but we also laugh, we sit together and talk, our children run and play with each other all day, our elders tell us what we are doing wrong and say little if we are doing it right, which means we know we haven't got it wrong. A known and familiar mauri permeates the whanau there. The mauri is energised by the combination of the work, the closeness of family and friends and the proximity and relationship to our ancestral environment and the security that comes from knowing that we are continuing an enduring relationship.

Whakapapa and genealogy

Whakapapa serves to allow mauri to be recognised and operationalised by acknowledging that a whakapapa connection and relationship exists between entities in the universe. This imbues an obligation to bring into being by simple relationship to different degrees positively or negatively the mauri between those entities. How the mauri of others and self are maintained or advanced is ignited by the existence of whakapapa as a primary catalyst. This emphasises some level of importance of whakapapa for maintaining the relative mauri of all things.

Participants spoke of key distinctions between whakapapa and genealogy. The elders believed that in many cases genealogy was primarily used by others to 'whakanui,' to highlight the speaker or person who was discussing their genealogy and to self promote. This was not considered an appropriate use of genealogy when used in this way. Whakapapa, in the view of the elders, is most commonly used to highlight an individuals' ancestry as a tool for making and enhancing collective relationships. In this sense Maori use this tool whilst incorporating important ideas of mana-worth, tapu-sanctity, wehi-powerfulness and ihi-awesomeness. This is the spiritual element of whakapapa that supports mauri ora. Whakapapa and mauri are inextricably linked as is common with Maori first principles. For example, knowledge of whakapapa korero supports mauri ora-wellbeing, and mauri ora further supports whakapapa korero as each feeds off the other and because whakapapa can be a schema for describing order.

It is the spiritual essence of whakapapa sketched above that allows whanaungatanga, intricate relationships, to come into being that encapsulates ideas and levels of intimacy, alliance, collaboration and symbiosis. The ability to whakawhanaunga, to relate, is an expected and normal activity in both formal and informal contexts in Maori society. Those that can link people, place and events together with whakapapa korero are seen as highly intelligent and knowledgeable. Whakapapa is the tool that supports the processes of whakawhanaungatanga. The inability to whakapapa to a person or group when there is a real connection can lead in many contexts and cases to whakama or deep embarrassment. Additionally making wrong connections or errors in whakapapa also bring levels of embarrassment.

Whanau is to give birth to something whether it is inanimate as in an idea or an animate entity as in a human. Whakapapa as a concept supports the development of relationships at both a physical and spiritual level and seeks to enhance whanaungatanga to allow the physical-ira tangata and spiritual-ira atua, relationships to exist and blossom and contribute to mauri ora. One elder articulated the relationship thus;

> *Na te whakapapa ka whakawhanaunga tetehi ki tetehi kia ora pai tatou, ki te kore e taea e tatou te whakapapa, te whakawhanaunga ka noho tauhou tatou.*

> *Whakapapa provides the tool for us to relate and connect with one another so that we can live well lives. Without the ability to relate and connect to each other we will exist as strangers.*

The use by this elder of the term 'kia ora pai tatou' is a common phrase I have heard our people use when discussing ideas of wellbeing and wellness. It encompasses and can be applied to defined areas or as a whole view to wellness. It is often applied to different contexts depending on the topic that the phrase appears in, including ideas of economic, social and cultural wellness.

Distinguishing Religion and Spirituality

When mauri is placed with or becomes resonant within anything, the object acquires its spiritual essence, wealth and elements. The elders believed that religion and spirituality were distinctly different. Spirituality was considered the Maori system for connecting with and being in the world and that this was operationalised and honoured through whakapapa systems. An elder provided valuable insight into the distinction in their view when he said;

> *Religion was something that came with the European, spirituality mai i nga tupuna tera, tera i roto i o ratou karakia, nga karakia katoa, kare o ratou nei karakia i te karakia a te Pakeha i te wa i tae mai ai ratou, nga karakia o nga tupuna he karakia ki nga atua, e ki ana te korero, maha tonu nga atua a o ratou karakia, mehemea he karakia mo tenei,*

a, he atua ano mo tera...that was with the ancestors, that didn't come with the missionaries.

Spirituality, that comes from the ancestors, it lies within their karakia all the many karakia, their karakia were not the prayers of the Pakeha. At the time Pakeha arrived, the karakia of the ancestors were to all the atua, it's said that there are many atua that were acknowledged; a prayer for any particular thing also had an atua that presided over that particular thing.

The spiritual world of the elders recognises sanctity in all living things and this sanctity was acknowledged through karakia and reinforced in practices such as careful harvesting, conservation and ritual for preparation and recognition such as giving away or back first catches such as with fish, dedicating first fruits and produce from gardens to the appropriate atua. The world was organised with atua presiding over realms that were all inter connected and karakia to the appropriate atua who was recognised as having mana over a domain was practiced as tikanga. One such example shared with me was when some of our kaumatua used to go to collect kereru (wood pigeon) for the Koroneihana – the anniversary of the ascension of the Maori king of that time to the throne. Before setting off into the forest the kaumatua of the time would do karakia for the hunters to ensure a good supply and to protect the hunters from any accident. The elder I spoke with also advised that he was given instructions that the first bird that was shot had to have its tail feathers pulled, a hole dug where it lay and the feathers placed back in the ground as acknowledgment to Tane – atua of the ngahere –forest. An elder explained;

Ka ako au i nga karakia i nga tikanga i te mahi i te taha o aku matua. Ka haere ki te hi ika, ka mau ika, ko te mata ika ka whakahokia ki te wai kia Tangaroa kia aroha mai a Tangaroa ki a matou a, ka maha nga ika ka hopungia. Na taku papa nga karakia.

I learnt karakia and practices when I worked with my elders. We would go and catch fish, the first fish caught was returned to the sea, to Tangaroa in order that Tangaroa would find favour with us and we

> *might catch a large number of fish. It was my father who performed the karakia.*

A different example that was shared with me by my kaumatua arose when I bought some land and our children all started to get colds. My kaumatua asked if I had done karakia before I had gone onto the land to work it. When I replied that I hadn't he advised me to take some grass from outside the boundary of the land, to chew it in my mouth and to walk onto the land and to spit it out, thus removing any tapu-sanctity, from the land. I duly did this and our children's colds cleared up.

This view of the world as exemplified here ensured when activities such as growing things, destroying things, fixing things and administering things was surrounded and enveloped in ritual such as karakia. This acknowledgement reinforces that everything is connected and interactions with entities in the universe have an effect. The ritual and acknowledgment serve to acknowledge the mana and tapu that those entities have before engaging with them and in most cases altering the states of the entities.

The elders were able to respect and value both religion in reference to Christian theology and Maori spirituality. In the case of these elders from Maniapoto they were able to make very clear distinctions between Christian religion and the worship of God and Maori spirituality evidenced in karakia such as Paimarie and Nga Atua Maori – Maori deities, as they called them.

A common example I have seen is in relation to illness. Quite often we distinguish between being ill and what we call mate Maori – Maori illness. In the case of illness we simply go to the doctor, however if we believe it to be mate Maori we will go to our own people recognised as having skills for curing mate Maori reflecting our view that Maori illnesses are distinct from others and they require Maori solutions. In many cases the solutions include rongoa Maori – Maori medicines, karakia and mirimiri – Maori physiotherapy. On many occasions I will take my elders up to the hospital closest to us, some 90 minutes away, when members of our family are in hospital and attend karakia as our elders perform karakia over the ill.

Whakapapa, Social Order and Identity

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The third theme discusses how worldviews are placed within specific elements of social identity and the relationship to supporting Maori identities in the views of the elders. Order, and in particular these specific elements of social order detailed here, was considered important by the elders as it created strength and comfort as against high levels of chaos.

Whakapapa as Order

The elders discussed how social organisation and function was guided by whakapapa. Whakapapa is epistemology and as such is an organising principle for making order out of otherwise incomprehensible events. The elders explained that whakapapa serves to support orderliness, social organisation and role definition by detailing senior and junior positions to support a cohesive society by way of function, roles, responsibilities and position and that whakapapa was deeper than simple hierarchies.

For example, when I approached some elders about sharing their views for this thesis I was advised by some of them that I should first approach their elder brother or sister. I believed that their elder brother and sister did not have the knowledge of those I had approached, but however true that may have been, whakapapa order required that my first discussion was with the elder as they held a place of prominence as first born. Approaching a younger sibling could at one level potentially cause relationship challenges for the siblings if one was perceived to have acted improperly and at another level could bring whakama into being with one sibling being embarrassed for speaking out of turn or having not been approached first. This embarrassment could also reside with the whole family at yet another level if it appeared there was a power struggle existing that could destabilise whanau unity.

While ordinary power relations support authority and power over others, whakapapa requires the use of respect and consensus approaches as primary considerations for living and being. Whakapapa asks entities to consider their relatives in the broadest sense, whether those relatives be the forests, seas, humans both living and dead or the birds and animals, and the effects of actions on those relatives. Those relatives may be engaged through things such as karakia, dreams, visions and korero.

This approach supports orderliness and balance and acknowledges relationships and mana as important aspects of organisation. Within this paradigm roles were not fixed and could be given away to another to fulfil. One example related was how the eldest son had chosen not to be the speaker on a marae because he was not conversant in te reo Maori. That role he had handed over to his younger brother. However, the younger brother did not make decisions or statements without knowing beforehand what the views of the older brother were so that the orderliness and social cohesion including the idea of mana remained intact.

Another example that one participant relayed was when he was younger they would have one hot bath a week (on a Sunday). This was in an old 'copper' and involved a large amount of work fetching water and heating it. It was the practice supported by whakapapa that determined that the older children were responsible for ensuring the younger and perhaps still growing children needed to be cared for first. At another level it served to teach older siblings care and compassion and the roles and responsibilities of being a family member. The elder explained that the smallest children were bathed by the eldest and were always bathed first while the water was at its cleanest and baths would continue, culminating in the eldest going last. This was similar with eating so that care, love and consideration were ingrained from a young age. In this schema the needs of the young are placed ahead of those of older children who, on the flip side, also have rights, obligations and responsibilities as elder siblings. Some of these obligations and responsibilities, in my experience, are manifest later in life where the older children become the leaders for the family, spokes persons and decision makers.

Another example that is common practice amongst many Maori on marae is that there is a whakapapa order for activities such as karanga – the formal welcome call, and whaikorero – formal speech making where roles and responsibilities are inherited due to order of birth, age and skill that determine who performs these roles and when and in what order. These roles are usually shared when the holder of the different positions wishes to delegate those roles at any given time. What this signals is there is order that is determined and reinforced by elements of whakapapa.

Whakapapa is a tool that can be employed to make connections and unite people when employed to show the depth of relatedness. The whakapapa may not be a relationship of a bloodline only, there can also be events that have whakapapa, a sequential order that may also include blood relationships. Whakapapa in this sense is used to relate people to each other and to reinforce a common bond.

> *Ko te genealogy he rereke ano ki a tatou, he rereke ano te kaupapa e whai ana, ko to matou kia mohio ai tatou ki a tatou ano. Ko te Pakeha e kimi ana ano i tana rangatiratanga, ko te Maori kia mohio tatou te tuakana, te teina mai i nga herehere, nga hono hoki.*

> *Genealogy is different to what we understand and know. The rationale for genealogy is different to the purposes that we employ whakapapa; our purpose is so that we can meaningfully relate to each other for active purposes. Pakeha use genealogy to advance their own sense of their own worth, for us as Maori it is so we can differentiate the senior and junior relationships, the connections to each other and therefore the roles and responsibilities of each.*

This example and quote highlights that whakapapa serves to understand, explain and develop social practices in multiple different and sometimes contradictory ways. Whakapapa as a knowledge system also acts as a tool for knowledge redistribution, bonding entities and people together to support the conscious pursuit of wellbeing. In this sense whakapapa knowledge as a system is multidimensional with multiple purposes, uses and functions depending on context that supports the continuance, preservation and enhancement of knowledge in culturally defined and appropriate ways.

In this context knowledge is intimate, most commonly and almost predominantly shared with those with whom a relationship exists. This relationship is most commonly on the basis of a combination of genealogical connection and time in each others company. The most common benefactors of knowledge are connected in some meaningful way to the sharers of that knowledge. Knowledge acquisition came to the beneficiaries of such knowledge by way of interaction with knowledgeable people

who move in knowledgeable forums at which time the knowledge beneficiaries were able to engage in watching and listening. Formal tutelage in the traditional educational sense as explained here was not common practice. One to one opportunities came by way of seeking clarification and usually at much later dates. This was most commonly instigated by the beneficiary seeking clarification.

The ideal learners

While most knowledge forms were common to most people at an elementary level, for those acknowledged as skilled, keenness, perseverance and passion for learning was viewed by the participants as the primary characteristic of being a good learner and becoming skilled. Aptitude was seen as secondary to that. Many of the elders interviewed had grown up with and shared the view that the best learners initially spent great amounts of time listening and watching and less time speaking until they had developed a depth of understanding. The ability to watch and listen was seen as a highly valuable skill. As one elder said;

> *Mahia nga karu me nga taringa, me waiho te waha.*

> *Make full use of eyes and ears and leave the mouth for later.*

The ability to listen and develop understandings was further emphasised when the elders explained that the best learners came from a position of humility, were humble with what they knew and who didn't try to be seen as experts. These learners were those that commonly achieved the most, in contrast to those who espoused knowing above their actual ability and according to the elders, did not complete things they had started. Another characteristic respected by the elders amongst learners was an ability to organise and take care of themselves and their materials that were part of their knowledge area.

Learners or younger people were not encouraged to openly express their knowledge to advance their own standing as this opened up the potential for being challenged at the present or future times. Espousing knowledge invites challenge and attention that if found to be wanting had collective consequences for the individual concerned and wider whanau members. Central to the idea of humility was the view that we come to

know knowledge through patience. Most knowledge was not believed to come quickly but was acquired over time and came most powerfully to the patient, perseverant, studious and humble learner. One kuia explained this;

> *Aunty, what makes the best learners?*

> *Ha ha. You would think it is the ones that do the nicest work, but its not you know, most of the hard work and the quality of the work is in the preparation, it's a thankless task and the most difficult, it takes perseverance and patience to get the preparation done. It's the ones that can persevere and are patient. I've seen some really good tauira but they can't last the distance because they can't persevere or want it finished quickly. They run out of steam after a while and are impatient, then they make mistakes, then the quality drops off and then they get hoha. Give me a patient, perseverant person over someone who is good straight off the blocks any day.*

While these characteristics were recognised as most successful for learning the innovative and creative were greatly admired when successful. Their distinctiveness and new contributions would be highly praised. On the other hand if the innovations did not work or were considered foolhardy the individual would face a level of ridicule. Most innovation was developed over time rather than a single moment and time was invested in thinking about how to do things better before attempts were made. One elder explained;

> *My mother was a little naughty, she would do things that at the time weren't considered proper and now I see everyone doing it, she got to a position with her skill that she could attempt new things and get away with it.*

Supporting cultural identities

The elders agreed that Maori cultural identities can be learnt and supported from different spaces and contexts but all agreed the most beneficial is within your own people and locations. One elder shared;

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Ae, ka taea te tangata te mohio atu ki ona hononga mai waahi ke, kei nga websites, nga pukapuka, kei reira etahi korero, heoi ano, ka kitea i tona ake kainga, tona whenua i te taha a tona whanau, tona hapu, ka mohio rawa ki tona tuakiri Maori.

Yes, it is possible for a person to know her connections from distant places, located on websites and in books, however, if they should make those connections with their ancestral locations and beside their own people they will know more deeply their Maori identity.

It was identified by the elders that in terms of cultural identity it is better to learn your own knowledge before venturing out and acquiring others' knowledge. They explained;

E kore e pai ki haere te tangata ki marae ke atu korero ai mehemea kaore ano te hapu, te whanau ranei i tukuna hei mangai, kei he ana korero, a, ka hoki mai ki runga i te whanau.

It is not appropriate for a person to travel to marae elsewhere and speak if that person's whanau or hapu is not approving of their speaking, this is in case their actions bring embarrassment to the family that the speaker is a member of.

The ability to connect also prevents the pervading power of whakama or shame and personal embarrassment occurring from not knowing who you are and where you are from and how you are connected.

Mena kaore te tangata e mohio ana ko wai, no whea ia, ka pewhea?

Ka aroha, ka noho whakama, kare te mohio ki tona whanau, tona hapu, tera pea ka rapu kia whaia i tona wairua, aua hoki!

> *What happens for a person who does not know who she is related to or where she is from?*
>
> *That would be sad indeed, they would be embarrassed, not knowing her family connections, her many relations, perhaps she would seek them so that she would be at peace, I don't really know!*

Additionally, the elders believed that knowing your haputanga – your intimate and familial identities was a primary position that allows you to live in and engage with the wider Maori world with confidence. As one kuia said;

> *Mena, ka mohio koe ki to haputanga, to Maniapototanga ka taea e koe te tu kaha i te ao Maori.*
>
> *Through knowing your hapu identities you are able to navigate and participate in the Maori world with great confidence.*

This idea is supported and reinforced by the positive differences amongst distinctly Maori groups that also recognise post Maori colonially created identities. Some distinctive differences amongst Maori include tikanga and kawa, reo, food types and preparation techniques. For example the whaikorero (formal speeches) can occur in different formats depending on tikanga – preferred practices. In my home area we alternate speakers between hosts and guests, which we call tau utuutu, in the area my wife is from they have the hosts welcome guests one after the other and then the hosts respond one after another, what we call paeke. Dialectical differences in language abound in the Maori world both in spelling and pronunciation highlighted by the word whakarongo. For example, pronunciation amongst different groups would appear in sound as;

Tuhoe dialect - whakarono

Taranaki/Whanganui and some others – 'hakarongo

Tainui and others – whakarongo

Ngai Tahu - whakaroko

The elders did not support universalisation. An example given was for te reo Maori and that if we had one language or reo we would lose more than we would gain, we would lose distinctive ways that hapu and iwi know and understand the world and that the tool that has been utilised to explain that uniqueness is the language that has been created for it. As was explained;

> *He rereke te reo o ia iwi, kei tena, kei tena ona ake kupu, ko tona mana tera, ka marama ratou ki a ratou ano i to ratou reo mo ta ratou oranga, mo ta ratou mohiotanga. Mena kotahi te reo, ko tewhea te reo ka mau tonu, ko tewhea reo ka waiho?*

> *Each iwi has its unique language, each has its own words, that is their right, they are able to understand each other to support their values, for their ways. If there was only one language which language would that be, which language would be given up?*

Positive difference was recognised and valued by the elders who said that in recognising difference positively you were able to appreciate others and that positive differences actually reinforced connections as people were connected by their distinct and unique differences.

> *He pai tonu kia rereke te ahua o nga tangata, na tera ka maha nga whakaaro, nga huarahi mo nga kaupapa, na te rereke o te whakaaro o ia tangata ka mohio ki nga painga o nga tangata.*

> *It is good that people have different ways of doing things and acting, in this way we have more ideas and paths to solving challenges and by seeing the differences people have we are able to appreciate the skills that people have.*

The elders all promoted kainga and marae as the primary centres for cultural identity development and believed that those that did not have connections of these sorts if they could not produce or interact with them were in danger of becoming 'ngoikore' or listless and vacant. As one elder explained;

> *Maro tonu te haere whakamua na te mohio ko wai, no whea. Mehemea kaore te tangata ka mohio ka noho ngoikore.*

> *The world can be navigated with confidence through a sound knowledge of self, if a person should not know themselves they would be quite lost.*

This idea of the centrality of marae and kainga supports views that marae are a unique and iconic feature of the social landscape of this country, predating and surviving European settlement. A prominent purpose of marae is their function as a vehicle for the embodiment of whakapapa, supporting identity, knowledge development and transmission.

The participants were quite clear that regardless of how disconnected, the skin colour, the level of knowledge an individual had that they are able to reconnect, if they were committed, with their Maniapoto cultural identity and their larger Maori identity.

> *Ka taea tonu te tangata te mohio ki tona whakapapa, tona tuakiri mehemea ka tino hiahia te tangata, ahakoa ka noho taone, ki whea ranei, kei roto i te wairua o te tangata tona Maoritanga.*

> *A person is always able to reclaim his identity if they are truly desirous of doing so, it matters not that they have lived in cities or whatever; a person's identity is etched in their spiritual being.*

This belief was grounded in their view that wairua – spiritual identity lay dormant but filled with potential within them and that this wairua was inherited and lay within the person as a spiritual DNA. The overriding view held by the elders in relation to Maori cultural identities was that mana and cultural identity are interconnected and

inter-related. Knowledge of self enhances, advances and provides a catalyst for the fullest expression of personal mana. A common view was;

> *Ko to mana tera kia mohio ko wai, no whea.*

> *In knowing who you are and from where you come your mana is enhanced.*

Names

Names held great significance for the elders interviewed. Names of people, spaces, places, events, activities, instruments, thoughts, patterns, land marks and signs all carried deeper meanings that contributed to the cultural identities of individuals and groups and between individuals and groups.

> *Kei nga ingoa ano nga korero, ahakoa he iti te ingoa he whakapapa kei roto. Ko nga ingoa he mea hei hono atu te tangata, te whenua, te aha ranei ki etahi atu.*

> *Names are significant conveyors of meaning inclusive of history, events and ideas. Names are elements that provide connections with and between people, land and other such things.*

The elders were concerned about the incorporation of names into the current environments that they believed had no grounding or knowledge value, particularly names imported from popular cultural contexts and assigned to Maori children.

> *Kaore au i te marama i nga ingoa i tapaina ki aku mokopuna, na nga matua era whakaaro, ki taku nei mohio no Amerika era ingoa mai i nga mangu mangu o reira i kite ai i nga waiata. Kare he whakapapa o era ingoa ki au nei. Na ratou ke era ingoa.*

> *I am unable to comprehend the names that have been given to my grandchildren by their parents. I believe they are names that come from African Americans that they have heard through music. Those*

names have no connections to us; those names belong to them rather than us.

In particular it was emphasised that whakapapa also reminds us of the names of people, places and events and that this ability to remember recalls the connection between things past and present.

Na te whakapapa ka puta mai te ingoa, te korero, te hitori me nga hononga ki aua mea kia ora tonu i tenei ao.

Whakapapa provides connections between names, events, ideas, history and events and the connections to those events that we carry with us into the present.

The connection between things past and things present is the element which gives individuals and groups their pride and identity and is used in later generations to maintain connections and can be used to whakawhanaunga, to bring a relationship back into existence as a springboard for a new and enhanced relationship.

An essential element of whakapapa for the elders was that whakapapa goes with you wherever you go and that your ancestors are with you because of whakapapa.

Mai nga matua tipuna te whakapapa, ahakoa haere koe ki whaea kei reira i roto i a koe aua korero, aua mea whakapapa.

Whakapapa is inherited from our ancestors, it does not matter where we may be our history, our stories and ideas connected in whakapapa resides within each of us.

In this way we lay claim to being ancestor rich. In contrast genealogy was considered to be without 'nako,' without essence, meaningful substance and purpose.

Whakapapa ancestors renowned for their skills and activities were frequently used by elders to inspire, engender and train others.

> *Mena ka whakaaro au ki a Whatihua, kei reira nga korero, kaore ia i mahi tika ana ki tana wahine, ki a Ruaputahanga, a ka wehi ia mai Kawhia. He korero tera mo te tiaki mana o tetahi atu.*

> *If I recall the case of the ancestor Whatihua, there is value there for us, he did not act properly towards his wife Ruaputahanga and she left Kawhia. This sets an example that we should be respectful and mindful of the mana of others in our actions.*

It was clear that those that work with older forms of knowledge from older whakapapa have a much wider view of whakapapa than those of us who predominantly operate in closer times. Their views operated at Polynesian levels rather than those others who were knowledgeable in Maori whakapapa and canoe traditions. One elder shared his perspective;

> *When I think of whakapapa I think of older whakapapa, you know, Maui, Rata, Tawhaki, those older Polynesian genealogies because of my association with Pacific navigators, those are the people that we all connect through, the older connections, the whakapapa that we use commonly here in Aotearoa mostly reflect our time here in Aotearoa rather than those in Hawaikii and Rarotonga that we are also connected to.*

Noho and hui as learning and knowledge forums

The elders spoke about visits to and by people including relations, as central to knowledge development. As detailed below they recalled that kainga or homes were spaces where people would come and would sit for hours on end until the wee small hours talking, discussing and debating. These forums covered all subjects and included waiata and other forms of knowledge. People elsewhere in the house preparing food or asleep would hear the contents as they shifted in and out of sleepiness. This practice still occurs but most frequently amongst the older

generations in our communities but with the loss of many elders is occurring less regularly. This was vivid in the memory of the elders;

E maha nga wa ka haere nga tangata ki nga whare o tetahi atu, noho ai, kai ai, korero ai, na tera ka mohio kia nga kaupapa o te wa, ka wananga, ka waiata, ka korero i nga whakapapa, nga hitori. Ka haere pera mo nga ra e maha pea. Engari kua ngaro ngaro haere tera tikanga i tenei ao hurihuri.

People would frequently visit each others homes and stay and discuss and debate the topics of the day as well as learn and practice songs, discuss and recall whakapapa and history. This could go on for some days. That practice has gradually decreased with the changing times.

Te Tai Ao

The final theme identified and discussed here is the influence and importance that environment has on supporting positive and powerful identities in the views of the elders. In particular relationships to land stood out in the minds of the elders as being central to a strong sense of individual and collective identity.

Kei te whenua nga korero, mai te hono atu ki te whenua ka pai to tatou oranga. He mea hono tangata te whenua, ka noho tahi te tangata i te whenua, me te whenua a ka whakapapa.

Land is alive with history, our relative health and wellbeing is affected by our relationships to land. Land supports relationships with and between people and land.

Near where we live is a large sand dune called Oioroa. It is currently a Department of Conservation Scientific Reserve. It is also significant because it contains a lot of our buried ancestors as it is an old battle ground. In partnership with the Department of Conservation entry is prohibited for the protection of the dunes, its scientific and cultural value. I recently spoke to elders seeking advice as to whether it might be a good idea to take some of our young people to Oioroa to hear its history so that they

might understand its significance and be able to grow with an awareness and appreciation of its importance to us. This was received favourably by the elders. When I explained that this would allow our children to appreciate the tapu or sacred nature of this place I was corrected and reminded that some centuries ago one of our leaders, Tawhiao, had actually lifted all tapu in our area as at the time he did not believe that the laws of tapu could be safely utilised by the new generations of people growing up in a changing European world. I was told that the area could not be tapu as Tawhiao had lifted the tapu, but that it was significant and to be protected. The land here has a living history that we are inextricably linked to, and is connected to other activities and events such as the actions of Tawhiao in lifting the tapu. These relationships exist in a web of reality that provide sense and meaning for us and enable us to be in balance with our universe that provides a cultural identity that is secure and supports our wellbeing.

Land speaking

The elders spoke of the land and sea speaking and teaching us. For example, one elder related pieces of the story of a rock named in our harbour after an ancestor of the area named Kawharu that had a footprint of Kawharu on it from one of his deeds. The major elements of the story of Kawharu were shared but the elder recalled that at the time she was required to make sense and meaning of the parts of the story by using deduction skills.

> *Kihai ratou i whakamarama i te nako o te korero, ka waiho ma te hunga whakarongo kia whakaaro, kia whai hua.*

> *They never really explained the true meanings of the stories, they left it for those listening to come to their own thoughts and to find meanings in the stories for themselves.*

Because she believed and respected the person who was telling her the story of Kawharu's rock she never had to see the rock and still never has. She did not need to see something to believe it. This belief system made other things true and believable for her when other cultures might call them superstitions or folk stories or refuse to accept the explanation at all. This type of belief system still exists in Maori

communities such as ours today and is an accepted way of knowing. The lessons she believed she learnt from this is that things are not right or wrong they are just different and this has allowed her to not cast doubt on peoples belief systems and in the course of doing so to ensure positive relationships are maintained regardless of personal views, values and beliefs.

As I have explained land names also are powerful names for advancing cultural identity as they connect us to others. Below where we live is a place called Wharenui. We often use this name to rekindle connections with others. One elder explained how we do this;

> *You see land tells us who we are related to and connects our stories up. Down the bottom there is Wharenui, you know that is where Whatihua built his large house for Ruaputahanga while Turongo built his small house on the other side, down the Kawhia side. Every time we have a group come from Taranaki or the East Coast we refer to that place because it is that place that connects us to Ruaputahanga's people of Taranaki and because of Whatihua's ability to win her from his brother Turongo that Turongo went to the East Coast and married and brought back Mahinarangi. We connect through that land and that event. Remember that on the way back from the East Coast Mahinarangi gave birth to Raukawa and Raukawa was matua to Rereahu and Rereahu was father to Maniapoto and that is who we are, so see, we are related to Taranaki and East coast, we are all one, and that is because of the events at Wharenui, what if we had forgotten that place and that story, we would have lost our relatives from Taranaki and East Coast, when they came here or we went there how could we relate to each other, well we don't have to worry now.*

Understanding connections to people, the past, land, sea and space the elders explained gives a great sense of humility when we come to realise how vast and potent these sites and spaces are and through this connection where human beings are placed. As explained;

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By knowing who and how we are connected we appreciate how important all these things are and we learn to respect them all for what they give us, our mana and tapu – when we realise those things then we know how lucky we really are.

These insights detailed above support directly what the elders spoke of frequently, that nature speaks to us and we come to know, understand and relate with the universe most powerfully when we are in relationship with nature. Signs and communications such as with and by weather, sky patterns, animals, phases of seasons and other such events were ways that the elders were able to make decisions and have their wellbeing supported**.** These ways of knowing still exist but are less prevalent, in the views of the elders, as people have forgotten to look for the meaning of signs and if there is to be reclamation of this kind of knowledge it needs to be more explicitly retrieved and practiced in contexts that can support this knowledge.

As well movements by people to urban environments where wellbeing is dominated by money as the means and centre of capitalism mean that there is less reliance on older ways of knowing such as those identified above. Older signs have been replaced by signs such as interest rates, bank balances, inflation rates and petrol prices. As one elder explained;

Ko te aohurihuri tenei, he mea pai mo tenei ao kia mohio ki nga mea o tenei ao kia whai oranga, he pai pea kia mohio ki nga huarahi hei whai putea i nga mea o nehera.

We are now in the contemporary world, it is best for these times to know those things that will lead to success for these times that support wellbeing, it is probably best to know how to make money to survive in this time rather than the things of former times.

The elders talked about animal kaitiaki as ways we know. They believed that many people have kaitiaki that provide them with signs, guidance and support.

E maha nga tohu o te Maori, ko te kaitiaki tetahi, pera i a Maui, ko tona kaitiaki he manu, ko te nuinga o nga kaitiaki ki taku nei mohio ko nga kararehe, he manu, he ika. Ko te mahi o te kaitiaki hei tiaki i te tangata, he hoa haere.   Ka whiua tohu nga kaitiaki, a ka whai te tangata i aua tohu, ka tika!

There are many signs that Maori observe, kaitiaki is one, similar to that of Maui, his kaitiaki was a bird, most of the kaitiaki to my knowledge are animals, birds and fish predominantly. The role of a kaitiaki is to guide people, similar to a good friend. The kaitiaki would send signs and messages and if those signs were followed things would go well and be right!

One participant who is a recognised waka expert in Aotearoa/New Zealand, but who did not consider himself yet a navigator as perceived by the Pacific navigation fraternity, explained that he had a kaitiaki in the form of a turtle which would provide him guidance and direction when he was in the open space of the vast Pacific Ocean. The participant shared;

This navigator from one of the Pacific Islands was asked what happens if he gets lost, how does he find his way, he said that he never gets lost, if he needs help his kaitiaki helps him, so he never gets lost, see, his kaitiaki was a turtle and would guide him as to what direction to take, when the navigator asked if the turtle always comes the navigator said yes but most times only he could see the turtle, when asked why that was he said, 'because it was his kaitiaki.'

My participant, in referring to this highly regarded navigator or what we as Maori might call a tohunga, was highlighting that knowledgeable people were able to communicate with non-human entities, to read the signs and symbols provided in the universe and to use them in supporting their wellbeing. This was unique to a cultural identity that recognises and values these relationships that have endured in some quarters.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has identified a number of different elements that the elders spoke of in common as important when thinking about cultural identities. Ideas of mauri, spirituality and religion, together with ideas connected to social order such as names, whakapapa, socially preferred and accepted learners as well as views from nature and the environment and context such as land, animals and iwi/hapu distinctiveness have been discussed. How these elements contribute and support positive cultural identities has been examined and supported by quotes.

In line with the ideas inherent with the takarangi I have gathered together ideas, experiences and realities in a centrifugal fashion and returned to them frequently and grounded them. Pulling from the takarangi, in the work that follows I journey into interpretive and integrative activity, bringing the spiral discourse back to some particular key foci.

In the next chapter I take the ideas expressed by the elders and relate them to whakapapa, whakapapa korero and also provide an analysis of whakapapa knowledge arguing that whakapapa is central to understanding and being in Maori worldview. Important elements in whakapapa knowledge that enhance cultural wellbeing are teased out using the elder's ideas as their basis, including ideas that the elders have shared about Matauranga Maori.

KOWAE TUAWARU
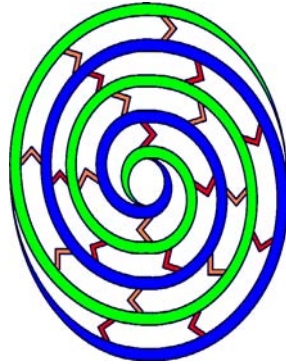
Te Whakahaere waka. Navigating the Waka: Whakapapa Knowledge.

Introduction

This chapter pulls the key ideas from the elders collected in the interviews and relates them into the broader sense of whakapapa korero showing the breadth and depth of applicability and relevance as evidenced by other literature and relevant examples from Maori society. This approach follows the takarangi approach outlined earlier on and that has been referred to throughout the journey to this point.

Whakapapa Knowledge: A System for Understanding the Universe

Relationships and relatedness sit firmly in the minds of Maori and Maori episteme that is regulated by tikanga for maintaining, enhancing and advancing positive wellbeing. The elders relate that more precisely, Maori episteme encompasses and addresses the effectiveness of relationships (Tawhai, 1988; Mikaere, 2003). These relationships are regulated within contexts of constraints, accountabilities and responsibilities to self, collective and environments. Ka'ai and Higgins (2004:15) explain Maori worldview as 'networks of relationships' that identify and include relationships and interconnections between people (genealogy), people and nature (ecology), people and atua (cosmogony) and people and cultural concepts (sociology).

The system for regulating these relationships as part of Maori episteme is whakapapa knowledge and in the sense of transmission, whakapapa korero. Tawhai (1988:855) emphasises this relationship between whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero;

The ability to accommodate these issues rests a great deal upon knowledge based in turn upon korero tahito (ancient explanations). These may be called 'myths,' if that word refers to material the main purpose of which is to express the beliefs and values of people.

For me whakapapa knowledge is the encrypted meanings that provide understanding, rationale and explain Maori reality. These encrypted wisdoms provide us with access to culture and identity that can support our wellbeing and give us codes for living and being. They are unlocked and interpreted using whakapapa korero. For example, a waiata will have encrypted messages that serve to explain a set of events, ideas and will also contain teachings and wisdom. The ideas are often encrypted in the language used, the way the language is used, the metaphor and the tune or rangi that all act to convey a meaning and message. When sung they begin their process of being transmitted and unlocked to provide the listener with a view to the world that can support understanding and wellbeing. The singing, explanation and understanding represent the whakapapa korero, the unlocking of the wisdoms. It is for this reason that Sir Apirana Ngata of Ngati Porou committed such a large part of his life to collecting the various songs of the different hapu of Aotearoa and compiled them in his four volume set called Nga Moteatea. Apirana knew that the wisdoms of our elders, the codes for living remained in our songs, amongst other places, and he wished them to be recorded and explained so that future generations would have access to the messages at a time when the ability to unlock the codes would be challenged.

One example in Ngata's work that is of particular relevance to us is the lament for Korotangi.[45] Korotangi is a sacred bird of the Tainui people with a long history. Part of this history refers to Korotangi guiding the Tainui canoe to Kawhia. Korotangi was uncovered from the Aotea area near where we live and eventually taken to the National museum. It was returned to the people of Tainui by the government in 1995 at the signing of the Raupatu Confiscated Lands settlement. The full text of the waiata contains references to Korotangi and serves as a reminder of the significance of this tohu in guiding us here. The waiata also refers to the mistreatment vetted out

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[45] Refer, Ngata, A. T. (1961). *Nga Moteatea*. Part II, No. 155, pp188-189. Wellington: A.H & A. W. Reed.

by a person towards Korotangi and the consequences that resulted. These important messages and those others of the Korotangi have remained important to us in understanding our past and important messages for our present living. Testament to this was the return of the Korotangi in 1995 which was of greater significance to many of our people than the fiscal settlement reached with the Government because of the knowledge and symbolism of Korotangi to us. The waiata remains as an artefact of our origins and our beginnings here in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Korotangi is a key identifier of Tainui people.

Understanding the interconnectedness between things in the universe (Cajete, 1994; Shirres, 1997; Friesen & Friesen, 2002) is an epistemological understanding and features centrally in indigenous world view thought and action that further enables the individual and the collective to explore, navigate and determine identities as well as to express these identities in relation to each other. For example, when Maori meet in the world it is common practice to ask where someone is from. From this information we begin to narrow down the exact relationships to people and place. We are able to discover who and how we are inter-related and connected. From here we navigate and relate in relationship to each other. This is the way we make sense of our identities. A typical conversation often occurs as follows;

Where are you from?

Up North.

Which part?

Hokianga.

What's your family name?

Wikaira.

Oh my mate's a Wikaira.

What's his name?

Justin.

Oh yeah, who's his father?

Howard.

Oh yeah, and Bill is his uncle?

Yeah that's right. We went up there with him for a holiday in 2006, it was awesome went and stayed at Opononi.

Choice where are you from?

In this example connections are made in relation to people and to place. Both give opportunity to make relationships and connections that have effect of drawing people together. They start at a point and reinforcing the takarangi idea centrifugally move out pulling in and making more connections as they occur as emphasised by the takarangi used in this work. They also return to common ground as acquaintance and kinships is shared and established creating the foundation upon which relationships then can build. These relationships are examined in more depth and across more contexts in the data themes presented here.

This is not a new phenomenon, for example the inter-connectedness referred to above was evidenced in practice by Maori when teaching whakapapa knowledge so that the teaching did not only focus on human ancestry but rather wove together the many elements of the universe (Papakura, 1938). Smith (1999:8) further affirms the inter-connections between entities when she explains that;

Whakapapa also relates us to all other things that exist in the world.

Together whakapapa knowledge and korero serve to explain the relationships between te ao wairua, the spiritual world and te ao kikokiko, the physical world expressed at

multiple levels through sets of relationships that carry responsibilities, obligations and accountabilities, have outcomes in life and contribute to wellbeing.

I argue that the relationship between entities that exist in the world and as referred to above is evidenced through whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero. For example, the atua Tane Mahuta is credited by many with breathing life into Hineahuone at Kurawaka and creating the female element from which humankind developed. Tane Mahuta had other partners, including Hine-tu-a-maunga, Hine-a-tauira, Tikikapakapa and Pakoti, and from the relationship with Tikikapakapa had children that created the birds and creatures of the forested areas.

Tane Mahuta = Tikikapakapa

- Haere-awa-awa
  - Weka
  - Kiwi
- Pahiko
  - Kaka
- Parauri
  - Tui
- Takapotiri
  - Kakapo
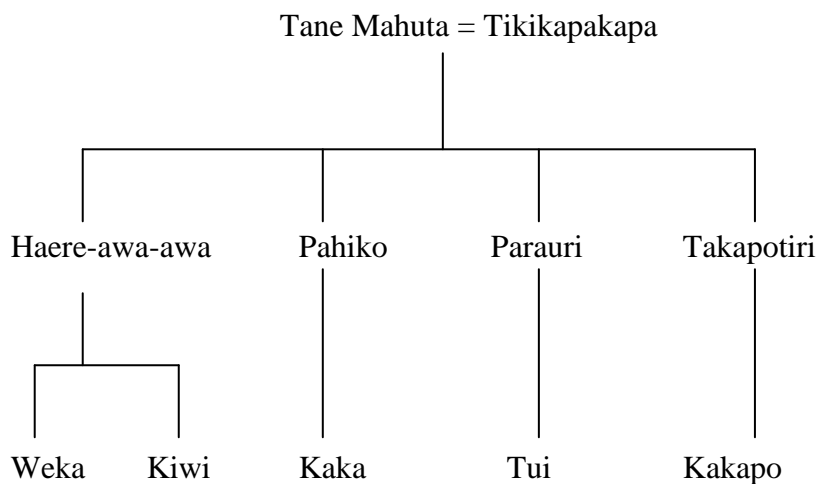
This is an example of how we as Maori explain and understand our inter-connectedness with the birds of the forest and it is as a result of this inter-connectedness that tikanga principles are enacted. Bird life in Maori society is referred to by many as Te Aitanga-a-Tikikapakapa, a reference to the relationship of Tane Mahuta and Tikikapakapa. The spiral of knowledge is unwound and unwound into its component and divisible strands then retwined into its strong and singular thread that links it to all other entities. Explanations and understandings linking Tane Mahuta to other organisms and entities including trees, insects and mountains and there are also connections between Atua and other forces that acknowledge relationships beyond ordinary human experience.

The understanding of these types of connections and relationships allows for the deeper understanding of appropriate practices of respect and acknowledgement to

come into being. These relationships make the connections personal, meaningful and active such as the example of collecting the kereru for the Koroneihana discussed earlier) (refer Kowae Tuawhitu). This in turn ensures that everyday actions in the world are thought out and enacted in personal relational terms. Practice is guided by a spiritual understanding of the universe and its entities as equals as well as a system for explaining and understanding the universe as a system of intricate relationships. As Smith writes (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008:13);

> *The essence of a person has a genealogy which could be traced back to an earth parent...A human person does not stand alone, but shares with other animate ...beings relationships based on shared 'essence' of life including the significance of place, of land, of landscape, of other things in the universe...concepts of spirituality which Christianity attempted to destroy, and then to appropriate and then to claim, are central sites of resistance for indigenous peoples. The values, attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent the clearest contrast and mark of difference between indigenous people and the west. It is one of the few parts of ourselves which the west cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control...yet.*

In Maori thought and worldview there was/is no distinction between spirituality and science, they were/are interwoven and were/are exhibited in everyday activity. Everything physical has imbued spiritual elements. Maori actively sought, and many still do, to remain as one with the natural and supernatural world. Maori subscribe/d to a mystic[46] worldview that emphasises relationships with and connections to the natural world. Using a mystic worldview, or what our elders have told me is a connection, respect and attention to mauri and wairua, the ultimate focus of existence is to remain as one with the natural world. This worldview differs from a dominant European worldview that seeks to 'break in' and get dominance and mastery over the environment. Aboriginal woman writer, Ruby Langford Ginibi (1988) explains this

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[46] A popular view in certain quarters such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church and branches of other Christian churches relates the word mystic negatively. Connotations of mystic are similar to a witch used to scare children. A mystery is something to be worked out, unwrapped, and uncovered. As such the word mystic is seen as inferior, strange and negatively different.

idea and shows the relative connections and similarities between indigenous peoples when she reflects on her experiences in one of her poems saying,

> *White people had given us all kinds of technological comfort, but the tribal ways still need to be strong. I thought of the difference between white people saying, 'I own this land,' and blacks saying, 'we belong to this land.'*

Christie (1987:11) supports these worldview ideas and differences when he refers to the European relationship as 'transactional' and the indigenous relationship as 'interactional.' The transactional is rational and positivistic, emphasising the potential (and tendency) for humans to manipulate the world around them. The interactional emphasises characteristics of positive relationships and intelligent responsiveness to the environment.

Maori worldview being mystic in design relates strongly to Gaia theory.[47] That is, that life and the physical environment significantly influence one another (Hughes, 2003) and that the earth functions as one self-regulating organism called Gaia (Lovelock, 1991) that regulates the environment and evolutionary process. In short Gaia theory argues that if we look after the earth the earth will look after us asserting that humans know little, that life's lessons are in nature and that one way we come to know is through nature (Bryson, 2003). This view rejects human anthropocentric assertions that regard the human as being central figures in the universe.

First Nations Sioux writer, Vine Deloria (2003:59) adds impetus to this idea by challenging current generations to embark on a 'painful intellectual journey to discover the parameters of reconciling history and nature.' The 'pain' arises from finding that the existing imbalances in every sphere arise from relentless exploitation of nature and its constituents inspired and driven by western rationalist capitalism. Indian writer Ashis Nandy (1983:x) explains this position;

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[47] Gaia is a Greek Goddess and this name was applied by James Lovelock in 1969 that developed his theory of the earth as a single and self-regulating living system.

...the drive for mastery over men is not merely a bye-product of a faulty political economy but also of a worldview which believes in the absolute superiority of the human over the non-human and the sub-human, the masculine over the feminine, the adult over the child, the historical over the ahistorical and the modern or progressive over the traditional or the savage.

A large volume of Maori and indigenous knowledge and wisdom is drawn from the natural world by longstanding empirical observation and more importantly through developed relationships and negotiated understandings (Seeland, 1997; Viergever, 1999; Cajete, 2000a; Rose, James & Watson, 2003; LaDuke, 2005). Maori are predominantly ecocentric people, that is, they have a reverence for and an enduring relationship with the natural world, its order, its prominence and ecological benefits and contribution to our survival and existence. The relationships (described above) to nature, other life, Maori epistemology and human activity, was and remains explained in Maori worldview by whakapapa (Salmond, 1997:32) that maintains sacred unities of existence (Morris, 2002). One major difference between Maori and western science is that western science of the natural world is re-presentational and Maori science is presentational. Western science attempts to capture and reinterpret nature in new forms and achieve mastery over the natural world order whereas Maori world approaches attempt to present nature as it is, not in need of continual adaption and manipulation. As is evident from the interviews discussed earlier, Maori knowledge and its connection to the natural world serves also to sustain divergent metaphors of knowledge that serve to show and explain what, how and why Maori communities know, teach, learn, innovate and so on.

In Maori New Zealand land does not represent divided property. It is the root of a people's cultural identity and is an integral part of kinship relations. For many Maori today, our family included, reclaiming identities has and continues to involve recovering geographical territory and our own sense of country as we define it as a part of what Deloria (2003) refers to as the 'sacredness of places.' Deloria writes that the remembrance, connection and interaction of human activities with locations vested them with a salience and significance that would not have otherwise been obtained.

Such associations are predicted and natural within the whakapapa framework held by the indigenous peoples.

These ideas encapsulate the multi-level dimensions and linkages of epistemological elements within the broader frame of explaining and understanding the universe. They reinforce in particular 'mutual caring' (Rose, James & Watson, 2003) as a general worldview, a system of social relations and a system of environmental interaction with respect being the underlying principle inherent in all three. Respect as utilised here is a spiritual practice, something you do but difficult to articulate. Respect of this nature is a tacit lived project, where all things in the universe are related and equal. The mutual caring acknowledges that all entities within the universe are related and connected and that these entities are reliant on each other for a high level of wellbeing to exist. For the entities to co-exist and to flourish they must respect each other and the value they have. Each entity's long term existence depends on it.

Connecting the levels and elements occurs within indigenous reality and 'seeing' things, as Native American author Donald Fixico (2003:47) of the Muscogee Creeks writes, 'from a perspective of cycles and relations.' This view acknowledges that indigenous and non-indigenous people perceive things fundamentally differently. We understand and accept truth, events and facts differently. Indigenous people are not duty bound to pursue empirical evidence to prove something is true for ourselves or others so that it can become factual and scientific truth as is required in western linear thought.

This 'seeing' occurs for Maori in tohu or signs, in matakite or visions, in moemoea or dreams and in korero, communications with land, animals and nature. These ways of knowing inform the Maori spiritual world, the metaphysical, as forms of conception and perception that underpin the high regard that many Maori have for our earth mother. This view and understanding of the universe is at odds with European thought. As Fixico (2003:2) writes;

> *This inclusive kinship conflicts with the mainstream linear way of seeing things in the world where everything is based on human-to-human relationship.*

Fixico explains the understanding and vision as based on faith and acceptance that relationships exist between tangible and non-tangible entities in the universe such as a dream and a bird. Such seeing requires an understanding of relationships created by becoming familiar with the natural environment. This familiarity occurs over time where the surroundings act to aid or confuse the indigenous mind. In many cases 'seeing' occurs by being silent so as to see, smell, feel, hear and taste, knowing. All the senses are utilised as receptacles for knowing. Silence is a show of discipline, respect and patience and a key characteristic for the acquisition of knowledge. In this example silence is an opportunity not a lost opportunity.

As an example visions are often considered as processes for coming to know and visions form a receptacle of knowledge. Visions are always (w)holistic and connected to a system whether it is other people, animals, space, place and time. Visions are symbiotic and occur in collaborations with other elements and come in an innate pattern and importantly teach us about knowledge itself, teaching us about challenges, trials and strengths.

In May 1966 the late Dr. Pei Te Hurinui Jones (1981:12), renowned Maori scholar and also of Ngati Maniapoto, delivered a poroporoaki (ceremonial farewell) for the then Maori King, Koroki. In this moving tribute Pei connected the major waka (tribal canoe), landmarks, hapu, iwi and ancestors of regions to the deceased King in a metaphorical journey that saw King Koroki travel from this world into the next.

> *Haere e te Kingi ki tua o Paerau.*
> *Haere i runga i o waka, haere i runga i nga maunga korero a o tupuna e moe nei i te whenua.*
> *Kua rewa atu to waka, e te Ariki, ma roto i to waka i Waikato, he wai pounga hoe mai a o matua.*
> *E huri to kanohi ki te Hauauru, ki Whaingaroa, ki Aotea, ki Kawhia.*

Ka ahu mai ai, e Tama, to tira ki te ara maui ki runga o Maungatautari ki te hikonga uira i runga o Wharepuhunga i Rangitoto.

Nga tohu ena a o tupuna.

Takahia e koe, e Tama, te ara ki Rotorua-nui-a-Kahu.

Ka tae atu ai koe ki Te Rotoiti, kei kona, e tama, nga wai kaukau a o tupuna o Ngati Pikiao o runga i a Te Arawa, i to ara tane mai i Tama Te Kapua.

Tawhiao te haere i runga i o waka i a Mataatua, Horouta, Takitimu kia mihia mai koe e nga uri a o tupuna a Toroa, a Porourangi, a Kahungunu.

Whakamau mai ma te upoko o te ika ki o kawai maha, ki a Raukawa, a, piki mai ma runga i o waka i a Kurahaupo, i a Aotea, i a Tokomaru.

Kei Parininihi, mau e maianga mai ki Mokau, Ki Mangatoatoa ki Tamaki-makau-rau.

E huri to kanohi ki te Taitokerau ki o tupuna o roto i nga toronga maha, i a Rongopatutainga, ka whakangaro atu ai koe, e Tama, ki tua o Moorianuku.

Haere, te Puhi o Tainui, moe mai i runga i a Taupiri i te urunga o te Kahurangi.

Ka otiatu koutou te rarangi kingi ki te po.

Ki okioki e, e he, toia te waka, ki okioki e, e he, toia te waka.

Ki runga ki te maunga e tu mai nei.

Whakatakotoria ki te nagro parapara koa.

Me he tete waka, hei, me he tete waka, hei, me he pitau whakarei te tete kura o te waka!

Depart o King beyond Paerau.

Go upon your canoes, travel over the famous mountains of your ancestors who are now lying with the land.

Your canoe is now afloat, O Ariki, upon your river, Waikato, the waters once rowed by your ancestors.

Turn your face towards the West Wind, to Whaingaroa, to Aotea to Kawhia.

Then my son, turn towards the left path above Maungatautari to where the lightening flashes upon Wharepuhunga and Rangitoto.

These symbols, they belong to your ancestors.

Tread the path, my son, the path to Rotorua-nui-a Kahu.

When you reach Rotoiti, there my son, are the bathing waters of your Ngati Pikiao ancestors from Te Arawa from your male line, down from Tamatekapua.

Circumnavigate on your canoes – Mataatua, Horouta, Takitimu so that you are greeted by the descendants of your ancestors, Toroa, Porourangi, Kahungunu.

Continue on by 'the head of the fish' to your many kin, to Raukawa, then climb aboard your canoes Kurahaupo, Aotea, Tokomaru.

At Paraninihi, there you will drift forward to Mokau, to Mangatoatoa, to Tamaki-makau-rau.

Turn your face to the Northern Tides, to your ancestors from the many lines, from Rongapatutaonga, to be lost, my son, beyond Morianuku.

Go to the Puhi of Tainui, sleep on Taupiri, the resting place of the honoured ones.

Finally, the line of kings ends in the Night.

To rest, e he, haul the waka, to rest, e he, haul the waka.

To the top of the mountain standing here.

Lay it within the sacred covering.

Like a canoe's figurehead, like a canoe's figurehead, like the carved pitau, the red figurehead of the canoe!

This metaphorical use of language and imagery powerfully epitomises the takarangi as advanced by this work, illustrating the depth of connectedness with which we as Maori view our relationship with land, people, both living and dead and place. This is most frequently recognised as an ecological understanding (Cajete, 1994). What ever the case may be for Maori and many other indigenous peoples that view the universe (w)holistically there is an inseparable relationship between land, place, spirit and people that forms the bedrock of indigenous epistemologies that bind our individual cultures and within that our sense of identity from which emanates our wellbeing

(Cajete, 1994). Land forms an integral part of our identity (Mead, 2003; Rose, James & Watson, 2003) and is a source of our identity and the maintenance there of.

Deloria (2003) also explains how indigenous people with brightly different worlds share a common view and relatedness to land as sacred and the idea that the universe is alive with energy and entities striving to work together towards maturity and understanding.

> *The idea that everything in the universe is alive is as useful as anything that western science has discovered or hypothesised.*

Deloria's reference to the universe being alive is an assertion of deep ecology, championing an inherent value in nature that highlights indigenous relationships to land as epistemological, where land is a teacher, a way we know understand and create realities to present ideas and guides for living and wellbeing and as a source of inspiration. We come to know the world through the teachings the land provides and this knowing informs and shapes indigenous worldviews (Cajete, 1994). Deloria highlights the fact that nature and humans are related and it is this relatedness that he focuses on. I support Deloria's views and that a major element of Maori episteme that needs to be acknowledged, supported and reclaimed is the relationship with nature and land. One elder I interviewed reminded me;

> *Kei te whenua hoki te maramatanga.*

> *In land there is wisdom.*

What this elder was referring to is that the land is also a teacher of wisdom and appropriate behaviour and also urging me to remember to maintain the intricate relationship to land.

James Youngblood Henderson (2000a:31), First Nations member of the Chickasaw people also notes that indigenous people must confront and reject ideas that indigenous knowledge, knowledge systems and epistemologies are superficial and

irrelevant. He advocates for the reclamation of exactly these elements of indigenous worldviews. He says;

> *Indigenous peoples must transform the false assumptions behind the state of nature and its social theories to begin their transformation to a post-colonial order. It is the key to our cognitive confinement. We must clearly understand the disadvantages of creating artificial societies from wrong assumptions. We should avoid confirming or copying the distorted European views of the state of nature or accommodating their made or 'imagined' social and political constructs. We must continue to see the organisation of life in terms of the indigenous knowledge about living in balance with an ecology. We must use our traditional knowledge and heritage to force a paradigm shift on the modernist view of society, self and nature.*

Berry (1998:117) in writing about acculturative stress, the relative esteem you have for the dominant culture as against your own culture, identifies that there are close links between the cultural contexts and environments that individuals and groups grow up in and the psychological characteristics that they develop. These views are supported by Guidieri & Pellizi (1988:24) who write;

> *Before modern administrative definitions came into use, which transformed territories into land tenures and landmarks into supports for legal holdings – the actual occupation and use of a given territory was the entire base one needed for cultural affirmation. It has its true substance and the same time its root, its arche – the origin of its legitimacy and its principle – but also its image of a space through which a people's identity found its primary manifestation: our Land.*

Mohanram (1995:178) adds his views that human identities and the relative health of both the individual and the land itself is negotiated through land that bears us and contains us. In relationship to identity I argue that the cultural identities of Maori are enhanced through connections of meaning to land.

As highlighted earlier, understanding the inter-connectedness of entities such as those described above to land and place supports reverence, responsibility, reciprocity and accountability being expressed so as to support a balanced environment for those elements that exist in the universe. In a conversation I had with Dr Ranginui Walker of Whakatohea in late 2003 he affirmed whakapapa knowledge as a system for understanding the universe and he referred to Maori whakapapa knowledge as 'systematic knowledge.' He elaborated, whakapapa knowledge was and remains as the method that Maori employ to explain the systems of inter-relationships between entities such as land, humans and atua within the universe.

Understanding how relationships between and within entities come to exist, their forms and purposes is a vital linkage to maintaining, enhancing and advancing the relationships themselves for sustainable wellbeing and futures as Maori. The continual transmission, extension and examination of these linkages in contemporary contexts, maintains deep understandings that often are the meaning making elements of Maori societies and form the bedrock of unique Maori cultural epistemologies and identities.

Understanding these inter-relationships, their inter-connections and relative interdependence provides the rationale for enhancing those relationships for collective benefit and wellbeing (Henderson, 2000b; Mankiller, 2004; LaDuke, 2005). Takino (1998:286) describes whakapapa knowledge as a 'dynamic, complex and deeply embedded epistemological system' of relationships. She adds that understanding this system accentuates Maori being and identity and that whakapapa acts to open up a window of understanding into the universe that would otherwise be beyond human comprehension. In her words,

> *We see the valid application of metaphoric imagery that supports Maori being in story.*

In this explanation Takino identifies 'story' as one common method many Maori use for communicating ideas that explain the inter-relationships and inter-connectedness of entities in the universe. Certainly this was true in the rangahau I conducted here. Many of the participants I interviewed explained ideas and experiences via story,

using the story to emphasise or highlight a particular point and using story to answer a query. Many of the stories that were shared with me explained key relationships between entities and provided a rationale for the mutual caring idea explained above.

Relating complex ideas via story enables the listener to quickly and more easily comprehend the myriad of detail of deep knowledge. Story was a common practice in former times as a method for communicating ideas, affirming roles and rights and explaining order. At one of my own marae, story telling occurred frequently in the 'whare korero' that would operate during the evenings, particularly the winter months when it got dark early. Stories of inter-connectedness and inter-relationships would be told and the education of the people would take place ensuring that they acted in ways that supported their continued health and wellbeing.

Thus far I have highlighted whakapapa knowledge as a system for explaining and understanding the order of the universe via Maori eyes and worldviews. Whakapapa knowledge also informs Maori worldviews and is the basis for the construction and application of ideas that support, maintain and enhance inter-relationships and inter-connections. Consequently Maori worldviews continue to support the recitation and reference to whakapapa knowledge so that both whakapapa knowledge and Maori worldviews support each other. While whakapapa knowledge operates as a system it is made up of many organised frameworks, such as those salient to, but not limited to, death, birth, food gathering and preparation, horticulture, agriculture and war, that are regulated by Maori control and order processes such as tikanga, kawa and kaupapa (Takino, 1998) that act to support Maori life principles such as mana, tapu, mauri, aroha, tika and manaaki. The inter-relationship and understanding of these and other foundation life principles connected with the myriad of relationships between entities provides deep meaning and sense making that helps us to understand ourselves and from knowing ourselves we are able to participate and take our places in a Maori universe more fully.

For many Maori and many other indigenous peoples there is also an additional recognition that there are many unseen forces in action in the many elements of the universe, that these elements all have mauri (essence) and that very little is naturally linear. We are very familiar with ideas of conservation, energy, progress,

development and force. Through long observation and study we are intimately familiar with and expert in understanding the inter-connectedness and inter-relationships and holism of our place in the universe.

Members of the International Research Institute for Maori and Indigenous Education (IRI), (Pihama, Smith, Taki, Lee, 2004) summarised these points;

> *...kinship relationships existed within the wider framework of whakapapa. Whakapapa was more than an issue of identity through genealogical connections. It provided explanations for the origins and present position of all things. Whakapapa informed who we are, how we are connected to each other, what whakapapa means in our social relations and why it matters. It also set up a relational framework governed by notions of reciprocity. Whakapapa also underpins Maori relationships with the natural environment and spiritual realm...*

This focus on relationships as key epistemological principle, their maintenance, enhancement and advancement is a distinguishing feature of Maori worldviews.

Knowledge, Whakapapa knowledge and Indigenous knowledge

Knowledge when considered in Maori terms differs distinctly from western knowledge[48] (Nepe, 1991) but, like all knowledge and discussions of 'relative validity' and what is knowledge and what counts as knowledge, it is socially situated by the way that any particular society views and interacts with itself (Bernstein, 1971; Nepe, 1991). The classification, encoding, decoding and transmission of a society's knowledge is a reflection of its systems of principles, quality assurance, relationships and social controls. In this context knowledge is a culturally relative theory of sense and truth making.

As explained earlier, in the Tainui traditions that Ngati Maniapoto primarily subscribe to, Tawhaki was the tipuna (ancestor) who ascended the upper regions of the universe

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[48] This point refers to how knowledge is re-presented rather than the knowledge itself and acknowledges that the connections made between western and non-western cultures have resulted in the colonisation of things such as magnetic science and chemistry from China and voyaging techniques from Polynesia (Moewaka-Barnes, 2004).

and acquired knowledge for human kind. This point acknowledges that there are significant distinctions among Maori ourselves depending on our physical location, resources, our histories and systems. Despite these differences there are a number of shared realities including history, development and aspirations (Durie, 2003:183) of wellbeing.

Whakapapa knowledge is hapu, whanau and iwi knowledge and, in contrast to many other worldviews as well as in light of the arrival of non-Maori to Aotearoa/New Zealand, is Maori knowledge. Maori are also indigenous[49] which translates to the view held here that whakapapa knowledge is Maori knowledge, a knowledge grounded and born in our connections to the universe and the land we know as Aotearoa and that whakapapa knowledge is also indigenous knowledge. In the context that I have used this term indigenous knowledge refers to the accumulated wisdom and knowing that we use in our various contexts. Indigenous knowledge is connected and inextricably linked as a whole system to place, space and time and includes ideas that acknowledge language, ritual, experience, practice and guidance that we call tikanga and ahuatanga as central to our ideas of indigenous knowledge.

Castellano (1999) uses the term Aboriginal knowledge in referring to indigenous knowledge and identifies three broad aspects of indigenous knowledge relevant to the discourse of indigenous knowledges. The aspects are traditional knowledge – intergenerational knowledge passed on by elders of a community; empirical knowledge, careful and analytical observations collected over time and in association with the environment and revealed knowledge – knowledge that comes via dreams, visions and intuition.

From the conversations I had with my elders it is apparent that indigenous knowledge, what might be called matauranga Maori or maramatanga Maori – Maori wisdoms as I refer to this body, is embedded in Maori episteme through our world views including our views on science, humanities, spirituality and ways of knowing and being. Indigenous knowledge is also empirical and community orientated. It comes from

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[49] In Latin *indigenous* means 'born of the land' or 'springs from the land' representing a spiritual, emotional and physical relationship to the land anchored in a unique and distinct relationship built up over long residence and original human occupation, (Cardinal, 2001).

observation, experimentation and evaluative review over extended periods of time and in relationship to and with the universe. Finally, indigenous knowledge is also spiritual that acknowledges our spiritual beingness and that is revealed in dreams, signs, intuition and vision that has its source in the spiritual realm.

Indigenous knowledge has transformative potentials where it can be used to conscientise and empower individuals and groups in multiple contexts. It provides a rich social resource for social justice agendas. It is likely to be of huge significance in reversing climate change and the paradigm shifts needed for sustainable development (Knudtson and Suzuki 1992; Flannery, 2005). It is a powerful tool for responding to and providing counter truths to the dominance of western science, its grip on reality and the western episteme that sets the rules for determining truth, particularly its paternalistic agenda of determining truth for indigenous peoples (Denzin, Lincoln and Smith, 2008).

Indigenous knowledge and epistemologies, especially their generative systems and potentials, have received far less attention than other knowledge systems (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001:60), but this is changing as more indigenous researchers and scholars appear. Battiste (2000) notes that indigenous knowledge is a growing field of enquiry that is steadily breaking free from the tight grip of eurocentric scholars and enquirers seeking to understand systems that are alien and unfamiliar to them.

Viergever (1999:333-335) shares Battiste's views on the increasing attention and importance of indigenous knowledge in potentially solving many world problems as regards conservation, nature and health. Viergever also highlights the importance of indigenous knowledge for indigenous people themselves.

> *What is often ignored though, is that indigenous knowledge is not only 'useful,' it is of critical importance to the survival of indigenous communities.*

This view reinforces at one level how indigenous knowledge as a defining feature of indigenous life supports the health and wellbeing of indigenous peoples by maintaining, enhancing and advancing our realities (Friesen & Friesen, 2002:60).

In attempting to define and explain indigenous knowledge most commentators attempt to compare and contrast indigenous knowledge with scientific knowledge using scientific knowledge as the point of reference (Viergever, 1999). Clear characteristics of indigenous knowledge in its own right are able to be drawn. According to Viergever (1999:337) these distinctions of indigenous knowledge are: indigenous knowledge is the product of dynamic systems, is an integral part of the physical and social environment of communities and is a collective good.

At another level indigenous knowledge can be seen as distinct from western knowledge through differences in subject matter and characteristics, as well as on epistemological grounds. This is because the two forms of knowledge use distinctly different methods and ways to explain reality, and on contextual grounds because indigenous knowledge is highly connected to the environment and the relationships that are part of being (Warren, 1989; Dei, 1993). These distinctions highlight that indigenous knowledge is a complex system with its own unique frameworks for making sense of the world. Indigenous knowledge is gaining more currency with indigenous peoples world wide as we take an active part in re-asserting our ways of knowing and being. Bielawski (1990:18) elaborates this point.

> *Indigenous knowledge is not static, an unchanging artefact of a former lifeway. It has been adapting to the contemporary world since contact with 'others' began, and it will continue to change.*

Although much indigenous knowledge predates colonial experiences, testament to its timelessness lies in the recent development of indigenous knowledge in resistance measures arising from the experiences of the colonised. Whilst indigenous peoples and indigenous people's knowledge has long been considered primitive knowledge and associated with wild, natural and mystic (Semali & Kinceloe, 1999; Hughes, 2003; LaDuke, 2005) there exist increasing attempts by indigenous people and indigenous allies to engage with counter scholarship activities as a result of our 'extended experience of and learning in the condescending eurocentric educational systems' (Battiste, 2000). Some broad ideas of indigenous knowledge include ancient, (w)holistic, communal and unique to territory and traditions, existing in many

forms and systems and spiritual covering every aspect of human existence (Rose, James & Watson, 2003). For many, these ideas translate as wisdom,[50] wisdoms that are at once timeless and timely, as often referred to in this work, rather than knowledge per se.

Indigenous scholars are voicing that indigenous epistemologies and knowledge is far more than the hitherto prevailing view that it is the binary opposite of western knowledge, albeit a simplistic one. Batiste (2000:23) writes that;

> *As a concept, Indigenous knowledge benchmarks the limitations of Eurocentric theory – its methodology, evidence and conclusions – reconceptualizes the resilience and self-reliance of Indigenous peoples, and underscores the importance of their own philosophies, heritages and educational processes. Indigenous knowledge fills the ethical and knowledge gaps in Eurocentric education, research and scholarship.*

The table below highlights some of these differences between indigenous and scientific knowledge.

Factor	Indigenous knowledge	Western science
How approached	(w)holistic	Compartmental
How communicated	Oral	Written
How taught	Observations, experience	Lectures
How explained	Spiritual, values	Value free theory

The table presents differences as dichotomies. Whilst this serves the purpose of succinctly explaining some key divergences between worldviews it also presents a danger for indigenous people, charging debates or dichotomies that pit indigenous

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[50] I support the views of Tewa writer, Gregory Cajete (1994:48) when he relates epistemology and ways of knowing with maturity as a staged development of human being. In his analysis he argues that ways of knowing come as a result of maturation that moves through a series of stages in his people's world view, from knowing and through the physical senses towards wisdom and the accumulated spiritual senses. Cajete highlights that wisdom is a complex state most frequently the result of accumulated experiences and for this reason sits most frequently, but not entirely, with a community's elders. Wisdom combines the physical and spiritual domains, what Maori world view refers to as ira atua and ira tangata, as a replete connection that forms human 'multisensory consciousness' that is part of a 'spiritual ecology.'

knowledge against western knowledge. Knowledge competition creates poles and polarisation that create hierarchies and promote difference negatively so that competing interests require competing ideas that result in categorisation such as superior and inferior that creates for the different groups, oppressive realities. It is better instead to move toward radical cultural timocracy and transformative practice based on honour and ways that are tika or right in Maori worldview, that enhance cultural wellbeing and in so doing contribute to the (w)holistic wellbeing of individuals and groups. The categories western and non-western while utilised here serve no real useful purpose other than to highlight difference. The language terms and the artificial dichotomies created can be useful as a critical effective way of challenging and transforming previously held biases and ethnocentric assumptions. This is simply due to the fact that the terms themselves do not highlight the differences within these two categories that can and do exist and so the terms themselves become universalising and incapable of reflecting the diversity and commonalities that groups hold across the two categories.

What cannot however be denied is that the denigration of indigenous knowledge cannot be separated from the oppression of indigenous peoples (Hughes, 2003). Whilst I do not advocate pitting western science against indigenous knowledge when this might result in oppressive agendas operating, it is important to better understand that western scientific power involves the ability of scientific knowledge to be presented as universal knowledge and therefore superior knowledge. This allows us to expose oppression and to resist and transform it.

An example of this is how the science of the west formulated and constructed ideas on race so that new disciplines, languages and regimes of truth and othering were normalised as knowledge to subjugate and objectify people of colour. Wynter (1992) observes that these knowledge forms were and continue to be used to maintain the status quo with the oppressor and oppressed, using their authority to perpetuate the myths of racial superiority and inferiority. Modern science produces reductionist universal histories, is reductionist (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001) and defines realities and civilisation and legitimises modernist ways of seeing and being.

McConaghy (2000:89) examines western science in relation to her idea of scientific culturalism that she uses to explain how western science creates, maintains and advances colonial hierarchies that create secure epistemic authority and domination over different ways of knowing. She explains how certain western science knowledges have resonated with oppressive visions of 'empire' most commonly by 'regimes of othering' that make different ways of knowing inferior, reinforcing the ideology of universal truth from western science as an apparatus for the construction of knowledge to serve hierarchies of power and self privilege.

Knudtson and Suzuki (1992:13-15) set about comparing and contrasting distinguishing characteristics of indigenous peoples worldwide from dominant beliefs and practices of western society, as a way of understanding the differences in knowing. Their findings are summarised below and highlight key differences that go some way to understanding the complexities that exist when different worldviews converge. Reconciling the two will be a great challenge for this generation and those to come but critical to dealing with social and environmental challenges.

Indigenous worldviews	Western worldview
Spirituality is embedded in all elements of the cosmos.	Spirituality is centred in a single Supreme being.
Humans have responsibility for maintaining harmonious relationships with the natural world.	Humans exercise dominion over nature to use for its personal gain.
Need for reciprocity between humans and natural worlds – resources are viewed as gifts.	Natural resources are available for unilateral exploitation.
Nature is honoured routinely through daily spiritual practice.	Spiritual practices are intermittent and set apart from daily life.
Wisdom and ethics are derived from direct experience with the natural world.	Human reason transcends the natural world and can produce insights independently.
Universe is made up of dynamic, ever	Universe is made up of an array of static

changing natural resources.	physical objects.
Universe is viewed as a (w)holistic, integrative system with a unifying life force.	Universe is compartmentalized in dualistic forms and reduced to progressively smaller conceptual parts.
Time is circular with natural cycles that sustain all life.	Time is a linear chronology of human progress.
Nature will always possess unfathomable mysteries.	Nature is completely decipherable to the rational human mind.
Human thought, feelings and words are inextricably bound to all other aspects of the universe.	Human thought, feeling and words are formed apart from the surrounding world.
Human role is to participate in the orderly designs of nature.	Human role is to dissect, analyse and manipulate nature for own ends.
Respect for elders is based on their compassion and reconciliation of outer- and inner-directed knowledge.	Respect for others is based on material achievement and chronological old age.
Sense of empathy and kinship with other forms of life.	Sense of separateness from and superiority over other forms of life.
View proper human relationships with nature as a continuous two-way transactional dialogue.	View relationship of humans to nature as one-way hierarchical imperative.

When western worldview and ways of knowing and being are systematically imposed on others cognitive imperialism operates (Battiste, 2000), attacking the knowledge and mind of indigenous peoples and in this regards is by its nature oppressive (Smith, 1999; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). Knowledge of the benefits of indigenous ways of knowing and being with education can address and counter these practices. A key aspect of this type of education involves understanding the socio-political role of scientific knowledge as an instrument of colonialism in the first place. Deep enquiry will develop understandings of cognitive imperialism and the ideology of oppression. While revealing that ideologies of oppression are enacted through cognitive imperialism will highlight situations and raise consciousness, it will not fundamentally change the situations that oppress. Knowledge is power but it is

actually applied knowledge that changes and creates new realities. In short, you have to do something with and as a result of new knowing.

Hierarchies of knowledge are socially constructed and the dominance of different knowledge systems and their unique science is a direct result of the power and resources provided to support and invested in them to the detriment of other knowledge systems and those that are connected to those systems (Feyerabend, 1991; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001; Moewaka-Barnes, 2004).

Dominant cultures process and wield the ability to marginalise or legitimate knowledge whereas subordinate cultures are denied this power and rely on collaborative systems of persuasion. The result is the existing dominant/subordinate binary opposition that ensures one knowledge system is validated highly and at the expense of the others. This of course also ensures the continued reinforcement, maintenance and domination of existing unequal power relations that ensures dominant group knowledge remains legitimate and is presented as the universal truth.

By examining Maori knowledge as an ethno-science we engage in counter hegemony and undercut the Euro-epistemological tyranny that operates in contexts such as academic institutions and justice environments where what Maori hold to be true and natural is relegated to lesser knowledge, secondary to non-Maori ways of knowing and being. In short, there is one constant; indigenous knowledge and its rules for determining truth, its episteme, is subjugated by western science (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999).

Moewaka-Barnes (2004) notes that attempts to neatly define indigenous and western knowledge and indigenous versus western knowledge is problematic and challenging. In such cases efforts are fixed in a static pre-colonial frame and confine ideas and views to some remote past, invisibilising the dynamism of systems of knowledge that are continually being added to and adapted.

What then is indigenous knowledge? Quite simply it is indigenous wisdom and legacy as a result of interaction with nature in a local context. Indigenous knowledge is local, it is (w)holistic and it is agrapha, incorporating complex oral systems for

knowledge transfer (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). It is local because it falls out of interactions with a territory and is maintained through daily oral stories and ritual and events. This view acknowledges that it is different from western knowledge (Hughes, 2003). It is not primarily written down, unless non-indigenous influences have been incorporated or imposed. Nor is it in archives and museums, unless most commonly placed there by non-indigenous people and most importantly it is not separated from practical life. In these contexts indigenous peoples are the actors of knowledge and not passive repositories.

Garroutte (2003:101) posits an alternate intellectual perspective to ensuring that indigenous knowledge is valued at least as equal to that of western knowledge. She calls this intellectual perspective 'radical indigenism' which she advocates as distinctly indigenous scholarship. She is careful to point out that the use of the term 'radical' in the context with which she uses it is applied in its original form from the Latin word *radix*, meaning 'root.' Radical indigenism calls on an intellectual perspective that is centred in indigenous ways of knowing and being, dramatically different from those that proliferate the academy at this time, in turn, developing new ideas for the academy about scholarship, but old ideas for indigenous communities. I support this argument and advocate that for us to gain greater autonomy than we have today and maintain it within the global system we must be able to define and construct our present in our own ways.

Radical indigenism according to Garoutte serves to illuminate differences in assumptions about knowledge that are at the root of the dominant cultures misunderstandings and subordination of indigenous knowledge and argues for rebuilding and activating indigenous and ancient knowledge from its roots, its fundamental principles.

I support the views of Garroutte and the idea that a new scholarship exists and is growing, that this scholarship is based on timeless principles of each community and has value in the lives of people today. The work of the post-colonial theorists has done much to get us to this point and now I would argue it is time for indigenous scholarship to come to the forefront of thinking and action to reflect distinctly indigenous ways of knowing and being.

Aotearoa/New Zealand has a history of indigeneity and has often valued indigeneity. Durie (2003: 257-258) points out that the 1835 Declaration of Independence is an exemplar of indigenous rights and indigenous sovereignty, followed by the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi acknowledging distinctive indigenous rights. Successive pieces of legislation since those early days have continued to acknowledge in law indigenous rights including the Maori Representation Act 1867 through to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and its subsequent amendment in 1984 allowing claims to be lodged dating back to 1840. Of course these facts highlight that these Acts have not come without considerable tension and hard work by Maori and Maori allies. There are also many attempts to remove indigenous rights from the social landscape such as attempts to abolish the Maori parliamentary seats. Some have been successful such as the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2005 that vested the foreshore in the Crown on behalf of all New Zealanders.

A large amount of current indigenous recognition referred to above sees its present day acknowledgment in the interpretation and application of the Treaty of Waitangi. Many of our tipuna engaged in the negotiation and process of the Treaty and many agreed with its intention based on the indigenous understandings they had of what it ensured and meant for them and Aotearoa/New Zealand. However, the actual reality that has materialised continues to come under scrutiny from many quarters and the interpretation, relevance and application of the Treaty of Waitangi remains iterative and looks set to continue in this way for some time to come.

Whakapapa Knowledge: Matauranga Maori

Battiste (2005) asserts that indigenous knowledge has always existed and that the growing appreciation, recognition and reclamation of indigenous knowledge for many of us contribute to empowerment and self recovery. For many academics, Battiste argues, the task has been to 'affirm and activate' the (w)holistic paradigm of indigenous worldview and thought that has historically been largely excluded from spaces within contemporary institutions, teaching and learning, thinking and eurocentric knowledge systems. The advancement and promotion of indigenous knowledge has links to a series of international conventions such as the Mataatua

Declaration (1992), Kari-Oca Declaration (1992), Julayinbul Statement (1993), Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2006) (Quanchi, 2004:3).

Historically, the recording and defining of indigenous knowledge and epistemologies has primarily been the domain of the non-indigenous. Smith (1999) points out that the western archive of knowledge that constitutes what Hall (1992) calls the 'west' creates hierarchies of societies that posit some as superior and some as inferior. She explains how indigenous epistemologies have been bound up in western views of empiricism and the scientific positivist paradigm that falls out of empiricism. These views become the anchors, the benchmarks, the demarcation and defining points that determine the value of other forms of knowledge. Such tools for measuring is benchmarked from the 'west' and is thus culturally orientated. It is this cultural orientation towards the west that serves to subjugate indigenous episteme and maintain dominant hierarchies of power and knowledge.

This 'cultural archive' (Smith, 1999:43) sets up competing knowledges, fusing elements, alienating some, privileging and subordinating others. The constant within all this shaping is the culturally determined rules from the 'west' that are often insidiously masked to hide their discursive nature.

As a result, eurocentric scholarship has mis-represented indigenous knowledge (Sarup, 1996:135-146). For example, 'traditional knowledge' is a term that has been used to explain Maori knowledge and is still in wide use today. 'Traditional knowledge' suggests ancient understandings that have been passed down from generation to generation largely unchanged.

What is clear is that indigenous knowledge is a dynamic system that changes over time depending on the environment and based on skills, abilities and problem solving techniques (Battiste, 2005). It is also clear that indigenous knowledge cannot be placed in eurocentric frameworks as these do not acknowledge the extent to which indigenous communities have their own knowledge holders and workers.

Authors (Salmond, 1993; Reid & Cram, 2005) articulate the notion that this country consists of and is informed by different knowledge systems that are constantly played

off against each other as contrasting and competing worldviews. Reid & Cram (2005) explain this by examining the themes behind the two names for this land, Aotearoa and New Zealand and the power relations played out to create hierarchies of people and knowledge so that European worldview dominates Maori worldview in most contexts. The New Zealand system sees Maori worldviews as inferior or 'special' but not as equal to that of non-Maori worldviews. At the centre of this issue is that one worldview dominates the other to the point that it is largely extinguished. It is essential that a balance of worldviews is achieved if this land is to be considered safe for the original and heritage inhabitants, Maori. Broader acceptance of Maori worldview is required for policy changes in key areas of critical importance to Maori such as law, environment, education and justice.

While the above distinctions exist and are important to improve understandings that can cause unhealthy separation it is not sensible to differentiate knowledge solely as indigenous or western as this is a sterile dichotomy that restricts constructive dialogue that many Maori have historically partaken in. Rather it is more useful to talk about multiple domains and types of knowledge with differing logics and epistemologies. This approach recognises and acknowledges that various knowledges are useful to particular peoples who employ specific strategies for codifying the knowledge that protects, systematises and disseminates understandings for the benefit of the group. Whakapapa knowledge is one such approach and is a major strategy that Maori employ to codify knowledge for this purpose. Barton (1990:7) explains it like this,

> *In other words the concept of whakapapa is equal in power, pervasiveness and utility as the concept of logic or rationality in western thinking.*

There are several words in the Maori language that relate in various ways to knowledge. As reported in the analysis of data from my rangahau participants, mohiotanga, matauranga, maramatanga and wananga as they exist in some contexts, are used interchangeably. For example, Salmond (1985:240) views wananga as a particular form of matauranga. The late renowned tohunga[51] Maori Marsden refers to

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[51] The term 'tohunga' has been applied here as Maori Marsden was selected for, trained and completed the Ngapuhi Whare Wananga before it went into recess.

enquiry into valid belief as explained through Maori worldview as Maori epistemology, a component part of the field of Maori philosophy. Marsden goes on to explain that epistemology includes the nature of right and wrong that he describes as ethics (Marsden, 2003:27) that forms part of Maori philosophy. Marsden (2005) identifies that matauranga was exercised in wananga and that from te kakano (the seed of thought) came te mohio (ways of knowing) which gave us matauranga (knowledge).

Royal (2007) explains that matauranga has a history that has come through to form the predominant current understandings via the written literacy result from interaction with Pakeha. Mohiotanga he explains as embedded knowledge that is tacit and embodied in activity, while he explains maramatanga is wisdom, understanding and illumination.

With regards to matauranga the Maori newspapers that were often staffed by Maori reporters and provided analysis of last century give interesting insights and ideas to the period. In the context within which articles in the majority of newspapers were written, matauranga appears as a taonga, a treasure to seek and hold fast to. The general thrust of the references to matauranga in many of the newspapers highlights two agendas. One agenda encourages Maori to view their ancestral knowledge as valuable and equal to that of Pakeha and to hold onto this knowledge, whilst the other agenda argues that if Maori are to advance they should take up Pakeha knowledge. Sir Apirana writing in Rangi Bennett's notebook when she was a young girl provides a well known example of this idea;

> *E tipu, e rea,*
>
> *mo nga ra o tau ao.*
>
> *Ko te ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha,*
>
> *hei ara mo te tinana.*
>
> *Ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori,*
>
> *hei tikitiki mo to mahuna,*
>
> *a, ko to wairua ki to Atua,*
>
> *nana nei nga mea katoa.*

Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you.

Your hands to the tools of the Pakeha to provide physical sustenance.

Your heart to the treasures of your Maori ancestors as a diadem for your brow.

Your soul to your Creator to whom all things belong.

An unnamed reporter detailing biographies of each of the Maori members of Parliament in 1901 in the newspaper *Pipiwharauroa* refers to the differences in matauranga between Maori and Pakeha;

Hone Omipi, no Ngati Maniapoto, ko ia tetahi o nga taitamariki matau o te rohe o te Kingitanga. I ahu mai i te taha Pakeha tona matauranga. I whakawhanuitia ki nga pono o nga kaumatua rangatira o Ngati Maniapoto, no muri nei ka toro haere, i a ia i tu ai ki te aroaro o te Kooti o Te Rohe Potae, a, i a ia i haere ai ki te mahi ateha, ko ia tetahi tangata i titiro ana ki mua, ki muri o te huarahai, ki tetahi tahi, ki tetahi taha, engari e kumea ana e te nui o tona maramatanga ki te nui o nga painga e ahu mai ana i te taha Pakeha.

Te Heuheu Tukino, …ko ia te pou herenga o te tangata, o te tikanga, o te whenua. Kaore i tae ki nga kura, ko te ao tonu tona whare kura, ko ona kanohi tonu ki te kuhu i a ia i rarawe ki tona matauranga. Kaore he tangata i tua atu te ahuwhenua ki te hopu i te tikanga ki te kohi i te kupu, ki te ui i te maramatanga o ia mea, o ia mea.

John Ormsby, of Ngati Maniapoto, is one of the younger intellectuals from the King Country. His knowledge is derived from European understandings. He has recently begun to develop his understandings of the Maori world from being involved in the Maori Land Court hearings of the King Country. He is able to see all sides of an issue but he is still predominantly guided by his European influences.

Te Heuheu Tukino, he is an accomplished and distinguished leader. He has never gone to school. The world is his school and he is still able to

see the excellence of his own knowledge. There is no one better who knows the rights and wrongs of things, is as eloquent a speaker, has as rich a vocabulary and to see the value of things.

The reference to Pakeha knowledge is used predominantly to encourage Maori parents to send their children to school. The newspapers were undoubtedly a vehicle used by authorities to attract Maori parents to the idea of European schooling so as to allow the dominant ideologies and assimilationist practices to be imposed. The newspaper, *Te Kopara* operating from Gisborne in 1919 highlights this;

> *Kua tae tenei ki te wa hei tirohanga ma tatou i te ahua o nga Kura e whakahaere nei i nga matauranga mo nga tamariki Maori. Kua mahue te ahuatanga tawhito kei muri i a tatou……ka tae ana ki te ono o nga turanga ko te timatanga kautanga tenei o te matauranga. He iwi matau te Pakeha, engari kore rawa i ngata te puku o te Pakeha ki ona matauranga. Kei te kimi tonu ona tangata i roto i ona wharekura i nga matauranga i ko noatu o nga mea kua riro mai nei i a ratou. Koinei te wairua o te Pakeha. Ko ona huarahi kimi i nga matauranga kua ata wehewehea haeretia e ia.*

> *The time has arrived to report on the European schools of our Maori children. The old ways are behind us. On arriving at the 6th standard begins the independent study. The European people are very knowledgeable, but are not simply satisfied with what they know. They continue to study and learn to seek knowledge as a source of their intelligence. Part of this process of seeking knowledge involves breaking knowledge down into component parts and analysing each part.*

In the conversations I had with the elder participants they viewed matauranga as a fairly new explanation of knowledge and in particular they saw it as referring predominantly to western knowledge. One elder related an event to me from some years ago when he recalled a group were waiting to enter a marae, one member of which was showing his certificate to the group that he had recently received as a

graduate of an institution. He was, judging by my elders comments, well pleased with his accomplishments and was generously sharing his accomplishments with the group, he had received his certificate that said he had acquired matauranga. The group proceeded onto the marae via the powhiri (formal welcome) and the group went to sit down to be welcomed and in turn respond to the welcome, as was practice. One member of the group before sitting said to the member who had recently graduated that he should come to the front and do the official reply for them all as he had the certificate that proved he had the matauranga. The graduate quickly declined at which the rest of the group chuckled. It was explained to me, that whilst the person had matauranga they did not have mohiotanga as the group saw it.

Meyer highlights another important and valuable aspect for examining Maori epistemology as knowledge that in doing so we 'remember our future.' This reminds me of a comment a tutor of mine, Ian Shirley (2004), once said,

> *The knowledge wave is doing the things we have always done well, today.*

Ian was observing that for those of us who may have forgotten what it is we did well we must remember those things we have done well as a strong basis for our future success. Meyer further describes what she calls 'epistemological ideas.' These are,

- Spirituality and knowing – knowledge is spirit.
- Physical place and knowing – knowledge is connected to land.
- Cultural nature of senses – our senses are culturally shaped and influenced.
- Relationship and knowledge – interconnectedness and knowledge as aroha are inextricably linked.
- Utility and knowledge – knowledge as functional.
- Words and knowledge – thought guides action.
- The body/mind question – mind and body are not separated. Body is the central space for knowing.

Meyer puts up these ideas as a way to organise universal truths for indigenous epistemology. She states,

- Knowledge that endures is a spiritual act that animates and educates.
- We are earth and our awareness of how to exist with it is an extension of this idea.
- Our senses are culturally shaped offering us distinct pathways to reality.
- Knowing something is bound to how we develop a relationship with it.
- Function is vital with regard to knowing something.
- Intention shapes our language and creates our reality.
- Knowing is embodied and in union with cognition.

I support Meyer's points and can relate them easily to Maori worldviews and epistemology. For example the local knowledge that we have has endured long periods of time and when it is recalled it brings back to life the ideas, messages and people that have been associated with this knowledge over time. From this we derive our cultural curricula and education. Also, in our context, our relationship to our environment its gifts, its stories and its relationship with and to us and ours to it continues to shape our awareness and serve as a lens for how we engage in the world.

I would add that in Maori worldview the system that connects these principles of indigenous epistemology is whakapapa. Ladson-Billings (2005) advances this view writing that epistemology is more than just knowing or a way or ways of knowing. An epistemology is also a system for knowing that has an internal logic for understanding the universe and external validity with others.

If matauranga is about knowledge, and as I have argued, whakapapa knowledge is the system for codifying knowledge that is disseminated by whakapapa korero in various ways, it would make sense that knowledge itself would operate and be explained via whakapapa ontology. Best (1995:313) in his work amongst the people of Tuhoe provides us with an example and explanation based on his studies, experiences and understandings. Best provides us with personified forms of knowledge detailing how

knowledge came into the world and its relational aspects in an ordered list of knowledge constructs, with some explanations, in a matauranga whakapapa,

Rua i te pukenga

Rua i te hiringa – the desire for knowledge.

Rua i te horahora – the dissemination of knowledge.

Rua i te mahara – female, sister of Tinirau[52], the power of thought and thinking.

Rua i te wananga

Rua i te pupuke – female, sister of Tinirau.

Rua i te wanawana – ability to acquire knowledge and quickness of understanding.

Rua i te wetewete

Rua i te rururu

Rua i te ruru

Rua i te hotahota

Rua i te hemorere

Rua i te atamai

Rua i te whaihanga - female, sister of Tinirau, the knowledge of artists.

Rua i te kukakore – the knowledge of carving.

Rua i te parakore – the knowledge of carving.

Rua i te rarama

Rua i te hohonu

Rua i te mahina - female, sister of Tinirau

Rua i te korero - female, sister of Tinirau and personifies thought.

Rua i te te-wareware

Rua i te momotu-herepi

Rua i te aupo

While not all the meanings for those things mentioned above have been retained, the whakapapa above shows the development and advancement of knowledge over time and context. In this example knowledge is contained in and at each stage. Each stage

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[52] Tinirau was a son of Tangaroa according to Best.

above has fed and contributed to the next stage of learning below it. It shows the steady and natural progression of knowledge as a living entity and how bodies of knowledge sit in this Maori world example. Each part of this web of knowledge is connected to and has links with other parts. Whakapapa korero is the key for unlocking the messages behind these stages that provide a sense of cultural understanding, clarity and reality.

The important aspect of this explanation is that it clearly evidences that thought, memory, training, searches, desire and knowledge of matauranga was of critical importance as a functional arm of understanding and survival and that this is a timeless message for present and future generations. This example supports my views that knowledge was indeed a taonga, a treasure, and the ability to think, to know and to be able to explain how we know is central to Maori self-determination and wellbeing into the future. It allows us to negotiate our futures in our own ways and in ways that are informed by historical evidence and practice that has been tested and successful. Central to this agenda is the understanding of definitions and terms and their axiological meanings in the determination of knowledge and the explanations of matauranga. A deeper appreciation and understanding of whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero support the nurturing of our matauranga, our episteme that will reciprocate a higher level of wellbeing. Why else would our ancestors have created this exemplar but to guide and care for us.

Definitions of essentially Maori terms are problematic as they tend to restrict ideas to denotative meanings rather than connotative. As explained earlier Matauranga Maori in my experience and those of my elders is a fairly new term. I have heard it used to describe Maori ways of viewing things and have used it to differentiate between Maori knowledge and other forms of knowledge. Mead (2003:305) agrees that this is a fairly new area having been revived as a subject area encompassing all branches of Maori knowledge past, present and still developing. He ends by stating it would be 'futile' to attempt to discover the beginnings of matauranga Maori as it comes with the people, 'it is and will be.'

As Charles Royal (1998, 2004) of Ngati Toa Rangatira explains, confusion occurs when we are unclear as to whether we are talking about the term 'Matauranga Maori'

as a body of knowledge and 'Matauranga Maori' as a type of knowledge. Royal (2004:2) offers both a sociological and epistemological view and corresponding definition of Matauranga Maori. He suggests a sociological definition as being,

> *A modern use of the term used as a tool in everyday discussion to refer to a body of knowledge.... bought to these Islands by Polynesian ancestors of present day Maori.*

He explains the tensions, adaptations and challenges that impacted on this knowledge to arrive at the present state. He highlights a 'theory of Matauranga Maori' that is informed by a range of concepts and principles that can be considered as views on the nature of knowing and knowledge. This, he believes, forms the basis of an introduction of an epistemology of Matauranga Maori. An epistemological definition of Matauranga Maori he provides is,

> *The use of the term to denote a type or view of knowledge and its place in our experience of the world.*

As Royal points out, and my experiences support also, most usages for the term 'Matauranga Maori' fall into the sociological definition rather than discussing the nature of the knowledge being referred to.

Maori have explanations of how knowledge entered the world as a way of viewing knowledge and its place. One, of many, that I have heard recounted how Io (not withstanding the work of Taonui, 2005, that questions the existence of Io), the supreme being, sent messengers down to Rangi (Sky father) and Papa (Earth mother) to select one of their children to visit him and receive the baskets of knowledge. Tane, after battling with his elder brother Whiro, was selected and ascended the realms. Whiro sent plagues and other adversities to block Tane's ascent to the upper realms, often referred to as heavens, until he arrived at Te Toi-o-nga-Rangi, the upper most realm, the twelfth heaven and was met by Io's servant Whatukura, a male[53], Tane was purified and taken to meet Io at Matangireia. Tane asked Io to obtain the

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[53] A female attendant also resided at Matangireia, her name was Mareikura.

wananga, upon which Tane was taken to Rangiatea where he was given the three baskets of knowledge and two sacred stones called Rehutai and Hukatai that would later have significance in the whare wananga held on earth. The baskets were called Te Kete Tuatea, which contained knowledge of makutu or evil, Te Kete Tuauri that contained the knowledge of ritual, memory and karakia and Te Kete Aronui that held all the knowledge that could help human kind. The three baskets are also often explained as the three worldviews of the Maori (Kowhai Consulting, 2004). The stones held the power of knowledge and added mana to the teaching of knowledge. Tane returned with the taonga and was again challenged by Whiro who was subsequently banished to the underworld from whence he continues to challenge atua and human beings with adversity.

When using the term Matauranga Maori I apply it in the epistemological sense. That is, in its uses and applications in areas such as arts, education, food cultivation, gathering and preparation, expressed as religious knowledge, implied knowledge, tacit knowledge and scientific knowledge (Royal, 2004:19) that form the epistemological knowledges of the Maori world.

I argue that Matauranga Maori has always existed but we have determined, defined, and by so doing, labelled it as different in consequence of interaction and competing power and ideologies between other groups, predominantly Pakeha in the case of Aotearoa/New Zealand. I view Matauranga Maori as the knowledge base of te ao Maori and that we make sense of this knowledge and the world by constructing, using and understanding whakapapa knowledge. I suggest that if hapu is the defining group of Maori identity then there also exists another level of knowledge and that may be rightly called 'Matauranga Maniapoto' in the case of this rangahau, referring to my choice to engage with and examine Ngati Maniapoto epistemology. Whilst there may be generic ideas in common with other hapu, whanau and iwi this will not be the case always and there exists quite distinct uniqueness amongst hapu, whanau and iwi.

Of the people I interviewed there were two common statements that they reiterated. Kaupapa Maori and Matauranga Maori were not terms they had ever known but rather had recently come to hear. As such, I believe that these terms are forms that can either act to serve our desire to explain and define our own Maori realities or they can

actually be reflected back at us by others as non-Maori analysis of things Maori and used to define and exclude Maori, depending on the interpretation being applied at any particular time. In many contexts Maori terms are taken, captured and commodified to have a limited and somewhat shallow and narrow meaning applied. The term and ideas having been captured are re-presented back to us and become the dominant and in time the only meaning. Matauranga is one such term to which this has occurred. Matauranga has come to primarily mean education, in particular Pakeha education. The Tertiary Education Commission, the body with overall responsibility for tertiary education in Aotearoa/New Zealand is one example of an institution that has captured this word and uses the word matauranga in its Maori name, Te Amorangi Matauranga Matua, literally, the superior body for controlling knowledge.

Tau (1999:15) asserts that Matauranga Maori needs to be accepted as a discipline defined by whakapapa and that Matauranga Maori is 'epistemology of Maori.' He states that the central question is not what is Matauranga Maori but rather asks what facets underpin Maori episteme. He argues, and I agree, that whakapapa is the skeletal structure to Maori epistemology.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined the key ideas shared by the elders earlier and related them to the context of whakapapa, whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero. This chapter has argued that whakapapa is central to understanding Maori worldviews, in particular the centrality of interconnectedness of relationships and their significance. I have advanced the idea that whakapapa knowledge is the system that regulates this and that whakapapa korero is the element of transmission.
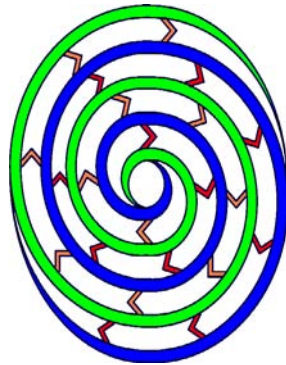
I have also introduced the idea that Maori worldviews acknowledge both the spiritual and physical and the animate and inanimate and that a greater connection to and understanding of the place and importance of whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero can and do support positive cultural identity and wellbeing. Important contexts and elements are discussed as part of the system of whakapapa knowledge that contributes to positive cultural identities and wellbeing. Some of these contexts

include nature, land, language and symbols including visions, story and signs, to highlight a few.

Terms including knowledge, whakapapa knowledge and indigenous knowledge have been detailed showing the relationships among them. The proposition of comparing and contrasting indigenous knowledge and western scientific knowledge has been described as having little benefit and acknowledged as difficult to achieve given the imbalance of investment in western science as compared to other ways of knowing. This noted I have argued that indigenous knowledge has historically been denigrated, dominated and oppressed and that this agenda still occurs and is inseparable from the oppression of indigenous peoples. This recognised it is equally true that indigenous knowledge is gaining more currency in contemporary times for indigenous peoples.

Exposing the oppressive nature of colonial ideology together with counter hegemonic agendas inherent within analysis of indigenous knowledge is a powerful way for creating and utilising our own truths. A discussion of whakapapa knowledge, Matauranga Maori and Kaupapa Maori as bodies of knowledge that are related is provided as is the relative history of these ideas. Finally, conceptual debates about Matauranga Maori is examined in depth in the context of contemporary times and meanings. The takarangi has provided a framework for utilising indigenous knowledge and discussing the ideas referred to above as well as a way to explain the world in uniquely indigenous terms and to organise the information as part of spiral thinking and speaking.

KOWAE TUAIWA

Te kahui whetu. Star Charts: A View of the Universe from the Waka.

Introduction

This chapter attempts to discuss and differentiate between key terms in understanding worldview and in particular, epistemology. This is difficult to do in English without also giving space to western constructions of worldview and epistemology that may see this worldview dominating (again). This is certainly not the intention. Key terms are highlighted as an explanation of the various parts of worldview discussions and seeks to examine and explain Maori worldview interpretations and constructs that answer back as valid, our worldview constructions.

The modern western worldview was shaped and framed in Greece where epistemology took shape with the works of the philosophers Socrates, Plato and Aristotle over the period 470BC to 50BC. It was there and through these works that the philosophical foundations were laid and entrenched in our present as part of a dominating western culture. Their works created the modern field of philosophy and the commonly acknowledged three branches of ontology, axiology and epistemology that combine to provide in western schemata a group's worldview and that are shown as a whakapapa below.   In brief, ontology examines the nature of reality (i.e., what exists) and axiology the values, morals and social orders of right and wrong of a society.

Epistemology, from the Greek words episteme (knowledge) and logos (word/speech), in the western tradition, is a major branch of philosophy[54] concerned with the theory of knowledge (Hester & McPherson, 1997), the ways of knowing the reality explained by ontology. Epistemology generally is characterised by a division between two schools of thought, rationalism and empiricism and has its origins in the scientific revolution of the 17th century in western worldview. Both approaches sought to secure sound foundations for knowledge – a model of certainty. Epistemology asks questions such as what is knowledge, how do we know things, what can we know and what are the differences? Epistemology involves actively thinking about the nature of knowledge itself (Willig, 2001).

Philosophy

Ontology   Axiology   Epistemology

Rationalism   Empiricism
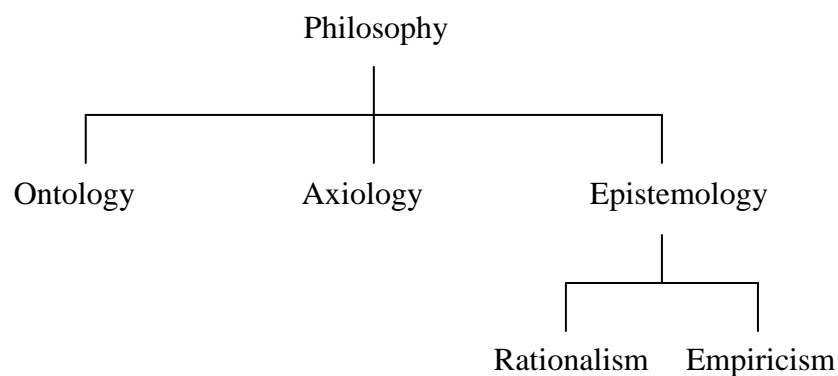
Words and phrases such as worldview, ways of knowing and being, mohio, matauranga, marama, whakapapa are all terms that encapsulate ideas of epistemology, although the mapping is inexact. As we have seen in Maori worldview we speak of mohio, of knowing something, of matau, of having a deep knowledge and therefore a developing understanding, and of maramatanga, enlightenment or deep understanding, essentially, wisdom. Meyer (2006:2-4) refers to these ideas as 'systems of consciousness.' She writes that these systems of consciousness are needed to enliven what knowing and epistemology are in contemporary contexts. Returning in more depth to Meyer (2005) and the seven principles for organising systems of consciousness she has identified reinforces this relationship. The ideas are;

- Spirituality and knowledge – the cultural context of knowing.

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[54] I acknowledge that the use of terms such as 'philosophy' and 'epistemology' are rooted in European philosophical tradition and are constructs of their tradition.

This refers to ideas of value, process, purpose and meaning accessed through respect for lands, relationships, elders, language and ritual. It is not religion, the beauraucratic arm of spirituality, but a much deeper sense of knowing and being.

- That which feeds – physical place and knowing.

This highlights and places emphasis on place and geography as a space for being fed and nourished physically, spiritually and mentally. The idea of relationship with space is at its very heart a spiritual idea. We do not learn about land but rather we learn from land and land contextualises knowing (Cajete, 1994), land is the blood of our human existence - ko te whenua te toto o te tangata.

- The cultural nature of the senses – expanding our ideas of empiricism.

Our contexts of knowing are shaped by our senses, how we feel, hear, smell, taste and see things. We come to know things through sensory perceptions.

- Relationship and knowledge – self through other.

This is the idea of being in relationship with others as the trigger for knowing people, land, nature and ideas – everything is known, including knowledge of self, through relationship with something.

- Utility and knowledge – ideas of wealth and usefulness.

Knowing is valuable but is best applied for its purpose. The function of knowledge is to apply it usefully, to utilise the knowing for wellbeing.

- Words and knowledge – causality in language.

Systems of meaning and knowledge are given effect in language expressed as words. The thought influences the words and they in turn effect actions, they have causality. We frame our languages and the inherent ideas and knowledge in ways that make sense but may be unclear to the untrained mind and ear.

- The body/mind question – the illusion of separation.

Mind and body are not separate. Te taha Tinana and te taha hinengaro are co-dependant.

These points raised by Meyer are epistemological ideas that seek to ask and answer how we know and how we know we know, as well as how we know we don't know. Meyer offers this system as one way of examining and organising epistemological truths. Based on the points above and engaging in an examination using this system she believes that for her;

- Knowledge that endures is a spiritual act that animates and educates.
- We are earth and our awareness of how to exist with it extends from this idea.
- Our senses are culturally shaped offering us distinct pathways to reality.
- Knowing something is bound to how we have a relationship with it.
- Function is vital with regard to knowing something.
- Intention shapes our language and creates our reality.
- Knowing is embodied and in union with cognition.

These ideas above represent elements of an episteme. Episteme has been referred to in earlier chapters and is a term that Foucault uses (1970; 1989) as a ground for knowledge and is the sense with which I apply whakapapa, as a ground for understanding and creating knowledge that both informs and supports Maori worldview. Foucault takes the idea of episteme further and uses the term to describe and signify the ways in which knowledge is acquired, ordered, transmitted and disseminated as a total set of relations that give rise to epistemological truths, sciences and systems (Childers & Hentzi, 1995).

The point here is that there are clear distinctions between the way different people think about episteme and epistemology. A Maori episteme is one which has formed as a result of 800 years of residence in these lands and is quite different to those of other groups that have been here for a much shorter time. A particular episteme containing complex elements including spirituality, social systems and language, underlies every aspect of a people's lives, (Christie, 1987:8) systems of land use, economics, construction and child rearing for example, are all located, rationalised and ordered by episteme and a group's worldview. The worldview of any group

whether it be in song, in poetry, in artistic form, in drama and performance each offer something that stands for an aspect of their reality. I argue that Maori worldview is best understood through whakapapa knowledge (Gidley, 1994:1).

Systems of understanding and knowing

A Maniapoto kaumatua explained to me once that the ability to interact with whakapapa knowledge opens up a channel to a greater understanding of ourselves as human beings and the universe that we are part of. Without this understanding, he said, 'you will be forever wondering about your place and the meaning of things until you give up and your mauri begins to be extinguished.' He was emphasising that in his view, understanding of te ao marama is central to wellbeing.

He went on to say that the ability to fully understand whakapapa knowledge is inextricably linked to understanding key concepts from the Maori world, ideally, through the Maori language. Tuwhangai's reference to the centrality of te reo Maori for understanding te ao Maori is echoed by Smith (1997:213-215) and Ka'ai and Higgins (2004:13) who remind us that,

> *Language is central to the way Maori view the world; it is the life-blood of Maori culture and it is related to politics, mauri and mana. Te reo is the link between knowledge and meaning and teacher and student. It is the strand that links the concepts through time and to each other.*

This understanding supports further complementary conceptualisations of the Maori universe, that whakapapa knowledge is a way of looking at the world that stresses generative relationships and inter-connections that are not static but rather are dynamic events and activities (Edwards, 1998; Carter, 2003). This distinctive way of looking at the world is informed by elements such as geography, history, language and practices that are coherently linked together as a system of knowing – an epistemological system operationalised and explained as whakapapa. The system is how we come to know, the lived experience is how we know that we know things are true for us at any one time.

Through indigenous language specific to context we are able to interconnect with thought and feeling that traverses time and distance. Yup'iuk member Oscar Kawagley (cited in Meyer, 2005a:4) explains it like this;

My language thrusts me into the thought world of my ancestors.

Tuwhangai added to his earlier ideas stating, in common with other indigenous peoples (Mankiller, 2004), there is no single Maori worldview or single Maori universe but rather there exists a myriad and that each worldview, he emphasised, is to be respected. At one level individuals will have a particular worldview while at another many of these elements will be shared in common with others of the same group. This collective view is what forms the cohesion and culture of the group. In this way the worldviews were not seen as right or wrong but rather as different from each other in some aspects. This way of looking at the world I would argue is a Maori way of looking at the world, not simply a component of it. It is also shared in common with many other indigenous people in my experience and emphasises ideas of inclusiveness, collectivity, respect and a positive recognition of difference. In these contexts consensus operates with the application of time in indigenous contexts and provides space and opportunity for different views to be held and appreciated. Influence and depth of conversations often provide the base for collective agreement. As Mohawk author Patricia Monture-Angus (2002:21) explains;

As Aboriginal peoples are not homogenous, there is no single Aboriginal 'perspective' on anything, let alone governance.... homogeneity does not even exist within the First Nations, Metis or Inuit.

Returning to Tuwhangai, his ideas provided understanding for the unique differences amongst Maori, the effects of experience, history and geography, for example. He argued that our worldview at our home in Kawhia is different from the worldview of someone else in another area for these and other reasons. This view of positive difference highlighted by my uncle operating within the Maori world is referred to in whakatauki,

E koekoe te tui, e ketekete te kaka, e kuku te kereru.

The tui's voice resounds 'koekoe,' the kaka's 'ketekete,' and the kereru 'kuku.'

This proverb speaks of the different sounds that are made by the tui, the kaka and the kereru, all indigenous birds. Each bird has its own distinctive sound and is different from the others, but still all are birds, all are positively different and all are significant for different reasons.

T. P. Tawhai (1988:857) of Ngati Uepohatu expressed the same view of positive difference when he explained that each Maori tribe has its own explanations and understandings of the world and it is wise to speak only of those things that you know.

> *My understanding is that each tribe had its own system of explanations. The apparently permanent migration of some Maori into the tribal territories of other Maori has complicated the picture in some ways. And in relation to that and other matters, I recall an often-quoted precept of the ancestors, which goes: if you must speak, speak of your own. I speak of korero tahito and accordingly speak of Ngati Uepohatu ones. Our korero tahito have in the telling more or less depended in the past upon such factors as the appropriateness of the emotional climate in which it is told, the messages stated by the surroundings on the occasion, the body language of the narrator and the attributes that the human voice lends to words. Written presentation takes these things away. More than that, it tends to rigidify what was and should remain pliant. Flexibility in our korero tahito enables them to accommodate the capacity of the narrator to render them more relevant to the issues of the day. It is therefore with misgivings and a sense of danger that I must explain that this telling is only for this time, and that tomorrow I would tell it another way.*

This is common knowledge and belief that also permeates Ngati Maniapoto communities. The west refers to this as 'relativism,' the idea that any cultural system can only be seen through in terms of the values, contexts, principles, frames of reference and history that constitute and characterize it. Any truth is relative to the system that is in operation and not absolute because it varies from one context to another, from person to person or group to group. What this idea reinforces and I argue is true for Maori knowledge is that knowledge is contextually relevant. Relativism is a theory of knowledge that is strongly discursive.

The idea of multiple worldviews was supported by Hurihia Tuteao (2003)[55] when she presented her preliminary doctoral research findings to the Tainui Trust Board as part of a scholarship programme. She stood and said in English, 'I am the centre of my universe.' What Tuteao was emphasising in this anthropocentric statement was that there are many universes with many centres and that she occupies a centrality in her universe, simply because she is an active constructor of her worldview and her universe and that her identity is shaped by the worldview that is unique to her, but which might be viewed differently by others. This was a powerful statement of endorsement of her family and hapu. The endorsement was in the fact that she had an in-depth understanding of personal mana and could articulate this and relate it to the mana of her family and hapu. She was strongly acknowledging the mana of others that had been allowed to emanate in her and that she was part of a wider group. While she was speaking from an individual position she was simultaneously speaking as a part of a collective – the hapu and whanau to which she belongs. It was reclamation of her personal power and essence, as both a Maori and a woman.

Whilst the Maori world entails at least two parts, the physical and the spiritual worlds, the Reverend Maori Marsden (Kowhai Consulting, 2004) viewed the Maori world as having at least three contiguous parts and he also added a fourth for consideration. The first world was that of Te Korekore (world of potential being), the second Te Po (world of becoming) and Te Ao Marama (the world of being). The fourth world he suggested was the world of symbol as evidenced through words, symbols, art and ceremony.

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[55] Personal communication.

The fourth domain suggested here by Marsden, I would argue is a crucial set of ideas that have great application in contemporary contexts and in particular in relation to non-Maori highlighting difference and as an essential discussion for shared understandings and sustainable futures. Whereas western cultures place great significance on what is called functional literacy, reading and writing, indigenous people have literacy forms that are beginning to be acknowledged. For Maori this is our various art forms that are what I call our literary texts. While we place great importance on these literary forms they also offer greater understanding for other groups and those of us that are seeking to enhance our cultural identity. This fourth domain means for me the transmission and sustainable future of distinctive Maori identities informed by these literary forms from our distinct and unique culture and worldview understanding expressed in physical form but drawing on the aspects and understandings of the other three worlds for valid expression. Marsden's extra space is a context that is culturally relevant; it takes concepts and ideas and provides physical form, shape and sound, to build particularly powerful as texts for understanding and informing our own epistemologies. In other contexts the expressive manifestations of the fourth world are powerful cultural weapons for critiquing and resisting dominant group oppression and maintaining, enhancing and advancing unique Maori worldviews. For example, I recently attended an exhibition of whakairo by renowned whakairo expert Professor Kereti Rautangata of Nagti Maniapoto titled 'Emancipation through Matauranga,' where he utilised his art to critique the wisdoms of fixed western knowledge systems and at the same time advance Maori wisdoms and applied them to contemporary utility. His work demonstrated the fourth domain elements highlighted by Marsden as able to resist, critique and respond to dominant ideologies in subtle ways.

Ideas of worldviews and universe are located in Maori thought and action and conceptualised as te ao Maori. The idea of worldviews being culturally and contextually relevant is evident in the importance given to people and place that are considered central in and to indigenous worldview (Cajete, 2000:186-188). This is similar to Maori worldview in what we call nga korero tuku iho (knowledge passed down), nga korero mai i nga matua tupuna (knowledge from the ancestors) and nga korero o te whare wananga (knowledge from the institutions of specialised deep learning), where there is variation of ideas and thought that comprise different Maori

groups worldviews but the emphasis on people and place is apparent. At the heart of this idea is that in the three key domains of Maori esoterics, while different groups have different formulations, the emphasis upon place and people is constant across them all.

Royal (2005:218) succinctly summarises understandings of Maori worldview when he explains;

> *Perhaps the single – most important aspect of an indigenous worldview is the notion that the world is alive, conscious and flowing with a perennial energy. The natural world is not so much the repository of wisdom but rather is wisdom itself, flowing with purpose and design. We can say that the natural world is a mind to which all minds find their origin, their teacher and proper model.*

'Myths' and 'Legends' - an operational arm of Maori epistemology

Myths[56] offer a privileged terrain of investigation and insight for those literate enough to read the messages, both overt and covert. Levi Strauss explains that myth imitates itself as object as the manifestation of free thinking (Wiseman & Groves, 2000:134) and provides the rationale for practice and continuance.

Ashis Nandy (1983:59) writes that myths are consciously acknowledged as the core of a culture, they form the essence. Whereas history is largely superfluous, examining events without providing models of behaviours for wellbeing and living, at best it is misleading, one way traffic, a set of ideas about past time but lacking much in the way of meaningful contemporary applications that limit and pre-empt human options. Myths on the other hand allow access to the processes that constitute history at the level of the present. They widen rather than restrict choices. They allow us to re-member in an anticipatory way so that the past informs the present rather than avenging or revisiting our past in ignorance (Cajete, 2000:13).

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[56] Myth and similar words such as legend and history have their development in terms such as *mythos, logos* and *historia* from Latin and Greek origins referring to what could not have really existed or happened. A more detailed analysis can be found in; 'Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society' by Raymond Williams.

Alpers (1964) sought to 'rescue the Maori myths from the children's bookshelf' and attempted 'to set things right' by re-telling the written accounts collected by George Grey[57] (1855). Grey collected accounts from authorities such as Wiremu Te Wheoro of Waikato, Hoani Nahe of Hauraki and Te Rangikaheke of Te Arawa and retold them in his book Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna. In this book he relates the episode of Tane-nui-a-rangi ascending the twelve heavens, nga rangi tuhaha, to retrieve the three baskets of knowledge for human kind. This episode, while familiar to me, is in contrast to the account from the world which I belong to which tells me that it was Tawhaki who ascended. While Grey's and latterly, Alper's versions are undoubtedly attributable to the original Maori source that Grey received, the version from it does highlight once more that there is not one worldview within Maori society and that worldview is definitely people and context specific, depending on who is re-telling the history and from which perspective.[58] In this regard Alpers was successful in highlighting the importance of reading myth in context and recognising differences positively.

Barton (1990:5) writing on the relevance of myth to mathematical structure, points out that in more recent times myths have become kai tamariki, children's tales because they have been simplified and reinterpreted by those unfamiliar with their meanings. He further points out that myths were historically shared orally in comparison with the modern times where they appear more commonly in writing which is a relatively superficial and inflexible in form and content (in comparison to historical narratives and delivery that were more accommodating depending on the teller and context). As a result of the subtle elisions of narrated stories, a host of detail, explanation and consequently understanding, is lost.

The change and development from oral to written literacy does have value in providing another medium for the expression of thought. The challenge and tension between the two forms comes when pre-European oral forms of literacy are re-presented in written accounts. As the original context and medium changes and so to does meaning and understanding.

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[57] Sir George Grey settled in New Zealand in 1861. He later left and returned to live at Kawau Island from 1880 at which time he gifted his New Zealand Collection to establish the Auckland Public Library as a significant national heritage collection of Aotearoa/ New Zealand.

[58] An important note to mention in regards to Grey's reasoning and identified in his preface to his work Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna, was that he did this work to improve his outcomes and his role as an administrator in the sense that he could better know those people he wished to control.

Tau (2003:18) points out that the relevance of myth is further complicated in contexts that distinguish myth from history, a system not found in Maori society. In non-Maori terms oral literature incorporates myth, a devalued knowledge form, and history told and passed down over generations. The problem exists for many in identifying what is myth, those stories from the distant past and history, those stories from the recent past. Regardless, myth forms the operational arm of whakapapa korero and has functional purposes within Maori worldview and is an important resource to explain phenomena, relationships, theory, practice, conduct and rituals.

When I hear our myths criticised as fantasy or as serving no real useful purpose I frequently reflect on Memmi's (1991) ideas that heritage is most powerfully handed down by education that is given to its members, in particular the children of that group. This idea acknowledges that traditions, histories, myths, legends, ancestor stories are bequeathed and form the reservoir of knowledge (Memmi, 1991). What good is it to learn of Cook, Napoleon, Shakespeare and the average rainfall in Argentina, alone? These stories, these histories are not my own and they talk to me of a world that in no way reminds me of my own. It would serve me better to know Hoturoa, Turongo, Raukawa, Rereahu Maniapoto, Matakore and others as well as valuable to have a knowledge of others so as to have a greater balance and perspective.

Tau (2003), referring to Ngai Tahu, accentuates a point that is also true of Ngati Maniapoto and that speaks to the value inherent within the myths of my own people. Tau believes that there is no oral literature or whakapapa korero that gives 'moral instruction that does not have a functional purpose.' Quite simply, it would not have survived time if it served no purpose.

Whakapapa korero is a system for housing and delivering messages that serve as the mental rationale for ritual and practice, where ritual is the 'operational arm of myth' (Tau, 2003:65). Critical enquiry will also make us aware that 'hybrid' (Taonui, 2005:4) accounts are now a feature of Maori story and knowledge. Taonui's (2005) work identified such hybrid accounts and their aims, such as a Maori supreme deity in the form of Io. Taonui's assertion that Io did not exist in Maori society pre-contact but was rather a two way fusing of cultures highlights hybrid traditions. Taonui's

examination provides counter hegemonic agency to colonial ideas of the 'savage' and 'uncivilised' of Maori by highlighting that Christian doctrine and its transmission was aimed at providing a need for Maori to be saved and that we were saveable. The assumptions underpinning our reasons assumed for our ascribed position was that we were noble savages that if given the right instruction and rules for living could be 'saved.' Taonui's work shows that in the creation of an Io cult, Maori from very early colonial contact were engaging in counter hegemonic work to refute the idea of uncivilised and savage by inventing a God of equivalence to those of European theologies. However, the effect in many cases has been to produce distortions in our own pre-European traditions and stories.

Vansina (1965), Goody (1987), Henige (1982) and Jackson (1992) all point out that colonisation changed and influenced for the future the philosophies and oral traditions of all indigenous people. While in direct relation to Aotearoa/New Zealand Taonui (2005:5) points out that Williams (1937), Buck (1949), Johansen (1958), Simmons (1969, 1976), Sorrenson (1977, 1979, 1992), Finnegan (1982), Orbell (1985), Reilly (1989, 1990), Hanson (1989), Walker (1990), Royal (1992), Belich (1996), Ballara (1998), Van Meijl (1996), Smith (1999), Mead (2003) and Howe (2003) have either investigated or highlighted post European distortions of Maori oral tradition showing how colonial contact has influenced Maori ideas and identity in contemporary contexts through 'hybrid' knowledge.

Insights into Maori Views of the World
This interruption to the development of uniquely Maori epistemologies acknowledges that pre-contact Maori societies were intact culturally, socially, spiritually and economically. A symbiotic nomos[59] existed wherein the world had meaningful order that was infected by colonial chaos in which the sacred canopy of Maori societies, particularly the emphasis on relationships, upheld by our ideologies of land, culture and community and connected by Maori episteme, was systematically dismantled.

Of particular value to understanding Maori worldviews is the relation that Maori ways of knowing, thinking and reaching conclusions are centrifugal (Durie, 2003, see diagram below) as we construct our views of the world. This insight involves thought

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[59] Nomos refers to a set of laws, rules and understandings for order.

and action that focuses on relationships, where communication is abstract and not directive or fixed to a particular position in time, but rather derives meaning from the context, and identity is largely land based and involves others. To illustrate this, Maori constructs of the world focus on energy travelling outwards from a small point of origin and focusing on the big picture as against predominantly western thinking that acts centripetally deconstructing down to smaller and smaller parts. As an example that was shared by Durie, when Maori are asked to speak about ourselves we discuss ourselves in brief and quickly start to shift foci away from us and move to 'we' thinking, moving away from 'I' the individual and concentrating on our relationship with and part of a wider group. We start at the micro and move to the macro level in a centrifugal fashion. With centrifugal thinking understanding is achieved through relationships with other things rather than the detail. These two elements are inherent and linked elements of the takarangi spiral. Durie (2003:6) shows this diagrammatically;
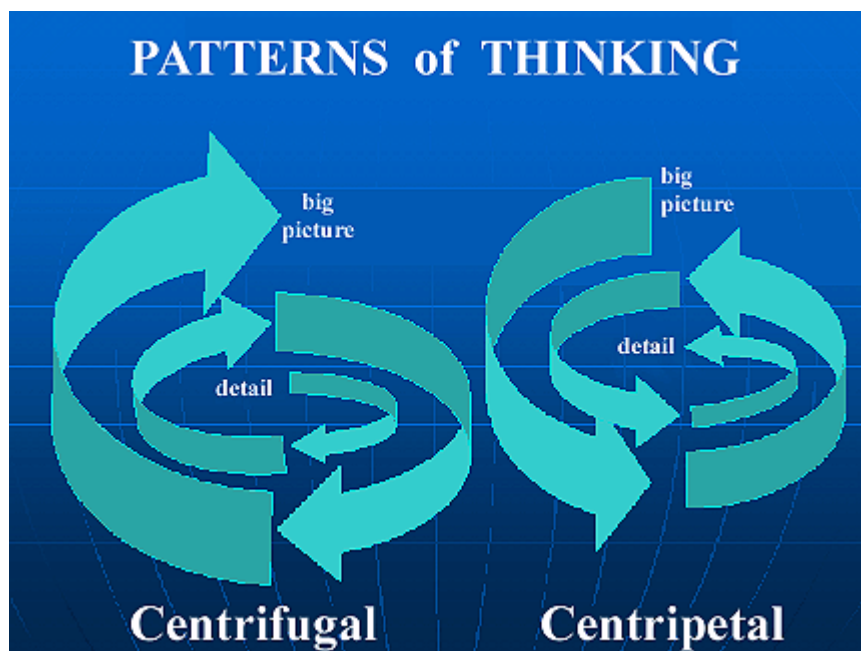
The ideas expressed here in Durie's model highlight an element of Maori identity in relation to how we engage in the world. The type of thinking shown here supports

those views detailed earlier of a primary focus on our wedentity as against our individual identities. This type of thinking is an element of our identity.

Unfortunately elements of our identities as Maori have been systematically attacked with the effect of damaging our wellbeing. This is evident in the oppression seen in our colonial past that has resulted in Maori being stripped of our lands and along with it much of our self-esteem and self-respect. In relation to land and its influence on our wellbeing, our ancestors left us clear guides that are clearly in whakatauki and stand as ominous contemporary warnings,

> *Te toto o te tangata, he kai,*
> *Te oranga o te tangata he whenua.*

Literally this means food supplies the blood of people, our welfare depends on land and instructs us not to part with our lands as it is there our ancestors dwell and our (w)holistic wellbeing depends.

In general, however, Maori worldview is de-centred. The universe is viewed as dynamic, complex and continuous, with no one centre. In this view human beings are not the centre of consciousness and knowledge and as the whakatauki reminds us, are part of it. Diversity and difference are seen as natural order and actively sustained in the environment and in culture. In line with this view, economies of use dominate rather than economies of scale so that sustainability and relationship are considered part of a larger view, maintaining balance in and with the world. This view eschews attempts to maximise the world for personal profit motives and with goals of high returns in short time frames. My first fishing trip in my home area was an object lesson in this approach. My uncle and I went fishing using a drag net. We made one drag and pulled in twelve patiki (flounder). On pulling the fish from the net my uncle started to pack up the net, much to my amazement. I recall asking why we were packing up and he said, 'we have enough for a feed.' He was demonstrating an economy of use that would ensure sustainability, the lesson that I employ as practice today.

Tona ahuatanga – forms and shapes of whakapapa knowledge

This section examines the forms, shapes and content that constitute the primary elements of whakapapa knowledge using the key discursive terms introduced earlier and the insights from the interview data from participants. It argues that these epistemological elements that form our ways of knowing are applicable in today's contexts and offer powerful opportunities for maintaining, enhancing and advancing positive cultural identities using whakapapa korero.

Whakapapa korero has been posited here as an analytical framework and analytical tool that provides for the expression of matauranga that supports mohiotanga and ultimately maramatanga (Smith, 1998) that enhances cultural identities and wellbeing.

Whakapapa knowledge is encapsulated in all Maori knowledge and in my experience often aligned to Matauranga Maori. Matauranga Maori in the wider sense is the articulation of Maori philosophy and knowledge as evidenced in Maori epistemology. Maori epistemology is framed in whakapapa knowledge and ontology's and is transmitted via whakapapa korero. Maori locate philosophy, knowledge and epistemology in time and space (Roberts & Wills, 1998). Whakapapa knowledge has many forms and is transmitted, using metaphor, allegory, analogy, anecdote, argument, debate and metonym and through symbols including whaikorero, whakatauki, waiata, whakairo, raranga, taniko, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai and ta moko (Hemara, 2000:23-32). These 'curricula,' do not exist in isolation but combined, form the knowledge base of the Maori world. Maori Marsden (2003:31) supports these ideas when he explains;

> The ancient Maori seers like the modern physicists created sets of symbols to provide them with their maps/models to portray each state in this evolutionary process. These representations were the means by which they could apprehend/grasp/interpret/reconcile the various worlds; and grasp what they perceived as ultimate reality. These symbols were encapsulated and couched in story/myth/legend/art/forms/proverb/ritual and liturgical action. The institution of ancestral genealogy, portrayed in minor thematic symbols as the tree developing from seed to fruit/or the sexual act culminating in the birth of the child out of the darkness of the womb

into the light of the natural world were some of the ways by which the real world was represented….But whatever symbolic representation was chosen the methodology was to recite first the actual genealogy itself and then to embed it in narrative form. The genealogy was learned by rote and provided the frame or skeleton, and the narrative form clothed it in flesh. This latter provided the explanation.

Set out below are some ways that many Maori may 'know' the universe. These are not a definitive list but a selection of different elements that share a common thread of having whakapapa as a basis for connection and understanding.

The *human body* is an epistemological agent, an organ of and for knowledge creation from which we come to know the world (Meyer, 2005). We combine our physical and spiritual senses in the human form and engage with the world through our being. Our senses interact with environs allowing us to know and understand the universe. For example, my own people believe that valuable thinking is done within the puku - stomach, it is our gut feeling that directs powerful action not thinking with our heads alone. Our sense that tells us if we need to be wiriwiri, afraid or cautious, also tells us whether we need to be careful and degrees of respectfulness because of the wairua that may be present in any place or time. Our belief system emanates from our heart not solely our mind, we often say, 'ka kitea e te ngakau ka kite e te whatu,' if it is seen by the heart then the eyes will see it. We focus and visualise through our heart, our ngakau this is most powerful for many of us in our own geographic hapu, whanau and iwi locations and contexts with landmarks, stories and ancestral connections close by. Many Maori come to know the universe and degrees of wellbeing that are part and parcel of connections of meaning that provide security, happiness and knowing for many of us.

Human characteristics are also ways we know. For example, when someone is singing and people comment by saying things such as, 'he momo mai tona tipuna,' they are referring to the fact that the singer's voice is a gift passed down from the persons ancestor and the degree of connections is made intimate and close. In a recent case a whanaunga (relative) of ours saw one of my sons at a hui and greeted him with the comments, 'kia ora e te pane muka.' Pane is the word for head and

muka is the fine yellowish fibre that comes from harakeke (flax). My son has very light brown hair that is yellowish in colour. My whanaunga was referring his appearance to the muka of the harakeke. Knowing that muka is a fine fibre and that it is an element of the environment that is respected because of the work involved in extraction and the uses to which muka is put such as korowai (cloaks) and here (ropes) that have significance with Maori this was an endearing comment imbued with respect and dignity that was well received and reinforced connections to land and strengthened connection between us as relatives.

As alluded to briefly before Maori value *patience and silence* as ways of both knowing and coming to know. It is common to hear that the primary way to learn and know things is to 'titiro – whakarongo,' watch and listen, our empirical practice. In its narrowest sense this refers to watching and listening to other people but in its wider epistemological sense it includes, amongst other things, observing animals, land, trees, weather and the sea as ways of knowing the universe. It is fundamental to empirical understanding and a foundation of our own indigenous sciences. Many Maori refer to this as 'noho puku,' to sit, to think, reflect and contemplate via connections with puku – an epistemological element of the human body highlighted above.

Trial and error is another powerful way that many Maori know the universe. Our science in common with western science has involved us testing different propositions, making observations, refining and developing new and innovative ways of knowing the universe through our equivalent systems and practices of hypothesis testing and the hypothetical deductive method.

This was exemplified earlier with reference to Whakaotirangi, the partner of Hoturoa. Rongoa Maori, Maori medical practice, is an example where elements have been taken from nature and trialled on different things to see what cause and effect they had. Another example is in relation to natural dyes where harakeke was laid in different types of paru, – mud and swamp material for different lengths of time under different conditions to see what colours it would create. Such ways of knowing is still carried out in my own area today by my elders when they are weaving.

Trial and error, or hypothesis testing in the western perspective, is a way that we come to know the universe and informs our epistemologies. Inductive and deductive empirical processes as exemplified here have always been used in Rangahau Maori to build and adapt our whakapapa knowledge base.

Language as discussed earlier is a powerful way that Maori have come to know the world and a reason why indigenous people the world over have made strong stands for the preservation of indigenous languages. As Boyer (1993) points out indigenous people have over time been fearful of and disengaged from their language because of 'capitalistic economy, corruption of traditional spirituality, as well as christianisation.' This has multiple affects of creating tiers of thought and debate that have led to creations of poles of 'authenticity' discussed in detail below. An example of oral language that serves as a Maori way of knowing includes whakatauki and its variants. This is discussed as an example below and forms part of a fuller discussion elsewhere in this rangahau along with songs.

Whakatauki and whakatauaki are examples of Maori forms of literature (McRae, 1988; Norman, 2000; Hemara, 2004). As Metge and Jones (1995:3) say;

> *Proverbs are not usually thought of as literature: Most people dismiss them rather cavalierly as clichés of no great depth or literary merit. To appreciate whakatauki we must first of all disembarrass ourselves of this popular understanding of the nature of proverbs.*

Whakatauki are proverbs where the author is unknown as distinct from whakatauaki where the author is known. Whakatauki/whakatauaki are elaborated on here to show the relationship between matauranga Maori, whakapapa knowledge and transmission via whakatauki/whakatauaki.

In our Tainui country we have other similar genre of whakatauki and whakatauaki. These are called tongi or tongi kura. As explained to me by Meto Hopa of Ngati Apakura and Ngati Wairere, amongst others, a tongi is different from a tongi kura. A tongi is a proverbial saying spoken by a person of high rank and continued to be known and utilised as a guide for thinking and practice.

An example of a tongi is that such as spoken by the first Maori King Potatau Te Wherowhero to his son Matutaera, later to be renamed Tawhiao, at the closing stages of his life just before his death on June 25th 1860; [60]

> *Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai,*
> *te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero.*

> *There is only one eye to the needle through which all threads must pass.*

This tongi has come to mean different things, but to many it refers to people needing to live together and get on together. It is most likely that multiple meanings were intended by Tawhiao from the beginning as it is the nature of proverbs to have more than one application and to continually acquire others.   Tongi and tongi kura also serve a specific purpose for the people of my region by honouring our eponymous ancestors and providing prophetic statements that act as good living principles and actively seek to unite people.

Matauranga Maori is grounded within whakapapa knowledge and transmitted using, amongst other things, whakatauki/whakatauaki as one of many whakapapa korero techniques to unlock whakapapa knowledge. To understand matauranga Maori and receive the benefits of new knowledge acquisition we need to 'unpack the meaning' (Metge and Jones, 1995). The following whakatauki illustrates this point;

> *Kia u ki tou kawai tipuna, kia matauria ai, i ahu mai koe i whea, e anga ana koe ki hea.*

> *Trace out your ancestral stem, so that it may be known where you come from and where you are going.*

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[60] I have heard some people explain that the words were expressed by Matutaera rather than Potatau Te Wherowhero. It is not for me to say that they are right or wrong but simply relate what I was told.

The use of discursive form as seen here is a central feature of whakatauki/whakatauaki and as such meaning is often condensed and codified within several layers of meaning requiring decoding. For example, the word 'kawai' as used here refers to the main stem of a plant or vine, it is also a whakapapa knowledge term used to describe the main ancestral line from ancestor to descendant. Using the reference of the vine to the natural world the whakatauki stresses the importance of knowledge of self to equip yourself well in the world. The kawai is a metaphor for connection and inter-relatedness which reminds us that the relative health of the vine is dependant on a strong stem to 'feed' the many component parts of the vine and ensure it grows well and enjoys full life and wellbeing.

Another example, as highlighted earlier in this work, is the use of the iti rearea metaphor shared by Lambert to explain rangahau. Maori, as has been said, view the future by utilising key teachings from the past so as to be moving forward by looking backwards. Whakatauki and whakatauaki are tools for maintaining the clear linkages between the past and present and provide us with codes for living powerful contemporary lives.

The whakapapa knowledge that forms a base for matauranga Maori is incomprehensible without the whakapapa korero that supplies the code for understanding whakapapa knowledge and ultimately advancing matauranga. Salmond (1985) explains the idea of korero as a discourse, a system for thinking about something iteratively producing meaning from experience of life events and histories. As such whakapapa korero is a discourse for understanding the Maori universe and everything in it; 'matauranga was pre-eminently expressed in korero' (Salmond, 1985:249). The idea of korero as a discourse, a communication and transmission of knowledge is highlighted in the use of Maori terms to acknowledge and emphasise people as fonts of knowledge when they are described as pukorero, manu korero, maunga korero and whare korero, experts of discourses of knowledge.

Whakapapa korero and knowledge become an analytical tool with which to understand te ao Maori and the inherent relationships that exist within it.

Another elder, Tumanako Wereta[61] of Ngati Tuwharetoa, recently explained to me his ideas and experience of Maori worldviews when he contrasted his understandings with western worldviews in contemporary contexts. He highlighted that values systems operate in the Maori worldview to maintain balance between interconnected entities within the world. The values systems are informed by beliefs of how balance is maintained and enacted through principles and rules for action commonly referred to in the Maori world as tikanga. In his discussion, Wereta identified points to illustrate and distinguish some contrasting values between Maori and non-Maori that he has experienced and views as some key differences in epistemological approaches to living and understanding the universe. While general in nature they provide examples and insight into some very clear ways of seeing and experiencing the world through Maori ways of knowing. Wereta explained that in his experience he had seen common differences that he showed in the following way;

Maori	Non-Maori
Passive	Assertive
Silence – discipline	Freedom to speak openly
Spiral communication	Direct communication
Specialised knowledge	Direct Knowledge
Rights of group	Rights of the individual
Leadership – from the back	Leadership – from the front
Spirituality	Religion
Retire to serve	Retire to rest
Spiritual development	Technological development

These ideas highlight perceived and lived differences of understanding of dichotomous existences in contemporary contexts. Some general explanations of these points were given by Wereta to illustrate this and I have added my own eclectic experiences to accentuate the contrasts provided here as an example.

Passive/Assertive

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[61] Personal communication. These conversations with Wereta took place over the period 2003-2006 in various locations as part of a close working relationship between Wereta and the author.

Most Maori approach Maori forums passively, that is we are quite adept at sitting and listening if we choose and are quite satisfied if we say nothing in gatherings, hui and such forums. We have an appreciation that the issues over time will be addressed and will be raised even if we do not raise them. In many cases we may have already met and heard each other's views in informal settings and the hui is to primarily confirm ideas. It means that time is invested in multiple hui to arrive at a position that is long term sustainable. Interestingly, Maori in my experience are often criticised for the number of hui we have.

Spiral communications/direct communications

Maori thought and language reflects the passive approach referred to above. Maori language is non-directive but rather employs many linguistic passives reflecting this approach. I have utilised the takarangi to emphasis the circular and centrifugal approach to knowledge that we commonly employ and that also applies to communications. Bishop (1996) describes this as 'spiral discourse.' A recent example of takarangi spiral discourse verses direct communications I heard involved a man who saw a relation in town, he walked across the road to greet him and during the course of their discussions he asked after the health of an aunty of theirs by saying, 'how is aunty?' The relation replied, 'you should see her new car.' No more was said. It was never directly said, 'she is well' or 'she is poorly.' From this response though the man was able to conclude by the reference to her car that aunty was fine as, if she had not been well, no reference to her car would have been made because it would have been impersonal to discuss her car while she was unwell. In my experience if you were to ask a non-Maori that same question they would most likely directly answer the question. This is an example of spiral communication or what Durie (2003) refers to as centrifugal thought and practice that is commonly employed in Maori worldview.

Silence – discipline/Freedom to speak openly

In the Maori world silence is both a discipline and value. Silence shows that the individual has patience, respect and discipline.

Some years back, Maori academic, Linda Smith, recounted to me a meeting she was at hosted by a group of First Nations people of North America. Other guests included

non-indigenous people. They were all asked to sit in a circle by the hosts. They did so and waited patiently for the hosts to begin discussions. They waited, no words were spoken. This continued for some time. The non-indigenous guests became increasingly agitated by the lack of speaking and became restless until eventually one non-indigenous guest could stand the silence no longer and spoke. The meeting concluded very quickly as the peace of silence had been prematurely invaded.

I recently recall a sad event where a young man had died in our community and a family member was involved. Our family members went to pay our respect on the marae of the deceased. Some of our group were nervous about what we might be subjected to as a result of the grief of the family. Our kaumatua explained to us that no matter what is said we were to remain silent and to drop our heads in respect. He explained we needed to be disciplined in our silence.

Specialised knowledge/Open Knowledge

Maori values are built on specialised knowledge rather than direct knowledge. Wereta explained this by recounting an event. He was standing on a hilltop with an elder of his and they were looking at an aniwaniwa, a rainbow. He commented on how beautiful the rainbow was and the elder explained that we only see half the rainbow the other half goes under the ground. Wereta inquired of the elder that if the rainbow above ground was called aniwaniwa what was the part below the ground called? The elder explained that it was called te poutoko aniwaniwa, the pillar of the rainbow. This has significance because it provides a logical explanation for the circular notions prevalent in Maori worldview and is congruent with other ideas of pou that hold up those things of great importance such as the centre pole found in a meeting house a pou tokomanawa. This illustrated an example of specialised knowledge, knowledge held by a very few. Wereta then humorously challenged those of us listening to try and find that knowledge on Google.

Specialised knowledge is held by a few for the benefit of the many although there are frequently tensions round its dissemination as noted in the analysis of data from my elders reported earlier. In Maori societies and communities this type of knowledge is most usually very tightly held to avoid abuse or being labelled as a tangata puta mohio – a 'know it all.'

In our community we have a very small number of elders, one who was a participant in this work, who can walk over land and identify if tupuna are buried there even if no visual signs remain. They hold this specialised knowledge and share it by practicing the knowledge and helping others when they are asked.

A Maori view of knowledge, as I have been taught to believe, is that knowledge is sacred and is respected, especially when that knowledge is held with only a few for the many, and those knowledge holders, who may be small in number, are held in high acclaim in many contexts for knowing and also for how they share their knowing.

Rights of group/Rights of the individual

Maori worldview values group or collective rights. Maori property rights are an example of rights of the group. Historically, Maori land was held communally, by continuity of use, for the collective. European arrival and the following introduction of the Westminster system of land ownership meant that Maori land tenure systems were replaced and land once communally owned was soon individually owned. The Maori Land Court was a major mechanism and vehicle for achieving this as highlighted further on in this work. The current Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal process of taking historical claims against the Crown to the Crown on behalf of the collective hapu, whanau and iwi is a contemporary acknowledgment of how Maori land was originally owned and utilised – communally and in common.

Leadership – from the back/Leadership – from the front

Maori leadership is quite often unseen but most often felt in many contexts such as formal speaking. In Maori society the most highly esteemed leaders do little talking and do not take the lime light. Maori leadership by this ilk is predominantly from the back in those contexts. In military combat however Maori rangatira would lead their people into battle from the front, adorned in the colour red to distinguish them as the military leaders and strategists.

Wereta recalled comments made by a famous female Maori composer, Ngoi Pewhairangi, of amongst other peoples, Te Whanau-a-Rua, on leadership. She

explained that some leaders will say, 'I was there, I did it,' or 'I was there, we did it,' but she believed a great leader says 'I wasn't there, they did it.' This is an allusion to the Maori view that leadership is from the back.

Spirituality/Religion

In Maori worldview spirituality has a common goal of respect to elements of the universe we share, and affirming connections and balance. Spirituality as respect, affirming connections and balance as a whole is embraced and the thinking and logic is that of an interconnected reliance on these things to fully contribute to spiritual capital. This is different to views of religion that have a much narrower focus and serves as the beauraucratic arm of spirituality, setting down rules and procedures for the recognition of spirituality and that is commented on by the elders in the analysis of data reported earlier. Differences between spirituality and religion is evidenced in Maori hui where Maori represent religions but practice indigenous spirituality. In Maori hui you will commonly find several different religions sharing the taking of a service, whereas in non-Maori religion it is less common for more than one faith to conduct proceedings.

Retire to serve/Retire to rest

In the Maori world our elders retire and are busier than when they were employed. They are called on to perform cultural functions, act as ambassadors, and liase with non-Maori on bodies of various kinds and to invest large amounts of time teaching grandchildren.

The kaumatua and kuia that were the participants in this work all shared that they do more work now than when they were younger and employed. Their cultural obligations as elders requires that they be seen at tangi, they lead the marae, they lead in community and they are frequently called on by statutory bodies to provide support and wisdom.

In summary, the above general examples serve to highlight that sharp contrasts and contexts exist between Maori and non-Maori in interpretation and application. What is also clear from these insights is that values play an integral part in the epistemology, survival and wellbeing of a people and in particular, indigenous values

are both valid and supportive of indigenous ways of knowing and being. The degrees to which we come to know (again) our cultural identities and how we operationalise these in practice is a powerful way to reclaim unique being and general wellbeing.

Developed Understandings

The ability to construct and reclaim a unique Maori worldview has been highlighted as being born out of a deep understanding of the language, te reo Maori, and the deeper meanings of terms that serve to explain the Maori world of and for an individual or group. Pere (1991:5) highlights key terms that in her view make up the universe. Key terms and principles distinct to te ao Maori are detailed including hinengaro, mana, wairua, tapu, aroha, marae and hui to name a small number and are shown as relating to each other and boundless. She also provides an educational framework that is unbounded and a system for understanding the universe. Pere believes that the ability to understand the universe contributes positively to the identity of individuals and groups. Pere's model is what she terms a Maori educational framework primarily based on peoples' experiences and understandings.

She writes that a positive Maori cultural identity is reliant on being educated of and with such key ideas that she highlights and their respective relatedness, and is achieved through experiences and understanding. Making sense of these experiences depends heavily on understanding terms that act as metaphor and metonym for deeper knowledge and wisdom to ensure a higher order of thought occurs.

For example, the ability to understand the hongi, the pressing of noses that occurs when Maori meet each other and that forms the equivalent of the European handshake provides an understanding of our ancestral origins. When the deity Tane fashioned Hinetitama, the first human being, out of the red earth at a place called Kurawaka he pressed his nose against Hinetitama's and breathed life into her and when she breathed he said, "tihei mauri ora," – it is the breath of life. This phrase, tihei mauri ora, which is frequently used to start a formal speech, and the hongi, the symbolic act of acknowledging our origins, both exist in the Maori world as normal practice and highlight the depth of cultural identity that resides powerfully in these types of experience that explain Maori reality.

Pere's model does not mention the word whakapapa; instead it shows the inter-connectedness of all key terms and ideas as part of her idea of an unbounded and seamless universe. There are similarities between these understandings and those of other indigenous groups such as those articulated by Cherokee writer Wilma Mankiller (2004:14) who explains;

> *Among traditional people there is a fundamental understanding that everything is related and that all living things play an important role in keeping the earth in balance. Each community derives its unique spiritual and cultural identity from shared values, knowledge, stories and relationships with one another and the natural world. Traditional indigenous knowledge systems and stories acknowledge that the rivers, rocks, trees, plant life and the celestial world are alive with spirit and meaning. When traditional indigenous people speak of their relatives they are referring to every living thing.*

Many of the people that I have come into contact with and those I interviewed supported Pere's views and regarded whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero as a system for understanding the Maori world and our place within it. The participants believe/d that knowledge and entities such as stars, birds, animals, and ancestors were/are inter-related. These entities they explained have relationships with and to each other that order the world and that give sense and meaning to events and occurrences that are the foundation of how we come to know as Maori. They explained that we know we know these things because our ancestors told us, role modelled the practices, kept the teachings rather than disposing of them and that through signs and memory images in nature, space, time and our culture these epistemologies are maintained.

In my own experience, working beside elders, they spoke of and acted in such ways, highlighting that knowledge and land are intimately related and inter-connected as one entity (Cajete, 1994; Mead, 2003:269). This was made clear once when I wanted to drain a swamp. Two elders that I related my plans to, asked me critical questions without directly telling me not to drain the swamp. Their questions focused on what would feed the ponds further below to replace water that came from my swamp, what

would feed the tuna in the swamps and what would provide the people with tuna, for food. My knowledge of conservation and biodiversity did not consider the migratory process of tuna and the interconnections of not only eels and humans but also many entities in the context of just a swamp. What their messages showed me was that land and other entities inform and shape our knowledge, our thinking and our action. The physical elements in the case of the swamp of tuna and water informed our knowledge of conservation, or what we call rahui.

A discussion I had with Ngati Rereahu kaumatua Piripi Crown[62] explained how we are continually reminded of the relationship and interconnectedness between entities. Piripi recounted one explanation of the beginnings of whakapapa that he was once given by a kuia (female elder) that he didn't name and at a time he did not give. He recalled that the kuia explained that uira, lightning, rekindles and connects our human whakapapa. Every living thing is part spirit and part animate in the Maori world and in relation to humans this is referred to as ira atua and ira tangata (Mead, 2003:42). Uira refers to the presence of being, the presence of ira, what Mead (2003:42) calls genes. Lightning connects both the spiritual and human elements connecting the genes of the spirit world to that of the living so that the connection is maintained. This would possibly also explain why many Maori view the signs of lightning over hills as a sign that death has come to someone or group. Crown explained it to me like this,

> *Ka u te ira atua me te ira tangata i te uira, ara te timatanga o te whakapapa.*

> *Spiritual and human essences are recalled in lightning, that is the beginning of whakapapa.*

From reference points such as these we begin to speculate, extrapolate and interpret ideas to better understand ourselves and other entities in the universe that serves collective wellbeing and our Maori identity, what is often called our Maoriness (Karetu, 1979; Pere, 1979). As Rose Pere says;

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[62] Ngati Rereahu is a hapu of Ngati Maniapoto occupying country south of Te Kuiti. This conversation took place at Mokai Kainga marae, 16/4/2006.

There is my taha Maori and the five dimensions that influence my life –
spirituality, ancestral ties, kinship ties, humanity as a whole and the
earth as part of a vast universe. Taku taha Maori, my Maoriness,
gives me a strong core, a force-field that can help me to stand up and
do something for myself in today's world.[63]

Ancestral and kinship ties are inextricably linked depending on how they are applied by different groups. In their narrowest sense they can both refer to toto Maori or toto whakapapa, blood relationships, that explain amongst other things, relationships between groups, roles and responsibilities and rationales for actions. These are ideas of human-to-human interaction and relatedness.

Tikanga as a regulator of Maori worldview

The underpinnings of Maori worldview are regulated by tikanga. Tikanga are established precedents based on empirical observation and spiritual guidance, tested over time, many of which have been retained and remain as timeless principles that are applied in contemporary contexts. Tikanga has experienced resurgence in the last 30 years having been actively suppressed by Crown agencies and marginalised by Pakeha institutional and social practice for the century beforehand (Walker, 1990).

Tikanga as a summation of accumulated knowledge over time forms Maori intellectual property. Tikanga have several facets. There is the concept, the idea, experience, value or belief that provides for understanding the practice. Second is the practice of tikanga. This is the operationalisation of the idea, experience, value or belief. For a tikanga to remain in existence also requires that the hapu affirms its continued practice. This is the dynamic aspect of tikanga. Tikanga are subject to manipulation and change to suit context and kaupapa or reason. The continued practice of a certain tikanga by a group provides the tikanga with its mauri, its essence and also its mana in that it is valued and held to be correct, right, fit for purpose, proper and sensible. Once a tikanga loses its mana, its mauri fades and the tikanga loses saliency and relevance. In this case it is usually superseded by a new or variant

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[63] Retrieved from, http://www.fourwinds.shoalhaven.net.au/StoriesofOurPeople/STORIES.htm on February 7th, 2009.

tikanga that has the attributes described above. As an example, our tikanga on our marae in years gone past was that when a group or individual wanted to come onto the marae they could only do so before dark. With the passing of time and conditions we have relaxed this tikanga as people have often had to travel after work at night due to work constraints meaning they arrive at our marae at night. When I asked my elders why we relaxed this tikanga they explained that if we had not we would not be showing aroha to visitors and may also limit the opportunity for people to show their respect to the marae and those that had died in the case of a tangi. As a result our tikanga has changed to meet the needs of the times.

Tikanga can take on different magnitudes of scale and complexity depending on the event or activity that the tikanga are part of and are supporting. For example, tangihanga, particularly those of leaders, are an example of a large scale, highly complex event where many tikanga are applied in the context of death. In this case because of the context of death and grief and the myriad of tikanga that will be brought into play as part of the process as appropriate, application of tikanga is an important part of thinking as part of the process considered by the group to be tika - appropriate. This emphasis on appropriate practices of tikanga is less important in other cases, for example, such as one of our family not taking their shoes off before entering our house.

Whakapapa knowledge and the corresponding whakapapa korero occur against and within a backdrop of tikanga that supports Maori episteme. The tikanga provides the timeless guidance on how to apply the knowledge and episteme in preferred culturally appropriate ways.

Whakapapa knowledge therefore becomes 'the most fundamental aspect of the way we think about and come to know the world' (Rangihau, 1981). 'It (whakapapa) is inscribed in every aspect of our worldview' (Smith, 1999) as encapsulated in Maori knowledge systems and exhibited in tikanga. Whakapapa korero encapsulates Maori knowledge and whakapapa as genealogy. Whakapapa korero lays down primary terminology as a set of names of peoples, places, events and a set of coordinates for the analysis of our individual and collective rightful place in the universe whilst also

informing kinship ties, social organisation and economic systems (Smith, 1997; Allen, 2002).

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined the idea of epistemology, how we know we know, and Maori ideas of mohio, matau and marama as our own constructions that explain our reality.

The work highlights some of the ways Maori construct reality. Inherent within this discussion are examinations of language, land, arts and story with a particular focus on the relevance of myth as an example. These works focus on the sharp contrasts with western worldviews in an attempt to understand the distinctions between indigenous worldviews with particular emphasis on Maori worldview. It has reinforced the idea that indigenous peoples have sustained their unique worldviews and the associated knowledge systems for millennia. This maintenance has occurred in the context of major social upheavals as a result of imposed processes largely beyond our control. I have argued that the core values, beliefs and practices associated with indigenous worldview are of value in the contemporary context for negotiating the demands of health, wellbeing and survival. These knowledge forms are experiencing resurgence presently.

An indigenous ontological view sees the universe filled with meaning. Meaning is understood in the context of and with environmental and ancestor involvements, who are connected, still here and who we still meet. Epistemological understandings, in particular, the different underlying assumptions about the universe and people's relationships with, roles and responsibilities to and in it, are primary ways Maori come to know. Some of the epistemological vehicles we use include the human body, human features, patience and silence, trial and error and language. Whakatauaki and whakatauki have been used as an example of language as a way of knowing and has highlighted how this is operationalised.

The work here explains that Maori worldview, despite over two hundred years of attack, degradation and harassment has been validated by its survival and continued existence. Maori worldview will need to continue to stand up to attack and challenge

and we still will need to retain our inner strength. Our mere survival as a people points to the fact that we will be up to it and we will in fact thrive.

KOWAE TEKAU
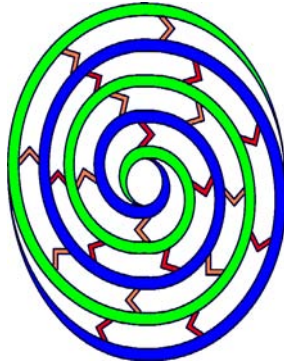
Te whangai kai. Kai on the Waka: Whakapapa Knowledge Transmission.

Introduction

Traditionally, the transmission of whakapapa knowledge was achieved in a variety of ways. This chapter examines some of those elements that facilitate knowledge transmission and the contemporary potentials for maintaining, enhancing and advancing positive Maori cultural identities.

The predominant transmission form for Maori was oral via recitation at events or in formal teaching situations. The Maori mind was conditioned and capable of memory feats that are not seen in contemporary contexts with as much frequency as in earlier times. Early amateur ethnographers such as Best (1974:8) were impressed by such feats.

> *The Maori is mentally acute and possesses remarkable powers of comprehension. His powers of memory are undoubtedly great, and sometimes appear marvellous to us. Thus an old man of the Tuhoe tribe recited to the writer no less than 406 songs from memory. Another old fellow recited from memory the genealogy of his clan, a task that necessitated the repetition of over 1,400 personal names. Such powers of memorizing are the result of long centuries of training, of the lack of a written tongue, combined with a strong desire to perpetuate certain form of knowledge.*

Best's last statement points to the value and significance to Maori of whakapapa knowledge. A developed common knowledge of whakapapa ancestral knowledge existed in Maori communities (Biggs, 1960:24) and was often rote learnt and recited in context. For example, it was common practice to recite the whakapapa of a child during a difficult birth to make the labour easier. Other forms include the ancestral lines that appear in karakia, chanted by the spiritual leaders of the time, and in waiata (Best, 1975) sung by composers and performers alike at formal and informal gatherings in the korero of the time. Ballara (1998) writes that much of the more sacred whakapapa knowledge has remained and survived intact due to reluctance of early Maori authorities to share this knowledge, whereas the more common whakapapa knowledge has been subject to various interpretations and change (Ballara, 1998:112). Other forms of transmission included whare, pakiwaitara, karakia, art forms and books (Best, 1975; Roberts & Wills, 1998). These are examined in more detail here.

Nga Whare – houses of learning

Whare are a central feature and theme of Maori worldview and represent along with marae, the oldest institution in Aotearoa/New Zealand, appearing as houses, institutions and structures for human activity, that are accorded high status in the Maori world. Whare, the physical form of which is often actually information codified, are important knowledge portals and repositories often acknowledged by Maori as libraries and knowledge banks. Those familiar with whare will know that knowledge is explicit and implicit in their structure, their design, their ritual, their form and adornment carrying a semiotic load as geographically located, built and social environments at multiple levels.

Many types of whare served the contemporary equivalent of institutions of learning and provided spaces for the development of thought and activity in the Maori world. These included whare wananga, whare kura, whare kau po, whare maire, whare pora, whare takiura, whare puni, whare tatai, whare mata, whare takaha, whare korero, whare kohanga, whare kahu and whare porukuruku, whare tapere and whare tupapaku (Nepe, 1991; Roberts & Wills, 1998). Some of the whare mentioned above are examined in detail below.

Whare Wananga

Whare wananga were the institutions of higher learning in the Maori world (Best, 1974:84; Marsden, 2003; Hemara, 2004) and are common ancestral systems in indigenous contexts for the examination, preservation and transmission of knowledge (Friesen & Friesen, 2002:15). The ascent of Tawhaki (in the stories of our people of Tainui) to the upper most realms provided the rationale, protocols and principles upon which the whare wananga was to be conducted and determined the subject matter.

Whare wananga were chiefly concerned with the transmission of the higher forms of Maori knowledge, described as te kauae runga - the upper jaw as opposed to lower forms of knowledge, te kauae raro. Those that had acquired the kauae runga knowledge had this acknowledged and expressed in their facial moko with the hape, a facial mark signifying that the bearer was a holder of sacred knowledge, placed above their upper lip (Jones, 1998).[64] The last person to receive this training and mark in the Tainui region to my knowledge was the second Maori King, Tawhiao. Other institutions existed such as the whare maire that focused on te kauae raro, the lower jaw and other lesser forms of knowledge.

Salmond (1985:249) reports that tribal histories and genealogies do not appear to have been taught in most early whare wananga but became a feature of curriculum with the tensions between Maori genesis stories and Christian doctrine. Before these times tribal histories and whakapapa were openly discussed. Salmond (1985) argues that the establishment of the Native Land Court and the requirement for evidence to prove ancestral boundaries, set up competitive elements and opportunities for distortions to occur in what was previously common knowledge.

Whare wananga appear to have been held in most tribal districts most commonly in winter when the work of hunting, planting and harvesting were over (Salmond, 1985:242). Students known as 'pia' and sometimes 'tauira' were screened and selected to enter the whare wananga. The pia specialised in certain knowledge and

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[64] I have had explained to me that in traditional Maori society there existed eight ranks of human being and each rank had and received access to different levels of knowledge. Each rank had a name and their existed eight ranks for men and eight for women. Only those that were placed in the top three levels of knowledge received the hape.

were often dedicated to certain atua that held dominion over a particular knowledge field, for example, Tane and Tangaroa. The whare wananga were overseen by the highest order of tohunga, the tohunga ahurewa (Jones, 2000) who were the reservoirs of cultural knowledge and an integral resource of a fully functioning Maori world. Curriculum areas of whare wananga included astronomy, whakapapa, history, genealogy, karakia, chants, waiata, healing and lore (Hemara, 2004).

Charles Royal (In Marsden 2003:xiii) explained that the traditional whare wananga concerned itself with,

> *… viewing the world as a music, a singing, as rhythmical patterns of pure energy that are woven and move with cosmological design and purpose.*

Whare korero

During the winter months in particular, in many areas and amongst many Maori, each evening would involve the community coming together under the one roof and discussing events, including, whakapapa, politics, issues of the times and items of entertainment (Marsden, 2003). These sessions or sittings were known as the whare korero. Most frequently it was at these times that whakapapa korero knowledge was shared amongst the generations assembled. In my own Ngati Mahanga ancestry of Waikato there are references to the whare korero referred to above. For example, Aperehama Patene speaking at a sitting of the Native Land Court on the 14th March, 1887 in Alexandra, present day Pirongia,[65] stated when being cross-examined by Pepene Eketone,

> *I cannot specify any parts of the particular block but the Ngati Mahanga and Ngati Hourua conquered the whole. The land I claim extends from Whaingaroa to Aotea as far as Kawhia. When Rangipotiki and Te Mouri were killed, the land then became conquered. Besides Ngati Mahanga and Ngati Hourua the Ngati Patupou, Ngati Reko, Ngati Whawhakia and Ngati Te Wehi were*

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[65] Waikato Minute Book, #16:13-18.

engaged in the conquest. Mouhaere and Niho were the chiefs of Ngati Patupou, Te Karu and Te Manihu led Ngati Te Wehi. Potakirau led Ngati Reko. Paora Kirua led Whawhakia, Wiremu Te Awaitaia, the best known chief in this country led Ngati Ruateatea, but it was really the Ngati Mahanga that vanquished Rangipotiki. I first became acquainted with this country in 1858. I have heard the story of all this many occasions in the whare korero.

Patene touches on the depth of knowledge of just one subject that occupied the evenings in the whare korero, elaborating that the whare korero was in session many times. He also refers to 'this country,' referring to the lands between Raglan and Kawhia, emphasising the point that boundaries existed well before non-Maori boundaries were established and that these tribal lands formed countries of their own. Events and ideas such as expressed here emphasise the level of knowledge and mana that was present in the whare korero.

Other whare have been referred to above and those I know of have been explained briefly here including whare kura, the second level of whare after the whare wananga and the first house of learning on earth that contained knowledge pertaining to the earthly realm, the whare pora – the house of weaving and textiles. The whare puni was the main sleeping house used mainly when visitors came to stay and the whare tatai was where astronomy was taught. The whare mata, also known as the whare takaha, was a house set aside for implements and items for fowling and bird snaring, the whare kohanga or whare puhi as used in some areas, was constructed for a pending birth and destroyed after the event and was related to the whare kahu, a house that I have heard was built specifically for the birthing, after which the mother and child were transferred to the whare kohanga to recuperate and gain strength. In my mind this relates to the operating theatre and the recovery room that I encountered in hospitals at the birth of each of our children. The whare tupapaku was a house built especially for housing those that had recently died and the whare tapere was a house where young people would meet and engage in amusement and entertainment.

The functions of these whare were as centres of focused learning and teaching of specific curricula for the maintenance and survival of people and culture. At the centre of the teaching and learning was whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero.

Moemoea and Tohu

Moemoea (dreams) and tohu (signs) are ways many indigenous people know the universe (Ermine, 1995; Brown & Strega, 2005) and this is particularly true for Maori (Papakura, 1986). The world is rich, alive and energetically charged with potential. We come to know many things through signs in dreams, nature and events. These signs are to help us with everyday life and tell us if things are correct or not, explain phenomena, foretell events and give us direction in how to act. Dreams are examples of ira atua – the spiritual element of our human existence that is present within us. An example from our family was the event relayed that a tupuna of ours cut down a tree he should not have. Some months later he died and his death was explained as being caused by the transgression. Later, his mother, my tupuna whaea, and the other siblings were at home when lightning appeared over the hills behind their homestead. The mother, our tupuna whaea, went outside and walked round the house talking and saying karakia. When she had finished and the lightning had gone she came into the house and was asked what had transpired. She explained to the family gathered that it was their older brother explaining that everything was alright with him. The lightning was a sign from the dead, the karakia and korero was the discussion between the world of life and world of death and our sense of knowing was and continues to come from those sign posts, the tohu and moemoea. Similarly, the participants that I interviewed confirmed the importance of tohu, such as lightening, as ways we still know and relate with the world.

Songs

In traditional Maori society singing was a common occurrence in both everyday and formal situations to mark special occasions. Songs were chosen for effect to match the circumstances and context of the moment. Types of song included tuki (paddlers songs), patere (women's taunting songs in reply to insults), haka (dance songs), whakaaraara pa (watchmen's songs), as well as love songs of personal communication of which there were three types. The elders I interviewed also believed that waiata were a powerful element for knowledge maintenance and transmission and recounted

the practices that occurred in the various kainga when they were young and as tacit practice.

Oriori were usually sung to young boys and girls so as to educate them of their relative place in the world and the tribal circumstances they belonged to, pao were mostly used for entertainment to recall events, express desires, reinforce actions and reminders, and thirdly waiata that were laments or complaints and most commonly sung in public to convey and reinforce a message. Waiata had complex and metaphoric allusions and still form a rich source of elaborate language features. There were different types of waiata, such as waiata tangi, also known as apakura (songs of sorrow) composed by both men and women and waiata aroha (songs of longing and wanting) and waiata whaiaipo (sweetheart songs), both composed only by women (Orbell, 2004).

Best (1975:53-55) explains that waiata were used as a curricula, packed with allusions to ancestry, traditions and history, with a primary educational focus that supported the transmission and maintenance of genealogies and Maori worldview. Songs in these various forms were and remain a major source of whakapapa korero and carry large volumes of cultural knowledge, including, the names of people, places and events, together with the people and the histories of many Maori communities. Songs continue to provide the historical archive of connections and identity. Sir Apirana Ngata's (Ngati Porou) dedication and commitment to collecting songs on phonograph from the 1940s to late 1950s from elders of the period, and the print form in the volumes known as Nga Moteatea, stands as an example of the importance that songs have in the continuation and advancement of our cultural identity.

Similarly, Grey (1953) highlights the authority songs, poems and proverbs have (in the preface to his work) and that are a major rationale for his collecting the songs (and the stories) in the first place was because they form the bedrock and knowledge base of Maori.

Whai (string knowledge)
Whai, or more correctly whai-wawewawe-a-Maui, in reference to the culture hero who is credited with the invention of many of the whai, were considered by many

Pakeha ethnographers to be merely a pastime of Maori (Andersen, 1927). This knowledge form was also known by the names of Maui or huhi and most often practiced in the winter months in the whare korero and was a skill engaged in by both young and old.

Taylor (1855:172) records how the whai recounted aspects of Maori history and as a result were used as a historical narrative for the maintenance of whakapapa korero knowledge.

> *These are said to be different scenes in their mythology, such as Hinenuitepo, mother night bringing forth her progeny, Maru and the Gods, and Maui fishing up the land.*

In addition, songs and stories were connected and presented with the whai (Tregear, 1904). Andersen (1927) lists and advises on over fifty different types of whai and Best (1952:144) comments that the whai practiced by Maori were far more intricate than those used by European contemporaries of the time. Whai, along with the associated learning tools of waiata and korero, were methods for maintaining Maori knowledge and reinforced cultural identity.

Pakiwaitara and purakau

Pakiwaitara and purakau are mythological stories and explanations that constituted the (w)holistic views of Maori (Barton, 1990) and were frequently heard and utilised in Maori communities and carried complimentary sets of knowledge.[66] Literally, pakiwaitara refers to words and ideas that resound against the walls of the house, a reference to their place in the whare korero.

In my own context I have been told that purakau constitute the non-fiction genre of oral language and that pakiwaitara formed the body of oral language of myths and stories that may or may not have been fictitious. Purakau also has the distinction of referring to a skilled and wise person. From this facet I argue that purakau

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[66] Pakiwaitara also include pakiwairua and refers to ideas that exist in the imagination, soul and spirit but as yet unspoken.

represented the wisdom of a particular group and was most often held and shared by its wisest members. These factors indicate that this type of knowledge was not fictitious but rather was part of any group's guiding principles and doctrines. Pakiwaitara and purakau are many and varied and could provide inspiration, warning, social rules, reinforce behaviours and explain existence and other phenomena.

For a long time pakiwaitara and purakau were classified as pre-scientific and irrelevant by non-Maori (Barclay, 2001). This could not have been further from the truth, for pakiwaitara and purakau form an important part of the corpus of indigenous knowledge and are markers from which much of our Maori identity hangs.

Pakiwaitara and purakau are facets of whakapapa knowledge and are utilised by Maori to 'encapsulate and condense information of their view of the world' (Marsden & Henare, 1992). Henry Williams writing in 1927 in his preface to Sir George Grey's (1953) collection of Maori myth and legend compiled in the collection titled 'Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna is critical of Grey's denigration of the importance and reliability of pakiwaitara and purakau for and by Maori. He writes;

> *The historicity of these legends raises another important question....it would be rash in the extreme to claim that we are thereby justified in calling in question the substantial accuracy of the main adventure described.*

Distinctions between myth and oral history are largely semantic in the Maori world. Myths also provide prescriptions for practical and cultural behaviours. Prior to the arrival of non-Maori, these forms operated in a closed system which was essentially 'self validating' (Walker, 1978). The validity of the myths were not questioned by Maori until the arrival of the Christian era to Aotearoa/New Zealand. Myths formed the cultural imprint and reflect the philosophy, ideals, and norms of Maori culture. Today myths are often thought of as untruths and, as Walker (1978) reflects, this is unfortunate as Maori still respond to the myth messages in our everyday cultural practices.

For example, in Tainui we have a mountain that we are attached to because of the mana of the people that are buried there. This mountain is called Taupiri and is personified as a woman. This gives a life and form to the maunga that we relate to. This forms an intimate connection with the mountain that is intensified by the laying to rest of many of our dead in this space.

Another example from our home area is the story of Karewa, a mountain that lies out at sea off the coast and can be seen from the shore. In the area of our home are three prominent maunga (mountains). The furthest away is Kakepuku that stands in the Waipa basin. Heading towards the coast stands Pirongia and out at sea stands Karewa. Both Karewa and Kakepuku fell in love with Pirongia. They fought over her as mountains did in former times. Karewa was badly beaten by Kakepuku and retreated travelling at night and resting during the day. Mountains travelled at night because if daylight reached them they became permanently fixed and unable to move. Karewa reached the coast and continued on out to sea. He got out to the point where he now resides and the sun came up with the rays of light reaching him and he became fixed at the point he now stands, forever. Karewa now marks the northern boundary point of Ngati Maniapoto lands as we have been told by our elders.

The people of Ngai Tuhoe are often referred to as the 'Children of the Mist.' Their stories tell how the mist maiden, Pukohurangi and the mountain Maungapohatu got together and produced people. While many may think of this as myth this is the way Tuhoe describe and refer to themselves in the world. Some people may dismiss this as the basis of Tuhoe identity but Tuhoe believe it, refer to it and live it.

Whilst I have sketched pakiwaitara and purakau here, other types of story are common such as korero takurau (winters tale), korero ahiahi (fireside story) korero tito (fictitious story) and korero whaihanga (made up story) (Salmond, 1985). All are used and developed in different contexts to share the common purpose of knowledge transfer.

Karakia

The first mention of Karakia in the Maori universe comes in the story of Rangi and Papa, the foundation elements of Maori being, where Tu received karakia after

overcoming all his siblings apart from Tawhiri. Karakia, in some accounts, was found in the basket of knowledge known as Te Kete Tuatea.

Different names for different types of karakia, beyond the scope of this rangahau, are utilised for different effect and could be constructed for any event deemed necessary for the occasion and the whole of life was covered by karakia (Shirres, 1997:65). In Kowae Tuarima I explained how karakia was used in my own tikanga rangahau, in Kowhai Taino I related the events concerning the actions of my great grandfather and how this episode was concluded using karakia and in Kowae Tuawhitu the participants explained how karakia pervaded their lives. These examples have detailed how karakia pervaded and continues to pervade our relationships with the world.

Best (1924:262-5) records that all people knew karakia for different things and that the basis for karakia was awe and respect rather than love. The power that emanates from karakia is held in belief and experienced through karakia as ritual that create connections with entities in the universe.

Karakia connect ira taua and ira tangata, the spiritual and human elements, the physical and metaphysical realms and bring them into being. We understand the universe and interact with it through karakia and our knowing is transmitted through the continuation of karakia.

Art forms and material culture

Traditionally Maori 'art' was used to record events, people, mark boundaries, provide instruction and act as guides for behaviour. The art forms carried instruction and meaning.

Within forms such as tukutuku (panelled weaving), whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving), taniko (lattice work), tuhituhi (drawing), ta moko (tattooing) and kowhaiwhai (scroll painting) are encrypted the knowledges referred to above. Definitive studies of these various forms of knowledge can be found elsewhere but some brief discussion serves to highlight the knowledge inherent in some of these elements of Maori society.

In reference to ta moko, many rangatira signed the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi by sketching their facial moko as their signature and while in England in 1826 Ngati Toa rangatira, Te Pehi Kupe (Simmons, 1986:126) pointed to his facial moko and said,

Europee man write with pen his name – Te Pehi's is here.

Moko served to define ranks of people but were not confined to only the high ranking. Ta moko explained whakapapa, skill sets and served as identifiers of people across different tribal groups (Simmons, 1986; Robley, 1987; Te Awkotuku, 2007).

Art forms served to reinforce cultural events and practices and ensured that cultural practices and relationships were maintained so that balance might be maintained. In attempting to maintain the balance and the continued practice of the art forms cultural identity was also influenced and maintained.

Books

With the arrival of the written word with the colonials the collection and recording of whakapapa korero was begun by Pakeha with earnest. They formed their own orthography and version of Maori grammar to translate the spoken Maori word into written form. From the 1830's Maori interest and skill in literacy grew exponentially (Parr, 1963). Brown (1845:98) records the comments made by an early trader;

> *If one native in a tribe can read and write, he will not be long in teaching the others. The desire to obtain this information engrosses their whole thoughts, and they will continue for days with their slates in their hands.*

With the growth in interest Maori soon began to write their own narratives, diaries, letters and stories, created village schools for literacy development and committed to print in books and newspapers their insights into the Maori world. For a period in the mid 19th century Maori literacy was greater than Pakeha literacy. In particular by 1840 it was estimated that every village contained a nucleus of people, many of whom had never seen a European, who could read and write (Parr, 1963). Further evidence

of Maori literacy, adaptation to new methods and relatively high proficiencies of Maori in written te reo Maori is exemplified by the practices employed by Maori as writers to newspapers and the many newspapers that were set up that were wholly owned and subscribed to by Maori (Orbell, 2002).

Over time the written word was found to be unable to record the depth of knowledge associated with whakapapa korero and so whakapapa books became largely lists of names of ancestors and connections to other hapu (Metge, 1976:128). Many Maori writers wrote only part of what they knew because they kept the rest in their head as tapu and to avoid tying themselves down. Much of what was not written remained as a challenge for learners to discover what was hidden and not recorded. The effect was that the world of whakapapa korero became disconnected from whakapapa context. Maori knowledge as encapsulated in whakapapa korero was disrupted as people and entities became disconnected. Still, books became a major resource for recording whakapapa korero and due to their nature are often regarded as taonga, tapu or of restricted use.

Te Reo Maori and Whakapapa Korero

Many authors (Karetu, 1979; Pere, 1979 & 1991; Nepe, 1991; Royal-Tangaere, 1997) have written on the importance and place of te reo Maori as a determinant of culture and as a catalyst for cultural reclamation. The inextricable relationship between te reo Maori and positive cultural identity, knowledge development and well being is undeniable and largely goes without saying. I have only lightly touched on the place of te reo Maori here given the work of authors above and others and also to give space to other forms of whakapapa korero as detailed here. However, this approach should not detract from the implicit fact embedded throughout this work, that the place and value of te reo Maori as a critical success factor is undeniable. Renowned Maori leader, the late sir James Henare of Nga Puhi expressed the importance of te reo Maori like this;

> *The language is the core of our Maori culture and mana. Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Maori (The language is the life force of mana Maori). If the language dies, as some predict, what do we have left to us? Our*

Maori language, as far as our people are concerned, is the very soul of the Maori people (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004).

Language is also a strong indicator of identity. This has also been my experience. In the late 1990's I was teaching at a primary school and the children in our class identified adult parents as Maori, primarily by the language they spoke and not the colour of their skin.

Te reo Maori is the language through which whakapapa korero is most thoroughly explained and understood (Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). As highlighted in chapter one losses of meaning and understanding occur when attempting to get to grips with elements of one culture in the language of another, and also that certain fact some things from the Maori world are unable to be adequately explained in the English language. A further complication arises from the point that language is created in the institution of whakapapa korero. Discourses and language terms specific to certain entities and contexts pervade te ao Maori providing links between the spiritual and physical, te ira atua and te ira tangata. An example of distinctive language terms can be found in relation to kumara, descendant of the Atua Haumietiketike and a long held staple part of Maori diet pre colonial times.

Kakati (kaakati) – small bundles of kumara.
Komiri (komiri) – the action of sorting out or selecting suitable seeds or seedlings for planting.
Pahika (paahika) – the act of clearing away weeds prior to cultivation.
Ahuahu – raised mounds of soil on which seeds were planted.
Kawaka – the furrow between rows of planting.[67]

The use of these terms is specific to an activity and to groups of people that engage in this activity and is also a marker of identity. Tau (1999:15) argues that language is a critical factor in a solid understanding of Maori episteme, the 'bedrock' of Matauranga Maori.

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[67] Harris, G & Niha, P. P. (1999). *Nga Riwai Maori – Maori Potatoes.* Wellington: The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined ways in which we come to know and how our knowing is transmitted. The use of oral transmission and memory images combined with ancestor communication are powerful media for knowing and transmitting knowing in epistemological terms that are pillars of Maori epistemologies.

Through elements such as pakiwaitara, purakau, waiata, karakia, whai, tohu, moemoea, toi and whakatauki and whakapapa, is described and explained the Maori world and Maori world views. These descriptions and explanations support kaupapa or Maori principles that form the foundations and underpinnings of Maori culture. The kaupapa, or principles provide a powerful basis of knowing and epistemologies from which unique tikanga, Maori processes, ethics, actions and methods emanate. Working backwards we can see that all tikanga connects back to kaupapa that is derived from those things mentioned above that are all whakapapa korero and provide links and interconnections that support understandings of inter-relatedness.

A thorough understanding of these layers and their messages allows us to reconnect and interconnect with entities in the world for more personal, intimate and powerful relationships. The takarangi allows and supports the boundless ideas of connectedness and of circular gathering from a variety of sources. Takarangi in this context advances critique and groundedness as appropriate and normal that contribute to transformative potentials being realised.

WAHANGA TUARUA

HE WAKA EKE NGARU:

NAVIGATING ROUGH SEAS -

TUAKIRI: IDENTITY

WAHANGA TUARUA

KOWAE TEKAU MA TAHI

Nga ahua o te rangi. Checking the Weather: Whakapapa and Genealogy revisited.

Introduction

This chapter examines whakapapa and its relationship with genealogy in the context of ancestry. I aim to clearly distinguish between whakapapa in its most commonly used form and the way I believe it was intended to be used. Genealogy forms a strong connection with indigenous pasts and European ethnographers went to great pains to collect, record and attempt to interpret the genealogical archives of indigenous peoples.[68] Similarly, Maori whakapapa as genealogy forms a rich historical and traditional record of descent, ancestral relations and connections in the Aotearoa/New Zealand context and is inseparable from any study of traditional history (Metge, 1976:127). The functions of whakapapa as genealogy in the context of dominant ideologies are examined here through biological constructions of identity and how the predominant use of whakapapa as genealogy shapes Maori notions of ourselves. International constructions of indigenous identity based on biological constructs are discussed in relation to the First Nations peoples of the United States.

Distinguishing Whakapapa from Genealogy

The Concise Oxford Dictionary gives the meanings of genealogy as;

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[68] As an example, the Kumulipo, Hawaiian genealogical chant, is a record of the beginnings and connections of all earthly matter. In construction it contains over 2100 lines of genealogical text in chant form.

1.a. A line of descent traced continuously from an ancestor; b. an account or explanation of this.

2. The study and investigation of lines of descent.

According to the Williams Dictionary of the Maori Language the definitions of whakapapa can be found in the entry on 'papa.' There it is given seven meanings and grouped as follows;

1.	verb transitive	lie flat
2.	verb transitive	go stealthily
3.	verb transitive	lay low, strike down
4.	verb transitive	place in layers one upon another
5.	verb transitive	recite in proper order genealogies, legends, etc
6.	noun	genealogical table
7.	noun	bush felled for burning

These entries would seem to limit the meaning to the denotative aspects of whakapapa, a list of ancestors from forebears down to a living person and whakapapa is recognised most commonly as genealogy (Tau, 2003; Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004). Whakapapa is more than this (Walker, 2004; Ka'ai & Higgins, 2004), but this denotative meaning still occupies a large amount of human understanding of whakapapa knowledge.

Genealogy as an aspect of whakapapa became a major focus with the establishment of the Native Land Court in the 1860's. Maori who wished to have their land surveyed (and many that didn't) were required to have the ownership of their lands ascertained by the court. Land was awarded based on four determinants. These were occupation, gift, conquest and ancestry. Each claimant was required to provide their genealogy relevant to the land in question and in many cases claimants called on one or two of a much wider range in order to ascertain and determine their rights to ownership.

> *The Native Land Court is a perfect example because it required an individual making a claim to state his or her whakapapa, which was subsequently written down. Individuals complying with this recited the particular descent line of their whakapapa for a specific claim. They*

could also recite a different descent line when claiming kinship to a different area. This practice has been misunderstood, and as a result, attacked. People have been accused of deliberately subverting facts in the name of greed. Yet, a commonly accepted parallel in western culture is having two passports from different 'descent lines.'

Te Maire Tau (2003:34 & 2001:18).

While these aspects of whakapapa provide a rich history of evidence, they are fragments of a complete whakapapa and as Tau (2001) points out a partial written historical archive has been considered more valuable than a complete oral one. As the early material of the Court was never scrutinised, its accuracy has come under attack (in terms of validity and reliability) from later generations of descendants and Treaty of Waitangi claimant groups (as being in many cases inaccurate). In our family's case my great grandfather had some of his nephews and nieces recorded as his own children as a way of providing them with land shares as well as increasing our land holdings by admitting into the list of owners, a greater number of people. For many years our family was unsure whether the children were my grandparent's siblings or not. This example supports the criticism of the records themselves and is due in no small part to the actual processes of the Native Land Court itself rather than the information it gathered.

What is clear in these sorts of contextual analysis is the clash of epistemological systems. What is not often recognised is the power of the west to define and to ride over rich and complex indigenous epistemologies with reductionist systems that ignore indigenous knowledge systems only to replace them with others that are imposed on the indigenous people. In relation to whakapapa knowledge and genealogy the domination of the denotative meaning of whakapapa has damaged and limited the knowledge base of whakapapa korero.

The western paradigmatic views of the world and in particular the views of western science as they relate to entities such as land are distinct from indigenous science. Whereas measurement is part of indigenous native science it does not play the foundational role it does in western science and is only one of the factors to be considered. Western science relies heavily on measurement using western

mathematics, superimposed on nature like a grid, to create the infrastructure of townships, streets and sections as it seeks to gain mastery and control and to ultimately commodify our earth mother.

The systematic division and breakdown of Maori society as evidenced by the example of the land system continued to be facilitated by the other colonisation practices and political goals of assimilation and integration. Colonial education systems led to the abolishment of Maori school and pedagogies by the State systems often by legislative Act. The 1877 Education Act which had hitherto supported the establishment of a large number of schools and education in te reo from the commencement of the Act above required instruction to be solely in the English language. Similar activities using legal imperialism to stunt our growth, development and progress occurred in the areas of political representation, religion and spiritual belief and practice, commerce and trade, social welfare and health.

These types of action occurred despite many early efforts to resist attempts to re-define Maori, such as in our own Maniapoto case the creation of a boundary called the Aukati line that forbade European entry into the area, the territory we refer to as Maniapoto country. These concerted and collective actions have destroyed, fragmented and interrupted Maori social order and this has had major effects on our cultural identity.

Over time these oppressive actions resulted in Maori being re-defined in ways to support dominant group interests as part of original planning and prescribed agendas that combine to determine identities. Such stereotypic categorisation (Edwards, 1988:85-87) couched in terms of views of white racial superiority were introduced into New Zealand from European jurisdictions 'race' determined positions in society (McCreanor, 1997). Pakeha systems bought with them particular ways of defining identity which marginalised and denigrated Maori. Maori are still feeling many of these effects and recovering from them. Blood quantum was overlaid to support the scales of superiority and classified as race. The effects of this still exist in many contexts. In my own experience it is not uncommon to hear the phrase, 'you dumb Maori' used jokingly when someone does something considered silly, or 'you

hauhau,' an allusion to the state of dress or relative look of a person considered to be untidy, to own a 'Maori car,' a car that is missing vital parts or rather shabby looking.

Blood quantum was also used to measure how successful European systems were for 'breeding out' the Maori as a significant part of society. A Government created and a policy driven caste system was used to classify Maori. Maori were categorised as full blood, half caste and less than half caste and Government statistics were collected and reported on based on reported blood quantum (Robson and Reid, 2001). Forced into this system of classification many Maori reported a quantum that reflected the way they felt rather than their objectively calculated ancestry.

The 1953 Maori Affairs Act served to classify Maori by blood quantum and by the 1960's there were ten statutes that defined Maori differently. Confusion about the idea of blood quantum was widespread. It was a popular folk idea without scientific basis. From my own experience I recall attending Carrington Polytechnic (currently called UNITEC) in Auckland in 1985, and on applying for financial assistance from the Maori assistance scheme then in operation, being told that I was very fair and was I more or less than 1/16th in blood. I was required to complete a genealogy to show who my ancestors were and from this my blood quotient was calculated that determined my eligibility or otherwise for assistance.

Many Maori continued to identify as Maori even though they did not meet the defined blood quantum categories. It was during the turbulent 1970's however, when Maori political consciousness and frustration at continual attacks on Maori identity and the 'self' was on the rise, that the blood quantum question was brought to prominence. By 1974 the Maori Affairs Act broadened its definition to focus on descent (Moeke-Pickering, 1996). As a result, classes of Maori were created and many Maori had their identity taken so that today many of us deny our cultural identity. For example, in my own family my siblings and I each identify differently as either Maori or Pakeha only or some combination depending on the context.

Maori continue to be subjected to various forms of racialised definitions (Song, 2003) and representations in society. The State continues to play a major part in the labelling and ideological oppression of ethnic minorities (Spickard, 1989; Omi and

Winant, 1984; Nagel, 1994; Roberts, 1994) through media and other representations. The dominant images and meanings associated with Maori become internalised and result in the construction of hegemonic practices and ultimately symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1985) and domination that Bourdieu, Webb, Schirato & Danaher (2002:23) explain as being;

> *The realistic, even resigned or fatalistic, dispositions which lead members of the dominated classes to put up with objective conditions that would be judged intolerable or revolting by agents otherwise disposed.*

The effects of the colonial activities described above have resulted in the establishment of self identification ratings in the collection of statistics. More recently there has been a shift to something more like a whakapapa based system so that since 1991 the census[69] has counted three Maori populations.

> Sole Maori – those who report as belonging to the Maori ethnic group only.

> Maori ethnic group – those who report belonging to the Maori ethnic group as well as some other ethnic group.

> Maori ancestry – Those of Maori descent no matter how distant.

Latterly this approach has been expanded to include anyone who 'feels' Maori although it is assumed that they will have a meaningful sense of Maori identity (Kukutai, 2001). This counting brought up many contradictions for many Maori. In the 1996 census for example, one sixth of those that identified as having Maori ancestry did not see themselves as being ethnically Maori (2006 Census Data, retrieved from http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/default/htm on July 20th, 2008).

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[69] Interestingly the map, the census and the museum are means by which the colonial state both imagines and asserts its domination (McConaghy, 2000:131).

This experience has been shared in common with indigenous peoples elsewhere. In the United States a complex biological classification system exists to determine who is and who is not authentically Indian. Negotiating this complex legal defining system allows 'Indian authenticity' to be confirmed by the issuing of a card, (a CDIB in the United States and an ISC in Canada) that confers upon the carrier of a card the status of a 'card carrying Indian,' formal federal recognition that the person identified holds a degree of Indian blood (Garroutte, 2003:38).

As Garoutte (2003:42) points out, of a situation similar to New Zealand (O'Regan, 2001), this complexity of ideology did not arise in the ideas and experiences of the indigenous people, but rather in the theological and scientific theories of nineteenth century Europeans about race and hierarchy. At the centre of biological theories of difference was the preoccupation with blood quantum, or what is now known as biological determinism (Lewontin, 1991), as definitive of race without major reference to culture.

Lyrics from the song 'Blood Quantum' by the Indigo Girls[70] reflect many indigenous people's views on biological only definitions of identity.

> *You're standing in the blood quantum line*
> *With a pitcher in your hand*
> *Poured from your heart into your veins*
> *You said I am, I am, I am*
> *Now measure me, measure me*
> *Tell me where I stand*
> *Allocate my very soul*
> *Like you have my land.*

Recent developments in the United States have seen legal challenges to the constructions and validity of Native American identity. These challenges have been based on cultural practices rather than on blood quantum. For example, in 1976 the whole Mashpee people of Massachusetts went on trial when they sought to bring a

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[70] Song can be found on the Indigo Girls CD, Honor: A Benefit for the Honor the Earth Campaign.

legal land claim that could reconfigure the economic relations of the State. To prevent this, the State sought to prove that the Mashpee people had given up their identity as evidenced by the discontinuing of cultural practices that in effect made them culturally extinct. As such the Mashpee people found themselves in court defending their identity. They were required to exhibit their language, their stories, their histories and their practices. In the end the Judges found that the tribe was not distinctly different enough from other small town groups to justify a separate identity and so were unable to bring the land claim before any court (Hanley-Lopez, 2006:89-92).

What this highlights is the power of the west to define identity and then redefine it in terms that suit the desires of the dominant group. In the example above it was not only essential to have prescribed blood quantum levels but the definitions of 'who counts' has now been moved by the dominant group to include ideas of authenticity. This fact highlights that indigenous identities are over-determined by the dominant group to the detriment of ourselves and whilst worldview tensions exist, indigenous identities are always endangered whilst dominant group ideologies pervade the world.

Similarly, in Canada in the case of Delgamuukw v. The Queen, 1987-1991, the rights of the Gitksan and the Wet'suwet'en peoples to their tribal homelands was heard. In this case the Crown argued that because the First Nations people had engaged in European practices such as making wills, driving cars, living in modern homes, shopping and eating at fast food restaurants that they had effectively abandoned their 'real' traditional culture. These First Nations peoples however were judged to have established their distinct identity on the basis of culture in a court of law (Garroutte, 2003:63-64).

While whakapapa has elements of genealogy that include the denotative meaning of descent from a common ancestor, to view whakapapa as solely genealogy is not supported by Maori authorities that I have spoken with or by anthropological view. In practice, my elders as participants, Maori experts and anthropologists would suggest a much wider meaning of genealogy than that most commonly used, including the tracing of connections and the purposes to which the tracing of genealogical connections (both horizontal and vertical) can be put to and serve. In short descent is

only one narrow aspect of whakapapa. Whakapapa includes the metaphysical and the animate and inanimate relationships for co-existence. Whakapapa acts as the system for encoding and decoding the epistemological knowledge of Maori world view that brings sense and meaning making to explanations of the universe.

While a discussion of whakapapa and genealogy as tracing of descent lines from a common ancestor are a starting point for a discussion on whakapapa knowledge it is not the whole story. Both whakapapa and genealogy are embedded in their own semantic fields and they are not identical. This is a reference to the connotative meaning of words, the implied or evoked meaning rather than its most narrow or explicit usage. This accounts for the powerful allusive and emotional meanings of te reo Maori in addition to literal narrow meanings. The set of connotations of whakapapa knowledge are not the same as those of genealogy.

The use of the connotative, metaphorical meanings of whakapapa best reflects a Maori approach to language and meaning and is critical to understanding whakapapa as a knowledge system. I support the powerful words of Daes (2000);

> *A people's heritage lives or dies in their hearts. Foreign occupation and oppression cannot destroy a people's heritage if they continue to cherish and believe in it.*

Whakapapa korero is about tracing and understanding origins, inter-connections and inter-relationships of entities within the world and universe. These connections are multi faceted. This idea is encapsulated by John Rangihau (1975:158) in reference to Tuhoe identity, its relationships to land and the responsibility of present and future generations to maintain the links;

> *This concept of the land is a central aspect of our personal and cultural identity....We emphasise the question of land retention because we believe that the young of the future will need to have some base upon which they can stand – this sense of turangawaewae will be basic to their identity as Maori - as Tuhoe. If we, the people of this generation, allow our lands to pass to strangers then we are depriving*

our future young people of the chance to stand tall as Maori – on ground which they can regard as their own.

I believe that we have a spiritual tie to the land, that the spiritual and emotional qualities which our lands have for us   are central to our being and that the only way by which we can retain these is to retain the land itself. It will not be good enough for us, or for those to come, to stand on the marae calling on our mountains, our lakes, our rivers - acknowledging them as part of our life force, our ethos - when in fact these treasures have passed into the hands of other than Maori people. calling on their spiritual values.

These understandings support developed knowledge of rights and obligations for maintaining balanced relationships to remain intact.   The relative benefit of maintaining relationships, particularly those with land that indigenous people hold as primary is emphasised by First Nations leader Standing Bear (1834-1908) when he states;

> *Man's heart away from nature becomes hard.*

Indigenous people share many similar beliefs pertaining to nature, land and the natural environment-a shared ecological worldview considered (Burt, 1988; Cajete, 1994; Aldred, 2000; Henderson, 2000b, Friesen & Friesen, 2002) central to wellbeing. Meyer (2005b) relates the Hawaiian experience and relationship to land,

> *For the Native Hawaiians speaking of knowledge, land was the central theme that drew forth all others. You came from a place. You grew in a place and you had a relationship with that place. This is an epistemological idea.*

Meyer's Hawaiian view on the centrality of land is shared in other indigenous groups, including Maori worldviews (Cajete, 2000:177-183).   Maori epistemology contextualises Maori things of value and embeds them in a context. The tool that we use for the articulation, development and maintenance of the knowledge, the

matauranga is whakapapa knowledge. Understanding how to construct, employ, transmit and read whakapapa knowledge using whakapapa korero is the key that unlocks matauranga. To do so is to be able to understand the spirit and physical, the animate and inanimate and to be able to see and understand the inter-connectedness. This ability is not confined to specialists in isolation but contributes to powerful cultural identities.

Indigenous peoples perceive nature, land and earth as inherently sacred (Henderson, 2000b). Within the indigenous mind and soul is a deep sense of respect for nature. Two North American First Nations members each illustrate how significant land is in indigenous worldview. Firstly, Plains leader, Black Elk (cited in Brown, 1992:38-39) explained the origins and beliefs of his people and showed how similar indigenous worldview is in relation to land;

> *We regard all created beings as sacred and important, for everything has a wochangi or influence, which can be given to us, through which we may gain a little more understanding if we are attentive. We should understand well that all things are the works of the Great Spirit. We should know that He is within all things, the trees, the grasses, the rivers, the mountains and all the four-legged animals and the winged peoples.*

Secondly, Blackfoot member, Leroy Little Bear (cited in Henderson, 2000b:248; Meyer, 2005a:2) simply states;

> *Land is not a metaphor of our mother. Land is our mother.*

Maori share this love for land and encapsulate this in the idea of turangawaewae, a standing place. Turangawaewae is a fundamental concept that encapsulates along with kaitiakitanga, a position, respect and responsibility to land. Turangawaewae is not merely ownership of a piece of land. For Maori, turangawaewae represents our whole history and cultural heritage that is enshrined in our land in which we all have shares. As the Maori synod for the Presbyterian church (1961:24) reported in their review of the social situation of Maori in the 1960's;

But what seems obscure to the Pakeha mind is the Maori's title to his tribal inheritance, his certificate of birth, is not written with ink on paper, but is enscribed on the symbol of the tribal identity – the tribal land. That is his turangawaewae, the place of standing for his feet. The size of a Maori's inheritance in the tribal land doesn't matter – it never did. While a man has that inheritance of land he has the rights of citizenship in his tribe, but when that inheritance is gone he is an outsider. No longer can he stand on the courtyard of his people and speak without the fear that someone might question his right to speak...when you take away the last acre of a Maori's land you do him a psychological and spiritual injury and you close the door of his home. Money is scarcely part of the heritage of the Maori. His people – their traditions and genealogy, their history, their fellowship – these are his wealth and they are bound up with his inclusion in the tribal lands.

Taiao

Taiao is the word we most commonly use to explain the many tides or spaces in the world, it is often used interchangeably with the English word 'environment.' Connected to these terms and ideas is the idea of space as part of taiao. Escobar (2001:143) highlights the idea of space and its importance in our lives;

It is thus imperative that we get back into space and reverse the long-standing disempowerment of place in both modern theory and social life. This means recognising that place, body and environment integrate with each other; that places gather things, thoughts and memories in particular configurations; and that place, more an event than a thing, is characterised by openness rather than by a unitary self identity...it is important to highlight the emplacement of all cultural practices, which stems from the fact that culture is carried into places by bodies – bodies are encultured and conversely enact cultural practices. Personal and cultural identity is bound up with place.

I have also heard 'environment' referred to as te ao turoa, but somewhat less frequently. The relationship of Maori to te ao turoa is specifically kaitiakitanga - that of protection and guardianship. The rationale for this role is the Maori worldview with its emphasis on inter-relationship and inter-connectedness. The tool used to maintain, support and develop this relationship is whakapapa, which acknowledges that the human has the same origins as other elements in te ao turoa. The wellbeing of te ao turoa is linked with mana Maori and ideas of Maori health and wellbeing. Understanding and exercising the relationship with te ao turoa is an essential element in the identity and mana of Maori people. The Maori connection to land is essential to Maori cultural identity because the land more than any other element embodies Maori values.

The idea and practice of kaitiakitanga as mentioned above is an important element to understand as it has a universal application that allows us to be kaitiaki of whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero at a time when indigenous ways of knowing and being are constantly challenged and threatened. The base word 'tiaki' has multiple meanings depending on context including guard, monitor, protect, guide, foster, shelter and to carry. The prefix 'kai' denotes the agent of the action and the 'tanga' identifies a body of practice. Therefore kaitiakitanga can mean guarding, monitoring, protecting, guiding, fostering, sheltering and carrying. In this sense kaitiaki are the actors or agents carrying out the activities of kaitiakitanga for any specific purpose within a given context. In itself kaitiakitanga is an element of whakapapa knowledge as the knowledge forms have kaitiaki and are in of themselves kaitiaki that provide those things mentioned above in a reciprocal fashion.

Expressions of Whakapapa Knowledge

The recitation of whakapapa knowledge is a way that Maori gain understanding of our surrounds and ourselves and so 'grounds' us in the knowledge of the identity of entities in our world and our universe and the inter-relatedness and interconnectedness between these entities. On many occasions I have sat on different marae as elders have spoken to us of the history, the events, the places and people of a particular location. From these types of activity we are able to gain an appreciation and respect and to strengthen our connection to the environments and histories of our people. We are able to use those connections to further advance relationships in contemporary

contexts that support our cultural identity and wellbeing. For example, we have recently had a new daughter. Her name is Koiatarau Te Rina Ngaikiha Edwards. Her name is a whakapapa knowledge code to a myriad of understandings, realities and connections. Koiatarau refers to the multitude of new shoots as when she was born the gardens in our lands were all starting to appear and grow. Te Rina acknowledges her whangai grandmother who lives on the farm behind ours and has always been grandmother to all of our children, Ngaikiha is the name of her great great grandmother who lived at Aotea across the harbour from our home and that we gaze upon from our front lawn. Her name serves as a living record of our history and cultural identity.

Whakapapa knowledge was often used by Maori to explain the order in which events occurred and to express epochs and division of time. Extended lengths of time were measured most commonly by events rather than by dates. Later, European writers, such as Smith, Best and Gudgeon, now acknowledged as amateur researchers as they were not formally trained anthropologists or ethnographers, used whakapapa knowledge as a source of time reckoning to determine when Maori arrived in Aotearoa, who were first and the order that various hapu and iwi arrived (Ballara, 1998:97). These early authors applied a twenty-five year average to each generation and calculated backwards to arrive at the year c.925.

This date has now become popular amongst the uninformed as the date for the first Maori arrival, associated with Kupe and c.1350 as the date for the 'fleet' migration. The work of these early authors has been perpetuated in popular thinking, though disproved and rejected by Maori, Maori and European scholars, archaeologists and anthropologists. One point highlighting the inherent flaws in the work of these early authors is evidenced, for example, in Maori hapu and whanau populations with large numbers of women. Here the ancestry lines were actually longer the those detailed by the amateurs whose rough methods resulted in large numbers of peoples names and histories being excluded for the sake of convenience and making things fit (Taonui, 2005). Maori informants regularly complained to the authors of the errors in comprehension to no avail. Authors used poetic licence and relative bias to present stories of Maori that could be easily understood by European audiences and fused elements of narrative and ancestry together. Ballara (1998:98) explains,

> *White, however, whose work was more that of a collector and compiler than an ethnographer, contributed to the excision of 'conflict' in another way. He selected sections of traditions from one (usually unacknowledged) source and matched them to another as though they were one continuous narrative. He was a scissors-and-paste artist, whose 'editing' of the sometimes dubious narratives he received sometimes introduced further error.*

The relative weightings of the many purposes and functions that whakapapa knowledge serves have changed over time. Whakapapa knowledge employed as genealogy examines the intergenerational descent lines, more commonly referred to as ancestry. Ancestry most commonly involves a vertical examination of biological inter-relatedness. The English language makes a distinction between ancestry (vertical connections) and kinship (vertical and horizontal connection). Anthropologists on the other hand distinguish between ego-oriented centred kinship and ancestor oriented kinship commonly called descent.

It is my experience that Maori largely employ whakapapa as ancestry both vertically and horizontally, picking up the ancestry both from individuals but also waka, iwi and hapu so as to interconnect across ancestry lines.

In anthropological terms Maori employ whakapapa as kinship by ambilateral affiliation, that is, we can and do attach ourselves to any number of kin groups through either or both parents at the same time. People were intimately familiar with their kin connections as they proved valuable in affirming relationships, maintaining alliances and providing support. hapu and whanau ensured that the connections were maintained and affirmed lest ka matao te toto, the blood should go cold and the connection might become lost. Whakapapa ancestry therefore is 'firmly tied to the present' (Biggs, 1960:8) by complex ancestral cross checking of blood relations.

Ancestry aspects of whakapapa knowledge were often used in traditional times for the purpose of determining senior lines and thus leadership and responsibilities, to avoid inappropriate dilution of senior lines of families, to chronicle events, to re-establish

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and maintain inter group relationships, to form alliances and to confirm land and resource rights (Johns, 1983).

In recent years it has become usual in formal settings to introduce yourself by speaking of your waka, iwi and to a lesser extent your hapu. A Ngati Maniapoto kaumatua told me that the practice of reciting such a whakaheke was not a common practice until fairly recently and is most apparent in settings where different people from different descent groups come together. When I was a primary school teacher in central Auckland city in the late 1990's each day of class would start with children introducing themselves by reciting their whakaheke, detailing their waka, iwi, hapu and marae. This was done to accentuate positively each child's distinct descent lines, given an urban setting where many different groups of people had come together. Auckland is referenced in Maori saying as being a place of the coming together of different people from different places by the words;

> *Tamaki herenga waka, herenga tangata.*

> *Auckland (Tamaki) where many canoes are joined and many people also.*

The importance of whakapapa korero as ancestry is very prominent in Maori society and emphasises connections and relationships. The statement below makes use of a discourse about whakapapa and whakapapa knowledge and how they differ from genealogy. The passage argues that whakapapa knowledge and korero is a system for understanding te ao Maori and aronga Maori - Maori world view, for informing and constructing identities that can support wellbeing.

> *The relationship, for Maori, is first and foremost genealogical. Ancestral ties bind the people and the environment. Just as land entitlements, personal identity and executive functions arose from ancestral devolution, so also it is by ancestry that Maori relate to the natural world. Based on their conception of the creation, all things in the universe, animate or inanimate have their own genealogy,*

> *genealogies that were popularly remembered in detail (Whanganui River Report, 1999:39).*

This discourse has multiple methods for articulation as identified including dreams, feelings, tohu and spoken language. The spoken language has a vocabulary of its own in relation to whakapapa knowledge and korero. This is examined below for clarity in the context of both genealogical appreciation and as an indicator of the importance of connections as central to Maori world view and wellbeing.

Language terms specific to whakapapa korero

White (1890) identifies three types of recitation all with component parts and terms that are specific to whakapapa korero. The first he identifies is popoarengarenga that pertains to creation, atua and humans and was used predominantly by tohunga in contexts of tangi. The second, takiura refers to genealogical recital related to the linkages between atua and humans. Takiura were most often heard during exhumations. The third identified by White was tuatangata and relate to genealogies of human descent and was most frequently chanted to start the day and by attendants during childbirth. Terms that speak directly to whakapapa korero are a feature of te reo Maori, however many of these in my experience continue most commonly under the banner of 'karakia.' Some terms associated with this are;

- *Aho* - a strand of a genealogical grouping, a line of descent.

- *Hapu* – a collection of related families, also, to be in a state of pregnancy and to be close to birthing.

- *Hiwi* - a line of descent.

- *Iwi* – a group of hapu.

- *Kaha* - a line of ancestry.

- *Kaka* - a line of lineage.

- *Kanoi* - to trace descent.

- *Kawai* - descent lines off the tahuhu.

- *Kauheke, koroheke, tipuna, tupuna, tauheke* - terms for ancestors.

- *Kauwhau, kauwhau taki* - tracing and reciting whakapapa orally.

- *Raranga korero* - act of attaching tradition and story to whakapapa.

- *Tahuhu, tahu-* the main genealogical line.

- *Taotahi* - reciting genealogy in a single line without listing spouse.

- *Tararere* - the female line in some contexts but also single lines of whakapapa without detailing inter marriages or other kin on the same line.

- *Tatai hikohiko* - the main and prominent ancestors for a particular context.

- *Whakamoe* - multi linear listing of ancestors stating the intermarriages in the lines of descent.

- *Whakapapa tipuna* - the act of layering ancestors one after another in order when reciting.

- *Whakapiripiri* - establishing genealogical links between lines of people. If the person is living a common practice is to state whether that person is a senior or junior line to the person doing the reciting.

Not surprisingly these terms feature in other Maori contexts such as land, whakapapa and identity as part of a system connected in language and understanding so as to make sense of the world and to create reality. For example, kaka is described above

as a line of lineage, it is also the main line in facial tattoo or ta moko that details your lineage. Kawai is a line off the main line of a persons ancestry, it is also a common raranga (weaving term) that describes a plait that comes from a major weaving line, these terms also include whenu (strand) and aho (thread). In the natural world aho and aka are strands of a vine. These terms also allude to a connected reliance accentuating relationship. Tatai is also a navigation term, ko-iwi is a reference to the human body as bones and relationships, iwi is also tribal identity as shown above. Tahuhu describes the main ancestral line a person calls on in any context and is also the central beam in a wharenui, a meeting house, is the main thrust of a whaikorero, forming the back bone or key ideas (O'Regan, 2001).

Other terms commonly associated with whakapapa korero as genealogy are tipuna and tupuna. Although they are commonly used interchangeably I have heard the term tipuna used to describe a deceased ancestor. 'Ti' referring to titaha, to lie sideways, to be lying down and puna referring to a spring. Tupuna refers to an ancestor that is living as evidenced by the word 'tu', meaning to be upright.

Whakapapa knowledge and the relationships to time

Whakapapa traverses time. In Maori epistemology and worldview there are only two dimensions of time (Walker, 2006:3). These were the continuum of past/present and the future. The past/present continuum is spoken of as mua and the future as muri. They both have double meanings, mua can mean in front of or ahead of. Common speech illustrates this, 'Haere koe ki mua,' means you go in front. In this sense that is how we refer to the future as being in front of us. It is quite correct for me to also say, 'I nga ra o mua', in the days of old, referring to the past that is behind us in thought but in front of us in spirit as we look backwards to see our future because the past and the present are known. I can quite easily also say, 'a nga ra kei muri,' the days that are behind me, and actually I am referring to the future days because when I speak I am facing backwards from whence I have come.

Whakapapa Knowledge; Tona Mana – Value

My experiences have taught me that people with whakapapa knowledge, who are most usually people who also have Matauranga Maori, are highly respected because of the knowledge that they have and their ability to recite and share this knowledge.

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By interacting with those people who have whakapapa knowledge the connotative meanings and understandings of whakapapa knowledge become clearer. People who have whakapapa knowledge are key resources for communities and are often called upon to provide guidance and clarification on issues.

Whakapapa knowledge as highly prized and valued is emphasised by multiple authors (Papakura 1938, Barlow 1991, Metge 1995, Stirling & Eruera 1980, Salmond 1996). Whanau- a-Apanui elder Eruera Stirling, whose life and experiences and those of his wife Amiria were recorded by Anne Salmond in two separate publications, explained how the value of whakapapa knowledge was reinforced by the quality and status of the people who were transmitting the knowledge and his views on whakapapa knowledge as having both traditional and contemporary value. In an inspired and quite visionary comment for the times, the late 1970s, Stirling (1980:228) stated,

> *In my young days the tohungas (priests), the last old men of the school of learning still came to our marae and talked with the people about land, genealogies, boundaries and the work of the ancestors. They were the survivors, the men of senior descent who had been chosen to carry the tribal treasures and pass them down to future generations, heke haere, here haere, on and down....*

> *When the people gathered in the whare runanga, grandparents, parents, children and grandchildren, the chosen men came to discuss those things that could rightly be shared with all the tribe and the work of our ancestors was remembered and their mana and mauri was passed down. Today our people are forgetting the customs of the old world, and yet the day will come when they will search in every place for their tribal background! That is why I have written some of the teachings of my great grandpeople in this book, so that future generations can find them and say, 'A, anei te mea nei! Here it is what we have been asking!*

They will marvel at the strength and depths of the works of their forebears, and the mana and the mauri of our ancestors will live on forever and ever.

Stirling highlights the interconnections of land, stories and genealogies as part of whakapapa knowledge that had different levels. At one level the knowledge was for public consumption by the masses. At another level it was for training and maintaining resources and traditions for the culture, by a new generation of knowledge bearers with the prerequisite skills as determined by the scholars. These ideas support the participant data presented earlier (Kowae Tuawhitu) that identified different levels of knowledge for different activities and transmitted to certain people.

Stirling's visionary insight is that in times to come people would desire once more these treasures and also the mana and mauri of the old people. When this occurred those of the present and future generations would be acknowledged and enhanced and in that way the individual human and collective hapu and whanau mauri would flourish.

Barlow (1987) accentuates the importance and relevance of whakapapa by explaining that it is imperative to have a sound understanding of whakapapa to be able to fully appreciate how Maori view the world and our relationships if we are to utilise it in meaningful and applicable ways in contemporary contexts. Salmond (1996) articulates this value when she explains the importance of whakapapa knowledge as being continuity with the past and argues that a strong affinity and connection with the past is vitally important to Maori for constructing, maintaining and developing our cultural identities.

The Value of People

People knowledgeable in whakapapa fulfil important roles in connecting and reconnecting people at family reunions and hui, including formal gatherings such as tangi, hura kohatu, birth ceremonies, birthdays, tono for marriage, weddings and other events where people come together. They are teachers that can explain the inter-relatedness of things in the natural world and so become powerful environmentalists and advisors. They are able to relate the significance of human entities to land and

vice versa. This point was clarified by Haunui Royal (In Marsden, 2003: xiv) who related the role of tohunga whakapapa to the idea of the woven universe, the title given to Maori Marsden's book.

> *This person (the tohunga whakapapa) through their reo is able to weave people and all things together into a fabric of whanaungatanga or relationships. The tohunga whakapapa knows and understands the power of relationships as the essential nature of all reality.*

The Expression of Value

Walker (Allen, 2002:131) states that 'whakapapa is the pre-eminent object of Maori scholarship'. Walker highlights the importance with which Maori view whakapapa korero and the knowledge base that informs whakapapa korero.

Expressions of value of whakapapa knowledge are located within the principles of tapu and noa, fundamental elements of Maori belief systems (Jones, 2000) and practiced through the physical acts of tikanga. Tapu is frequently mentioned in the older literature about Maori life (Best, 1995) whereas references to usage and practice in contemporary times are few by comparison (Metge, 1976:58). The early literature, such as that of Best (1995) identified that tapu and noa have positive and negative aspects, that tapu has 'far reaching powers' that rendered the institution as important (1995:15), was the power that ordered and preserved order in Maori social life, and represented the mana of the atua (spiritual deities). Gudgeon (in Best, 1995:17), commented on the power of tapu to maintain order;

> *It will be freely admitted that such a race of men would, under any circumstances, be difficult to manage, and yet we find in their own pas and villages they were as obedient, orderly and law abiding as any statute ridden Anglo-Saxon and that such order prevailed amongst such a fierce and turbulent race ought to be susceptible of explanations, and I hold that he power of tapu was the chief factor by which the difficulty was solved.*

Tapu as a subject is problematic due to the many and varied functions and purposes it serves and its interconnectedness with other key Maori aspects such as mana, mauri and aroha (Tau, 2003). There is a predominance of materials on the functions of tapu, collated by observers rather than practitioners and as Tau (2003) explains, the meanings and functions of tapu are best explained by those responsible for laying and lifting tapu. Unfortunately, there are few 'qualified' people.

Shirres (1979) identifies the following points from his investigation of tapu compiled by analysing three 18th century Maori manuscripts. He notes that;

- Tapu is inextricably linked with existence, the act of being.
- Tapu is a dynamic reality and the primary opposition is tapu versus noa.
- Much ritual surrounding tapu is concerned with resolving this internal tension.
- Noa does not stand in opposition to tapu but is rather an extension of tapu.
- Tapu is 'being with potentiality for power.'
- Tapu and mana are inextricably linked in any discussion.

Tapu is a complex idea as evidenced by the fact that Maori when speaking English do not frequently translate tapu into any English equivalent. As Johansen (1954), Hanson, (1982) and Biggs (2006) have said, tapu is difficult to account for with any consistency and satisfaction and while retaining coherent meaning. Tapu in more general terms refers to sanctity. Tapu is an all-pervasive force that formed the basis of lore for interaction with the natural and supernatural worlds as well as the laws governing social interactions (Durie, 1994). It determined the entire functioning of the Maori world (Schwimmer, 1996:19). Anything could be tapu depending on its interactions. For example, a place where a tapu person slept might be considered tapu; a tree could be tapu because of an event that occurred in relation to the tree.

When something or someone is in a state of tapu it can only be interacted with under certain conditions and rules. To contravene these conditions is to interfere with the mauri or living essence of the particular entity. Interfering with the mauri of an entity

can cause that entity to die, to be damaged or can bring harm to the person or someone or something they value, that has damaged the mauri of the other entity. Tapu could be in operation permanently or for a fixed term as a measure to restore equilibrium or to provide a temporary protection (Metge, 1976:60).

Noa is most commonly associated with the idea of acceptability for everyday use (Salmond, 1996:35). Schwimmer (1966:22) incorrectly described tapu and noa as a dualism as distinct from Shirres' 'primary opposition.' Tapu and noa are not opposites or binaries, even though noa is commonly seen as an antonym for tapu (Ka'ai and Higgins, 2004). Tapu and noa are degrees of sanctity or commonness and speak to 'extensions of tapu' (Shirres, 1997). In fact tapu and noa are complementary opposites and one cannot exist without the other (Metge, 1976:58). Tapu and noa are better explained in terms of positive and negative values. When something has positive tapu its noa is negative and vice versa.

Very closely linked to tapu is the idea of mana, the relative power, authority, control, influence, prestige and esteem with which one is held by others. Mana emanates from atua (Ka'ai and Higgins, 2004). Two other common references or domains of mana that I frequently hear elders refer to is mana tangata and mana whenua referring to humans and land. All elements are instilled with mana atua, spiritual power, that emanates from atua. The privileges and the constraints that accompany mana are the tapu. The awe that surrounds the possession and degree of mana is the wehi. It is common to hear in Maori fora the phrase, 'te tapu, te mana me te wehi' (Tawhai 1988:859), emphasising the inter-relatedness of these concepts. This common phrase is an acknowledgment of the relative sanctity, the power and the awe of any particular thing. It is uncommon in my experience to hear this phrase used with reference to humans. I have used it in relation to things that support humans, for example, large trees, waka and in reference to levels of human health. Maori worldview asserts that everyone has mana on inception and that mana changes as a result of our actions. For example, when I support someone in need my mana and that of those who I am closely connected to is positively enhanced as compared to when I do something that negatively impacts on the relative mauri or wellbeing of someone, then my mana and that of those I am closely connected to is lessened. The advancement of mana in culturally appropriate ways provides a sense of security and wellbeing.

The Reverend Maori Marsden (2005) refers to three types of mana. Mana atua, spiritual esteem and connection, mana tupuna, (what I have explained above that we call mana tangata) referring to ancestral esteem and connection, and mana whenua, environmental esteem and connection. He emphasises that the relative degree of mana is chiefly determined by the relative strength of connections. Whakapapa knowledge is the system by which levels of connectedness are articulated and so directly interfaces with levels of mana and esteem of groups and individuals in a Maori worldview.

Very similar views of esteem through spiritual, ancestral and environmental connections and knowledge, once again highlighting contiguous indigenous connectedness, are shared by our Hawaiian elders. Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa (2005) writes about ideas of mana atua, mana tupuna and mana whenua who states,

> *And as all Hawaiians were related to Kalaninui'iamamao, we are all elevated by the recounting of mana in this cosmic genealogy. By the Kumulipo, we Hawaiians know that we are descendants of Aku, descendants of the earth mother and sky father, as well as all living things of the pacific that are also our 'Aumakua, our family guardians. As the younger siblings of the Hawaiian Islands were inextricably part of this land, and born with a responsibility to malama or to love and care for the land, the earth for the Akua and 'Aumakua.*
>
> *Our ancestors define our identity. Our identity proclaims us as indigenous and through the knowledge of our ancestors we decolonise our minds, defining the world through ancestral eyes and not the eyes of the foreigners.*

What might be tapu to one person may be noa to another due to the relative mana or tapu of each individual. The mana or esteem, skill level and experience, that is held by a particular entity determines at what levels the person can safely interact with its tapu. The conditions for use and interaction with tapu and noa are regulated by a general system of 'best practice' methods. These are tikanga. Tikanga are of a more

general nature, while the individual approaches and applications that are subtly different from place to place are called kawa.

In Maori society whakapapa knowledge contained in forms such as books, photos, whakairo (carvings) and raranga (weaving), has protocols that determine how it is used, respected, transmitted and accessed (Salmond, 1996:122). For example, in our locality it is common practice not to place books containing whakapapa knowledge in noa places, such as on a table, because of the value placed on the knowledge and the view that we hold that the relative tapu, mana and mauri that the item contains would be demeaned (Salmond, 1996:49, 70) by such an action that would counter its tapu state. A colleague recently related to me a story of Te Puea Herangi and Apirana Ngata (two esteemed Maori leaders). She explained that a Maniapoto kuia had told her that when Te Puea was working with Ngata on land and whakapapa issues for te iwi Maori that she picked up all the whakapapa and land books related to their work and threw them on the table as a way of making them noa so that they could be handled and worked with such was the tapu value associated with the books.

A reason for our practice was further related to me by kaumatua and kuia. They explained that the names, relationships and activities of people named in these books and the hands that have gone into works such as raranga and whakairo are to be respected as they are closely connected to human beings, both living and dead that are by their very nature imbued with tapu. As a large amount of whakapapa knowledge most commonly concerns human beings that have inherited ira atua, the spiritual element of mana and tapu, they and their interactions, relationships and activities also become by association imbued with tapu. This tapu increases when those people are recognised as being possessed with great mana and/or tapu and when it concerned those deceased. In these cases their whakapapa knowledge and works have higher significance and in acknowledgment of this such objects and artefacts are not usually placed or discussed where they might cause offence to the deceased owners or their family. One reason is that disrespecting the tapu of another can result in a person's mana being damaged as a result of inappropriate action and tapu as a social regulator is threatened. Actions that disrespect the mana and tapu of another can also cause personal and collective embarrassment to the wider members of a family. In my own region we do not discuss whakapapa at a table or over a meal. Food is considered as

something that removes the tapu or sacredness of things and makes them noa – removed of sanctity. As whakapapa is imbued with mana and tapu, inappropriate discussion and action is insulting to those names, people, families and events contained in whakapapa and acts to belittle those entities and lessen their mana and tapu.

Whakapapa knowledge as systematic layering of knowledge (Metge, 2004) is able to explain the inter-relationships and the interconnectedness of all things. When most people think of layers they naturally think of layers resting on top of each other in a vertical fashion. Whakapapa knowledge is not solely layered in vertical fashion but also in horizontal fashion. For many of us who are mostly familiar with hierarchical structures the concept of a multi layered, multi dimensional system may be difficult to grasp. An example in relation to whakapapa is the knowledge and roles and responsibilities of horizontal layers of knowledge amongst siblings. In our own case we have a number of sons. They reside at the same level as regards generation in which they were born, they are for all intents and purposes equal. However there is differentiation, the eldest has roles and responsibilities to the others below him as well as to his sisters that distinguish him, and each of the other sibling, likewise has roles. This differentiation is also recognised in language specific terms. The first born son is the tamaroa, the youngest is the teina or potiki. Matamua refers to the first born child of the whanau and acknowledges that position.

Whakapapa acts across levels and within layers as Maori ontology to represent objects, entities and concepts in the Maori world and acknowledges that knowing this ontology forms the basis of Maori ways of knowing, of matauranga Maori. Maori ontology is both relational and participatory connecting what is knowable with action. Whakapapa korero is the framework for the expression of this knowledge.

Whakapapa knowledge can 'lay' beside other whakapapa knowledge in a horizontal form. In many cases the vertical layers of knowledge intersect with horizontal layers of knowledge and the inter-relatedness and inter-connectedness can be seen as part of a much larger knowledge system detailing the multiple functions, purposes and explanations of a whakapapa knowledge system as a means of explaining our Maori cultural identity in relation to the identity of all other things. Whakapapa knowledge

does not only follow a linear form: it also travels sideways, can take acute angles and is able to 'leap' places and events. In our context, I recall an event when we were at our marae and welcoming a new town policeman amongst us from another Tainui tribe called Ngati Maru. In the whaikorero, our elders related a very early event in our shared history when an ancestor (who we were all descended from or related to) called Marutuahu, from whom Ngati Maru descend and who lived at Kawhia, was accused of stealing kumara and left the district as a result. In the speechmaking the elders referred to the kumara episode in a light hearted manner with what I can only describe as Maori humour and laughter, asking if the visitors had bought any of the lost kumara back. In reply, the visiting elders replied by thanking the people of Kawhia for the kumara that had sustained them over the generations and advised that the kumara was now being returned in the form of the new policeman they were handing over to us. The story did not end there. The policeman and his whanau became accepted and respected members of our community, frequently attending and helping with hui and such events. Our kuia took the episode amongst the male speakers described above and whenever the policeman came to help he was given a knife and the kumara to peel! After a number of years when he received a promotion and left our elders and those of Ngati Maru both took him to his new role and presented him collectively to his new host whanau. This example contains a rich history of past events leaping generations and joining and connecting them with our contemporary present in a way that advances cultural identities and whanaungatanga.

Whakapapa Knowledge as Social Lore

Whakapapa relationships are enriched, enhanced and maintained via the use of whakapapa korero that serves to ensure that connections are maintained. Kinship and familial relationships exist within the wider framework of whakapapa. This framework as highlighted previously is much wider than identity via genealogical connections (Pihama, Smith, Taki, Lee, 2004). Whakapapa frameworks as maintained by whakapapa korero, explain the origins and present positions and relationships of all things in the physical and spiritual world. In human beings relationships are frequently mediated by whakapapa as social lore.

Marriages were often arranged on the basis of whakapapa to ensure that couples were appropriate for each other (Biggs, 1960, Papakura, 1986:86). In former times

whakapapa as genealogy formed the key to social rank within Maori society. Descent in a senior line has now been largely diffused largely due to intermarriage, urbanisation, social disconnection between the authority of elders and younger Maori.[71]

Liaisons out of marriage were uncommon for fear of the abuse of whakapapa (Biggs, 1960:83) that would result from liaisons and the shame that would be felt by the aggrieved person and their hapu and whanau. Physical abuse of woman and children was isolated as such acts were viewed as insulting not only the victim but also those wider family members connected by whakapapa. If an act of abuse did occur it was expected that an act of balancing the unequal relationship, utu, would occur (Papakura, 1986:86-87, 104-105).

The acknowledgment and maintenance of mana is supported by depth of whakapapa knowledge that strengthens connections between those living and those since dead. Whakapapa knowledge ensures continued healthy social relations through knowing inter-connections. Inter-connections were essential knowledge in former times and frequently called on to avoid tensions or support collaboration. Whakapapa knowledge of the inter-connections to people and place was common knowledge. Marsden (2003:xxxv), discussing relations between different groups in the far North explains;

> *One of the things that impressed me about the elders were that they knew exactly how they were related, their kinship ties, their whakapapa – genealogy – their social status, the pecking order, and their wider relationships.*

Concluding discussion

This chapter has examined whakapapa and its relationship with genealogy in the context of ancestry. Biological determinism as a prescription and practice of identity in Aotearoa/New Zealand is detailed and contrasted with similar practices applied to

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[71] The failure to distinguish the authority and status of different members of Maori society has become increasingly apparent to me in the use of te reo Maori. I experience a decreasing use of appropriate relationship terms that acknowledge seniority and status in my daily relationships with people. This, I find, is particularly evident in urban settings.

other indigenous peoples. The ability of the State to define indigenous and Maori identity is contested and resisted as oppressive.

Whakapapa is confirmed here as having an ancestral or genealogical use but also far wider meanings and uses than the limited usages that are associated with genealogy.

This chapter has challenged the common prevailing interpretations of whakapapa as genealogy. Whakapapa as a foundation pillar of Maori society is explained through use of examples such as relationship to land, orderliness, specific whakapapa language, time, inherent value and the value of the enactors as evidence of the far reaching implications and applicability of whakapapa in the construction of Maori worldviews. The takarangi serves as the inspiration for gathering these ideas and provides us with the ability to ground our wellbeing in Maori episteme and to advance our cultural identities and potentials.

KOWAE TEKAU MA RUA
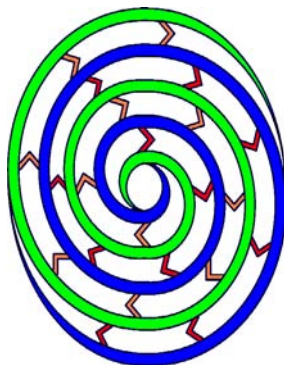
Na te hoe tahi ka taea. Paddling Together: Individual and Collective Cultural Identity.

Introduction

The famous Greek maxim 'know thyself' attributed to the philosopher Socrates and also known to have been inscribed on the sun god Apollo's oracle of Delphi temple in ancient Greece, instructs us to learn how to be who we are and speaks to obtaining completeness and wholeness. It is a powerful statement of the importance of having an identity that is strong and secure. This chapter highlights the importance of identity and in particular cultural identity to the health and wellbeing of individuals and collectives, largely from indigenous perspectives. As Fanon's (1963:170) words remind us, not investigating and discovering cultural identity creates;

> *Individuals without an anchor, without horizon, colourless, stateless and rootless…a race of angels.'*

Identity continues to be reconstructed and redefined (Bauman, 1996). In modernity the challenge was to argue for and maintain an identity but the post-modern challenge of identity is to maintain options that allow freedom and border crossing rather than fixation that works against the best interests of the individual and group and is inherently oppressive. The freedom referred to here is not so much a physical activity as it is a spiritual activity (Daes, 2000). Freedom from oppression for many indigenous people is achieved through spiritual connections with self and others. It is

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our spirit that drives our desires to be free, articulate and recognised. Daes (2000:5) writes,

> *All forms of oppression involve a denial of the individual spirit and its quest for self-expression. The experience of oppression is spiritual death. It is about the death of our inborn spiritual faith…Victims of oppression not only lose interest in self-preservation but also find it difficult to maintain their relationships as parents, friends and neighbours.*

The oppression of ongoing colonisation is the most serious contemporary affliction of Maori leading to a plethora of ills (Durie, 1998; Heim, 1998; Bramley, Herbert, Jackson & Chassin, 2004). Decolonisation is a vital pathway away from this state of affairs.

Cultural identity and freedom

In the contemporary context the options for cultural identity freedoms occur against and within the power of globalised capitalism to distribute and promote its goods to every corner of the world. The postmodern context acknowledges that identities are not 'free floating' (Sarup, 1996:3) that they are limited and framed within borders and boundaries. In this context, the 'weaker' cultures are those most vulnerable and threatened. On the other hand globalisation has for many peoples resulted in new trade routes and revitalisation of the culture for economic reasons. The 'authenticity' of many parts of this cultural trade and cultural pride is questionable on many fronts. Many aspects are shallow rather than deep culture – what I refer to as 'souvenir culture.'

Identity is complex, on the one hand identity speaks of how we position ourselves and on the other hand it speaks of how we are positioned (Hall, 1993). How we are positioned is most commonly referred to as 'determined identity' (Edwards, 1998).

Determined identity is influenced and maintained by ideological processes and influences that a dominant group employs to maintain privileged positions of 'powerful' and 'superior.' Through the use of ideological process and practice

dominant groups engage in shaping and determining the identity of minority groups into their prescribed roles (Grosz, 1995). Determined identity is oppressive and hegemonic because it reflects the dominant group's view at the expense of others (Johnston, 1998:53).

In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context determined identity occurs against a colonial history that has systematically relegated Maori to the margins and to positions of minority (Walker 1990; Smith, 1999). Two of the ideological processes that have been employed by non-Maori in Aotearoa/New Zealand to achieve the dominant position are race and difference. Non-Maori have engaged in various empirical theoretical discourses that have located and defined most Maori as negatively different from them (Reid & Robson, 2007; Johnston, 1998; Edwards, 1998).

The repercussions for Maori of having our identity determined for us is that we come to believe in the negative and inferior constructions as 'common sense' and as a result we relinquish our claim to our Maori identity and the knowledge forms and practices attached. This is an example of the colonisation of the mind (Ngugi, 1981), and as will be discussed in detail further on, a type of symbolic violence that ensures we continue to view ourselves as inferior. We experience a dichotomy of existence, attempting, expecting and expected to perform credibly in two worlds. This dichotomy of existence constitutes the many tensions that forms our world.[72] One of these strains is threatened or lost identities that form foundations for violence, poor educational performance, poor health and the plethora of other negative outcomes associated with the colonisation of Maori and indigenous people. Many of us 'harmonize indigenous knowledge with eurocentric knowledge' (Battiste, 2000:xvi) so as to attempt to reconcile and heal ourselves and our people. Our aim is to uplift our individual and collective dignities and human rights by re-imagining contemporary post-colonial worlds as part of our evolution in attempting to 'seek remedies for the colonisation of the minds and souls of our people' (Battiste, 2000:xvi).

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[72] A colleague recently explained this difference in this way: when a European watches the television programme Crime Watch they see a programme on illegal activities, when a Maori watches the same programme we see 'Our World,' a natural history programme.

It is through identity reclamation that the violent actions of our colonial past can be transformed into platforms upon which powerful futures can be built. A whakatauki optimistically reminds us that,

Taku toa, he toa rangatira.

My bravery is inherited from the leaders who were my forebears.

We are reminded that at times of pressure, challenges, doubt and threats that we should take strength from our origins and ancestral identities.

Culture and Identity

Cultural identity is constituted through an ethnic group's traits and characteristics such as practices, material culture, spiritual interests, music, foods, language and values. 'Racial identity,' (although this term is generally losing favour since there is greater variability within racial categorisation than between them and negatively associated with oppressive practices) refers to as a group's sense and perception that they share a common heritage (Helms, 1990; (McConaghy, 2000). The point here is that culture and identity are inextricably related and exert influence on ideas of individual identity and collective wedentity.

The idea of 'identity' itself is complex and multifaceted. Bell (2004:31) highlights that all identities are by definition, essentialist. Attempts to define the identities of people are essentialist in nature as any attempts to define people depends on characteristics. These characteristics most usually take the form of what people have and can include those characteristics they do not have, the exclusionary characteristics. Bell further argues that the only way to combat the practice of exclusion would be to do away with categorisation and definitions but that this is not possible and so essentialism is 'inescapable.' Essentialist thinking has its pitfalls. It is inflexible, it acts to include only one group of people and over emphasises differences and most commonly constructs the differences of the other as inferior or negative.

Identity Theories

Whilst I do not wish to dedicate a large amount of space to others' ideas of identity it is sensible to explore some of the common western theories relating to identity if just to show the difference from ways many Maori conceptualise identity. Ideas of identity are most frequently found in theories of human personality which have been instrumental to the western disciplines of psychology (Borell, 2005:13). Borell summaries succinctly the major theories relating to identity, trait, role, humanistic and social identity theories.

Trait Theory

As the name suggests, trait theory accounts for human behaviour in terms of natural biological characteristics as determinants of individual identity. These traits determine the individual human personality. A leader in this field is Raymond Cattell who asserted that personality is constituted from what he called source traits and surface traits (Borell, 2005:14). At the centre of this theoretical view is the belief that through scientific testing the individual personality can be defined by the constellation of traits. Source traits describe sixteen factors that determine behaviours and are expressed as polar opposites: shy/sociable, reactive/proactive, traditional/flexible, and so on. Surface traits rely on correlated observations by which the source traits were manifested and exhibited.

At the heart of trait theory is the idea that certain sets of behaviours are universal, can be grouped and determine behaviours and possibilities of human personality types. Criticisms of trait theory are that it is based on value judgments, implies that personality is fixed and can be measured, lacks an understanding of the complex nature of human behaviour, and ignores collective identities.

Role Theory

Role theory asserts that self-understanding is gained through social interaction with others. A key role theorist was George Mead who believed that identity was made up of self-understanding projected to others (I) and the response of others to that self (me) (Borell, 2005:15). Mead emphasised the mind as the as the natural joining point and language as central to the amalgamation. Role theory asserts that self identity is determined by the perceived prescribed and/or ascribed role in any situation or time. The theory allows for social movement between multiple roles in different contexts.

A strength of role theory for indigenous peoples is that it acknowledges that identity is influenced by social interactions with others but it is still focused on identity development of individuals rather than collective identities.

Humanistic Theory

This theory asserts that the goal of all individuals is to actualise their potentials. There is a belief that biological and genetic endowments drive self-actualising identity. Self-actualisation is the process whereby a person according to their abilities and resources progressively follows their drives from the most fundamental biological requirements to the highest esoteric achievements.

Perhaps the most well known thinker in humanistic theory was Abraham Maslow. Maslow developed a 'hierarchy of needs,' the idea that biological and psychological necessities of life are prioritised. A criticism by indigenous people of Maslow's ideas is that in his hierarchy he neglected the spiritual element. Many indigenous people would argue that spiritual health is the highest order need.

Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Billig (1995:65) describes Social Identity Theory (SIT) as one of the most creative and important identity theories in recent years and one of the most ambitious. This theory was originally formulated by Henri Tajfel. SIT was created to examine group identity, by exploring universal psychological principles believed to lie behind and inform all group identity (Billig, 2006). Tajfel & Turner (1979) in their development of self categorisation theory, asserted that there are two aspects to identity, personal identity and social identity and that positive self-esteem, a basic human need, is part of both. Tajfel & Turner (1979) explain that social identity is the part of a person's concept of herself that comes from her understanding and knowledge of her own particular membership within the group itself and the relative value and emotion they attach to that membership. This idea relates not only our identity to a particular group but also the value we place on that membership. Having a social identity means being at one with a particular group, having similarities and viewing things similarly and knowing that she belongs to a social group (Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Having a particular identity means acting to fulfil the roles expected.

The importance and ubiquity of categorisation features strongly in human character. We categorise ourselves and in so doing we create a social identity and these social identities are formed by group memberships that are important aspects of how we identify and define ourselves. Social identities define group members and draw in those similar to us as determined by group dynamics and other positive attributes. Weeks (1990:88) supports the ideas above and summarises identity as being about belonging, about what you have in common with others and what differentiates you from others. He further highlights that identity gives you a sense of personal location and is about your personal connections.

Self Identification Theory

Ideas of self-identity assert that people can assert free agency and determine for themselves their own identity. This idea ignores ideas of biology, law and culture. Under this definition people are who they say they are based on their own understandings (Cassam, 1997; Wegner, 2002; Lee, 2004).

This offers some challenges in that identity may require recognition by others of that identity, that is, that identity is a collective experience requiring collective acknowledgement. Ideas of self-identity have seen the creation of new tribes and in other contexts pan-tribal identities that for many people has occurred for purposes of cultural accounting (Warren, 2001) and spiritual enlightenment where being native or indigenous supports spiritual and/or economic benefits and interests.

The tendency of many non-indigenous peoples to colonise indigenous identities and in so doing manipulate and distort them is no more graphically displayed than in the hobbyist movement in the United States. Hobby Indians, or hobbyists as they are referred to, are a distinct group of non-indigenous people in the United States, they meet regularly, adorn themselves with paint, feathers and costumes, give themselves new names and engage in First Nations song and dance and culturally 'criss-cross' often employing First Nations people to be cultural mediators, advisors or to add some level of authenticity to their cultural crossings. Major reasons for these crossings are to address and relieve anxieties of a perceived lack of personal identity (Deloria, 1998:129).

Maori Cultural Identity and Wellbeing

I have suggested that a secure Maori cultural identity is a key factor in the health and success of Maori as individuals and collectives. Romero (1998) argued that cultural identity provided security and protection as regards mental health and Bennett (1991) argued that a stable and secure Maori cultural identity was a key success factor in academic success for Maori students. Durie (2003:49) agrees with this and advocates in his Paiheretia counselling model that secure identity and whanau are key determinants for Maori health (2003:51). He goes on to state that;

> *However, although cultural identity must be assessed on an individual basis, the emphasis on cultural identity is justified on the basis that a negative or confused cultural identity is in itself a mental health problem.*

I support this statement and have coined the phrase 'cultural schizophrenia' (Edwards, 1998) in reference to my own experiences and journey in reference to an inability that saw me unable to claim a Maori identity and not fully accepted in the Pakeha world, in short, not good enough for either, what in some quarters is called 'ethnostress.' This experience is not uncommon to other indigenous people (McConaghy, 2000)

Durie (2003:52) goes on to elaborate that not only are cultural indicators such as te reo, whakapapa and tikanga important but so too is access to the wider Maori world in forms such as whenua tipu (ancestral lands), marae and mahinga kai (traditional food sources) and that alienation from cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical resources is a powerful barrier to positive Maori cultural identity and wellbeing. He refers to these barriers as precursors to 'trapped lifestyles' (2003:63).

Durie (2003:148) further highlights the relative importance of secure Maori cultural identities in his health promotion model, Te Pae Mahutonga. Te Pae Mahutonga is a metaphoric reference to the use of ancestral navigational star paths as a descriptor of the key elements of a health promotion model as they apply to mental health of young Maori. He identifies four elements that have Maori names indicating their area of influence and attention, mauriora, waiora, toiora and te oranga, that support (w)holistic Maori health. The participant data presented in Kowae Tuawhitu also

highlights a number of these areas as key touch stones in the development of secure cultural identities and Mauri has been used by me as a key element for discussion.

The first element, mauriora, has particular significance in regards to identity. Mauriora is concerned with the development of secure cultural identities. Durie reinforces the indigenous belief that secure cultural identity is considered a 'critical prerequisite' for health. For Durie this involves the process of acculturation into Maori society where increased access is supported to develop secure Maori cultural identities.

I support the views held by Durie that acculturation of Maori culture can and does lead to improved health. The processes for such that are more common place include decolonisation and self-determination through critical thought and action. The ideas that I lay out throughout this work of reclamation, reconnection and reidentification are part of this agenda.

In regards to Ngati Maniapoto cultural identities, particularly in my own localised context, there exists both strengths and challenges to this work. Some strengths include the deep desire and commitment by many of us to maintain our uniqueness and distinctive cultural identity. We also have a large number of elders that support us in this work and are very active participants in identity reclamation, reconnection and reidentification. We continue to actively work towards providing spaces and places for the maintenance, enhancement and advancement of our cultural identities. Challenges for us include working with colonial processes and policies that regulate many parts of our being and that do not recognise and support our Maniapoto episteme. Additionally we are challenged to maintain connections of meaning when the majority of land in our area has passed into non- Maori hands.

Concluding discussion

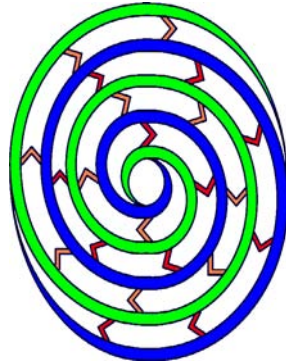Anthropological assumptions from others have contributed to contemporary understandings of our culture and indigenous epistemologies – our cultural identity. By understanding and accepting that these anthropological journeys were for a racist agenda so as to maintain non-indigenous supremacy allows us to re-examine power and knowledge as discursive projects for the construction of the Maori other. This

sets a platform for the critique and rupture of the foundations of these constructions so that our ways of knowing and imagining can become our projects.

This chapter has identified the relationship between strong and grounded cultural identities and their importance for mauri ora - wellbeing. This discussion has included relevant discussions of contemporary identity theories and their value for ideas and discussions of Maori cultural identities. The chapter has argued that strong cultural identities are important in supporting Maori health and wellbeing including ideas of freedom and liberation.

KOWAE TEKAU MA TORU

Na te hoe tahi ka taea. Paddling Together: Individual and Collective Cultural Identity.

Introduction

Indigenous peoples the world over are asserting our own validations of our own ways of knowing and being. We are now more than ever (re)-covering the mainstream ways of knowing that we have been violently and oppressively indoctrinated into. We are doing this by reflecting on what serves our wellbeing and replacing the elements of colonial ideology that are detrimental to our health and wellbeing with our own epistemologies (Gegeo & Watson-Gegeo, 2001). While much of the work centres on identity and culture, we are also, as part of these processes, (re)-membering, putting back together the coherent systems and elements of our world that supports our health and wellbeing including how we construct knowledge and for what purposes as part of our own theorising of knowledge and our unique indigenous epistemologies.

This chapter examines how ideas of indigenous cultural identities act as catalysts for the redistribution of self-power. I examine colonisation and underpinning ideologies seeking to better understand the elements of colonial ideology and their affects for and on maintaining, enhancing and advancing Maori cultural identities.

Whilst acknowledging that many Maori perceive their identity in ways other than might be described as cultural (Borell, 2005; Houkamau, 2006) this section argues that cultural identity is a very powerful tool for the advancement of Maori wellbeing.

It encourages Maori on identity journeys for cultural identity reclamation and that exploration of the place of cultural identity advances stronger identities than what other wise might be possible. This exploration it is argued as a positive contributor to health and wellbeing. Further rangahau into what blockages exist, both personal and structural, to this reclamation would be worthwhile. Houkamau's research among urban Maori women suggests that wellbeing is strongest among those with a clear Maori world view and good links to ancestral lines and locations. I would add however that these parameters that contribute to the health of our people as explored by Houkamau are under threat.

Of significance in any discussion of indigenous identity are the ideas of blood, land and memory (Allen, 2002). Allen in his work on indigenous identity with American First Nations and Maori explains that both groups view identity - individual and collective - in relation to bloodlines and connections, relationships to land and the recollection of stories and events remembered. They come together as a complex set of inter-related ideas that connect genealogies, turangawaewae and both the physical and metaphorical histories.

Maori cultural identity always asks the question: so who is a Maori and who is not? The question of who is a Maori has received considerable attention in research (Coupe, 2005; Butcher, 2003; Callister, 2003; Kukutai, 2004, 2003; Chapple, 2000; Edwards, 1998; Durie, 2001; Pool, 2001, 1991). This question remains unanswered to any full extent due to a lack or inability to determine any definitive criteria that is universally accepted. Attempts to answer this question have ranged from biological blood quantum (Morton et al, 1967, Cribb, 2006), degrees of Maoriness scale (Ritchie, 1963) schemata of Maoritanga (Metge, 1964), gene mapping (Robinson, 1998) to Maori cultural identity (Durie et al, 1995, Cunningham et al, 2002, Stevenson, 2004). A recent approach has been developed by Kukutai (2004) that distinguishes between single and multi-ethnic people. This approach argues that those who identify with a single ethnicity have a stronger sense of identity than their multi-ethnic counterparts. The distinction between single and multi-ethnic people is also easier to operationalise than either cultural indicators or blood quantum.

Cultural identities and emancipation agendas

There is a growing literature (Durie, Black, Christensen, Durie, Fitzgerald and Taiapa, 1995; Sellers, Rowly, Chavous, Shelton and Smith, 1997; Edwards, 1998; Roberts, Phinney, Masse, Chen, Roberts and Romero, 1999; Harter, 1999; Song, 2003; Pere, 2006) suggesting that a secure cultural identity makes an important contribution to wellbeing of indigenous people and is a central part of their everyday lives. Authors argue that one of the many benefits of a well established sense of self is that it supports positive consequences and provides a depth of resilience for coping with adversity that advances wellbeing (Cross, 1991; Cross, Parham & Helms, 1998; Edwards, 1998; Umana-Taylor, Diversi & Fine, 2002). For example, my children in their discussions amongst themselves, take great pride, pleasure and comfort when we travel to or through their Te Arawa, Ngati Porou or Whanganui lands. Even though we reside in Maniapoto country and this influence is strong, they are strengthened by the knowledge of those parts of their identity as regards their equally important other hapu and iwi identities.

The assertion of a cultural identity forms an important part of habitus (Bourdieu, 1985). Habitus, as defined by Bourdieu, attempts to think beyond the subjective/objective binary split and seeks to understand and highlight those values, principles, characteristics and dispositions that are gained as part of our cultural history. In the majority of cases these features remain with us across different contexts and providing a core of comfort that can support further learning. Bourdieu explained that knowledge is constructed and advanced by linking people through their preferred habitus. He introduces us to two epistemological ideas here. Firstly he identifies practical sense or logic of practice as understanding the rules and practices for negotiating cultural fields and space. The second epistemological idea is reflexive action to cultural fields, an idea to be contemplated rather than a problem to be solved (Webb, Shirato & Danaher, 2005).

Cultural identification provides people with feelings of belonging and security, and occurs most powerfully in social relationships. Access and connections to social circles provides environments for sharing and giving, that build trust and develop relationships. Such complexes are sometimes referred to as social capital (Putnam, 2000) and consist of social networks consisting of trustworthiness and reciprocity. Putnam argues that when social capital is high people grow up healthier, are better

educated and have a stronger sense of wellbeing. This is true for Maori socialised with and within their own culture. In contrast, when diversity is promoted some individuals tend to withdraw from society, become less trusting, and have a negative view of life. This is reduced and diversity can be positively achieved Putnam argues when individuals and groups have high social capital with their own culture first as a basis for venturing and increasing social capital across other diverse groups (Putnam, 2000; Misa, 2007).

The work of Te Hoe Nukuroa (Durie, Black, Christensen, Durie, Fitzgerald and Taiapa, 1995) indicates that a strong and affirming cultural identity supports wellbeing. Wellbeing is difficult to define as it is a subjective experience and linked across multiple contexts such as economic, political, social, and spirituality, in complex ways but Pere's (2006) presentation also argues that where cultural identity is secure mental health is better. Her study concludes that a confident cultural identity enhances mental health recovery and mental health recovery process can enhance cultural identity are linked in complimentary ways.

The complexity of the relationship between wellbeing and cultural identity is amplified when we acknowledge that cultural identity is itself a complex idea. Challenges arise when we attempt to measure or determine who can, should or does identify as what, how and who says – ideas of the authentic. Regardless, Maori wellbeing is heavily influenced by cultural identity and vice versa, yet barriers to both continue to disrupt our wellbeing. Most of these influences are directly related to colonisation and its inherent impacts on our everyday lives.

Acculturative stress

The intergenerational effects of colonisation evidenced through processes of assimilation, integration and multiculturalism are still clear and alive in Maori communities and whanau. Berry (1998:117) asks the question, what happens to people when they come into contact with another culture by voluntary movement, forced movement or colonisation? He answers his question, saying that,

> *People change, both culturally and psychologically, in numerous and various ways.*

He identifies with the term acculturation as coined by anthropologists and psychologists to define moves towards a particular culture. The problems and challenges this move causes he refers to as 'acculturative stress.' Factors that contribute to acculturative stress levels include language, ethnicity, history, position in society and identity. Berry argues that the degree of suffering of colonised people is particularly dependant on the ideologies of the members of mainstream society towards the minority culture. If the messages transmitted by mainstream society are negative the self-esteem and sense of cultural security of the individual or group is damaged. If the marginalised individual or group is told also that to be a fully accepted and functional member of society is to relinquish those features of their cultural identity that they have known and to replace them with other features of another group to be counted, then the stress is heightened again.

Many Maori suffer from acculturative stress and what I refer to, and have briefly discussed earlier, as 'cultural schizophrenia.' The latter I regularly re-present to Maori groups as those who, 'don't know how to be Maori and not good enough to be Pakeha.' Whilst the term 'cultural schizophrenia' has resonances with mental illness and may be viewed by some as stigmatising it speaks to me of many experiences I have come into contact with. I can recall an example where a female colleague was asked to welcome visitors to a place we were working at with a karanga. She did not possess this ability having not been trained to do so and advised the person making the request of this. The person replied in jest to her; "Next you'll be telling me you can't sing." When my colleague and I discussed this event later that day she recounted her feelings explaining that she didn't feel she was employed to do karanga, it certainly had not been part of her interview but that she felt anxiety at attending anything with a strong Maori cultural focus because there were other's expectations of what she should be able to do. She explained that she often felt guilt or embarrassment at not being able to perform such functions, especially being an older Maori woman. She finished by expressing her desire to not attend functions like this one again.

This experience highlights the imprint of acculturative stress and the cultural schizophrenia discussed above that is part of conceptualising contemporary Maori

identities. These are not uncommon experiences in my view. Albert Memmi (1965:97) in his seminal work 'The Colonizer and the Colonized' explained how the colonised faced with a situation of disempowerment give up their claim to or hope of inclusion. Memmi's ideas can be powerfully applied to many of us Maori who experience 'cultural schizophrenia' so that, often, we actively work against our own ethnicity as part of the dis-ease.[73]

> *Not considering himself a citizen, the colonized likewise loses all hope of seeing his son achieve citizenship. Before long, renouncing citizenship himself, he no longer includes it in his plans, eliminates it from his paternal ambitions and allows no place for it in his teachings. Nothing therefore suggests to the young colonised the self-assurance or pride of his citizenship. He will expect nothing more of it and will not be prepared to assume its responsibilities. Obviously, there is likewise nothing in his school education in which references to the community and nation are always in terms of the colonizing nation. This educational void thus perpetuates that same inadequacy, damaging one of the essential dimensions of the colonized individual.*

Acculturative stress results in many Maori relinquishing or losing their claim to Maori identity. Acculturative stress can be reduced if participation in society and maintenance and acknowledgment of one's history is practiced meaningfully at policy and personal levels across contexts (Durie, 2003).[74]

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[73] Dis-ease is a term to represent being uneasy with, ill at ease with, unhealthy, unwell. Linda Smith introduced me to this term in her opening address at the Traditional Knowledge Conference held at Te Papa, Wellington, June 16-18th, 2006.

[74] The myriad of feelings and experiences of oppression and exploitation are found in the lives of generations of indigenous Australians as recently identified by the apology for this oppression and current state of indigenous Australian well being, by Prime Minister Rudd. Part of this experience for Indigenous Australians was they themselves, or members of their family experience/d being separated from their parents and communities as part of a overt Australian race policy to assimilate the indigenous Australian population. This group is more commonly referred to as 'The Stolen Generations.' The Aboriginal Legal Service (Beresford & Omaji, 1998:223) explained the intergenerational effects of colonial policies such as those that affected victims of the stolen generations;

> *The assimilation and integration policies denied Aborigines their culture and taught them to be ashamed of and renounce their race and traditions...Aboriginal youth suffer...cultural disempowerment. Many young Aborigines have never been exposed to, or have rejected the controls and authority of their own culture. Similarly many have been rejected by and reject the impositions and restrictions of non-Aboriginal society.*

The episteme of acculturative stress as a result of hegemony is seen most powerfully in action in the form of symbolic violence when people internalise the racism and turn it on themselves or those close to them (Olson, 1993). A Canadian teacher once explained to me an experience she had;

> *I first became aware of internalised racism when I met a Shoshone high school student several years ago. She told me she was half Shoshone and half white. She said her father screamed, "Indians are drunks, Indians are stupid!" He said this as he tried to beat it out of her. I assumed that her father was the white parent, but no, her father was the Shoshone. He had apparently assimilated some of the values of the non-Indians around him.*

In Aotearoa, Coupe (2005:125) reported that Maori who identify with their culture are more likely to participate in te ao Maori, are less likely to be culturally alienated and are 'less likely to be inclined towards attempted suicide.' Her study also found that those Maori that were identified as having a secure and positive Maori cultural identity were less likely to have health and/or alcohol problems and less likely to use marijuana and other illicit drugs than those who had a positive but notional identity. These findings support the view that a secure and positive Maori cultural identity is a key determinant in the health of Maori individuals and groups. This is echoed in a whakatauki that reminds us;

> *E kore e piri te uku ki te rino.*

> *Clay will not stick to iron.*

This saying comes from a haka called 'Mangumangu Taipo' originating from Taranaki and refers to the Maori cultural identity as the iron that must be preserved to maintain Maori integrity and wellbeing, whereas the western culture, the clay, fails to provide real support for Maori.

In the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand knowledge of the contemporary and historical contexts within which and against which Maori cultural identity is constructed is important for deeper understanding. Prior to non-Maori arrival in Aotearoa/New Zealand Maori epistemology and philosophical understandings formed the basis of Maori society and were the dominant ideology. In this sense Maori cultural identity continuity did not develop in competition with or subordinate to an alien culture (McCarthy, 1997). The arrival and ideological clash and subsequent domination by non-Maori ideology impacted on Maori society and its effects and new forms continue today. The impacts occurred across ideas and understandings ecologically, culturally, economically, socially and psychologically. The ideological domination by the coloniser was underpinned by eurocentric beliefs around 'superiority' and 'civilised.' As briefly referred to earlier, this process was facilitated by what Ngugi (1981) called, 'colonisation of the mind,' and what musician Bob Marley (1980) referred to when he said,

> *Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds.*

In our own context I have seen examples of colonisation of the mind as discussed here when some of the Maori parents in the local school our children attend do not allow their children to learn te reo Maori at school as they believe that there is no sense in using or learning te reo Maori because it won't result in a job or that te reo Maori as a language has limited validity and value in contemporary times.

Colonisation of the mind has been a catalyst for terms, discussed further below, such as 'colonisation of the diet,' as indigenous people world wide suffer disproportionately the effects of obesity, 'ecological colonisation,' colonisation of indigenous flora and fauna and 'colonisation of the landscape.' Indigenous people are greeted by signs, structures, vegetation, names of suburbs, towns and monuments that proliferate a New Zealand named after the colonisers' heroes that march over the top of pre-existing Maori names of importance and relevance. Such changes impacted on representations and production of meaning in ways that severely challenged and modified longstanding Maori understandings of themselves and their world.

In our own area our people continue to prefer to buy large bottles of fizzy drinks such as coca cola rather than drink the water that surrounds us in the springs, our ancestral lands, leased to others, are densely covered in pine trees that rob the land of its nutrients and new streets are named after people, places or contexts not connected with our area and environment. Just north of us is what is commonly known as Raglan. Its correct name is Whaingaroa and is a code to unlocking a history, people and events that resulted in the name being applied. Colonisation modified the name and that name continues to dominate making the original name and its narrative largely invisible. Reversing this colonisation is challenging for Maori. Just south of Raglan is a large waterfall commonly known as Bridal Veil Falls. One of my Waikato marae is kaitiaki for the waterfall. We know it as Waireinga. All signs in the area, tourist brochures and the like refer to it as Bridal Veil Falls. In 2005 our people resolved to have the original name recognised and returned to a number of streets and sites including the waterfall. The process for us, even with the requisite skills of writing and decoding the application process required us to make application to the New Zealand Geographic Board, to secure written support from local owners who are largely Pakeha farmers, to allow a consultation process to occur for the submission of objections before the Board made a recommendation to the Minister for the Environment and a decision was made. This stretched our resources and required us to conduct a large amount of work to reverse the original error. After several years and a number of objections we were largely successful. However, the Minister in his decision said that both names could stand resulting in a new process to determine whether the Maori or English name would appear first. It is now known as Waireinga/Bridal Veil falls. This example serves to illustrate the extreme challenges whanau Maori encounter when we attempt to make secure our cultural identities.

Durie (1998:54) summarises expertly the reconstruction of Maori identities through colonisation, its effects and consequences when he states;

> *The new constructions of a Maori identity were accompanied by the promotion of a range of stories, "legends," and traditions, based on various tribal accounts but amalgamated to form new pan-Maori versions which frequently also drew heavily on European tradition and*

> *the Old Testament. It was part of the colonising process which not only lead to alienation of land and other resources but also bought Maori history and culture into a regimented framework so that it could readily be understood and controlled by the colonisers. In the process, new myths were created and a new type of Maori identity was forged.*

Colonisation has involved the cultural stripping of fundamental elements and markers of our identities and our wellbeing. A key was the breakdown of our interconnectedness, our interrelatedness and the associated meanings and relevance that has lead to an undermining of values, beliefs and shared meanings, and as a result many aspects of Maori society and identity.

For example, there are few towns in Aotearoa/New Zealand society that do not have the 'central' areas named after English monarchs or early European arrivals. Names such as Queen Street, King Street and Victoria Ave are common features. Names such as Fenton Street, named after the founder and first Native Land Court Judge, appears in Rotorua's central district. Fenton's court was responsible for the loss of 14,000,000 acres of Maori land. In Tauranga, Cameron Street is a main road, honouring the European General who led the Pakeha in the Land Wars of the 1860's. Meanwhile the majority of space given to Maori names are in the main limited to birds and trees, such as Kiwi Road, Weka Street and Totara Avenue, and found on the periphery of towns. Public placenames are an important reflection of social order and impact on sense of identity. For example, the maps presented at the beginning of this thesis in the korero whakataki evidence a well known and named environment of significance. In our local school our children compose waiata of various sorts and refer to many of these names, the people that occupied these places and the events that occurred there reaffirming their relationship and tangata whenua status. Attempts to replace these names with others support the disconnection from our ancestral connections that seek to disconnect us from our cultural identities.

Grappling with Colonisation

The understanding of colonisation, its modus operandi, and how to effectively resist it is important in any discussions of indigenous epistemology, indigenous knowledge, Matauranga Maori and whakapapa korero knowledge (Jackson, 1998; Hughes, 2003).

Reclamation, reidentification and reconnection to healthy cultural identities must negotiate the colonial maze; this is an essential battle that must be fought and won if wellbeing is to be realised.

Colonisation is one characteristic of imperialism and intersects with ideas of culture, ethnicity, race and identity where power politics meet, compete and cross with each other (Sarup, 1996:147-170). Imperialism as I perceive it is when one country extends its control over another's territory, systems of organisation and economies. This is most commonly done for economic or political gain. Today imperialism largely takes the form of one country's economic and political domination of others such as that commonly exerted by the United States as a recognised world super power.

There are different expressions of imperialism. They include ecological imperialism, transforming, clearing, breaking in and colonising the indigenous flora and fauna so it creates zones of familiarity for colonisers that match their homeland. Legal imperialism is the conversion and transmission of colonial power and domination into abstract legal principles understood by the few for the many and cultural imperialism, the replacing of indigenous spiritual beliefs and cultural values.

Colonisation is a characteristic of imperialism. Colonisation frequently involves the process of a country being taken over by another country and being ruled by that country. What is commonly referred to as 'rule by empire.' This includes the establishment of political control by the ruler over the ruled. In some cases the aim is to exploit the resources for personal gain or to deprive another country of control over that country.

The process of colonisation most commonly occurs by establishing colonial rule through a combination of military conquest, establishment of treaties and on-going settlement and occupation. In time the colonisation process extends to include administration and control that result in the original people being excluded or poorly represented in decision making so that the interests of the original people are determined by the colonisers.

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With the control of the country, its systems and processes colonisation then involves superimposing colonial ideology and episteme. Most commonly this does not reflect or correspond to the episteme and ideologies of the original people. Running alongside this process colonial powers and interest groups engage in civilising missions to subdue the original people and engineer compliance to maintain the dominant power position for personal gain. This frequently involves religious conversion and prejudicial educational instruction. Importantly, colonisation describes a process whereas imperialism describes an ideology.

Ideology is an important element in supplanting colonial imperialism and so investigation and understanding ideology has importance. Colonisation involves layering the coloniser's ideology into the new colony. The more successful the implanting of the coloniser's ideology via colonial discourse in local peoples the more people act in ways determined by the coloniser. Ideology is a system of ideas, laws, statutes, principles, practices, language, religion, beliefs and traditions that govern society. The term is often used to refer to a 'dominant ideology' that refers to any system of thought that upholds the position of the dominant class. In every historical epoch the dominant ideas are those of the ruling classes. By examining the ideology that exists in any given context you are able to ascertain who has and who does not have power.

For example, in Kawhia where we live we have a community board of seven people responsible for local management of the area. The gradual shift away of Maori families to seek employment, the increases in rates causing land holdings to be sold and with the increased demand for coastal property the membership of the board has progressively shifted to be European. This has resulted in the dominant ideologies heavily influencing decisions such as the naming of public spaces and places and rules governing the local environment. For example, the community board voted to ban quad bikes from beaches. This upset many people and particularly Maori who use quad bikes when we take our families to collect pipi that is found in isolated areas and not within walking distance. The preservation of dominant ideology was reinforced when Maori, and some Pakeha members of the community sought to have a guaranteed seat on the community board to better represent Maori views and interests as the result of the shift in population. We were confronted with views that it was

undemocratic, racist and separatist. We managed to lobby amongst voters and had a Maori voted on but it was a very difficult process and unfortunately is likely to be unsustainable.

Ideology is often aligned with political beliefs, but is much broader than that, relating to any social or cultural beliefs, and these beliefs are revealed in things such as literary or other texts, in stereotypes, in media forms and in curriculum. In a text, certain ideas or values will be dominant, while others will be necessarily marginalized. For instance, at its most basic level, 'The Three Little Pigs' reveals an ideology that values a strong home and good work ethic that lead to a stable existence, and wealth.

Louis Althusser (1976) discusses the way ideology functions in society. He explained that in many cases ideology was believed to create a false consciousness amongst people be creating the illusion, a false understanding of the way the world functioned. He believed that the dominant group creates structures and systems to condition people with their own desired ideology to the detriment and most commonly unbeknown to the subordinate group. Althusser (1976) highlights that ideology does not in fact reflect the real world but represents the desired dominant interests by creating imaginary relationship of individuals to the real world. Althusser explained that ideology has a physical and material existence as it exists in system, processes and practices – an ideological apparatus. The fact that we sometimes do not recognise this as ideological conditioning speaks to the power of ideology. In the example I gave above of lobbying community members to support a Maori nomination to the community board, we were frequently challenged by our own Maori people who believed there was no need for a Maori representative and that things were 'alright.' In these cases the ideology that was created and incorporated in our people's thinking was that things were fine as they are, Maori were in a very comfortable position and had no reason to fear for our continued cultural existence. In this case the ideological conditioning had ensured cognitive prisons had been created amongst our own people.

As can be seen in the above example, most subjects accept their ideological self-constitution as 'reality,' 'natural' or 'just the way it is' and thus rarely run afoul of the repressive State apparatus, which is designed to punish anyone who rejects the

dominant ideology. Ideology requires context to operate and be self-maintaining and it is by State apparatuses that the ideology is inculcated in all subjects. These are what Althusser called Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA's). The community board referred to above is an example of a body created by the dominant group to perpetuate the ideology and maintain position and power. Ideology is formally established by hegemony (Gramsci, 1975), the condition by which an ideology is established, maintained and little challenged.

Antonio Gramsci (1975) introduced the idea of hegemony. Once ideology is planted and running it is maintained through hegemonic discourse, state apparati, media and comfy elements of practice including things like national anthems, mono-lingualism and national flags. Hegemony is the domination by one group over another most commonly by persuading others to accept their own values and systems, a mental domination so that subordinate groups continue to think and believe they are inferior and worth less.

The ideas expressed by Billig (1995) highlight how nation building and nationalism practices seek to build allegiances to particular agendas, in many cases making diverse ways of knowing and being illegitimate. He explains how nation states are created through institutional governance that has monopoly control over a demarcated space or territory where imposed law self sanctioned allows direct control of the populace by internal and external violence. The boundedness and control of army, police, commerce, markets, media and academy inflict epistemic violence by validating certain knowledges and patterns of belief and practice invalidating those of other groups in the process. Such nationalism creates, promotes, acknowledges and celebrates ways of thinking and acting as common sense or normal and represses passively and actively alternative forms of social life as deviant making violence seem natural and 'right.' Contemporary common sense notions become 'invented permanencies' (Billig, 1995:29) that constitute language and discourse as hegemony that invents, reproduces, emphasises and maintains ideological constructions of social order. For example, many Maori will wryly refer to the once commonly held view that speaking or learning te reo Maori was not a worthwhile pursuit as it would not get you a job. This ideological construct served a number of functions: it marginalised te reo and suggested the importance of working and in particular certain types of work.

Low skilled and low paid highly labour intensive jobs where language was not paramount further de-valued Maori language and Maori world views and by default validated English language. Consequences included language loss, uneven development and cultural alienation among Maori.

Billig (1995) argues that invented permanencies appear in multiple forms of representations and in memory images. Any idea of nation is informed by such representations and as a common place example, the flag is produced and reproduced in myriad mundane and everyday situations to the point that it becomes almost subliminal in its effect of metonymically reproducing the idea of nation. For example in Aotearoa/New Zealand if asked 'Who discovered New Zealand?' the vast majority would answer, 'James Cook,' reflecting the colonial worldview. This construction is reinforced by memory image that has constructed and awarded Cook a permanency in the minds and hearts of many of Aotearoa/New Zealand's inhabitants. That memory image is the 50 cent piece where the image of Cook's ship the Endeavour is embossed for us to carry with us along with the image of the British queen, a subtle ideological reminder of where the power lies, who has the right to be here and conversely who does not. 'Our' nation uses myriad images for collective remembering and by default creates a collective forgetting that is brutal and violent for those being rubbed out of the picture, are being systematically oblated and being made contemporarily extinct. Few are allowed to remember or give credence to the point that Kupe and others discovered these lands and that our ancestors arrived here 800 years before Cook.

Colonisation of the mind

Throughout human history colonisation became successful only when political and military domination moved on to the imposition of epistemological domination through the colonisation of the mind. In Aotearoa European schools aimed at achieving such domination so that colonised power relations and practices would be naturalised. Education is a key ingredient in colonising the mind. Education curricula, language, teachers and subject choices act to colonise people to think, act, behave and value certain things and feel negative towards others. In this way people are controlled as to what they believe and how they act so their identity is determined.

In 1925, Mr. Banerjee, a prominent Indian writer, described well the impact of British colonial education on Indians[75],

> *Our fore fathers, the first fruits of English education, were violently pro-British. They could see no flaw in the civilization or the culture of the west. Everything English was good - even the drinking of brandy was a virtue; everything not English was to be viewed with suspicion...*

There are a number of similarities between what Banerjee says here and the events that have occurred in Aotearoa/New Zealand and other parts of the colonised world as regards the 'first fruits of English education.' Specialised education, such as Native Schools in Aotearoa/New Zealand and Residential schools in Canada, and exposure to carefully controlled media are used to partially colonise the minds of the people, to create cognitive prisons and to colonise the mind. This is not a thing of the past and is still done with great vigour. This affects the radical freedom of epistemological thought, the ability to come to know and make sense of reality in culturally relevant ways. Freedom of epistemological thought depends heavily on what knowledge counts, what counts as knowledge and who says so as well as who has control of the processes and practices. European control of education has greatly curtailed this freedom for Maori and adversely impacted on Maori cultural identity. This colonial domination pervades Maori realities, our identities and our wellbeing today in a number of different ways.

Neo-colonialism is manifest in new forms of colonisation. Examples include the 'McDonaldization' or 'Coca-colanisation' of society where multinationals dominate the consumption (and thereby the ideological structure) of host societies. This is evident by the state of poor, third-world countries that enjoy formal political independence, but continue to remain commercially dependent on rich, industrialized countries, whose commodities are over-valued compared with their own. These same interests reflect the original colonisers who took the resources from these once wealthy regions and left them as third world countries.

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[75] Retrieved from, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surendranath_Banerjee on February 7th, 2009.

The intergenerational effects of colonisation have been described here as cultural schizophrenia (Edwards, 1988), trapped lifestyles (Durie, 2003), acculturative trauma and stress (Battiste, 2000), psychological upheaval (Friesen & Friesen, 2002) and post-colonial stress disorder (Houkamau, 2006). Sarup (1996:40-43) explains that an important component of identity is the 'past-present relation and reconciliation' where the past is acknowledged as an important factor in current representations; recollections of our past, in our present that we re-present ourselves to ourselves. In the case of indigenous peoples where our recent past is marked by death, destruction, poverty, pain and suffering as a result of colonial contact, the reflections and re-presentations are most commonly negative.

Comanche leader Ladonna Harris (Mankiller, 2004:68) shares how the task of living in two worlds features in the experiences of her people, particularly the young people of the Comanche nation. She writes;

> *I sift everything through my Comanche values and if I can't understand it within the context of my Comanche values or it doesn't feel right it sends up a huge red flag. When I have tried to push my traditional values behind me, I have been less successful. I do well when I am just myself, a Comanche woman. Our young people are trying to figure out how to continue to maintain their traditional values when they live and work away from their communities. It drives me crazy when people say we have to live in two worlds. We can't live in two worlds. We have to live in one world and carry those values with us and live them every day wherever we live. People become dysfunctional when they adopt situational values.*

My assertion that our past informs our present including present identities acknowledges that colonisation is always destructive; the consequences include poverty, language loss, loss of identity, breakdown of hapu and whanau structures, addictions, abuse, violence, loss of parenting skills, loss of self esteem and so on (Monture-Angus, 2002:11). This devastation can become internalised within the colonised victims and manifest as:

- Violence and aggression - anger and violence directed toward oneself, one another and family/community. This includes rape, murder, assault, sexual abuse of children and suicide. It is commonly evidenced in statistics which are often used to support negative stereotypes. The irrational violence within the colonized person results from the oppressed conditions that colonization imposes upon people.

- Individualism - self interest - With the breakdown of the nation and the family, fragmentation and competition has come to replace the sense of unity, community and togetherness that was once the basis of Maori society.

- Neglecting culture – assimilation. A key tactic if colonization is to portray the Indigenous culture as negative and irrelevant to (modern) society. Once this belief is entrenched within the indigenous person they have no alternative but to assimilate and conform to the colonialist culture.

- Inferiority complex - identity crisis. Physical and mental domination, constant negative portrayals of indigenous people and history, and colonial attitudes play fundamental roles in the creation of the Indigenous inferiority complex. The indigenous person begins to question their identity and becomes caught between the historical concept of the traditional Maori and present day reality. "Who am I?" "What does it mean to be a Maori.'

- Alienation and abandoning of traditional territories - Colonization creates a feeling of Indigenous dependency on colonially established towns (reserve - towns) and cities. In order to benefit from colonial programmes and institutes Indigenous people must migrate to these areas and leave their traditional territories. The act of relocating and isolating indigenous people into new areas is a tactic used to force the people away from the majority of their territory. This allows the colonial state to assume jurisdiction over lands that were once controlled by indigenous nations. It also removes the indigenous people physically to accommodate the establishment of settler communities and resource extraction and subdivision.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has highlighted the importance of Maori cultural identity to the health and wellbeing of individuals and collectives, largely from indigenous perspectives. It has discussed how colonisation affects our ability to experience high levels of wellbeing and describes it as oppressive and the most serious contemporary affliction of Maori leading to a plethora of ills. Decolonisation is a vital pathway away from this state of affairs.

This chapter has argued that part of this decolonisation agenda is achieved through the development of understandings of the inter-connectedness and inter-relatedness of all things, including Maori and can be facilitated through study of whakapapa knowledge. It is through the study, explanation and understanding of whakapapa knowledge that Maori socio-cultural identity of groups and individuals is realised.
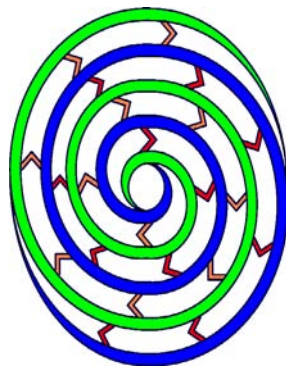
WAHANGA TUATORU

EKE PANUKU, EKE TANGAROA: MAKING SAFE LANDFALL: RECONCILING THE PAST AND NAVIGATING THE FUTURE
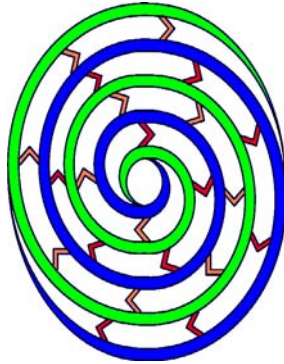
KOWAE TEKAU MA WHA

Te whakapai. Repairing the Waka: Identity (Re)construction.

Introduction

Culture is complex and problematic (Williams, 1988:87-93; Edles, 2002:1). It means different things to different people and is difficult to articulate succinctly enough to adequately express its many dimensions (Edwards, 1998).[76] In relation to Maori, culture, in my experience, is often used to refer to aspects of Maori arts and crafts and the observable objects and activities of Maori life. This understates and devalues Maori epistemologies and diverse of the important markers of the culture. The anthropological definition is far wider than this and Metge (1976:45) provides one such definition when she refers to culture as;

> *A system of symbols and meanings in which a particular group of people make sense of their world, communicate with each other and plan and live their lives.*

I have added my own thoughts and view culture as the shared way of living of a group of people including their accumulated knowledge and understandings, skills and values as perceived by the group to be meaningful and unique. Culture is socially constructed and, as cultural anthropologists note, has enormous power over people's behaviours because it determines the norms that apply in organising thoughts and

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[76] Those readers interested in a more detailed definition and analysis of the term 'culture' are referred to; 'Key Words: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society' by Raymond Williams.

shaping beliefs (Pai & Adler, 2007; Edles, 2002). This is to say that the elements and aspects of culture are inextricably linked to our cultural identity. This view acknowledges that culture is dynamic and is relational to ideas of identity. For Maori a primary relationship in determining Maori cultural identity has been the environmental specific locations which many of us have a long association with developed over time. This explanation corresponds with its Latin word origin, *cultura*, meaning a reverent relationship *(cult)* with the earth *(ur),* (Williams, 1988:87). Maori culture has developed from the interactions and activities within environmental spaces. Maori culture and many of the aspects of Maori society in contemporary contexts come from our relationship to the environment.

This chapter discusses culture, its relevance to contemporary times and the pressures and stressors faced by Maori culture. Ways in which whakapapa knowledge, whakapapa korero, whanaungatanga and turangawaewae maintain, enhance and advance positive Maori cultural identities are examined. The value of whakapapa knowledge as educational, emancipatory and liberatory is also discussed in detail.

Culture (re)examined

Marsden (2003:34) says;

> *Culture is the most powerful imprinting medium in the patterning process of the individual. The interiorised patterns, images, stereotypes, symbols and convictions which motivate members to action, organises communal activity, established social institutions and standards of behaviour. All arise out of the cultural metaphysics.*

Culture is developed through the activities of sharing and utilising an area of earth and its resources.

A culture's relative success and longevity is based on how well it supports the needs of the people of that culture. If the current cultural practices are inadequate the people will adjust to accommodate to the conditions. For example, if Maori change the rhythm of waiata or the expressions in language it does not mean the culture is disappearing, but rather, that it is dynamic and evolving.

In societies such as Aotearoa/New Zealand where more than one culture exists a dominant cultural group surfaces. The dominant group constructs and maintains societal institutions, the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1976), such as schools, health systems, parliaments, justice, universities and media to assert their dominance and promote their ideologies (Edles, 2002). Minority cultures and those people that live them become marginalised. New Zealand authors, including Walker (1990), Simon (1992), Edwards (1998), Smith (1999), and McMurchy-Pilkington (2001) explain how structures such as legislation and education have marginalised Maori to our detriment.

In our own context marginalisation frequently occurs when we have engaged with land developers and councils in the determination of whether a land development is appropriate. Our local area is close to the sea and so is in great demand for subdivision development. It is also rich with history and occupation being the final resting place of our waka Tainui. Local council policy requires developers to consider the cultural effects and those on tangata whenua when considering a development. However it has not specified what this looks like, nor how this is to be assessed. Our experience is that the supply of an archaeological report by a developer identifying spots of cultural significance marked by Xs' on maps meets these requirements to council's satisfaction. This is at odds with our tangata whenua views and frequently brings us into tension as we view the landscape in its entirety and also attach significance to the narrative and the values that we attach to the area. Our calls have been for the inclusion, similar to other areas of Aotearoa/New Zealand, of cultural impacts assessments and values assessments. As yet these requests have not been supported as necessary by Council and our views have been marginalised as the dominant view of what should occur is privileged (again) (and that this is socially constructed).

Whanaungatanga as a Cultural Framework for Maori Identity

It is generally accepted that some, even many, Maori are alienated and disconnected to varying degrees from a conscious knowledge of who they are as Maori and as whanau (Edwards, 1988; Durie, 2003; Durie, 2004). However this does not remove the fact of whakapapa and the potential in whakapapa knowledge and korero to

reconnect, restore and transform individuals and whanau groups. With a solid whakapapa base and active maintenance there is possibility of Maori cultural existence continuing and flourishing given that with whakapapa in the broadest sense there is hapu, whanau and iwi. Whilst diverse whanau arrangements and structures should continue to be embraced this diversity should not be employed to limit or displace potentials for whakapapa. I advocate for the honouring of both diversity and whakapapa in contemporary contexts. These relationships can be mediated, balanced and maintained using ideas of whanaungatanga as a pathway to the restoration of strong vibrant Maori identities.

Whanaungatanga is the process and practice of creating, maintaining and sustaining relationships. Whanaungatanga pulls on whakapapa korero knowledge as a catalyst for the creation, maintenance and sustenance for relationships. Whanaungatanga requires acts of responsibility and accountability. For example, we were recently contacted at the death of a distant relative. The request from the grieving family was to bring their father back to our marae for burial. Even though the family had not had interaction with the marae for some years the deceased could still connect via whakapapa to the people and the land. The responsibility, as a result of the practice of whanaungatanga, was to honour the request and accept the person home and this was done. An unspoken accountability that the family of the bereaved could expect is to maintain connections with the marae and their deceased father as a result of the strengthening of the whanaungatanga links. Other examples of the potentiality of whanaungatanga is through activities such as wananga, marae events, including hui, fundraising, celebrations and working bees.

Whanaungatanga entails the obligations and responsibilities of groups and individuals. These obligations were and still are viewed by many as the natural course of socialisation, which is sometimes referred by this term. Whanaungatanga extends to all entities in the spiritual and physical world. Whanaungatanga was enacted through tikanga or principles of aroha and manaaki (love and empathy) and kaitiakitanga (caring). Through the practices of whanaungatanga Maori are able to interact with the entities of the world on an intimate and personal level. Once again this is highlighted in whakatauki. I have heard my Whanganui relations state,

Ko te awa ko au, ko au ko te awa.

The river is me and I am the river.

This statement of connection between the people and the river and is often recited when addressing issues that affect the river. People of Whanganui often refer to the relative health of their ancestral river as being an indicator of their individual and collective health and wellbeing.

Whakapapa Knowledge and Maori Cultural Identity

Hoskins (2007) recent work has identified that disconnection from cultural identities has disadvantageous effects for Maori. He found that;

> *Disconnection from ones origins in culture and physical location leads to a fragmentation of identity. Access to one's practices and a sense of belonging to location both physically and within a cultural framework combine to create a security of identity (Durie, 1996). Recent research has found that Maori lacking contact with Maoritanga, lack a sense of belonging to place (Johnston, 2006). This study found that those connected with Maori culture were three times less likely to attempt suicide than those who were not.*

I argue that whakapapa knowledge encapsulates Maori worldviews and that whakapapa knowledge contributes positively to Maori cultural identity and Maori development. From that perspective it is clear that whakapapa korero is knowledge that is central to Maori reclaiming, reconnecting and reidentifying positively as Maori.

In our own Ngati Maniapoto context, and particularly in Kawhia where I reside, the connection through living in our tribal rohe and being intimate with the people, the environment and the histories has strengthened our sense of connection, responsibility and identity. Many of us take active roles in resource management, community leadership on various boards, cultural initiatives and education to ensure our worldviews are maintained and incorporated into the local context including, naming of sites and places, protection for waahi tapu and sites of significance and

regeneration of key knowledge such as waiata, te reo and history through wananga. From these activities we have become more cohesive as a group as we find ourselves in a more powerful position to advance kaupapa and ideas as regards our cultural identity and its imprint within our rohe.

I also argue that this is also of benefit to New Zealand. This view was also shared by the late John Rangihau of Ngai Tuhoe (1998:183-187) who believed that a secure Maori cultural identity is of paramount importance to 'assurance' in their other worlds and activities such as the Pakeha world with all its nuances and to avoid what Rangihau refers to as 'mixed up Maori-Pakeha' and 'cultural schizophrenia.' This supports the story related earlier of Maui affirming his Maori cultural identity before he could find 'assurance' in other worlds.

Sir Tipene O'Regan (cited in, Kelly, 2002:27) of Ngai Tahu described whakapapa as DNA and felt that whakapapa linkages are the only adhesive force that still exists to bind contemporary Maori. This point may well be true for all hapu, whanau and iwi. What O'Regan touched on and was picked up by Kelly (2002) is that continued existence, management and expression of whakapapa korero in narrative and meta-narrative are a potent force for the collective health and wealth of Maori cultural identity.

Pohatu (1996) believes that the various expressions of Maori cultural identity whether enacted covertly or overtly are vital for;

- Maori cultural and social wellbeing.
- Developing individual and collective Maori consciousness towards belonging and identifying as Maori.
- Sustainability of accountabilities to each other.
- That a secure knowledge of self supports the individual's ability to participate in the universe.

Pohatu (1996) speaks of 'kawai whakapapa,' knowledge and understanding of the inter-connectedness of entities, as a process for centring Maori in a Maori worldview with the capacity to interact and participate in the Maori and non-Maori world. He

argues that the centrality of whakapapa knowledge (Pohatu, 1996:154) supports the processes of re-connection, re-clamation and re-identification argued by other authors (Edwards, 1998).

Whanau in Traditional Maori Society and Maori Cultural Identity Development

In traditional Maori society it was the family unit where Maori cultural identity was fostered and shaped (Buck, 1956; Papakura, 1986; Walker, 1990). The relationship between the individual and social groupings is evident in the Maori language in the terms whanau, to give birth, the fundamental meaning, hapu, to be pregnant and iwi, bones. These terms support a basic origin and association with ancestry deriving from family and interconnectedness (Johns, 1983).

The word whanau in particular has undergone change in line with changes in Aotearoa/New Zealand society and like culture is dynamic, constantly being redefined (Durie, 2003:13) and lending itself to multiple interpretations. A narrower definition will show that whanau members are related by ancestry (Durie, 2003:13). What remains stable is that whanau refers to groupings of things, most commonly of Maori people, bought together by similarity of relationship or purpose.

Whakapapa knowledge is able to inform, influence and shape individual identity by increasing knowledge and understanding of individuals and groups of their culture. For example, the recitation of story, connection and interaction with environment and people, the articulation of meaning in material culture are powerful catalysts for developing cultural identity. For example, I have frequently seen individuals begin journeys of cultural identity reclamation by returning to marae, walking over ancestral lands, attending noho to learn te reo Maori and by spending time with elders. As whakapapa knowledge and understanding increases, Maori develop a deeper understanding and abilities to participate actively in Maori society. The ability to develop identity over time recognises that identity is dynamic, is multi faceted and shapes the perceptions of individuals, groups and other entities in the world (Babad, Birnbaun & Benne, 1983; Willmott, 1989).

Whakapapa Knowledge: Identity Development

Maori cultural identity manifests itself at multiple spaces including the individual, interaction between individuals and at the level of society. In the Aotearoa context the impact and effects of colonial contact and the intergenerational reproduction of aspects of this relationship have had massive impact and cannot be under estimated.

Acknowledging that these influences occur and have impact on our identity asks us to critically and regularly reflect on our identity and review who we currently are and what influences are present and absent and to review our identity and consider if that identity supports our desires for our cultural identity.

The place of inter-relationships in Maori cultural identity is evident in many situations, in formal gatherings, informal gatherings and activity, such as, work and play. In these contexts whakapapa knowledge is employed as 'social capital,' as a navigation system to create, maintain and develop relationships that support group belonging and cultural identity development (Papakura 1938, Barlow 1991). As evidenced by the participant data that discusses the importance of hui, events and visitation by relatives and friends, social interactions and family relationships combine to influence the identities of individuals. The shaping of identities begins in early childhood (Harris, Blue & Griffith, 1995, Peterson, 1989). The importance of early influences is supported by whakatauki,

Ko te rata i takahi e te moa.

The rata that is trampled on by the moa.

This whakatauki explains that the very early influences we experience are important catalysts for development. This whakatauki does this by referring to young rata tree sapling that is trampled on by a moa and explains that it will ultimately be influenced by the experience and will grow crooked as a result. The influence of people, such as parents, peers and extended family on identity are as significant today (Peterson, 1989) as they were half a generation ago. The day-to-day practices that operate within and between groups such as families serve to develop identities of members. Taylor and Oskay (1995) identify a clear link between family practices and identity.

They detail how family practices constitute family culture that shapes the daily practices of family members and informs individual and family identities. The participant data also supports these ideas. As an example of how family culture and patterns of life influence our identity, in our context our diet is informed to a large degree by the elders that feature in our lives. Our children have grown up with kai Maori, water cress, toroi (mussels and puha), kanga pirau (fermented corn), koki (fermented shark liver), dried pipi, pohata (a type of vegetable) and other foods considered delicacies by our elders. Our children appreciate these foods as unique and as a delicacy, in common with their elders. They become filled with joy when they smell, see and eat these foods. This taste is an acquired one as many of us who have grown up in environs where these foods were not common find them less enjoyable.

Place and Environment in Identity Development

The location that an individual or group lives in provides rich sources of sustenance, experience and imagery that inform the ideas, beliefs and relative health of people. As such, land and environment are an important element in identity development.

In common with other indigenous peoples Maori have been forcibly removed from our ancestral lands to make way for the progress and development of dominant non-Maori ideological aspirations for economic power and control. Dispossessed of our lands and our livelihoods many of us have been forced over generations migrate to cities and towns and the tribal lands of other hapu and whanau to seek a living and maintain whanau connections. In these centres we have historically and still to a large degree today occupy places and classes in society that marginalise us as people. For many of us this social displacement interrupts our cultural identity development by depriving us of our territorial, cultural, economic, social and political autonomy.

This social displacement causes our beliefs, values and esteem, factors that serve to unify, connect and relate us as people, to waiver. The result is invariably the loss of Maori cultural identity and cultural practices collapse under the pressure to be replaced with non-Maori ideology and ways. Very soon, we become something we are not and we lose 'us' and become 'them.'

The importance of the relationship between humans and land and those entities also sharing a connection to land was not lost on Maori. This importance was reflected through whakapapa korero as exemplified in waiata, pakiwaitara, korero tuku iho, whakairo and whakatauki and the names applied to people and places. Relationship terms linking humans to land are evident in te reo Maori. Terms such as ahi ka (the place where the fire was ignited, referring to occupation), kainga (referring to the place where food stocks were), whenua (a reference to land and human afterbirth) and ukaipo (a reference to a place of birth where the young were suckled in the night) are all examples of the depth of connection and relationship Maori have with place and environment.

The reclaiming and applying of whakapapa knowledge is highly political in that it challenges the dominant group and their ideology. For many indigenous peoples who have suffered the debilitating and traumatic events of colonial invasion of the land, the mind and the spirit there exists post-colonial traumas (Commonwealth of Australia, 1997:122; Hirini & Flett, 1999). This trauma also contributes to restricting many Maori's choices and decisions to engage with whakapapa korero. Judith Herman (1997) highlights how this trauma and politics intersect when she is referred to by Ehrenreich (2003);

> *...the study of psychological trauma is an inherently political enterprise because it calls attention to the experience of oppressed people.*

The psychological trauma referred to above is vividly recalled by Tariana Turia (2002) who relates Maori experience for many as one of awaking in mornings, realising they are unemployed and looking to their windows to land that was once the possession of their ancestors but that has now been managed into the hands of others who accumulate wealth from it. The effects of disinheritance, dislocation, deculturation, alienation and dispossession cause the trauma referred to above. Our people in our context can relate to this experience. I recall an event in 2003 when land that once was an area occupied by our ancestors was sold by a local farmer to allow an 80 house subdivision to occur. I travelled with elders and other family members and we went onto the land as we realised that great change was about to

occur. I stood with our family members as we looked out over the land and pictured what was about to be lost. As we stood there silently one of our kuia began a tangi apakura – a lament. We lamented the loss of these lands, reflecting on those buried in the area, the births that had occurred there, the plantations that once grew there and had now passed into the hands of others with less connection, empathy and care for this area. We reflected as the trauma washed across us all.

Whakapapa korero is a powerful catalyst for igniting the consciousness of those of us who are affected by this trauma in varying ways. Herman (1997) supports this when she explains that for many the primary experiences of psychological trauma are spiritual, physical and mental disempowerment and disconnection from things that support wellbeing. Recovery from this trauma can only occur via maintaining relationships and by reclaiming whakapapa korero we are able to reaffirm the relationships Herman (1997) speaks of. In our own contexts and as a result of traumatic experiences like that related above we have used whakapapa korero as a tool of reclamation and increasing our wellbeing. We have run wananga on the cultural histories of our local environment, organising treks across our lands, relating the stories and our connections to the land, the people, including ourselves as participants, and the events that have occurred in these lands as part of maintaining our enduring relationship.

Whakapapa Knowledge as Education
Education was and continues to be a key tool of ideological dominance and oppression that validates certain knowledge and subjugates others. In the Aotearoa/New Zealand context and many other indigenous lands, Europeans exploited education as a tool for civilising and controlling Maori (Walker, 2005). While it was presented as 'neutral,' it was in fact laced with ideological contaminants. This ideological approach to education by Pakeha for Maori resulted in the 'subjugation' (Foucault, 1980) of Maori knowledge and in particular whakapapa knowledge, as strong and proven systems for knowledge acquisition, maintenance and transmission was systematically stripped away. As a result Maori knowledge was devastated and a great deal is now irrecoverable. Having said this, the opportunity to sew back the fragments to form a system for the maintenance and transmission of large tracts of Maori knowledge still does exist. Acquiring whakapapa knowledge

allows us to sew back these fragments. In our own area the involvement of elders in wananga, our own proximity to elders and the environment and our thoughtful interactions with both supports the ability to interact, connect and relate to whakapapa knowledge that has been inherited as part of the continuation of enduring relationships with knowledge but that is not frequently available due to time, location and context restraints.

The modernist view of knowledge, the 'one truth epistemology' (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999) affected all aspects of western life, all institutions. Education was no exception. Schools of western thought of the post-Enlightenment era emphasised the learning of what had already been predetermined rather than the production of knowledge itself. In this way the curricula was pre-fashioned so that reward and credentialing came for the short-term retention of certified truths via linear learning or sub skill processes. This had the effect of turning teacher and student's attention away from the student's construction of reality and what might be ingenious thinking. Memmi (1991:104) explains how the ideological education of the dominant subverts the epistemological educations of indigenous people's and those that enter western educational institutions world wide and continues the agenda of colonisation of the mind referred to earlier;

> *The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him is not his own. He knows who Colbert or Cromwell was, but he learns nothing about Khazndar, he knows about Joan of Arc but not about Al Kahena. Everything seems to have taken place out of his country. He and his land are non-entities…*

An experience to explain this occurred in my life in my primary school years. When I was fairly new to school we would sit on the mat at the front of the classroom as a whole class group. The teacher would have beside her seat that sat at the front of the class a box of poem and nursery rhyme cards. After morning play each day we would all come in to class and sit on the mat and spend the first 15 minutes or so reading these cards as a whole class as a method of calming us down after having just been outside running and playing, as children do. One we read was called Jack and Jill and it went,

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Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of water,

Jack fell down and broke his crown and Jill came tumbling after.

I recall, not so long after I had started school, raising my hand, as was the practice at school and still is I believe, which was different to my home environment where we didn't raise our hand to speak, we waited for a time that was silent and spoke then, and asking the teacher why Jack went up the hill. She looked at me with a frown of frustration and explained that it was so he could get some water. I asked again, 'but why go up the hill? She explained that the well was on top of the hill. Thinking on this for a short time I said, 'no wonder he fell over, he went the wrong way.' At this point the other children were laughing and the teacher had become somewhat embarrassed and annoyed with me and she said in a short curt voice, 'what do you mean?' Sensing her anger and now not knowing how to respond lest her anger increase I explained that at home we go down the creek to get the water because the water comes down to you and whenever you try to carry water down anything you always lose it because it's too hard to keep the bucket steady because you end up running down the hill like Jack did and you fall over, so 'he should have gone down the creek to get the water.' With this the whole class roared with laughter, the teacher flew into a rage and I was sent outside. That was the day I stopped talking at school.

The participants shared similar stories in their data explaining that Pakeha education had been a largely discouraging experience. In our own local context we have attempted to alleviate these experiences by normalising Maori experiences in the lives of the children of our community. Kapahaka and te reo Maori is a normalised activity as part of a commitment to biculturalism and bilingualism. Our school attends the local poukai celebrations on the marae in Kawhia to provide access to education that enhances their cultural identity.

Determining knowledge has been a non-Maori privilege and Maori have been the recipients of this knowledge with its universal histories, defining our rights and reality. The ability for the dominant group to define us is imperialistic and characterises indigenous and Maori knowledge as simplistic and inferior. For

example, early colonial figures in Aotearoa/New Zealand history viewed Maori, Maori culture and ways of knowing as 'primitive,' 'pagan,' 'barbaric,' 'savage,' and 'uncivilised' (Bennett, 2001:2). In short, Maori, Maori abilities and Maori knowledge were dehumanised. As the influential missionary Henry Taylor reported;

> *I do not advocate for the Natives under present circumstances a refined education or high mental culture...if we remember that they are better calculated by nature to get their living by manual than by mental labour.*
>
> (Simon, 1998:11)

Knowledge becomes centralised and the power to develop and construct knowledge rests in the hands of a few who have had the privilege of negotiating the rights of academic passage with the cultural capital already embedded to guarantee the necessary prerequisites for entry and success to continue the ideological domination.

Nietzsche (Breazeale, 1997) argues that both the unhistorical - that history has not been made visible and provided to the masses - and the historical education that has been made widely available, such as that provided by whakapapa korero knowledge, is necessary for the health of an individual, of a people and of a culture. This is definitely so for indigenous people where knowledge of the past is culturally prescribed for identity, growth, pride, problem solving, organising and understanding (Mihesuah, 2004:146).

Acquiring whakapapa knowledge is an educational activity that contributes to reclaiming ideological balance. It reinforces identities by making clear understandings of connections, rights and responsibilities. Access to this knowledge supports the development of Maori cultural identity and wellbeing. The acquisition of Maori cultural identity is therefore not only a matter of being but also of becoming (Hall, 1990:225). Maori cultural identity is not fixed in a pristine past but is subject to the continuous developments and threats of history, culture and power.

Whakapapa knowledge has the potential to enrich the lives of individuals and collectives in its many expressions by providing education in the form of teaching and

learning that increases people's depth of understanding and appreciation for their cultural identity across multiple contexts. For example, whakapapa knowledge provides understanding of order and inter-connectedness of and to other entities in the universe, discipline to learn, respect for knowledge and the people and their teachings.

The teaching and learning of whakapapa knowledge as curriculum for Maori cultural identity, relationships and living is inter-woven with the various expressions or teaching tools and strategies combined with the communication processes such as oral language and wairua. Vygotsky (1978) argues that curriculum content and curriculum delivery method combine to provide an education that determines how the world is described and internalised. Whakapapa knowledge as curriculum, while it has a generic base, provides opportunities for more complex inquiry as a poutama or staircase approach to education. The ability to engage in inquiry and to develop thought moves whakapapa beyond being merely a recital activity, but rather shows whakapapa as a deep system of knowledge that encapsulates a myriad of ideas and developed understandings. Maori actively discouraged rote recital or 'korero kaka' (parroting) (Hemara, 2000) but did encourage accuracy through transmission with repetition whereby learners were consistently exposed over time to songs, stories and events that were reinforced via repetition as part of normal living so that over time they became common, familiar and secure knowledge bases.

I view whakapapa as an education system rather than a curriculum and affirm that as a system of knowledge, whakapapa knowledge can support conscientisation and reclamation of mana Maori, through education process of teaching and learning. By engaging in the process of teaching and learning of whakapapa knowledge, I argue, Maori are able to reclaim notions of who we are, to redefine ourselves and possibly connect to a Maori cultural identity that supports our life chances (Wilson, 2004:69). This view is supported by Pohatu (1996:2) who views the teaching and learning of whakapapa as a process for 're-centring' and 'emancipation.'

Whakapapa knowledge as connection to cultural identity supports a stable base to success and those that have strong cultural links to cultural identity are more likely to succeed socially and academically than those who do not have such links (Espinoza, 1971, Valentine, 1971, Ramirez and Castenada, 1974).

Whakapapa Knowledge as Conscientisation

Whakapapa knowledge serves also as a system for the expression of Maori values and beliefs. When dominant groups impose their own systems to discount our knowledge bases and values they engage in 'cognitive imperialism' (Battiste, 2005). Cognitive imperialism denies people their language and cultural identity by maintaining the legitimacy of only one frame of reference. When cognitive imperialism is at its insidious worst it ensures that people don't know that they are actually being denied things such as language and culture, but rather it has the oppressed believe it is superior. We internalise the violence and coloristic thinking becomes normal for after all colonialism is a way of thinking and acting (Alfred, 2004:90). The effects of over 200 years of material, epistemological and psychological warfare has taken its toll.

The examination by people of their epistemologies and their whakapapa korero is often fraught with challenges including, amongst other things, a re-reading of our histories. This is challenging because for many we find a new world that we know we are connected to but in many cases struggle to comprehend and for which answers and access to knowledge is not always easy to acquire. This re-reading is also emotional and traumatic when we also begin to re-discover what has been hidden and distorted, the past injustices that we have encountered. But from all the ruins of colonialism those of us that are marginalised are able to engage in reclamation, as we become conscientised, that is, critically aware of how we have arrived at where we are and from here we are then able to engage in transformation.

Song (2003:1) argues that the actual range of ethnic identities available to individuals and groups may not wholly be under their control because of the state of different societies. The ability to re-examine and engage in discussions of cultural identity and to enjoy a cultural identity of choice is a deeply political activity that cannot be taken for granted. It often occurs as a minority activity and in opposition to dominant ideologies that seek to ensure the supremacy of their own cultural values and resist and other values that would challenge their dominant positions (Song, 2003). Fanon (1963) explains how claims to a cultural identity may be significantly limited by covert and overt oppression. He details how the effects of colonialism break down the

ability of the colonised to exercise and believe in a sense of inner self, as individuals and groups grapple with acknowledgement, recognition and legitimacy.

While cultural identities are often limited by dominant group ideologies and discourses, (Song, 2003) minorities are not the passive recipients of imposed identities. On the contrary, many ethnic minorities engage in dialectical processes of self categorisation that create internal and external opinions and processes (Nagal, 1994). We select and subscribe to an identity based on what we think our identity is and should be, rather than allowing our identity to be determined by what they, those in positions of dominance, think our identity is and should be (Edwards, 1998). For example, in our local context we have maintained our collective identity as Ngati Maniapoto but within the sub contexts within which we also live we continue to operate as hapu, whanau and marae. Many groups, predominantly those representing Government, have attempted to amalgamate us against our desire as simply an iwi. Whilst we acknowledge our Ngati Maniapoto iwi identity we do not advocate for the dissolution of our hapu, whanau and marae identities and have continued to resist attempts to extinguish those identities in favour of an iwi identity alone.

A further process and practice of cultural conscientiation occurs through interaction with those of similar or same position or with those that have levels of the desired cultural identity, what Nagal (1994) calls 'coethnics.'

When the Maori and Pakeha worlds met, the mode of recording and retelling whakapapa korero was transformed. From the 1930's onwards the mode shifted more dramatically to written form, despite some examples dating back to the mid 1850's. The form for presentation and delivery of whakapapa korero that was previously an integrated knowledge framework of whakapapa accessed through whakapapa korero, was divided into individual units as Pakeha writers sought to understand the world they were viewing with a coloristic gaze. Early ethnographers such as Elsdon Best and Percy Smith are examples of such writers. Maori whakapapa korero was broken up into songs, art, aspects of culture and whakatauki and so on, but ignored the context in which they were applied and their meanings became diluted.

Maori scholars such as Buck and Ngata were influenced by Pakeha writers and were largely writing for Pakeha readers. As such their work was modelled on the lines of Pakeha authors and disconnected the depth of whakapapa korero from the elements they were writing about.

The colonisation of presentation of whakapapa korero occurred with the written word replacing Maori modes of transmission of whakapapa korero so that today it largely appears in a colonised systematic approach with the effect that the term whakapapa became synonymous with lists of ancestors names, without a context for meaning and understanding greatly reducing their value.

Whakapapa Knowledge as Decolonisation

Just as colonisation operates at both a national/regional or individual/community level, decolonisation also occurs at the country/regional level as well as at the community/individual level. Decolonisation at the national/regional level generally refers to a movement following the Second World War in which the various European colonies of the world were granted independence. It began with liberation of India from British rule in 1947, largely through the work of Mahatma Ghandi.

At the individual/community level people critically analyse their context and aspects of living and make conscious decisions for action. This process of reflection and action is what is most commonly known as 'perspective transformation' or 'conscientisation.' The emphasis of decolonisation is conscientising people to the ideologies that cause and maintain injustice and inequality and how this benefits the dominant.

One recent measure (Bennett, 2001) that is being developed to go someway to measuring and supporting the maintenance of cultural identity is Te Hoe Nuku Roa, a longitudinal study being conducted by Massey University that is tracking 700 Maori households over ten years. It measures their aspirations, achievements, concerns and levels of participation in Maori and wider Aotearoa/New Zealand society and suggests that it is possible to classify the research participants by how they identify themselves and their level of access to Maori resources.

Preliminary findings from the study indicate that access is uneven and one result is compromised identity. The study's results to date (Durie, 2003:69) have found that fewer than half of the participants have meaningful access to land, fewer again receive dividends from their lands, and at least one third have no contact with a marae. Less than a quarter possess conversational Maori language skills or minimal knowledge of whakapapa.

The research shows that self-identification by Maori is a preferred determinant of identity rather than descent. Other important indicators include some grasp of language, connection to ancestral lands, knowledge of ancestry, contacts and socialisation with other Maori, closely knit whanau connections and some degree of marae participation are important determinants as assessed by those participants in the study.

In particular, the research showed that a secure identity is compromised by limited and uneven access to such things as marae, elders, whanau, language and land, essential physical and cultural Maori resources. As a result of the lack of access to these resources, secure identity and cultural confidence has been compromised in such a way that only a third of the participants can be said to experience wellbeing (Durie, 2001:197). The research has also highlighted that more than three quarters of participants have indicated that they have strong desires and aspirations for greater participation in te ao Maori and place enormous importance on being Maori.

Engaging with whakapapa knowledge is inherently a consciousness raising activity. As whakapapa knowledge grows, relationships among people and other entities are developed and strengthened. The view of whakapapa knowledge being a consciousness raising shift is powerful for those engaged in the shift as it places those that experience consciousness shifts and 'perspective transformations' (Mezirow, 1991) at the centre of attention and thus moves away from a common focus on the processes of decolonisation which places the coloniser as the centre of attention (Smith, 2003).

Whakapapa Knowledge as Emancipation

The challenge to whakapapa korero and subsequent changes has often lead to mystification, that is, classifying whakapapa and whakapapa korero as tapu and restricted to only a few. Many will have limited knowledge of the depth of whakapapa korero and explain it away as being too tapu to discuss. Others will feel they should have knowledge of whakapapa korero and to save face they will also avoid explanation by classifying the knowledge as too tapu for discussion. Sir Apirana Ngata (1929:8) did not support this practice,

> *In the study of Maori as he was, in the appreciation of what he has become and the assessment of his probable future, I ask students to interest themselves in the genealogical records of the race. They should be collected, tabulated and incorporated among the most valuable of our society.*

The restricted nature of tapu associated with whakapapa korero of a specific group is more correctly associated with use by those that may not be part of the relationship and the possibility that it may get repeated outside the relationship group and presented and interpreted incorrectly. For example, one of my uncles told me that on many occasions people would visit their home to talk with his father, to seek deeper understandings of the Maori world. My uncle's father would often tell those that visited some parts of the actual facts and events but would also amend details so that the researcher never actually got the true story as it was actually known. This was done to preserve the true events and to have them remain with the whanau, in case they might be used for improper purposes including receiving qualifications, studying Maori and presenting us in a negative light of for commercial use.

The ability to acquire, understand and apply whakapapa knowledge is an emancipatory process because the acquisition, understanding and application occurs against a backdrop of critical understandings of our colonial past that has served to deny Maori rights and undermine Maori cultural identity (Awatere, 1984, Edwards, 1998, Takino, 1998). The tohunga, Hikawera Wiremu Mahupuku (1865) in his

introduction to his teaching of ancestral genealogies[77] and the creation of the world, explained how colonial interests served to sever Maori ties with whakapapa knowledge and supplant them with the dominant ideologies of the coloniser so as to remove Maori connection to the mana and mauri of our ancestors described by Stirling (1980).

> *I now write my account of what I heard from my elders when I was young, but I did not get their versions accurately from my two elders because their great fear was that the ministers and mission teachers would banish them to the forested wilderness.[78] The deeds of the ancestors were abominations to the ministers of the Church of England. That was why the old people were afraid and the teachings of the customs and wisdom of the ancestors to their younger generations was ended. Also completely abandoned was the knowledge of those who cared for the ways of the ancestors, their database of the ancestral genealogies and their information on everything. That was why they clearly were not able to tell me what they knew. And so they secretly told me their stories on certain nights, but as for the ancient incantations, they were absolutely unable to recite them because of their deep fear.*

Mahupuku articulates how whakapapa knowledge transmission was interrupted. The tacit approach was to ensure our elders no longer passed on our whakapapa knowledge so that we would not have knowledge of our Maori identity, making us effectively a tree without roots. It is argued here that through reclamation of whakapapa knowledge, emancipation from colonial ideologies, many of them internalised, that 'normal transmission resumes' and the mauri of our ancestors and ourselves as individuals and collectives can flourish so that Maori human potentials can be realised.

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[77] Hikawera was the son of Mahupuku of Ngati Moe and Ngati Kahukuranui. His mother was of Ngati Hikawera. He was also known as Wi Te Weu. He died on the 23rd of October, 1891. This manuscript forms part of the Matahoro recordings of the whare wananga for Kahungunu.

[78] The mission station was regarded as the centre of civilisation and to be asked to leave was to literally return to the subsistence driven wilderness.

The ability of individuals and groups to re-imagine, re-create and re-claim their own self images and identities occurs against a backdrop of ethnic and racial labelling by other groups but is an important activity not only in terms of self determination but also because it has important implications for people's self esteem and their sense of wellbeing (Song, 2003).

The engagement in reclaiming Maori cultural identity by groups and individuals raises awareness of how dominant group norms operate to constrain identity choices and freedom. Reclamation as emancipation and transformation of Maori cultural identity involves alienation from the norm or majority group ideologies, in many cases, to become the object of the dominant group's normative activities when we engage in actions that challenge their positions. Some examples include, when we begin to speak Maori in public, assert our rights and resist injustices with actions such as legislative challenge and when we seek to operationalise our own cultural systems such as marae based justice programmes, to better reflect our epistemologies. Dominant ideologies and their proponents seek to critique and criticise the benefit of such culturally responsive initiatives under the banner of reverse racism, political correctness and money wasting. For example, in our town the council built new sets of public toilets. We asked that the words to identify where each gender entered be written in Maori as 'Wahine' and 'Tane.' Some members of community protested saying it was racist to have only Maori words on the toilet doors. Council was accused of reverse racism and complaints of absurd political correctness were made. Council made the decision not to change the words and they were left in te reo Maori, but this issue is occasionally raised by disgruntled community members.

Although Matiu Rata had established plans for legislation to address Maori concerns over confiscated lands, Te Ao Maori as an object of Pakeha restraint was bought to prominence during the mid 1970's to mid 1980's, when Maori and Pakeha employed tactics including marches and land occupations to raise awareness of the issues of concern to Maori. As a result of these emancipation initiatives, resources were supplied by the Crown leading to the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to hear grievances against the Crown for breaches of justice. A more recent example is the plight of Te Wananga o Aotearoa, a tertiary education organiser established and organised with Maori cultural underpinnings that has its origins within Ngati

Maniapoto, and sought to alleviate Maori unemployment and low educational achievement. In 2003 Te Wananga o Aotearoa became the largest tertiary education provider in New Zealand history. The relative success saw 75% of its courses incurring no student fee and a Pakeha student population of 45%. Due to the phenomenal growth and also a decision to make a political stand against the government, Crown pressure was subtly applied, including the threat of Crown management and closure. This has resulted in the current government seeing fit to review the definition of a 'wananga,' the type of education it should be allowed to provide and which ethnicities should receive a wananga education. This activity has occupied a large amount of the time and energy of the wananga as both it and Maori become the object of ministerial scrutiny and surveillance.

The transformation suggested here is an emancipatory process that comes from being critically aware of how we see ourselves, and how others see us. It is this 'reflected' awareness that has been termed 'perspective transformation' (Mezirow, 1991) or 'problem posing' (Freire, 1970). Mezirow (1991) described his idea of perspective transformation as being an emancipatory process involving becoming critically literate. This entails developing deep understandings of how and why we are constrained by psycho-cultural assumptions that limit how we see ourselves, our relationships with others and how our possibilities and potentials may be limited. Emancipation involves individuals or groups recognising that their dependency on dominant group as the 'norm' is an induced state, a product of oppressive social relations, in this case in the form of colonisation.

I describe four overlapping phases that contribute to emancipatory action and practice in Maori cultural identity. They, in no particular order, are: relocation, reconnection, reclamation and re-identification (Edwards, 1998, 2001).

Relocation involves moving outside the world or settings we know, enlarging our circle or world, to occupy new spaces to contribute to Maori cultural identity. It is about transferring our intellectual, physical and/or emotional selves to new sites and positions. For many, this is exhibited by incorporating the values, beliefs and practices of the Maori world into an individual's culture. It amounts to personal efforts by individuals or groups to move towards and occupy a stronger position within their culture. For example, a friend of mine and his wife had their first child.

Between the birth of the first and second child they relocated their cultural identity to that closer and stronger to Maori cultural identity. When their second child was born, and in contrast to when their first child was born, they took home the afterbirth and buried it in their land by their marae thereby aligning themselves with their Maori cultural identity through the intellectual, physical and emotional processes involved.

Reconnection refers to reciprocal movement by members of the cultural group to join and connect with those seeking to relocate themselves within the culture. Reconnection is used to denote a coming together, a bridging to aid in people's movement to and within their culture. Our family has relocated to our tribal homelands; by so doing we reconnected with people familiar in our cultural language, traditions, life-ways and ancestral lands. This also had all the elements of intellectual, physical and emotional acts.

Reclamation acknowledges that one has always been Maori by right of blood but may not have made claim to that Maori cultural identity. Reclamation involves claiming Maori cultural identity. In our own context we have many marae activities for local fundraising and festival events such as making mussel fritters for the Kawhia kai festival, cooking a hangi for the New Years day celebrations and marae sports. Additionally marae hold events such as wananga reo, wananga raranga, wananga waka and wananga rongoa as ways of reclaiming whakapapa knowledge and advancing our cultural identities.

Reidentification is an acknowledgment of the previous three stages and signals a new state of being for an individual or group. To reidentify is to make a change in one's identity that is backed up by a commitment to live and work for this new position. As whakapapa has always been present in me and although I have not always seen myself as Maori my whakapapa essence was intact and waiting for me to relocate, reconnect, reclaim and reidentify who I and we are. While these views as presented here seem relatively straight forward it is most often complex, painful, challenging and costly (Durie, 1997).

Whakapapa Knowledge as Power

Immersed within whakapapa knowledge is Maori super structure or ideology that illuminates the world in meaningful ways. It also acts as a shield, as a tool for psychological resistance (Nandy, 1983:xii) to the negative effects of ideologies that serve coloniser's interests in invalidating or relegating to inferior, ideas of Maori epistemology and worldview. Whakapapa knowledge provides catalyst for the reacquisition of lands, of territory and resources. Increased understanding of Maori identity is achieved through whakapapa knowledge and supports understandings of Maori ideology. In our own context the ability to reconnect and relate to our histories, environments, people and events has helped to provide understanding as to why we think and act the way we do and has informed the development of our identities as we meet our obligations and responsibilities to our collective identity. From the development of this ability has grown our understanding, comprehension and application of Maori ideology and worldview to continue to maintain those elements of our hapu, whanau and iwi identity.

Maori epistemology and culture becomes a powerful agent of resistance in the post-colonial context of Aotearoa/New Zealand. Understanding of Maori ideology further draws on and serves deeper understandings of Maori identities via the ability to 'read' the implicit assumptions and inferences of the Maori world. Whakapapa knowledge becomes a conductor of ideology in a very effective way, when its workings are least visible. With the assumptions and inferences grounded firmly in a sound cultural rationale encapsulated in Maori values including advancing the mana of others and supporting others, the ability to manipulate the meaning and rationale into a discourse that supports unequal power relations is reduced as these values based understandings are commonly understood and interpreted.

Whakapapa korero plays an important role in identity and as such knowledge and understanding of whakapapa korero, language and identity are markers of relative power and powerlessness. Whakapapa korero has served some Maori in reclaiming lands, resources and territory. In our own context the access to whakapapa knowledge has served to assist us in returning to our tribal and whanau lands, stories, histories, sites of our ancestral cultural identity and has bought us into intimate relationship with our elders, tupuna and knowledge systems. Also in our own context there are similar

examples of our people who have reclaimed forestry, fisheries and other resources as part of the acquisition of whakapapa korero that has supported their cultural identity and wellbeing.

Reclaiming indigenous knowledge systems such as whakapapa korero, supports the reclamation of resilience and self-reliance of Maori and underscores the importance of our own philosophies. This helps fill ethical and knowledge voids in non-Maori systems and the recent increased interest in Maori knowledge systems has also served to question the universal dominance of eurocentric knowledge.

The examination, rangahau and reclamation of indigenous knowledge and epistemology such as whakapapa korero is most certainly about power, control and knowledge. The ability to examine, rangahau and reclaim gives us the ability to construct 'truth' for ourselves rather than living under and subject to the 'truth' of others. In controlling 'truth' we are better able to determine and control our own social, political, cultural and economic worlds. Persuading society that a prevailing ideology, one that maintains the dominant position of the dominant group is normal and right involves maintaining power. This requires repression but all the controlling of knowledge, particularly what knowledge counts and what counts as knowledge and who can say so. To counter this oppression, engaging in counter-hegemonic activity that attacks, resists and counters the ideological dominance of other's knowledge is a recommended approach. It requires those of us subjugated to speak for ourselves and to normalise that view amongst groups. This knowledge and view, I believe, is located within whakapapa korero and so whakapapa korero also includes a counter hegemonic agenda that challenges dominant group ideologies and provides other narratives to live by. The acquisition or reclamation of power entails resistance (Foucault, 1980).

The challenge for a resistance strategy is that in de-colonising we don't inadvertently take over the hegemonic function of the hegemonic colonial and imperialist culture (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999:90). In this regard the aims are to allow Maori consciousness and conscious activity to be liberated and central to thought and action as part of a de-colonised society rather than a racialised culture. This idea is similar to that of Fanon (1964) who argued for a new national culture and in our situation the

disappearance of the current ideology of domination that subverts the potentials and possibilities for and of Maori.

To achieve a new culture without becoming hegemonic oppressors ourselves, as described by Fanon and Memmi, is possible by the use of non-coercive knowledge that motivates and counters dominant narratives and ideologies. Whakapapa korero knowledge is one way. It is in the very use of whakapapa korero and the act of maintaining, enhancing and advancing Maori cultural identity that constitutes freedom because we are what we make of ourselves, even in the context of and as subjects to oppressive discourses. Fanon (1986:231) explains this;

> *It is through the effort to recapture the self and to scrutinize the self; it is through the lasting tension of their freedom that men will be able to create the ideal conditions of existence for a human world.*

Whakapapa Knowledge as Transformation

The meaning and use of the term transformation varies widely depending on the audience and stakeholders (Obikeze, 2003, Mwamwenda & Vera, 1999). In the context applied here transformation entails creating something new or different through reconfiguring or remoulding the constituent elements of the old. Transformation as applied here is revolutionary in nature and supports growing paradigm shifts in indigenous communities to support indigenous epistemologies. Transformation of this nature occurs as a result of calls and actions for the abandonment of colonialism and imperialism in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Transformation continues past the path of decolonisation that 'shielded and protected the western knowledge systems from impartial scrutiny and evaluation' (Obikeze, 2003).

To successfully engage in transformation and to occupy new powerful positions many of us must first overcome the colonial mindset that we have internalised and within which we are professionally trained. The often-quoted words of the late reggae musician Bob Marley echo powerfully for those who have and may still be in a position of a colonised internal mindset;

Emancipate yourself from mental slavery, none but ourselves can free our minds.

The colonisation patterns of domination that are features of Aotearoa/New Zealand do not differ greatly to those that occurred in other colonised lands. Socio-political control was secured via pacification with a combination of treaty, military, parliamentary and legislative measures that supported the appropriation of land and resources together with cultural genocide[79] (Churchill, 1997) via assimilationist practices that resulted in and continue to support under development of Maori.

The term genocide chosen here is emotive in contemporary contexts quite rightly for its association with atrocities committed against the Jewish people by Nazis. However this term is equally applicable to the position indigenous peoples the world over have been and are in currently. An examination of the ideas of genocide feature prominently in the works and discussions by Native American activist Ward Churchill. A quick exploration will show that the term was coined by Raphael Lempkin, as the architect of the United Nations resolution on The Convention on the prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, that was adopted in late 1948. It was influenced by his earlier 1944 work, Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. The official recognised treaty confined its consideration solely to physical genocide with the convention defining genocide as referred to by Churchill (1997);

> … any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, such as:
> - Killing members of the group.
> - Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group.

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[79] Churchill (1997:432) describes the distinction between the contemporary understandings of genocide as predicated by Nazi Germany, compared to the definition sought by the terms originator, Raphael Lempkin. In the original intention that was described and drafted by Lempkin for the United Nations convention for the Punishment of the Crime of Genocide three forms of genocide were detailed, physical, biological and cultural. Cultural genocide was described as 'the destruction of the specific character of the targeted group(s) through destruction or expropriation of its means of economic perpetuation, prohibition or curtailment of its language, suppression of its religious, social or political practices, destruction or denial of use and access to sacred or socio-cultural significance, forced dislocation, expulsion or dispersal of its members. Forced transfer or removal of its children, or any other means.' After a number of iterations and against a backdrop of protests from some member countries only biological genocide remained to form the convention.

- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or part.
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group.
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

The fact that the application was limited to physical acts rather than the fuller application as envisaged by Lempkin arose primarily because the 20 member nations that signed the convention would have found themselves having contravened it had it been applied with its full intent. Lempkin's desire and application sought to include non-physical acts of genocide, primarily psychological. This he himself defines as;

> *Generally speaking, genocide does not mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups. Genocide is directed against the individuals, not in the individual capacity, but as members of the national group.*
>
> Cited in Churchill (1997:70)

Whakapapa korero serves to 'heal' many of the ills that plague Maori society. Maori, in contrast to western theory and practice do not separate spiritual and psychological reality. Whakapapa korero directly addresses many problems faced by Maori hapu and whanau today. For example, a severe form of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Ehrenreich, 2003) exists among Maori that is intergenerational due to colonial incursions into Maori hapu and whanau with resultant fragmentation, dislocation and disconnection. A result has been the inability, in many cases of the ability of Maori hapu and whanau to 'be in harmony' (Duran & Duran, 1995) with life

processes. Duran & Duran call this loss of vital harmony as 'soul wound.' In a Maori context it might be referred to as 'mate wairua', the death and loss of the vital Maori essence within an individual or group.

Black civil rights leader Malcolm X identified a key theme of the trauma of colonial oppression associated with dislocation and disconnection is what he termed 'self hate' in relation to black identity in the United States. He argued that the self hate of the oppressed had to be replaced with self love and a self respect for an oppressed culture, heritage and identity to positively attach to. He argued and I agree that this type of self love will only come with a knowledge of our identity, knowledge and histories so that we do not become what Malcolm called 'culturally dead,' a group alienated from our identities and each other. This view acknowledges the points raised to this point that freedom, unity, love and knowledge are inexplicably linked (Cone, 1991).

Meaningful relocation, reconnection, reclamation and re-identification via engagement with whakapapa korero knowledge helps to ensure that the vibrancy and essence of Maori epistemology as evidenced in culture is not extinguished, that buildings are patterned, that streets are named, that vegetation reflects the indigenous culture of this land and that the connections have meaning and relevance and do not merely serve as some memorial to a long dead people.

Concluding discussion

This chapter has discussed the place and relevance of culture and in particular Maori cultural identity, to contemporary times. It has explained that European imperialism has provided a privileged position for western epistemology and ideology and given the appearance of universality and truth that has advanced European colonial identities and constructed them as dominant. The western supremacy has resulted out of historical military, economic and political power. This position has therefore not been objectively situated in World history due to the conflict of interest in decision making. The continued challenges to and demise of colonialism and imperialism in their ever-changing shapes offers critical individuals and groups with opportunities to critique, review and transform basic assumptions and epistemologies on which the pervading western knowledge systems are founded as well as their use and relevance in the lives of Maori New Zealanders.

This privileged position has resulted in the development of pressures and stressors that are currently faced by Maori culture. Elements of maintaining, enhancing and advancing positive cultural identities that include ideas of whanaungatanga, place and environment and the relationship to both whakapapa korero and whakapapa knowledge have been examined as critical and valuable responses to this state and as supportive of maintaining, enhancing and advancing Maori cultural identities.

What is clear is that Maori may need and choose to understand western society but not at the expense at what we already know or what we didn't know we knew and the ways we have come to know it. We must re-member; we must re-visit (k)new knowledge and sew together the component parts of our truths, our knowing, and our being to navigate us into the future in order that that we walk forward by facing backwards. Only by re-membering our past truths and our past realities will we successfully guide ourselves into the future. To do this we will need to reconvene our members, re-member our collectives via similar shared truths, shared realities and shared being. Economic and social development will mean little for Maori if no room is left for strengthening Maori cultural identity and Maori cultural heart (Durie, 1998:52). A return to the roots of our histories with developing and deepening understandings will provide us with k(new) libratory frameworks for our futures.

KOWAE TEKAU MA RIMA
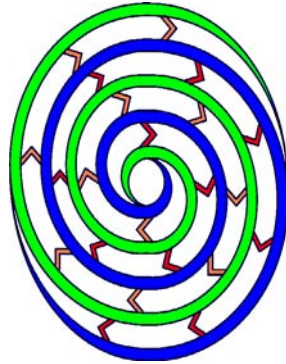
Toia mai i te waka.   Pulling the Waka Ashore: 'Authentic' Maori Cultural Identity.

Introduction

The previous chapter briefly introduced the idea of authentic cultural identities. This chapter seeks to examine the idea of culture and authenticity in greater detail examining notions of authenticity and the relationship to identity. Cultural definitions of identity are problematic in that they function to exclude at least certain claimants to a particular identity. Whereas a person may easily negotiate a legitimate biological definition of identity they may not be able to do so when measured against a cultural standard. Many of the reasons for the intra-ethnic dynamics are more to do with the definitions, who is defining whom and for what reasons rather than the individuals themselves. This chapter examines the idea of cultural identity, its problematic nature and its relation to Maori identity.

The 'authentic'

Earlier on I elaborated on the ideas of authenticity highlighted by Smith (1999) and noted that this discourse is commonly encountered and predominantly attached to indigenous peoples (McConaghy, 2000) and in many cases is used by others to attack ideas of indigenous and original inhabitants but still lacks any real solutions, if any at all do exist, and is a political agenda that non-Maori do not experience to the same degree as Maori (Cook-Lynn, 2001). Ideas of authenticity automatically raise ideas of inauthentic.   The positioning of the binary authentic/inauthentic also leads into discussions of more/less than authentic and positions and degrees of authenticity.

Much of the 'authentic' discourse can be traced back to the 'othering' of indigenous peoples by non-indigenous explorers, anthropologists and western science. For example, the biological determinism of determining identity as part of the caste system referred to earlier served to create degrees of Maoriness so that the ideas of authenticity could have space to operate.

Ideas of authenticity are often deployed as an agenda for control by limiting numbers who can be said to be able to engage and contest issues of concern to indigenous people so as to minimise voice. In a democratically dominated world where number and volume as elements of western science expressed as quantity have meaning and primacy the ability to limit and control quantity allows control to operate.

A further aim of agendas of authentic determinism is to ensure that divide and conquer strategies can be applied so that the collective becomes divided and implodes with infighting and self destruction. Common mechanisms include the use of supplanting indigenous ideas of collectivity and respect with ideas of share value and revenue so that the smaller the numbers of authentics the greater the share of profits for those that do 'count' (Houkamau, 2006).

Culture is most commonly used as an authenticity determinant. This use is most commonly laid in covertly by the dominant constructions of what culture is and what cultural elements count in determining authenticity. A language exists round this idea. Words such as traditional, non-traditional, urban, rural, pan tribal and pan iwi are common terms associated with what I term authentic culturalism, that is, culture employed and distorted to exclude and marginalise, more commonly encountered with dominant group agenda. Additionally changes in the nature of identity need to be considered for impact when minority groups operate within a larger group or nation. In this context, identities, particularly cultural identities face re-evaluation as to definitions and value and in many cases face pressures and stresses for existence, what O'Regan (2001:91) calls 'boundary maintenance.' Within this discussion boundaries are reshaped based on fluidity and self determination combined with features as guides for identity level categorisation rather than erosion and politics of

exclusion that support dominant group agendas of divisiveness for the maintenance of power and control.

These 'more authentic than thou' regimes allows the claim to privileges to the truth to operate and meanwhile imposes a guilty silence on others. The use of systems of shame and humiliation as a hegemonic agenda that becomes internalised as symbolic violence is a powerful weapon for control. The shame and humiliation experienced by many Maori who confess to, for example, not being able to speak Maori, not knowing who they are or where they are from serve to ensure that the victim continues to blame themselves so as to limit legitimate attempts to critique the domination of the 'master.' Shame requires a disempowered and subjugated other to advance the disempowerment and an audience as judge that legitimises both the shame and the judges as part of a system of disempowering.

Bell (2004:32) argues that ideas of 'authentic' are complex with multiple and diverse meanings and sit within essentialist ideas of identity that are exclusionary. Bell highlights that the most commonsense definition of authentic is genuineness, of course and as she highlights anything that is different become disingenuous and raises more questions than it is able to answer. Bell highlights that there is strong connection between these essentialist paradigms and colonisation and colonial ideology that should offer stark warning for those of us working in the area of cultural identity. She identifies a key challenge that essentialist thinking perpetuates colonial oppression and that we need to look elsewhere to construct and conceptualise identities. I support these ideas and advance that diverse identities that maintain powerful links to whakapapa korero and whakapapa knowledge can be achieved and are important in our wellbeing.

Many attempts to measure or classify degrees of Maoriness have and are occurring and have been met with contention and challenge as this work is highly political and complex (Ogden, et al., 2003). In saying this one measure and approach that has been advanced is that of enculturation and what Houkamau (2006) articulates as a 'cultural view of identity.' As Marsden (1986:1) reminds us, it is important that amongst other things we remember that Maoritanga is also a thing of the heart rather than the head and Walker (1981) highlights that whilst a physical base exists in ethnic identity

strong and powerful elements of the spiritual dimension of our identities exits in relation to marae and ancestral relationships with others, land and story and events. These examples advance and support Houkamaus' (2006) views that the more Maori can connect to cultural elements of their identity the more powerful that identity is. I have argued here earlier that whakapapa korero and whakapapa knowledge are very powerful catalysts for this strengthened connection. What all these authors do agree on however is that cultural identity is a primary contributor to wellbeing and that Maori development will include elements of acquiring cultural identity (Cribb, 2006).

Ideologies expressed as patterns of belief inform the identities of individual and groups such that when a certain sub-section of any particular group no longer follows that pattern of belief, or no longer exhibits the characteristics determined as having high value by the pervading ideology discussions of authentic membership are often called into being (Billig, 1995). McConaghy (2000) also writes about ideas of authentic when she labels 'aboriginalism' as a process of constructing normative or prescriptive statements about being 'real' aboriginal.

What is clear from this debate is that there is still much discussion to occur to examine ideas of who counts, how and who says so. Ideas such as Garoutte (2003) put forward that authentic identity requires relationship to ancestry and responsibility to reciprocity to the culture and group with which membership is claimed are examples of arguments that are receiving growing interest and worthy of further exploration. Furthermore Eden Charles' (2007) recent works in the examination of the operationalisation of African epistemologies and new approaches to alleviate oppressive practices of many kinds offers further advances on this area. Charles contributes two key approaches that may have benefit in the examination of authenticism. He identifies and introduces the idea of 'guiltless recognition' and societal re-identification,' both intimately related as part of a perception of self that is distinct within but not isolated from the idea of collectivity. Guiltless recognition is described as an approach that allows us to move away from blame and guilt that acts to maintain separation and close down potentials and possibilities. Societal recognition allows the individual to take up and maintain positions unique to self but within the collective grouping as a just position. Charles sees these as strategic moves

and epistemological projects that move away from attempts to severe colonial thought as such and to gain and open up potentials for being.

In summing up, it is important that we take care as indigenous minorities that we do not engage in our own regimes of othering that validates or authenticates one over another lest we disenfranchise and depower our collective strengths and in so doing replicate hierarchies of knowledge and people along with it.

Cultural Identity

Cultural identity is complex, dynamic, multidimensional and multifaceted (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Bennett, 2001) but in general focuses on aspects of human behaviour and social identity (Garroutte, 2003:73) and is informed by culture that is both a function of and source of identity (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia (1999:90). Aspects such as what people do regularly and on-goingly inform views on 'authentic' cultural behaviours. For example, in the Maori context possible cultural standards of identity include fluency level in te reo Maori, relative connectedness to marae and traditional lands. Cultural definitions have strength when they are based on a people's own definitions of themselves (Durie, 2003).

I argue that Maori cultural identities are collective; they are social and express what we do. The social world within which identities are constructed is strongly discursive and so too is identity. In Maori contexts cultural definitions have been played out at two levels occurring simultaneously. At these levels identity is based on exhibiting features perceived to be indicators of levels of authenticity such as te reo and kapahaka or by current residence in tribal lands and length of residence. This has value but also is restrictive when we realise that a large part of the Maori population may not have language fluency, may not have regular access to marae and may not have access or connection to traditional lands that is not necessarily of their own doing. In this case, those that do not exhibit perceived cultural features and who have limited knowledge of, and access to, ancestral homelands, are the most disadvantaged.

Hoskins (2007) in regards to these points details that;

Identity is central to psychological function and is of increased importance for members of displaced ethnic or indigenous groups. Low self esteem, a sense of lack of belonging, and discrimination can combine to erode identity (Phinney, 1990). Such negative impacts on identity are increased when coupled with alienation from culture and environment and are therefore of particular interest for Maori living in areas that are physically and culturally foreign to them.

Acknowledging these complex discursive realities also highlights that attempts to define entities are by the very existence of definitions inclusive of some and exclusive of others. Definitions act to attempt to signal a set of inherent attributes, conditions and characteristics that are required to be evidenced by certain quantities or qualities for that entity to be included or excluded from a definition. The difficulty in determining definitions is that this activity is very subjective and an area highly charged with power that can be enacted to advantage some and not others. These discussions are largely considered issues of 'authenticity' in the current context.

Smith (1999:72-75) examines issues of authenticity and their tendency to be constructed as exclusive and elaborates on its contested nature as it relates to cultural identity. She highlights the mechanisms for attempts at determining authenticity. Structures such as forums, advisors, elders that seek to make judgments as to what may or may not be authentic. In these discussions she reminds us that inevitably the historical interpretations are called into play implicit with their 19th century racial over and under tones. She highlights that as part and parcel of this project different peoples are privileged and some are silenced or invalidates from existence. The mis-appropriation of the term, context and meaning of authentic is a project that the west has owned and privileged. The idea of authentic was used to validate indigenous existence, rights and being where it was under attack from the west. It was colonised by the west for a reference point of measuring who could be counted as authentic and who could not as an attempt to dislocate and dis-empower indigenous peoples. Smith highlights that the west finds this most simply possible in contemporary contexts through biological essentialism rather than as a function of culture because culture is far harder to control and dominate.

Whilst descent is most commonly accepted by most people as a valid reference point of a degree of authenticity views as to authenticity are most sharply divided about whether ties by affiliation with a kaupapa or purpose as against affiliation by strength of whakapapa (descent) knowledge, affiliation and involvement at the tribal level (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999:143). In Aotearoa/New Zealand this is most commonly coined as the urban/rural argument or the pan-tribal/tribal argument.

This has divided Maori and in some cases resulted in questionable practices associated with identifying as Maori and the issues of 'cultural accounting' (Warren, 2001) and 'ethnic fraud' (Wilson, 200483).

The division as to the respective rights of urban and rural Maori and the exhibition of cultural features often show themselves in the divisive comments of Maori as we refer to each other when referencing relative levels of Maori identity based on cultural traits, connectedness and blood quantum. These ideas have manifested themselves in classifications and descriptions that serve to belittle many people who are Maori so as to serve others interests and definitions of what counts as Maori identity. For example, terms such as 'plastic or tupperware Maori,' 'born again Maori,' 'riwai,' (Gadd, 1981:15) 'kumara's,' 'bounty bars,' 'cameo crèmes' and 'mallow puffs[80]' are common phrases applied to those Maori not perceived to be culturally literate, as well as 'pa Maori' and 'lost Maori' referring to rural and urban Maori respectively. In international circles the use of the term 'genetic indigene,' and 'genetic Indian' are used to refer to those people who have ancestors who were indigenous but are no longer connected as strongly themselves are to their ancestral identity (Wilson, 2004:76).

It is easy to see how the dynamics of cultural identity as described above are played out when stereotypes are at work to determine what and who is authentic and what and who is not. In the current times of the world it is very difficult to separate the local world from global influences. As a result Maori cultural identity and that of other indigenous people is now negotiated in an increasingly global world. Therefore,

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[80] The items mentioned here are references to foodstuffs that are essentially brown on the outside but have a white inner. It is a representation of a person being brown in skin colour but their essence is essentially non-Maori.

Maori cultural identity is very much 'an act of political will,' (Ashcroft & Ahluwalia, 1999:12) and establishing positive difference and making the voice heard to assert the identification.

Maori cultural identity

As witnessed by the above discussion ideas about what is authentic Maori cultural identity are hugely problematic and stem from ideas of what makes or who is a Maori. The problem is compounded when we acknowledge that culture and identity are dynamic and constantly in flux and fluidity. As well, culture and identity develop within contexts of time, location, experience and environment so that any standard for identification will always be subject to debate and change. Further, complexity is increased when we add in the relationship of cultural identity to ideas of political and social identities (O'Reagan, 2001).

Many recent attempts to define Maori and indigenous cultural identity have stemmed out of a need for cultural survival against the continued backdrop of systematic colonial invasion. The arguments of authentic cultural identity and rights have received recent prominence with the return to Maori of assets most commonly in the form of cash, land and quotas as compensation for crimes committed by the Crown as the result of violation of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. Indeed, it can be argued that Article 2 of the 1840 Treaty confers upon the Crown its responsibility to act to protect Maori interests (Durie, 1989) and that supporting Maori desires to retain our cultural identity falls into this category (Durie, 1997).

The compensation returns have required Maori to identify and be recognised as a member of a participating tribe or group. For many Maori this has meant struggling to be recognised as eligible, not on their ancestral connections but rather that as a group they operate as an iwi would by function. As discussed, in many cases this depth of connection has occurred due to long periods of living in lands outside their ancestral origins or due to an interruption to the knowledge of and participation at the tribal level. Conversely many rural Maori feel that their share and interests are primary, as they have continued to occupy their tribal lands and not left.

The ability to maintain connections with ancestral lands is indeed a treasure that not all Maori enjoy and this fact alone leaves many Maori, both rural and urban feeling disappointed. Maori proverb accentuates the value of being connected and able to maintain ancestral and connections;

Hei kona koutou, tena he kura kainga e rokohanga.

Farewell to you, I shall go home.

Those that are able to return home are contrasted with those unable to return home. In this circumstance the ability to return home is counted as a great treasure and privilege. However, this view acknowledges that cultural identities develop in relation to environmental forces round them and that as the environs change, particularly environments of a collective, so to does the identities inhabiting the environment (O'Regan, 2001). DuBois discusses this element in some detail and introduces an idea that Maori can relate to easily. That idea is 'double consciousness.' This idea relates to what I also call binary identities and that can in some contexts lead to what I have spoken of earlier here of cultural schizophrenia. Double consciousness refers to dual identities based on contemporary and historical or ancestral identities and their relative multiple consciousnesses. This idea highlights that our identities are fractured by gender, class, spirituality, religion and geographic realities such as urban and rural dwelling (DuBois, 1953).

At another level cultural accounting (Warren, 2001) is a frequent occurrence whereby many Maori strategically 'select' their identity because of the tribal assets that a particular identity secures. I can recall being at an educational grant ceremony for my own people and was surprised to see people who I was attending university with receiving grants but yet I had never heard them acknowledge the tribe that they were receiving the support from but rather had heard them claim a different identity. On closer examination they made it clear that they had selected an identity in this case because of the access to cash that it provided.

Eligibility in our tribe has recently been tightened requiring people to register on the Tribal Beneficiary Roll. Many of our people do not place themselves on the roll. Not

because they do not share the ancestry but rather because they do not prefer to be identified as a 'beneficiary.'

Another challenge to the authenticity of tribal identities is that iwi identities were not the pre-eminent form of social structure in 1840 from where the majority of contemporary iwi assets stem from, hapu were. The allocation to iwi is more of a convenience tool for the Crown (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999:143) and as Hall (1998:7) refers to it, 'Maori colonialism.'

For many, concerns about a group's ethnic heritage and authenticity are pressing. This is especially true for Maori who have had their cultural identity covertly and overtly suppressed. For many Maori the idea of authentic identity has created levels of acknowledgment and acceptance that has served to include and exclude others. The level of inclusion and exclusion in Maori society are static and depend on individual and group perspectives.

Song (2003:48) points out those ideas of expectations of dominant modes of behaviour are linked to views of cultural authenticity. Appiah (1996) labels these expectations of dominant modes of behaviour as 'scripts of behaviour.' The scripts are largely unique to a particular group and both explicitly and implicitly stipulate certain behaviours or adherences to particular cultural aspects or values as necessary for qualification. Scripts to do not refer to performance but do act as rather crude and narrow prescriptions of behaviour for identity and group qualification.

Further pressure is exerted as minority groups attempt to maintain their position through ideas of unity. The ideas of unity ultimately mean that some people are excluded if their perceived choices run contrary to ideas of what group norms require or where personal choices are perceived as selfish or disloyal. The loyalty factor is seen by many as a moral requirement. The moral bind this imposes on many Maori is that it limits freedom of choice and places those affected with difficult choices such as friends, clothing, and speech and affects every aspect of social life as they are required to toe the political and social line (Appiah, 1996:104). A common response from those who find little room for cultural manoeuvre is that they opt out of their

culture (Song, 2003:57). Appiah (1996:104) argues that this 'ideological noose' is counter-constructive to emancipation.

> *Racial identity can be the basis of resistance racism, but even as we struggle against racism – and though we have made great progress, we have further still to go, let us not let our racial identities subject us to new tyrannies.*

This does not mean that scripts of behaviour or the attempts through cultural standards are solely negative. They provide a strong basis for unification through basis of common belief and behaviour that act as a melding force against dominant discourses. They also provide a sense of security and provide a basis for ownership of their group culture.

What is occurring is a large growing number of 'skilled cultural navigators' (Song, 2003:106) who operates effectively 'between two cultures' (Watson, 1977, Anwar, 1998) and what is now termed 'hybridity (Song, 2003). This position though is achieved, in most cases, only after facing a large number of personal hurdles as identities and conflicts are negotiated. There are also a large number of people that face cultural conflict and cultural schizophrenia as they deal with trying to live in two societies simultaneously.

Regardless of the positive and negatives of authenticity the idea of authenticity is flaw given the continuing fluid and over lapping nature of culture together with the differences in norms as determined by individuals and groups belonging to a cultural identity.

Concluding Discussion

This chapter has examined constructions of cultural identity and its problematic nature. It appears that definitions of cultural identity pose an insoluble dilemma. What is clear is that unless Maori are prepared to forego cultural definitions altogether we must still answer how closely Maori can reflect each other and Non-Maori to remain distinct and embody distinct identities. Does the loss of land, language, blood, spirituality and other cultural elements effectively mean our Maori identity does not

exist (as the Courts ruled in the United States and Canada)? These questions remain unanswered and are worthy of wider study and scholarship.

In line with the takarangi idea our journey has taken us into discussion waters (often repeated and returned conversations) examining the space and place of whakapapa in the widest possible sense and its relationship to knowledge and cultural identities, primarily from within and through a Ngati Maniapoto context and view using the accumulated wisdoms of elders and environments to inform the ideas.

The journey has involved discussions of methodology, ethics and tikanga, research and rangahau and has utilised the takarangi idea to critique, to remain grounded, to reflect and regularly return to previous ideas as part of a grounded approach to knowledge and cultural identity. These ideas have been represented in the context of whakapapa korero and whakapapa knowledge using a relatively new contribution called Whakapapa Korero Methodology to underpin this work. The implications of whakapapa knowledge and whakapapa korero have been examined and advanced as supporting positive cultural identity and wellbeing.

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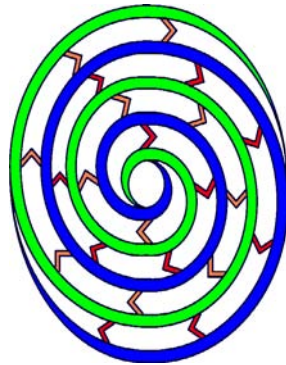
Karakia mutunga: Summary and conclusions.

The inaugural World Council for Indigenous peoples (WCIP) held in British Columbia in 1975, some 30 years ago, poignantly summarised the views, dreams and aspirations of many indigenous peoples, the opportunity for this desire to be a reality is still, unfortunately, a work in progress but within each individual and group the dream may still be a reality.

> We are the Indigenous Peoples of the Earth,
>> We are proud of our Past,
>> Our lives were one with the Earth,
>> Our hearts were one with the Land,
>> We walked in Beauty and Strength and Humbleness,
> We shared our path through life with all that was on the earth
>> and most of all with each other,
> We developed the inside of our lives, and our relationships with the world
>> around us,
> Then other people came to our lands,
> Then others did not know our ways,
> They took from us our lands, our lives and our children,
> But they could not take from us our Memory of what we had been,
>> Now we know that many of us remain,
> Together we can help each other regain our dignity and pride,
> ….so we can once again walk in Beauty and Strength.

WAHANGA TUAWHA

TAU KI UTA: STORING THE WAKA
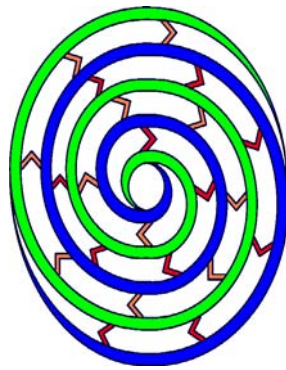
WAHANGA TUAWHA: PART FOUR **TAU KI UTA: STORING THE WAKA:**

Papa kupu: **Glossary of Maori terms.**

Rarangi pukapuka: **Bibliography.**

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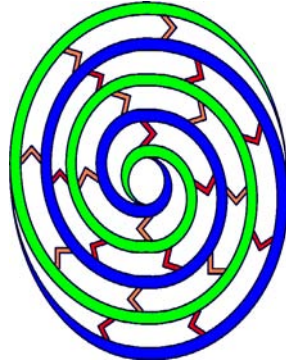
Ahi ka	the place where the fire was ignited, referring to occupation
Aho	thread
Ahuatanga	appearance
Ao	world, universe
Ao Turoa	future, that that lies in front of us
Apakura	lament
Aroha	love, compassion, focus of attention
Aronga Maori	Maori worldview
Atua	deity
Hapu	a group of connected families
Harakeke	flax
Heke iho	descending to
Hononga	a join, a connection to other entities
Hui	gathering
Hura kohatu	unveiling
Ihi	inspiration
Inoi	prayer

Ira Atua	spiritual element of human essence
Ira Tangata	human element of human essence
Iwi	a group of connected hapu
Kai tamariki	children's tales
Kaihautu	steerer or leader
Kaikorero	speaker
Kainga	referring to the place where food stocks were
Kaitiakitanga	stewardship
Kaka (from ta moko)	a specific design of ta moko
Kakano	seed
Karakia	clearing process
Karanga	call
Kararehe	animal
Kaumatua	acknowledged leader
Kaupapa	issue, topic, subject, matter
Kauae raro	metaphorical reference to levels of knowledge
Kauae runga	metaphorical reference to levels of knowledge
Kawa	local way of doing things
Kawai	line of descent
Koha	gift
Koiwi	bones
Koki	dried shark liver
Korero ahiahi	fireside story
Korero takurua	winters tale
Korero tito	fictitious story

Korero whaihanga	made up story
Koroneihana	coronation
Koru	fern frond or new shoot of a plant
Kowhaiwhai	script writing
Kuia	acknowledged leader
Mahi	activity
Mahinga kai	garden
Mana	esteem
Manaaki	to uplift
Manuwhiri/manuhiri	visitors
Marae	place for gathering
Maramatanga	understanding, enlightenment, wisdom
Matao	cold
Matauranga	knowledge
Matekite	visionary
Matua	uncle
Mauri	life essence, life force
Mirimiri	massage
Moana	sea
Moemoea	dream
Mohio	to know
Mohiotanga	depths of knowing
Moko (ta)	tattoo
Mokopuna	grandchild
Motakiora	Wellbeing

Muka	flax fibre
Nako	main part
Ngahere	forest
Ngati Maniapoto	a King Country iwi
Ngoikore	listless
Noa	unrestricted access
Oranga	health
Oriori	lullaby
Pa	fortified abode
Pakeha	European
Paru	dirt
Patere	taunting songs
Pekapeka	branches
Pia	student learner
Pakiwaitara	'fictitious' story
Poroporoaki	farewell tribute
Poupou	carved post or pillar
Poutama	ascending pathway
Powhiri/pohiri	ceremonial joining of two or more distinct groups
Pukorero/manu korero/maunga korero	proficient and knowledgeable speaker
Puna	spring
Purakau	story
Putake	cause
Rahui	conservational recess
Rangahau	original scholarly enquiry and endeavour informed by Maori worldview

Rangi	sky
Raranga	to weave
Riwai	potato
Rongo momoe	sleep songs
Rua kumara	kumara planting areas
Taiao	environment
Ta moko	body tattoo
Tangata	one person
Taangata	two or more people
Tangi	to grieve or weep, the process of grieving, weeping
Taniko	lattice work
Taonga	treasure
Taotahi	names on lines of whakapapa without showing partners names
Tapu	restricted access
Taro	a vegetable plant
Tatai	star pathway, genealogical connections.
Tauira	student
Tautoko	support
Te ao hurihuri	contemporary times
Te ao Maori	the Maori world
Tiaki	care for
Tika	correct
Tikanga	appropriate ways of doing things
Tipuna/tupuna	ancestor

Titaha	lay flat
Titiro	look
Tohi	acknowledgement and naming ceremony
Tohunga ahurewa	highest level of spiritual leader
Tongi/Tongi kura	a visionary statement by a person of high rank.
Tono	request
Toto	blood
Tuhituhi	drawing
Tuki	paddlers songs
Tukutuku	a karakia for providing protection and care
Tuna	eel
Tupapaku	deceased body
Tura momoe	sleeping songs
Turangawaewae	abode, platform
Uira	lightning
Ukaipo	a reference to a place of birth where the young was suckled in the night
Utu	achieving and maintaining balance
Waiata	song
Wairua	spiritual essence
Waka	boat or vehicle
Wananga	focussed approach to an issue or topic
Wehi	awe
Whaea	Aunty
Whai	string games
Whaiaipo	sweetheart

Whaikorero	formal oratory
Whakaaraara pa	watchmans songs
Whakaheke	descending down to
Whakahihi	insolent
Whakairo	carving, predominantly in wood
Whakaiti	humble, respectful
Whakanui	make acknowledgment of
Whakama	embarrassed, shamed
Whakarongo	listen
Whakatauaki	proverbial saying where the author is known
Whakatauki	proverbial saying where the author is unknown
Whanau	family
Whanaungatanga	establishing and connections and relationships
Whatukura	a group of male deities or males of very high rank
Whenua	a reference to human after birth and land
Wiriwiri	shake

RARANGI PUKAPUKA
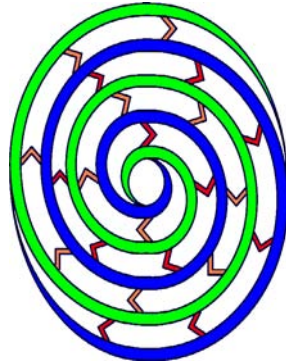
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