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Key Concepts in Māori and Iwi Histories:

A Critique of *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree

of

Master of Arts

at

The University of Waikato

by

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2022

Abstract

In 2019, the New Zealand government announced a “reset” of the national history curriculum, with the intention of including more Māori content and addressing ongoing petitions to make the New Zealand Wars compulsory in all schools. Two curricula - one for mainstream schools and the other for Māori immersion Kura - were developed, with each drawing on a recent Ministry of Education publication *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) to provide key insights to Māori history concepts and themes. The Māori curricula has since taken on the name of that document, and uses those themes in its new framework, while the mainstream curriculum also adopts some of these same concepts. But how relevant are these proposed themes and concepts to Māori history, and what have Māori and iwi historians and experts actually written or said about the significance of these concepts to Māori historical practice, content, and theory?

This thesis critiques the five key themes and concepts presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* and evaluates their relevance as leading Māori history concepts. These are Whakapapa, Tūrangawaewae; Mana-Motuhake; Kaitiakitanga, and Whanaungatanga. This study surveys the existing work produced by Māori historians and other experts over the past century, particularly the extent to which they have used these themes or discussed their significance to Māori and iwi historical practice and thinking. This dissertation argues that aside from whakapapa, the majority of the themes presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are not reflected in the historiography of the field, and that there are in fact a range of other crucial concepts missing. These include discussions about Wā, the importance of te reo Māori, tikanga, Mātauranga-a-iwi and other important approaches like “historical trauma”, “survivance”, Kaupapa Māori and decolonisation.

Aknowledgements

Ko Mauao ko Pūtauaki ōku maunga

Ko Te Awanui te moana

Ko Te Awa o te Atua te awa

Ko Mataatua ko Te Arawa ōku waka

Ko Opureora ko Pounamui ko Puawairua ōku marae

Ko Ngāi Tūwhiwhia ko Ngāti Hinekura ko Ngāti Hikakino ōku hapū

Ko Ngāti Te Rangi ko Ngāti Pikiao ko Ngāti Awa ōku iwi

Ko Georgia Palmer ahau

This study has encouraged my desire to learn and narrate the incredibly beautiful, but difficult history of our people, through the process of de-colonialism and re-indigenisation. I hope this thesis and my future work add to changing the narrative, while ensuring our knowledges and histories are protected, and taught correctly. I have since learnt, reconnected, grown, and tried my best to apply this to not only the shaping into who I am today, but also to who and how I show up in this thesis.

Now, I want to mihi to who led me on to this kaupapa. To my supervisor Nēpia Mahuika, and his incredibly supportive wife, Rangimarie Mahuika, I feel immensely lucky that you not only welcomed me on to this waka, but also continued to give me so much of your time, energy and support throughout this entire process. You have both been incredibly generous and I do not know how to express my gratitude enough, but I am so thankful. E rere ana aku mihi ki a kōrua, mō ō awhina, ō tautoko, ō ako hoki.

And to my overly-supportive whānau and friends who have each expressed their tautoko through kai and awhi. I would not have been able to do this without having your support at both of my ūkaipō, in Kirikiriroa and on the coast. Ko tēnei aku mihi ko tōku whānau me ōku hoa pūmau. Ka nui taku aroha ki a koutou katoa, mō āke tonu atu!

‘Ko Uenuku koe, tāwhana I te rangi, ko Ngāti Te Rangi e...’

(Turirangi Te Kani, 1989)

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Te Takanga o te Wā and Māori History

In 2015, the New Zealand Ministry of Education published *Te Takanga o te Wā*, a guidebook aimed at teachers and students from years 1-8 to help them better “connect with Māori history.”¹ It posits five major themes and provides brief “conceptual understandings” considered crucial to the way Māori make sense of the past. These are:

- 1) Whakapapa,
- 2) Tūrangawaewae,
- 3) Mana-Motuhake,
- 4) Kaitiakitanga,
- 5) and Whanaungatanga.²

A small twenty-page booklet, *Te Takanga o te Wā* barely scratches the surface of the five themes and concepts it introduces and promotes. The selection of these themes, and particularly the inference that they are explicitly five “key” Māori and iwi histories themes and concepts is an issue that sits at the heart of this thesis. This study will demonstrate that aside from whakapapa, the concepts highlighted in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are not key themes in more than a century of Māori historical scholarship and are not well reflected or discussed in the field. This thesis argues that a closer examination of what Māori historians have written will reveal more significant and relevant themes and concepts that better assist teachers and students with the “knowing”, “doing”, analysing and “understanding” of our shared pasts.³ These

¹ *Te Takanga o te Wā* can be translated as “The Passage of Time.” Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā: Māori History Guidelines for Years 1-8* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015). Years 1-8 in Aotearoa New Zealand range from new entrants to the end of Intermediate or middle school (5-12 year olds). High School curricula from years 9-13 (13-18 year olds) have a different set of assessment criteria (NCEA).

² Tamua, p. 2.

³ The new mainstream history curriculum uses a “Know, Do, and Understand” model. See Ministry of Education, “Understand, Know, Do: a framework to inspire deep and meaningful learning”, *Aotearoa New Zealand Education Gazette – Tukutuku Kōrero*, 100:13, (October 2021).

include promoting key concepts that have been well discussed by Māori, iwi, and other Indigenous historians, like wā, maumahara, kōrero-tuku-iho, te reo, tikanga, Kaupapa Māori, survivance, historical trauma, and decolonisation.⁴

There is no singular book, thesis, or article published solely on the topic of Māori history concepts and pedagogies. *Te Takanga o te Wā*, despite its glaring flaws, cuts a superficial, rushed, and lonely, figure in the field. By focusing explicitly on how these concepts relate to historical practice and theory, and not simply content, this thesis addresses a major gap in both Māori and New Zealand historical scholarship and the intersections they share with history education, history pedagogy, research ethics, theory, politics and practice. This study closely considers the five conceptual themes presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* and asks: how are they, or not, explicitly history themes or concepts? In discussing and analysing the strengths and limits of these five concepts, this thesis explores how each concept has been defined, and how historians (both Māori and Pākehā) have engaged with them, and used or discussed them as explicitly historical themes, conceptual frames, or methodological tools. This study asserts that the majority of the themes proposed in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are not strong Māori history ideas, frames, or concepts. It argues that there are a number of other more apt and well articulated themes and concepts evident in the Māori and iwi historiography better suited to conveying our historical mātauranga.

***Te Takanga o te Wā* and the National Curriculum Reset 2023**

The analytical focus on key Māori history themes and concepts at the centre of this thesis arises out of the present relationship between the 2015 Ministry publication, *Te*

⁴ There is, as this study will show, various writing on these concepts that are much more developed and relevant to the thinking and practice of Māori history than the themes promoted in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Takanga o te Wā, and the new national History curriculum reset.⁵ The themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* were used in the development of both the full immersion Kura and mainstream curricula.⁶ The new Māori History curriculum has been so reliant on this 2015 booklet that it has since taken on the name “Te Takanga o te Wā.”⁷ This thesis does not critique either of the new curricula, and does not have the space to do so here, but focuses instead on the themes and concepts as they were presented in the original booklet that we now find embedded in a curricula that will influence a generation or more.⁸ Ensuring that the themes and Māori history concepts that inform and drive these new curricula are robust, well informed, and up to date with current writing in the field, is an ethical and decolonial obligation or what some might call good Māori and iwi history tikanga.⁹

The eventual publication of *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) has a long back story, which is dealt with in more depth later in this chapter in a review of the relevant bodies of literature and historical background that are important to this study. The struggle to have Māori history included in history curricula in Aotearoa is a topic few have written on, but the majority of writers agree that in every generation, Māori involvement has been carefully controlled by successive colonial governments. Writing on the development of history curricula in Aotearoa, for instance, Richard Manning, Colin McGeorge, and Marcia Stenson all observe how Māori were regularly,

⁵ Jacinda Ardern, Chris Hipkins, ‘NZ History to be taught in all Schools’, Ministry of Education, 12th September 2019, Wellington. <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/nz-history-be-taught-all-schools> (accessed 6th August 2021).

⁶ The themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wa* (2015) were discussed in the advisory and writing group sessions for both the Māori and mainstream curricula (from 2019-2021). The Māori curriculum team chose to use *Te Takanga o te Wa* as their explicit framework, and eventually named their new curriculum after the booklet.

⁷ Ministry of Education [Website], “Process for creating Te Takanga o Te Wā and Aotearoa New Zealand’s histories content”, *Te Tahuu o te Mātauranga*,. <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealands-histories-and-te-takanga-o-te-wa/process-for-creating-te-takanga-o-te-wa-and-aotearoa-new-zealands-histories-content/> [accessed 8th September 2022].

⁸ There was not enough time before the submission of this thesis to include an in-depth analysis of the way the themes have been put together in the new history curricula framework. That awaits further study.

⁹ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘New Zealand history is Māori history: Tikanga as the ethical foundation of historical scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 63:1, (2015), pp. 5-30

and deliberately, left out of curricula development, and when they were included, their participation was carefully monitored.¹⁰

Since the nineteenth century, Māori and iwi histories in schools, academia, and elsewhere, have been “tightly controlled, displaced, and re-positioned to retain coloniser power.”¹¹ It should, then, come as no surprise that *Te Takanga o te Wā* - a government publication - failed to select five strong themes and concepts. The majority of the advisory group, although Māori, were not trained historians, but present and past principals, former politicians, educationalists and iwi leaders.¹² The team was completely devoid of active members of Te Pouhere Kōrero (the Māori historians collective of Aotearoa), but relied instead on Pākehā historian Paul Moon, who had been heavily criticised by various Māori experts for his abuse and misuse of Māori and iwi history before and after 2015.¹³ The *Te Takanga o te Wā* team advocated

¹⁰ Richard F. Manning, ‘The New Zealand (School Curriculum) “History Wars”: The New Zealand Land Wars Petition and the Status of Māori Histories in New Zealand Schools (1877-2016)’, *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 47:2, (2017), pp. 120- 130; Marcia Stenson, ‘History in New Zealand Schools’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 24:2 (1990), pp. 168-181 Taniwha, Rosina, ‘Wānanga—A distributive action’, *Diversity in Higher Education*, 15, (2014), pp. 37– 47; Colin McGeorge, “Race, empire and the Māori in the New Zealand primary school curriculum 1880–1940”, *The Imperial Curriculum Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience*, edited by J Mangan (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 64-78.

¹¹ Georgia Palmer, “A Review of Māori History in Schooling and Curricula in Aotearoa New Zealand” (Honours Dissertation, University of Waikato, 2021), p. 31. For a broader summation of how Māori history has been treated beyond Kura and mainstream schooling see also Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹² This group included Pembroke Bird, former Māori Affairs Minister, Pita Sharples, Tuwharetoa leader Sir Tumu Te Heuheu and Te Arawa leader, Sir Toby Curtis. All were well versed in iwi history, but not trained in historical method, theory, or practice, and not trained to know the existing literature in Māori, New Zealand, or Indigenous historical scholarship.

¹³ Te Pouhere Kōrero is the national Māori historians collective of Aotearoa. It was formed in 1992 at Manutuke, and has an ongoing journal after its own name. At that stage Moon had been severely critiqued by Māori historians after publishing what many thought was a racist history of Māori cannibalism years earlier. In 2018, he was again criticised for writing what experts believed was a very poorly researched and racist history of te reo Māori. Rawiri Te Maire Tau, ‘Review of Paul Moon, *This Horrid Practice*’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero* 3, *Māori History, Māori People*, (2009), pp. 123-24. Rangi Mataamua, Pou Temara, “Māori academics respond to Dr Paul Moon's book 'Killing Te Reo Māori'”, *Te Karere*, Jan 6th 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fq_8lrTD-gg [Accessed 8th Sep 2022]. New Zealand School Trustees Association Press Release, “Māori history curriculum already available”, *Scoop: Independent News*, 8th Feb 2019. <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/ED1902/S00019/Māori-history-curriculum-already-available.htm> [accessed 8th Sep 2022]. Paul Moon, *Killing Te Reo* (Palmerston North: Campus Press, 2018). Paul Moon, *This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Māori Cannibalism* (Rosedale, NZ: Penguin, 2008).

the teaching of “local Māori history of their districts”, but some soon realised that “no resources had been provided to teach most teachers about it.”¹⁴

When the Ministry announced its curriculum update (12th September 2019), Māori historians were sceptical about the process, and if the new reset could truly be transformative, decolonial, or continue the “status quo.”¹⁵ These concerns were confirmed when the government left Māori historians out of the current “Achievement Standards Subject Expert Group for History” (NCEA, High Schools), and when questioned why by Te Pouhere Kōrero, defended their process by citing their own criteria which requires only “two people” who “identify as Māori” and says nothing about the need for an expert Māori historian (June 2021).¹⁶ As a result, the only academic History specialist included in that group was Pākehā. This gate-keeping is not new. Mark Sheehan writes that the New Zealand history curriculum has largely ignored the “histories of non-western peoples” and that curriculum development has been dominated by “a number of high-profile academics” none of them Māori.¹⁷ Any critique of *Te Takanga o te Wā* should be acutely aware of these ongoing colonial politics and gate-keeping, and the continued efforts of coloniser governments to control Indigenous knowledge, people, and history.¹⁸

This thesis is not simply a critique of the themes promoted in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, but is connected to local and global Indigenous aspirations to ensure our pasts are

¹⁴ Simon Collins, “Educators: Make All School Children Learn Māori History ” *New Zealand Herald*, 9th July 2017. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/kahu/educators-make-all-school-children-learn-Māori-history/D7NTV5MOIXSJE2QKVSRSODJMYI/>. [Accessed 8th September 2022].

¹⁵ Arini Loader, Basil Keene, Matt Mullany, Michael. J. Stevens, and Melissa M. Williams, ‘Forum: New Zealand History in Schools’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero* 9, *Māori History, Māori Peoples* (Auckland: 2019). Nēpia Mahuika, ‘How do we Decolonize New Zealand history?’, *Kaiako Tāhuhu Kōrero / History Teacher Aotearoa*, 1:6, (2020), p. 22. The marautanga Māori was led by Hemi Dale, and included other notable figures such as Wally Penetito, but no current active Pouhere historians. The mainstream advisory team included two Māori historians, Aroha Harris and Nēpia Mahuika, but the majority of that team was also comprised of teachers and educationalists like Graeme Aitken and Graeme Ball.

¹⁶ Private Papers. Held by Pouhere Kōrero.

¹⁷ Mark Sheehan, ‘The Place of “New Zealand” in the New Zealand History Curriculum’, *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42:5, (2010), pp. 673; 680.

¹⁸ Graham, H. Smith, ‘Taha Māori: Pakeha Capture’, in *Political Issues in N.Z. Education*, edited by J. Codd, R. Harker. & R. Nash (Palmerston North: Dumore Press, 1990), pp. 183-197.

not abused and appropriated for colonial consumption and nation making.¹⁹ In 1995, Eber Hampton noted that most Indigenous peoples were still struggling with models of history education that have long privileged Western knowledge and pedagogies.²⁰ The question of this study, then, also arises out of a need to ensure that Māori and iwi maintain control of our own knowledge and history.²¹ Moana Jackson, among others, has argued that if we want to “reclaim the truth of what is us”, then we have to “reclaim the right to define ourselves, who we are ... and challenge definitions that are not our own especially those which confine us to a subordinate place.”²² This thesis explores how, and in what ways, the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) are present or not in Māori historical scholarship since the nineteenth century, and whether they aptly convey Māori understandings of the past. It considers how Māori history concepts over time have been discussed by Māori historians and other experts and shows how they have been the subject of experimentation and adaption. Therefore, this thesis highlights the long struggle to accept Māori history as legitimate and necessary historical knowledge and practice in New Zealand schools and Pākehā dominated academic strongholds and curricula. This has been, and continues to be, the normative experience of Indigenous communities across the colonial world.

Finally, this thesis is part of a current Marsden Project, “Ngā Hanganga Mātua o te Whakaako Hītori” (2022-2024) led by Nēpia Mahuika and Richard Manning.²³ Working with two iwi, Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Raukawa, as well as the national Māori historians collective, Te Pouhere Kōrero, this three year study explores a range of iwi

¹⁹ Huanani Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993). Phillip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (Michigan: Yale University Press, 1998). Vincente M. Diaz, *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: Pacific Islands Monograph Series 23, University of Hawai‘i, 2010)

²⁰ Eber Hampton, ‘Towards a Redefinition of Indian Education’, in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds*, edited by M. Battiste & J. Barman (Vancouver: UBC Press: 1995), pp. 5–46.

²¹ This has been an ongoing aim. See Nēpia Mahuika, “Closing the Gaps: From Post-colonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45:1, (2011), pp. 15-32.

²² Moana Jackson, ‘Research and Colonisation of Māori Knowledge’, *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4:1, (1998), p.73.

²³ Nēpia Mahuika (led PI), Richard Manning (PI), Arini Loader, (AI), and Veronica Tawhai (AI). “Ngā Hanganga Mātua o te Whakaako Hītori”, Standard Marsden, Royal Society of New Zealand. 2022-2024.

and Māori specific pedagogical approaches used to teach, know, do, and understand, the past and how we engage with it. The contribution of this thesis to that larger project focuses on what exactly are Māori history concepts and themes and aims to be bring that discussion together in one place to assist in deepening the field and providing crucial concepts and pedagogies for history educators across all sectors. The following section looks more closely at what is meant by history specific “themes” and “concepts” and other key terminology employed in this thesis. It briefly surveys some of the key questions of the field, and introduces some of the consistent ideas, themes and concepts, that have occupied Māori historians research and thinking.

Māori and Iwi History “Themes”, “Concepts”, and Terminology

This thesis refers consistently to Māori history “concepts” and “themes” in its critique of *Te Takanga o te Wa*. It uses “concepts” and “themes” interchangeably, but what exactly are the differences between “themes” and “concepts”? More importantly, what are the differences between history themes and concepts and general Māori themes and concepts? This study argues that the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wa* are well trodden Te Ao Māori concepts used by Māori in multiple ways, but not are not explicitly or well-developed Māori History themes or concepts. History specific concepts, as this study asserts are not just any theme or concept, but ideas, themes, and concepts discussed or used explicitly by Māori historians and history experts in the field. They are concepts that relate specifically to the way history is conceived, transmitted, made, taught, critiqued, and practiced.

Like other disciplines, History and Māori history have their own peculiar set of methods, ideas, debates, terms, popular themes and concepts. Historians in array of subfields have published handbooks and edited compilations that outline the leading theories, methods, questions, debates, and conceptual frameworks, themes and ideas

that have dominated, challenged and reshaped the discipline.²⁴ In many fields like history, specific vocabulary, debates, and ideas, have delineated and set the parameters of the discipline. The overlapping fields of oral history and oral tradition is an excellent example of this, and shows how some of the same concepts about memory, for instance, are thought about completely differently by both sets of scholars.²⁵

Māori historians and researchers have likewise produced books, articles, and chapters, on method, theory, and the practice of history, particularly oral history, decolonial history, and ethics.²⁶ Māori historians have written on protest, war, gender, religion, politics, crime, law, health, education, biographies, waka, and many other themes.²⁷ Most of the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* appear to relate more to Māori cultural understandings like caretaker-ship (Kaitiakitanga), place and home (Tūrangawaewae), political activism and self-determination (Mana-motuhake), and a very broad conception of relationships (Whanaungatanga). This thesis will show that these are discussed more in writing that deals with introductions to basic principles and ideas in Māori cultural settings and philosophies, not specifically history.²⁸ But while these are important themes and concepts in writing about Māori cultural identity and politics, they do not reflect themes in Māori historiography, which tend to focus on movement, origins, and migration. Indeed, waka migrations and internal

²⁴ See for instance Jonas Ahlskog, *The Primacy of Method in Historical Research: Philosophy of History and the Perspective of Meaning* (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2020); Peter Claus, and John Marriott, eds., *History: An Introduction to Theory, Method and Practice* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

²⁵ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (London: James Currey, 1985; Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985). Nēpia Mahuika, 'An Outsiders Guide to Public Oral History in New Zealand', *Public History in New Zealand*, 5, (2017), pp. 3-18. Rawiri Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikituroa o Ngāi Tahu: the Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003).

²⁶ Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tahu Kōrero* (Wellington: Huia, 2012).

²⁷ Danny Keenan, ed., *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tahu Kōrero* (Wellington: Huia, 2012); Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Māori Health Development 1900-1920* (Auckland: Auckland University Press 1999).

²⁸ Texts like Cleve Barlow's *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1991), Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia, 2003), and Michael King, ed., *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga* (Auckland: Reed, 1992) are good examples.

iwi migrations is one common theme in Māori history evidenced in histories like Rawiri Te Maire Tau's *Ngai Tahu: a migration*, various waka histories like Mitchell's *Takitimu*, and movement between city and home in accounts like Melissa Williams' *Pangaru and the City*.²⁹ The connecting narrative themes here are not well captured in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Māori and Indigenous historians have, over several generations, discussed and debated specific themes and concepts that highlight their own ways of thinking about history.³⁰ This has partly been a necessary decolonial task, driven by the need to reclaim our past from the clutches of an empirically elitist patriarchal Western field intent on controlling the definition of history in ways that centre themselves. "The people and groups who 'made' history", as Linda Tuhiwai Smith has argued, were the people who:

[D]eveloped the underpinnings of the state – the economists, scientists, bureaucrats and philosophers. That they were all men of certain class and race was 'natural' because they regarded (naturally) as fully rational, self-actualizing human beings capable, therefore, of creating social change, that is history.³¹

She writes that for Māori, "history is important for understanding the present and that reclaiming history is a critical and essential aspect of decolonization."³² Defining what is meant by Māori history, then, has been an important discussion in the field, and addressed in the historiography via two simple questions: What and who are Māori and how do Māori and iwi people define the concept of history – or how do we know and practice the past?

²⁹ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, & Atholl Anderson, eds., *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, the Carrington text* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2008). Tiaki Hikawera Mitchell, *Takitimu* (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997). Melissa M. Williams, *Pangaru and The City: Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua: An Urban Migration History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).

³⁰ Māhūka, 2019. Huanani-Kay Trask, 'From a Native daughter', in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, edited by Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 171-179.

³¹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 34

³² Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 31.

The question “What is Māori History?” has been an ongoing theme discussed in the field. On this topic Ngai Tahu leader Tā Tipene O'Regan once opined that “[o]ne can only speculate interminably about what constituted the traditional Māori perception of history”, but over time some have mistakenly thought that “Māori conceptions of the past and future are in fact the reverse of Pākehā notions” when they are not.³³ Māori and iwi historical practice and storytelling, he reminds us, have for more than a century now experimented with, adopted and adapted, various Pākehā concepts and methods. O'Regan also cautioned against reducing the Māori past to “a dead thing to be examined on the post-mortem bench of science” without Māori consent.³⁴ His defining of Māori history is intricately connected to assertions of ownership, kaitiakitanga, and ethics, but his key conceptual idea also aligns with autonomy and self-determination of mana-motuhake. But he does not explicitly use those terms.

Māori history has been thought of as similar to Kaupapa Māori in its “centering” and “privileging” of iwi and Māori knowledge and practices, rather than allowing them to be defined or dismissed by “Westernised labels.”³⁵ Rawiri Te Maire Tau has suggested that a history discipline dominated by non-Māori tenets and definitions may not be the right place for Māori, and might be better placed in Māori Studies where mātauranga Māori or concepts and frameworks are more central and normative.³⁶ In the historiography of the field, Māori historians have spent considerable time debating the meaning of the past and how we define and

³³ Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past', in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori*, edited by John Wilson (Auckland: Penguin in association with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), p. 14.

³⁴ O'Regan, 1987, pp.141-42

³⁵ Smith, 1999, p. 125. Nēpia Mahuika, 'Kaupapa Māori History: Negotiating the Past Before Us', *Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori Peoples, Māori Histories*, 9, (2019), pp. 51-72.

³⁶ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, 'Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology', in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past- A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 61-7.

understand it. The terminology adopted in those discussion is not reflected in the terms selected as “key” Māori history themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Alongside discussions about the meaning of the term “history, Māori historians have also interrogated and debated the use of other crucial terms like “Māori”, “Iwi”, and Tangata whenua. Tangata Whenua, was, as historians note, a common contemporary refrain (so too was “Natives”) used to refer to Māori peoples as historical subjects.³⁷ While most Europeans in the first half of the nineteenth century referred to the native inhabitants of New Zealand as ‘New Zealanders’, the Māori text of the Treaty of Waitangi used the expression ‘tangata Māori’ – ordinary people –to denote them.”³⁸ There have been many histories written on iwi history, Māori history, and more recently a substantial history explicitly titled *Tangata Whenua*.³⁹ These identity labels are deeply political and inextricably connected to colonial survival and adaption, but are significant terms used to name and claim the field. Māori history and its terminology and concepts, in this way are connected to the way the past here operates as a discursive construction.⁴⁰ The major contention in debates here focus on whether or not we should be doing Māori or iwi history, which are really questions about ownership and representation. On this topic, Tuhoe scholar, John Rangihau (1992) argued some time ago that:

My being Māori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person There are so many aspects about every tribal person. Each tribe has its own history. And it is not a history that can be shared amongst others. How can I share

³⁷ Michael King, *Tangata Whenua*, 6 Part Documentary Series, (directed by Barry Barclay 1974). <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/tangata-whenua-1974/series> [accessed 18th Sep 2022].

³⁸ Michael King writes that “This indicates how Māori were referring to themselves by that time – and, indeed, recorded evidence of that expression goes back as far as 1801, to the journal of the ship Royal Admiral in the firth of Thames. By the 1830s the word Māori on its own was in widespread use among Māori.” Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), p. 168.

³⁹ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

⁴⁰ Peter Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonisation and National Identity’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:1, (1997), pp. 5-17.

the history of Ngāti Porou, of Te Arawa, and Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am a Tuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history.⁴¹

Within the field, there is a significant amount of iwi history produced in historical reports for Iwi Treaty Settlements, Iwi history compendiums like the *Te Ara: Māori Peoples of New Zealand*, and the biographies of significant tribal leaders.⁴² This thesis often uses the terms “iwi” and “Māori” history together, but is aware that Māori history themes are not necessarily shared across, or easily transferable, to all iwi. This is an issue that *Te Takanga o te Wā* seems to overlook in its selection of themes, some of which are not well aligned to iwi articulations of its mana and historical identity or practice as this thesis will demonstrate.

Māori history and its concepts are fluid and not fixed in some pure untouched distant tradition. The term “Māori” in the field is common and widespread. There are Māori histories of events, peoples, places, but also writing on Māori history sources and practices like carving, genealogy, weaving, oratory, and kōrero tuku iho.⁴³ Māori history is not just iwi stories, and not simply about colonisation, protest, land reclamation, violence and trauma. Māori histories include stories of Māori schooling, health, religion, death, warfare, and many other topics.⁴⁴ Māori and iwi history experts have been experimenting with, and adapting, non-Māori concepts for generations and these have often revolved around key terms and debates in the historiography. Iwi and Māori experts have, thus, used Western historical Methodologies. Māori have been adept at writing our histories for generations now, and as this thesis will show

⁴¹ John Rangihau, ‘Being Māori’, in *Te Ao Hurihuri: aspects of Māoritanga*, edited by Michael King (Auckland: Reed, 1992), p.190.

⁴² Ministry for Culture and Heritage, *Te Ara: Māori Peoples of New Zealand* (Wellington: David Bateman, 2006); Department of Internal Affairs, *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, 2 vols (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1990).

⁴³ Mahuika, 2019. Mere Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004). Danny Keenan, ‘The Past from the Paepae: Uses of the Past in Māori Oral History’, *Oral History in New Zealand*, 12:13, (2001), pp. 33-38.

⁴⁴ Judith Simon, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *The Native Schools System 1867-1969 - Ngā kura Māori* (Auckland, Auckland University Press, 1998). Raeburn Lange, *May the People Live: A History of Māori Health Development 1900-1920* (Auckland: Auckland University Press 1999). Enoka Murphy, ‘Ka Mate Ko Te Mate, Ka Ora Taku Toa: Ko Nga Matawhaura o te Rau Tau Tekau ma Iwi (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 2017).

have discussed terminology around whakapapa (genealogy) and other aspects of our historical practice, archives, ethics and storytelling.

Despite what some might think, Māori history is not entirely different to Pākehā history. The themes and concepts that have interested non-Māori historians, have also been adopted at times, sometimes rejected, but certainly considered and experimented with by Māori. Apirana Ngata, for instance, as this thesis will show, adopted Western Historical methods in writing and analysing whakapapa. Historians in the West have written at length about the significance of memory and forgetting. Memory has been described by some as “history’s unruly disciplinary cousin.”⁴⁵ Māori too have begun to discuss the significance of memory, but have done so by invoking other theories like inherited historical trauma and survivance.⁴⁶

Likewise, narrative or storytelling is a significant concept in Western history, and a deeply considered theme in the work of influential Jerome Bruner, Peter Novick, Hayden White, Michel Foucault, and many others.⁴⁷ Similar to memory, narrative or storytelling in Māori and indigenous history is commonplace. Pacific island peoples, for instance, retain their own indigenous “forms of history”, in accounts passed down through songs, chants, and traditions. Athapaskan speakers, as Julie Cruickshank (1992) illustrates, disseminate histories in storytelling that upholds an important “customary framework for discussing the past.”⁴⁸ Of narrative and story, Aboriginal historian, Greg Lehman writes that “time does not exist in human history without a

⁴⁵ “Whatever your preference, “memory” has, as Raphael Samuels observes, always remained “dialectically related to historical thought rather than being some kind of negative other to it.” Philip Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), p. 10.

⁴⁶ Tahu Kukutai, Nēpia Mahuika, Heeni Te Kani, Denise Ewe, Karu H. Kukutai, ‘Survivance as Narrative Identity: Voices from a Ngāti Tipa Oral History Project’, *Mai Journal*, 9:3, (2020), pp. 309-320. Rebecca Wirihana, and Cheryl Smith, ‘Historical trauma. Healing, and Well-being in Māori Communities’, *Mai Journal*, 3: 3, (2014), pp. 197-210.

⁴⁷ Jerome Bruner, *Making Stories, Law, Literature, Life* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Hayden White, , *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987). Peter Novick *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ and the American Historical Profession* (Chicago: Cambridge University press, 1988).

⁴⁸ Julie Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press., 1992) p. ix.

story to mediate that time.”, but that “[a]ll of us, as communities, as peoples, travel from story to story.⁴⁹ “We make these journeys in our imaginations”, he says, and we “continually remind each other of where we might be in these journeys, negotiating collective understandings; reinforcing these meanings with each re-telling of a well known story. With each passing day – and the passing of our kin - these stories change, and the meanings along with them.”⁵⁰ For Māori, histories contain as Alice Te Punga Somerville writes, stories within stories, in which we negotiate the complex processes of remembering and forgetting noted above.⁵¹

Memory, narrative, time, myth, and other themes and concepts in non-Māori history have, as this thesis will show, significant traction in Māori historical scholarship, practice, ethics and theorising. When selecting history specific themes and concepts, the authors of *Te Takanga o te Wā* paid little heed to the existing literature in either Māori history or Indigenous historical scholarship. Where gender, race, and class are deeply and widely considered in history globally including Indigenous and Māori historical writing and analysis, they are curiously absent in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. The terminology used in this thesis traverses intersecting threads that can easily be confused as both “themes” and “concepts.” As this section has noted, the very meaning of history and the assertion of our history as either Māori, iwi, or something else (tangata whenua, Native, migrants, Polynesian, etc), are themes that are visible in the literature and debates between Māori historians. The themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* do not appear to arise from the historiography or interests of Māori history experts or writers. The following section of this chapter considers the historical background of history curriculum development in New Zealand schools and the consistent control

⁴⁹ Greg Lehman, ‘Telling Us True’, in *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle’s Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, edited by R. Manne (Melbourne: Black Inc. Agenda, 2003), p. 174.

⁵⁰ Lehman, p. 2.

⁵¹ Alice Te Punga Somerville, ‘The Historian who lost his memory’: a story about stories’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, 3, (2009), pp. 63-82.

of Māori history, and how these twists and turns have relevance to the new curricula and *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Māori History and The Curriculum in New Zealand Schools

The fact that *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) is perhaps the only text dedicated specifically to a discussion of Māori history themes and schooling highlights the extent to which Māori history has been ignored in more than a century of New Zealand education. This section provides a brief background of the history curriculum in Aotearoa New Zealand, and its troubled relationship with Māori and iwi history. This vital historical background tells us about the enduring themes in the national curriculum that are more a continuation of Pākehā coloniser aspirations, tenets, and concepts than they are Māori. It notes the introduction of other disciplinary frameworks like Social Studies, and the outdated obsession with studying “culture” in Aotearoa, that appear to have influenced the selection of themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* instead of actual history concepts.⁵²

Like other colonised peoples, Māori were left out of national histories in schools and textbooks, and when they were included, it was through racist frames that judged Native pasts unreliable superstitions, fables, myths, and ultimately the fanciful traditions of New Zealand’s “pre-history.”⁵³ For generations, school children in New Zealand believed that history arrived with Europeans, and that the ancient Māori were too backward and uncivilised to have cultivated anything so grand as what the

⁵² Steven Webster, *Patrons of Maori Culture: Power, Theory and Ideology in the Māori Renaissance* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998). Kerry Howe, ‘Two Worlds’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37, 1 (2003), pp. 50-61.

⁵³ Sinclair, Keith, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson press, 1986). Nēpia Mahuiika, ‘Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Māui: Māori Migration and the Nation’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43:2, (2009), pp. 133-49. Michael King, *Ngā Iwi o te Motu: One Thousand Years of Māori History* (Auckland: Reed, 2001).

superior race called “history.”⁵⁴ In truth, Māori taught history in schools well before Pākehā arrived and invaded. Iwi and hapū communities had their own schooling systems and wānanga, that taught various topics, including history. For centuries Māori taught their own history at home, out gardening, at funerals, while fishing, and in schools of learning called wānanga. These schools often maintained a specific disciplinary emphasis on strategic warfare, agriculture, medicine, carving, and genealogy, but all taught local history and politics. In successive generations, wānanga carried the “historical curricula of the tribe” and still signifies higher learning in Aotearoa today. Wānanga were more than simply curricula and content, but is thought of as “a meditative practice, a pedagogy and discussion that encourages debate, dissent and critical analysis.”⁵⁵

Māori kept wānanga as a practice and form of instruction, and it was the subject of some interest among European ethnographers. Pākehā author Stephenson Percy Smith, for instance, wrote two volumes of *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* in 1915 which became “the popular and state approved history of Pre-European Māori and Moriori” in the early twentieth century.⁵⁶ Smith’s Euro-centric interpretation of Māori history as “lore”, however, did not stop most non-Māori from dismissing local histories as merely myths and the puerile imaginings of the natives. Māori history was not only taught in wānanga, but transmitted within families in multiple ways through songs, stories, proverbs, and various artforms. Māori maintained an oral history where memorization was key to the learning of whakapapa (genealogy), the stories of ancestors, practices, places and key turning points for each tribe. The past was woven, carved, performed, practiced, recited and lived by a chorus of storytellers who placed a high value on a persons’ ability to remember and narrate the collective experience

⁵⁴ Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as furnished by their Priests and their Chiefs* (London: John Murray, 1855; Reprinted Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956). Nepia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁵⁵ Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020.

⁵⁶ Anderson, 2014, 52.

of the tribe. To be an historian - a keeper, storyteller, and educator of the past - was a crucial and tapu role in Māori society held by women, men, weavers, singers and experts of various ages and backgrounds.⁵⁷

When missionaries and books arrived in the early nineteenth century, Māori were quick to take up reading and writing. Whānau started to keep genealogy books, often treating them as sacred objects and treasures. The teaching of Māori and iwi history changed with the arrival of Europeans and Christianity, but it did not eradicate past practices and beliefs. Instead, Māori “renegotiated” their mātauranga, embracing new ways to transmit their memories and histories.⁵⁸ Mission schools taught a “civilising” curriculum meant to assist the “Europeanizing of Māori” and familiarise them with the empire’s history.⁵⁹ Many who attended mission schools returned to their villages and established kura (schools) in their own communities.⁶⁰ Mission schools were eventually replaced by a Native School system in 1867, but the official policy during this period (1814-1860) remained focused on creating “Brown Britons.”⁶¹ The first national curriculum 1877 specified that “if history was taught, only English history was to be transmitted”, and an earlier 1862 Education Report viewed Māori as better suited to “manual” rather than “mental” labour and education.⁶² History in schools was British-centric and treated Māori history as fantasy and legend.⁶³ This remained the norm for history teaching up until 1904 when a new primary schools syllabus added specific New Zealand content that was ignored by teachers anyway.⁶⁴

⁵⁷ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘The Value of Mātauranga to History’, in *Mātauranga Māori at the Interface*, edited by Jacinta Ruru and Linda W. Nikora (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2021), pp. 148-159.

⁵⁸ Kaa, 2020.

⁵⁹ Simon and Smith, 2001, p. 3.

⁶⁰ M. Barrington, and T. H. Beaglehole, *Māori schools in a changing society: an historical review* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1974).

⁶¹ Cited in Simon and Smith, 1998, p. ix.

⁶² Taylor Report 1862.

⁶³ Whitcombe and Tombs *Historical Story books: Legends of the Māori* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1926); John White, *Ancient History of the Māori: his Mythology and Traditions*, vol. 1-6 (Wellington: Government Printer, 1887-1891).

⁶⁴ Manning, 2017, p. 121.

The reduction of the Māori past to myth and prehistory reflected the underlying tenets of a domineering Western discipline that had begun to flourish in the nineteenth century. A focus on robust empirical objectivity set the standards for what counted as professional history, and what could be considered reliable or unreliable sources that favoured written evidence over oral sources.⁶⁵ Western-centric definitions of history displaced Māori history in New Zealand, which was predominantly oral and were seen as merely traditions and legends. Nēpia Mahuika writes that the “scientific objective empiricism” in professional history reduced Māori history to “myths” and fantasy in not only the professional academic discipline, but in schools.⁶⁶ As early as 1880, for instance, Elizabeth Bourke’s *A Little History of New Zealand*, written for use in schools, storied the legends of Maui, Hinemoa and Tutanekei as fables, not history.⁶⁷ In the early twentieth century, Whitcombes printed a series of *Historical Story Books, Legends of the Māori*, followed by *More Tales of Māori Magic* written by Edith Howes, which were written for school-children aged between seven and fourteen.⁶⁸ This continued for generations of learners throughout the twentieth century, and is still an unresolved debate in historical scholarship. Māori history, then, was ignored in school curricula, dismissed as fable and unreliable myth and superstition. When Māori history was included in later curricula, it remained a subfield of New Zealand history, which in its own way ironically produced nation-making myths about Māori that were eventually critiqued and corrected.

Māori history in schools has always had to contend with the myths of New Zealand nationalism. Native Schools from the 1880s, for instance, expected teachers to

⁶⁵ Anna Green & Kathleen Troup, eds., *The Houses of History: a Critical Reader in Twentieth-century History and Theory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). Legitimate history, according to these standards must be based in verifiable objective empirical sources that rejected Indigenous oral histories as untrustworthy.

⁶⁶ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Kōrero Tuku-iho: Reconfiguring Oral History and Tradition’ (PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 2021), p. 13.

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Bourke, *A Little History of New Zealand: Progressive from Discovery to 1880 for children* (Auckland: Upton, c1880).

⁶⁸ Whitcombe and Tombs *Historical Story books: Legends of the Māori* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1926). Edith Howes, *More Tales of Māori Magic* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs 1957).

be “familiar with the discovery of New Zealand” and “the history of the land wars” which many taught as a triumphant account inconsistent with Māori histories of the same events.⁶⁹ New Zealanders were led to believe a range of myths about Māori history and the country’s colonial legacy. One longstanding myth described Māori navigation to Aotearoa as accidental, which Ranginui Walker among others lamented as the legacy of the “denigration” of Māori maritime achievements by Pākehā.⁷⁰ Māori were also said to have arrived in one great fleet, and in one school text from 1960 it was suggested that Kupe discovered New Zealand about A.D. 950 and was followed by later explorers like Toi and a major migration about 1350.⁷¹ The great fleet myth survived for some time until it was disproved by research in the 1960s and widely rejected by historians.⁷² Yet another myth claimed that Māori were not the indigenous peoples of these islands, but eradicated earlier Moriori.⁷³ This was published in school journals in the early twentieth century by Percy Smith and Elsdon Best and made its way into a 1934 school reader, *The Coming of the Māori to Ao-tea-roa*, published by A. W. Reed.⁷⁴ It was later refuted by numerous scholars including Michael King who opined that “despite this overwhelming volume and weight of testimony some late nineteenth and early twentieth century scholars convinced themselves and a gullible New Zealand public that Moriori were not Polynesian.”⁷⁵

This othering and controlling of Māori history has been consistently rejected and denounced by Māori scholars and peoples.⁷⁶ The Māori Women’s Welfare League, for instance, strongly challenged Government policy regarding the place of te reo and

⁶⁹ Barrington & Beaglehole, p. 7. Manning, p. 121.

⁷⁰ A number of studies in the second half of the twentieth century clearly demonstrated that traditional double hulled vessels were not only expertly sailed by Polynesian seafarers but that these skilled navigators travelled back and forth across the Pacific in multiple voyages. Walker, 1990, pp. 25-26

⁷¹ Anderson, p. 52.

⁷² King, 2004, 45.

⁷³ Michael King, *Moriori: A People Rediscovered* (Auckland; Penguin, 2017).

⁷⁴ A. W. Reed, *The Coming of the Māori to Ao-tea-roa* (Wellington: A. H & A. W. Reed, 1934).

⁷⁵ King, 2004, pp. 55-56

⁷⁶ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Revitalizing Te Ika-a-Maui: Māori Migration and the Nation’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43:2, (2009), pp. 133-49.

the teaching of Māori history in schools throughout the twentieth century.⁷⁷ Very public Māori protest and activism of the 1960s and 1970s violently disrupted New Zealand's race-relations mythology and reframed discussions around significant relationships with the Crown, Māori, te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the role of history in the production and maintenance of national identity.⁷⁸

From 1944, history as a subject fell under the newly introduced and compulsory social studies curriculum which further subordinated Māori history beneath yet another layer of foreign terms and concepts. Carol Mutch writes that the social studies curricula of that era still taught "loyalty to the English motherland."⁷⁹ Placing history in social studies, "even for those trained in history", as Marcia Stenson argues, was a difficult task that left "little place for the narrative form, or the cumulative and developmental structure most history requires."⁸⁰ For Māori history, "social" studies together with an increased interest in "cultural" studies and "biculturalism" in academic research by the 1980s can perhaps account somewhat for the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā* that seem more akin to social and cultural concepts of that era.⁸¹ Socio-cultural historical concepts and approaches, however, were never at the core of Māori and iwi history.

Diminishing numbers at the beginning the 1980s sent a wave of panic through schools and despite "comparatively well-qualified, enthusiastic, able teachers, history was on the defensive in the classroom."⁸² This, Stenson writes, led to establishment of The National Syllabus Committee, which recognized:

⁷⁷ Harris, 2004, p. 44.

⁷⁸ Mahuika, 2019. Anderson et al, 2014.

⁷⁹ Carol Mutch, 'Current perceptions of the new Social Studies curriculum in New Zealand', *Children's Social and Economic Education*, 3:1. (1998), pp. 65–79.

⁸⁰ Stenson, p. 176.

⁸¹ Bronwyn Dalley, and Bronwyn Labrum, *Fragments: New Zealand Social and Cultural History* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2000) Kynan Gentry; Andrew Thompson; John M. MacKenzie, *History, heritage, and colonialism: Historical consciousness, Britishness, and cultural identity in New Zealand, 1870–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015). Caroline Meier, and Ian Culpan, 'A Māori concept in a Pākehā world: biculturalism in health and physical education in the New Zealand curriculum', *Curriculum studies in health and physical education*, 11:3, (2020), pp. 222-236.

⁸² Stenson, pp. 179-180.

[T]he need to modify the monocultural approach to history in New Zealand classrooms [But] it was still Māori history seen through Pākehā eyes; a Pākehā framework used to structure a Māori past. It did not answer the growing need of Māori to study their own past in their own way. How to include a different concept of knowledge and of the past was a question that baffled the committee. It had to accept that only the Māori community could provide the answers.⁸³

The new History Syllabus in 1989, dominated by Pākehā academics again, did not deliver what many people had been hoping for.⁸⁴ Manning notes that “Māori” topics were problematic and the Māori–Pākehā race relations topic gave the impression that “[t]here might be problems in New Zealand race relations, but these were eradicated by the contributions of eager Māori groups in the democratic system and good- will of benevolent Governments.”⁸⁵ Despite the very public bicultural and Treaty based legislation common to the 1980s New Zealand landscape, the new syllabus managed to “disregard” and “ignore” multiple recommendations to include more content from a Māori perspective. This included *The Heritage and History in Schools Report* (1988), which recommended a progressive study of New Zealand history to begin at fourth form (Year 10), and the *Binney Report* (1988) which insisted “Māori history must be taught on a tribal basis.”⁸⁶

While earlier committee’s and curriculum reports had simply ignored Māori history, commentators in the 1990s responded to Māori historical interpretations and content with explicit attacks on what they described as “politically correct” history that “attempted to redress past injustices by offering a sanitized ... version of Māori 21culture.”⁸⁷ The notion that students will be “indoctrinated” reflected a fear that

⁸³ Stenson, p. 180.

⁸⁴ Sheehan, p. 680.

⁸⁵ Manning, 2017, p. 125.

⁸⁶ Department of History of the New Zealand Universities, *Heritage and History in Schools: A Report to the Director General of Education* (Palmerston North: Massey University, 1988). Judith Binney, ‘The teaching of Māori history: Two reports on discussions held at Whakato Marae, Gisborne, 30 October- 1 November 1987’, in *The Departments of History of the New Zealand Universities, Heritage and History in Schools: A Report to the Director General of Education* (Massey University, Palmerston North, 1988), p 124.

⁸⁷ Manning, 2017, p. 125.

Māori history would somehow displace their past.⁸⁸ Māori history' topics, despite being optional since the 80s were often side-stepped. By 2009, an "out-dated and poorly phrased New Zealand history syllabus (1989)", as Manning argues "still allowed experienced history teachers to continue to 'assimilate' younger teachers and to keep teaching the 'traditional' (Eurocentric) topics they preferred."⁸⁹ Since the 1990s, the curriculum has been reconsidered and revised twice - once in 2010 and again in the current reset, which plans to include more Māori content.⁹⁰

Unless we know the historical background, it is difficult to see how *Te Takanga o te Wā* is part of the intergenerational displacement and control of Māori history in school curricula. The authors write that their chosen themes "interconnect with and are interwoven with national and local events" and that a "timeline of national legislation" is added to "give context to what was happening at a national level through pivotal times in our history."⁹¹ The ongoing colonial nation-making narrative is still present in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, congruent with concepts that relate directly to the social sciences achievement objectives of The New Zealand Curriculum. This includes the notion of "change over time", which the authors suggest are "central to historical thinking."⁹² But change over time is not a theme or concept popular in Māori history thinking. It is an approach to history aligned with the Western traditional colonial concepts and tropes of "progress" that better serve the way invader nation-states prefer their history, not Indigenous peoples.⁹³ This thesis, in unpacking if *Te Takanga o te Wā*, is mindful of a history of control, displacement, and sometimes the

⁸⁸ Georgia Palmer, 'A Review of Maori History in Schooling and Curricula in Aotearoa New Zealand' (Honours Dissertation, University of Waikato, 2021), p.

⁸⁹ Manning, 2017, p. 125.

⁹⁰ Palmer, 2021.

⁹¹ Tamua, p. 2.

⁹² Tamua, p. 2. Sylvester, David, "Change and continuity in history teaching 1900-93", in *Teaching History*, edited by Hilary Bourdillon (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 9-26. "Process for creating Te Takanga o Te Wā and Aotearoa New Zealand's histories content", Te Tahu o te Mātauranga, Ministry of Education. <https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/changes-in-education/aotearoa-new-zealands-histories-and-te-takanga-o-te-wa/process-for-creating-te-takanga-o-te-wa-and-aotearoa-new-zealands-histories-content/> [accessed 8th September 2022].

⁹³ Smith, 1999. Peter J., Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37:1 (2003), pp. 38-47.

whitewashing of Māori concepts, as well as the various ways that iwi and Māori have legitimately adopted and experimented with Western ideas and methods. Since the nineteenth century, Māori histories were deliberately excluded or misrepresented in various iterations of the history curriculum in New Zealand schools. From early mission schools (1814-1860s) to the advent of the Native School system (1867-1969), boarding schools and public schools (1877-). At all levels, History curricula taught predominantly English and coloniser perspectives of history. The struggle to include Māori history included a vibrant national petition in 2014, and various other moments of change.⁹⁴ *Te Takanga o te Wā* arose from a nuanced history of Māori and iwi struggle, survival, experimentation, and renegotiation in the face of ongoing colonial exclusion, control, and power.

Drawing From, and Contributing to, the Literature and Archive

This research draws on the existing literature in Māori history to assess and critique the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. It contributes to international and local research in Indigenous history, history teaching, curricula, research, pedagogy, ethics, methods and theory. Indigenous peoples have been writing on pedagogy, liberation, and the promotion of our own knowledge and history in schools, the wider public domain, and academia for a long time. This study contributes to international discussions in Indigenous pedagogy and decolonisation, like Sandy Grande's influential, *Red Pedagogy*, which aims to "help shape schools and processes of learning around the decolonial imaginary. Within this fourth space of being, the dream is that indigenous and non-indigenous peoples will work in solidarity to envision a way of life free of

⁹⁴ In their petition, school students Waimārama Anderson and Leah Bell, were supported with 12,000 signatures asking for "a national day of remembrance for the NZ Wars." Submitted to parliament 2015. https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/petitions/document/51DBHOH_PET68056_1/petition-of-waimarama-anderson-and-leah-bell-that-the. (accessed 6th July 2021).

exploitation and replete with spirit.”⁹⁵ In the United States, Native scholars assert that you cannot teach history there without Native Americans, and argue that when “teachers embed Native American history more fully in the American story, students are challenged to think in new ways about larger themes in American history such as nation building, economic empowerment, citizenship and multiculturalism.”⁹⁶ Similar work in Canada by Marie Battiste, Lindsay Morcom, Kate Freeman, and Jennifer Davis, are also pushing for the inclusion and development of their history in local curricula.⁹⁷ This study aligns with that global literature and community driven aspiration, as well as other discussions on the importance of Native methods and forms of doing history and knowing the past.⁹⁸

Māori history concepts and themes have, as this study will show, developed over time in experiments with, and adaptations of, new ideas, technologies, and approaches to teaching and keeping the past. This includes international theories and thinking around topics that relate to Māori colonial histories such as “historical trauma”, “survivance”, and decolonisation.⁹⁹ This study also sits within a growing body of work on Māori history teaching, Te Tiriti education, and critical decolonial history education like Tamsin Hanly’s *the Critical Guide to Māori and Pākehā Histories of Aotearoa* developed for years 1-8, and also concentrates on curriculum content and resourcing for history topics.¹⁰⁰ It sits alongside the growing research on teaching the

⁹⁵ Sandy Grande, *Red Pedagogy: Native American Social and Political Thought* (London, New York, Toronto: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), p. 176.

⁹⁶ Sleeper- Smith et al, 2015.

⁹⁷ Lindsay Morcom, Kate Freeman, and Jennifer Davis, “Rising Like the Thunderbird: The reclamation of Indigenous Teacher Education”, in *The Curriculum History of Canadian Teacher Education*, edited by Theodore Michael Christou (New York: Routledge, 2018).

⁹⁸ Russell, Lynette and Ann McGrath, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Global Indigenous History* (Place: Routledge, 2021). Lee Evans, & Emma Lee, eds., *Indigenous Women’s Voices: 20 Years on from Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s Decolonizing Methodologies* (London: Zed Books, 2021).

⁹⁹ G. R. Vizenor, ed., *Survivance: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). Leonie Pihama, P. Reynolds, C. Smith, J. Reid, L. T. Smith, & R. Te Nana, ‘Positioning historical trauma theory within Aotearoa New Zealand’, *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 10:3, (2014) pp. 248–262. Bianca Elkington, Moana Jackson, Rebecca Kiddle, Ocean Ripeka Mercier, Mike Ross, Jennie Smeaton, Amanda Thomas, *Imagining Decolonisation* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020).

¹⁰⁰ Tamsin Hanly, *Critical Guide to Māori and Pākehā Histories of Aotearoa, 6 Book Set* (Auckland, Curriculum Programme Resource, 2016). Ingrid Huygens, ‘Pākehā and Tūiwi Treaty Education: an unrecognised decolonisation movement?’, *Kotuitui*, 11: 2, (2016), pp. 146-158.

new curriculum, and particularly those studies emphasising how difficult it all might be to teach Pākehā students difficult subjects that might cause shame or guilt. There is a suspicion here that Pākehā guilt and shame is yet another ploy to control the way Indigenous histories are conceived, themed, and presented in classrooms in ways that are more conducive to coloniser desires and aims rather than Indigenous practices and tikanga.

This study continues a rare discussion on the deeper meanings and use of Māori history concepts and approaches across a wide and varied range of books, theses, journal articles, and other work. Only a small number of essays and texts address Māori history research, concepts, and ethics specifically. Charles Royal's *Te Haurapa: an Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions* was published in 1992 and is seriously outdated and brief.¹⁰¹ Monty Soutar's excellent essay "A Framework for Analysing Written iwi Histories" is also more than two decades old.¹⁰² In assessing the strengths of the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, this thesis explores these essays and an array of other evidence including a variety of written Iwi and Māori histories (Waka histories), and other relevant texts and research that speak to explicitly Māori ways of conceptualising, framing, analysing, and doing history. It both draws on, and contributes to this body of work that is spread across multiple fields and more than a century of historiography. This thesis draws as much of this together in one place as possible noting their significance to discussions specifically about Māori history thinking. The archive of this thesis, then, draws on iwi claims histories, reports, and Tribunal work. It looks at the relevant research produced by historians, early ethnographers, and various scholars both Māori and non-Māori who have written on the themes in *te Takanga o te Wa* or what they saw as crucial history concepts. This includes the work of key Māori figures and commentators like Apirana Ngata, and

¹⁰¹ Charles Royal, *Te Haurapa: an Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992).

¹⁰² Monty Soutar, 'A Framework for Analysing Written Iwi Histories', *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2:1, (1996), pp. 43-57.

past and present Māori historians like Ranginui Walker, Aroha Harris, and Nēpia Mahuika, who have at different times written on Māori history theory, ethics, and methodology.¹⁰³

Summary

There is a disturbing lack of understanding about the relevance and nature of Māori history concepts and themes in the profession, and that is highlighted in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. While *Te Takanga o te Wā* has a number of excellent teaching suggestions, and is a step in the right direction, it is riddled with themes and concepts that are, as this thesis will show, out of step with previous and current scholarship. The five themes promoted there are not strong history concepts and left unchecked could leave significant problems for Māori to address in the future. This thesis encourages the Ministry, and other experts, to rethink the concepts driving the new curriculum, and consider whether or not they are indeed history concepts and themes.

The main body of this thesis is divided into six chapters. The first five chapters examine and critique the five key concepts “Whakapapa”, “Tūrangawaewae”, “Mana Motuhake”, “Kaitiakitanga”, “Whanaungatanga.” Each chapter considers the way the theme and concept is introduced and presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and then discusses how they are addressed, or not, by historians (Māori historians specifically) and by other experts in various fields of study. Chapter Six presents a number of concepts and themes that have been written about and discussed by Māori historians. These include, ironically, wā (time), tikanga (ethics and rules), te reo Māori, and decolonisation

This thesis is grounded in a kaupapa Māori approach that promotes Māori kōrero and mātauranga. It argues that many essential pedagogies and ideologies from te Ao Māori have been missed in past efforts to guide teachers in Māori history as a

¹⁰³ Aroha Harris, ‘Theorize This: We Are What We Write’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero - Māori History, Māori People*, 3, (2009), pp. 83-90. Mahuika, 2021.

topic in the national curricula. This thesis centres this research in mātauranga Māori and iwi that emphasise mana Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi narratives, tikanga, reo, and so forth. Teachers need to be prepared for students who were not raised within Te Ao Māori. This thesis asserts that we need to use the best, most apt, culturally relevant and cutting edge knowledge, and in teaching Māori and iwi histories must use themes and concepts consistent with the Māori history historiography past and present.

Whakapapa as an Historical Concept

Whakapapa has long been considered a key practice, concept, and framework in Māori and iwi histories. Ngāi Tahu Historian, Rawiri Te Maire Tau, for instance, has argued that whakapapa is the ‘skeletal structure of Māori epistemology.’¹⁰⁴ Others like Tipene O'Regan and John Rangihau have emphasised its importance to identity making, and the maintenance of tribal identity, as well as ethical research practice in history and archaeology.¹⁰⁵ Apirana Ngata wrote and taught about whakapapa's peculiar language and experimented with different ways of keeping and using whakapapa to transmit the past.¹⁰⁶ There is a diverse, and varied archive, of writing on whakapapa, with much of its recent work particular to Māori Land claims, written Iwi histories, and recent Settlement Reports.¹⁰⁷ There is a lot of written and published whakapapa (genealogy) in private and public spaces, but not a lot of scholarship explicitly dedicated to its pedagogy, form, and History specific politics and meaning.

While Whakapapa is a leading theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015), its historical relevance and multiple uses and forms are barely touched on. Instead of highlighting what Māori writers have produced about whakapapa over generations, the authors choose to focus instead on activities aimed students. These included ‘building a family tree’ or interviewing grandparents.¹⁰⁸ In the brief two-three pages dedicated to Whakapapa in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, the authors connect it to other supposedly related phrases such as ‘Tūpuna’, ‘Connections’, ‘Belonging’, ‘Identity’, ‘Culture’,

¹⁰⁴ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, ‘Matauranga Māori as an Epistemology’, in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past- A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 61-73.

¹⁰⁵ Tipene O'Regan, ‘Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past’, in *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori*, edited by John Wilson (Auckland: Penguin in association with New Zealand Historic Places Trust, 1987), pp. 141-145; John Rangihau, ‘Being Māori’, in *Te Ao Hurihuri: aspects of Māoritanga*, edited by Michael King (Auckland: Reed, 1992), pp. 183-190.

¹⁰⁶ Apirana T. Ngata, *The Porourangi Māori Cultural School, Rauru-nui-a-Toi Course, Lectures 1-7* (Gisborne: Māori Purposes Fund Board/Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2011, originally presented in 1944).

¹⁰⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, *Whaia te mana motuhake = In pursuit of mana motuhake: report on the Māori Community Development Act Claim : Wai 2417 / Waitangi Tribunal* (Lower Hutt: Legislation Direct, 2015). Tiaki Hikawera Mitchell, *Takitimu* (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997), *Tainui Historical Report; Taranaki Historical Report*.

¹⁰⁸ Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015), p.5.

‘Community’, ‘Tikanga’, and ‘Mana Whenua’.¹⁰⁹ But these terms are not sufficiently explained or expanded on, thus it remains unclear how they relate to either whakapapa or its use and meaning in the practice of history. Whakapapa, then, in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is simplistically defined as ‘genealogy, a ‘genealogical table’, ‘lineage’, or ‘descent’ with little to no reference or mention of other existing scholarship regarding its application as an historical concept or pedagogical practice.¹¹⁰

This chapter looks beyond the surface meanings of whakapapa presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.¹¹¹ It considers how it has been applied as an explicitly historical idea and practice within and beyond te Ao Māori for several generations. This includes ways in which Māori have incorporated and experimented with non-Māori thinking about genealogy, including its various forms, and the methods relative to genealogical research and history. Surveying a range of examples, this chapter explores multiple ways in which whakapapa has been discussed as an historical concept, framework, and act explicit to the past. This includes its varying forms in writing, orality, and carving, as iwi and Māori transitioned from predominantly oral transmission, kōrero tuku iho, whakairo, raranga, and waiata, to new mediums in print and other technologies. This chapter surveys the various ways in which whakapapa has been defined and discussed by historians, ethnographers, and iwi and Māori scholars since the nineteenth century. It closely considers the methodological, pedagogical and theoretical ways in which whakapapa has been used and applied to historical work, including the use of Western methods and concepts.

Whakapapa in *Te Takanga o te Wā*

The lack of depth in the 2015 publication of *Te Takanga o te Wā* illustrates to some degree an alarming disconnect between Māori and non-Māori perceptions of the field

¹⁰⁹ Tamua, 2015, p. 5.

¹¹⁰ Tamua, 2015, p. 18.

¹¹¹ Tamua, 2015, p. 5.

and practice of History. For many Māori, Pākehā or Western History is too narrowly focused on objectivity, empiricism, written evidence, and racist self-serving coloniser-centric storytelling that not only displaces local Indigenous peoples and their knowledge, but shamelessly privileges ‘settler’ perspectives of what counts as viable history. Writing on the insidious nature of Western History for colonised peoples, for instance, Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that ‘we had to watch while our history was wiped away right before our eyes.’¹¹² The trauma of seeing our past ridiculed and displaced by coloniser narratives, and appropriated by Pākehā academic experts, instilled a deep distrust of non-Māori researchers and Western academia, especially the work of Historians. But a dismissal of Western history as some sort of anti-thesis or binary opposite ignores the many negotiations where these two bodies of knowledge have converged and diverged. In short, Māori have, since the arrival of Europeans, experimented with new knowledge and technology in the keeping and presenting of our past, but this is sometimes overlooked by our own people, and conspicuously absent from *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Those who compiled the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā* did so with little attention paid to the field of Māori and iwi history or Indigenous historical scholarship globally. With backgrounds in teaching, curriculum development and education, their unsurprising focus remained on classroom exercises, student interviews, and student activities. For them, whakapapa’s historical relevance is primarily about the shaping of present identity. They write that in doing history:

Both younger and older students will be able to look at how their whakapapa shapes who they are. Younger students may do so on a more concrete level – “I’m funny like Grandpa”, or “I have hair like Mum”, or “We live here because of my great grandparents.” Older children will be able to delve more deeply, examining how the movements, decisions, and beliefs of their whakapapa have influenced where they are and who they are.¹¹³

¹¹² Tuhiwai Smith, 1999.

¹¹³ Tamua, 2015, p. 5.

In asking students to consider how they 'are products of other peoples' actions, they only scratch the surface of how whakapapa works as a conduit between past and present, with significant cultural, political, linguistic, emotional and spiritual ties and obligations.¹¹⁴ This is a well-trodden theoretical idea in Māori history writing, and has been discussed in the literature, but *Te Takanga o te Wā* does not go further in explaining this intricate negotiation and how this can also be problematic. A short 18-page Ministry of Education document, *Te Takanga o te Wā* largely ignores current historical thinking in Māori history, and as a result offers outdated summations of what history is and how it works. Its authors, for instance, argue that '[w]e cannot change history but we can shape the future and our own behaviours as a result of historical events.'¹¹⁵ Historians on the other hand, witness the past change on a regular basis. We see it challenged and revised in every generation as our discussion without end continues. Indeed, Indigenous historians have witnessed our past changed and 'othered' in multiple retellings, reduced to fairytales, myths, legends and fantasy.¹¹⁶ For generations now, we have sought a reclaiming of our past 'site by site under Western eyes' and its inclusion in a national curriculum.¹¹⁷ The prominence of Whakapapa as a key theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* aligns with its significance in the field of Māori and Iwi history, but there is scant reference to that body of work in the book. As a result, the exercises, interviews, and classroom activities might well create opportunities to engage with whakapapa knowledge and practice, but there is no discussion of how whakapapa itself has been used to shape, frame, and organise iwi and Māori pasts.

¹¹⁴ Tamua, 2015, p.5

¹¹⁵ Tamua, 2015, p.5.

¹¹⁶ Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

¹¹⁷ Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 34. Georgia Palmer, 'A Review of Maori History in Schooling and Curricula in Aotearoa New Zealand' (Honours Dissertation, University of Waikato, 2021).

Whakapapa: A Topic in Multiple Fields and Disciplines

There is a substantial body of work that has addressed the meaning and use of whakapapa across several disciplines. Whakapapa is researched and written about in Ethics, Law, Education, Māori and Indigenous Studies, and many other fields. It has been a key subject for Legal scholars in Aotearoa and those who have explored the Māori Land Court Minutes Books seeking confirmation of long term occupation and land ownership.¹¹⁸ Since the nineteenth century, ethnographers, anthropologists, and historians have at various times commented on the cultural, and social intricacies of Māori and Iwi communities, and in doing so have explored the way whakapapa explains 'Kin' relationships between tuakana and teina, iwi and hapū, hapū and whānau.¹¹⁹ Demographers have sought to reconstitute generations of whakapapa drawing together census records with local kōrero to address disconnected links brought about by colonial displacement and assimilation.¹²⁰ However, when discussing whakapapa as an historical concept, the literature is limited. Whakapapa is a key traditional concept for Māori to connect all living things to each other, to keep history, to teach tikanga, and to reinforce a sense of belonging, yet there is room for more research on this topic.

Whakapapa is most commonly translated as 'genealogy' and this simple translation is rightfully front and centre in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.¹²¹ Nēpia Mahuika defines whakapapa as 'the Māori word for genealogy' and can be interpreted literally as 'the process of layering one thing upon another.' 'There is a genealogy', he writes,

¹¹⁸ Ann Parsonson, 'Stories for the Land: Oral Narratives in the Māori Land Court' in *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand*, edited by Bain Attwood and Fiona Magowan (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 29-40. M. P. K., Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty: The Polynesian Society Over 100 Years* (Auckland: Polynesian Society, 1992).

¹¹⁹ Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, 'Ngā Wahine Kaihatu o Ngāti Porou/Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou' (Unpublished MA Thesis, Sydney University, 1974). Raymond Firth, *Two Studies of Kinship in London* (Milton: Taylor & Francis, 1956).

¹²⁰ Tahu Kukutai, Nēpia Mahuika, Heeni Kani, Denise Ewe, Karu H. Kukutai, 'Survivance as Narrative Identity: Voices from a Ngāti Tipa Oral History Project', *MAI Journal: A New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, 9, 3: (2020), pp. 309- 320.

¹²¹ Tamua, 2015, p. 17.

‘for every word, thought, object, mineral, place and person.’¹²² According to Apirana Ngata, the term ‘in most common use is used to describe the act of reciting a genealogy and for the genealogy itself. It introduces another conception in the reciter’s mind.’¹²³

In the early nineteen nineties, Cleve Barlow in *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture* defined whakapapa as, ‘the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time.’¹²⁴ For Māori, whakapapa as an historical concept connects us, to the environment, to oceans, to the natural world, as well as the intellectual and spiritual realms and to each other. Everything, then, has a history that can be traced through genealogical lines of connection. In this way, the past can be accessed through a closer examination of these genealogical relationships over time. This is very much the same idea expressed in the work of Ngai Tahu historian Rawiri Te Maire Tau who observed how whakapapa has been used by tōhunga ‘to ensure that the past was retained in an accurate manner through chant, recitation of whakapapa or other oral mediums.’¹²⁵

Writing on the place of whakapapa in traditional Whare Wānanga, Rangimarie and Nēpia Mahuika discuss the way it was used as a pedagogy and method to transmit and disseminate the past.¹²⁶ They write that whakapapa was kept and taught via repetition in wānanga through long chants, waiata, carving and after the arrival of colonial invaders was enhanced by both new and inherited mātauranga (knowledge).¹²⁷ Whakapapa, then, was used as an important historical framework and practice that iwi, whānau, and hapu, employed in various pedagogical forms. In wānanga, the use of genealogy often included ‘displays of Māori oral history and

¹²² Nēpia Mahuika, ‘A Brief History of Whakapapa’, *Genealogy*, 3:32, (2019), p. 1.

¹²³ Ngata and Ngata, 2019, pp. 25-26.

¹²⁴ Barlow, 1992, p. 173.

¹²⁵ Whakapapa, he notes, tracks one’s lineage to various Atua. Te Maire Tau, 1999, pp. 11.; 14.

¹²⁶ Nēpia Mahuika & Rangimarie Mahuika, ‘Wānanga as a Research Methodology’, *Alter-Native*, 16:4, (2020), pp. 369–377.

¹²⁷ Mahuika and Mahuika, 2020, p. 369.

philosophy' taught and experienced through the use of songs, welcoming rituals, karakia, and long periods of recitation.¹²⁸

The concept of whakapapa, in multiple disciplines, focuses on the way it connects us to all things, whether physical, spiritual or intellectual. Prior to colonial invasion it was learnt via osmosis and in strict rituals held in specific schools of learning, usually set aside for those with specific genealogy themselves who showed an aptitude for memory and enthusiasm for historical knowledge and storytelling. This use and transmission of whakapapa was untouched by outside influences until the arrival of Europeans but remained a practice in wānanga where the past was organised in the various interweaving of genealogical relationships. For Māori, whakapapa as an historical concept connects us, to the environment, to oceans, to the natural world, as well as the intellectual and spiritual realms and to each other. Everything, then, has a history that can be traced through genealogical lines of connection. With the arrival of non-Māori fields of study and 'disciplines' like History, Ethnography, and Law, it was redefined and used in new ways to contest land claims and date the arrival of 'Natives', but in this process was 'distorted' in ways that later scholars considered highly problematic.¹²⁹

As an historical concept in various fields whakapapa served as a structuring device and framework. While Māori and iwi histories were largely ridiculed and displaced by non-Māori researchers as superstitions and myths, whakapapa remained a constant device used by writers in the mid twentieth century to produce tribal histories.¹³⁰ It has also been a prominent concept in local Indigenous research methods and ethics, used by Linda Tuhiwai Smith, for instance, in *Decolonizing Methodologies*

¹²⁸ Mahuika and Mahuika, 2020, p. 369.

¹²⁹ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, 'Matauranga Māori as an Epistemology', in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past- A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 61-7.

¹³⁰ Mahuika, 2019.

to show how researchers can occupy either an “insider” or “outsider” position, which she notes is an important factor in appropriate research methodologies.¹³¹

The Language of Whakapapa

Māori experts have long noted the fact that whakapapa has its own language, and have argued that this terminology is crucial to its use and practice.¹³² The omission of this important set of terms is glaringly evident in *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s brief introduction to whakapapa as a key Māori historical theme.¹³³ If we do not know the language or terminology of whakapapa, how then can we use it, understand it, and apply it to any analysis or interpretations of iwi and Māori pasts? The terminology tells us that there are various ways of writing, reciting, and producing whakapapa, and that these have particular significance to what is recorded and how. For example, one way of reciting whakapapa focuses on ‘te ure tārewa’ or ‘ure tane’ which traces the male descent line within a whānau or hapu.¹³⁴ Similarly, ‘whakaparu wāhine’ is a term used to denote focus on female lines of descent.¹³⁵ Māori scholars, drawing on earlier writing by Apirana Ngata, highlight an array of terms used by exponents of genealogy. These include ‘whakamoe’ (the intermarriages in the lines of descent), ‘taotahi’ (to recall a descent line without listing a spouse), ‘hikohiko’ (to skip names on the vertical line down and sometimes interpolate names on the horizontal plane), and many others.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p 138.

¹³² Mahuika, 2019. A.T., Ngata, *The Porourangi Māori Cultural School, Rauru-nui-a-Toi Course, Lectures 1-7* (Gisborne: Māori Purposes Fund Board/Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2011, originally presented in 1944).

¹³³ Tamua, 2015.

¹³⁴ *Te Aka: Māori Dictionary* <https://Māoridictionary.co.nz/word/8907>.

¹³⁵ Mahuika, 2019, p. 7.

¹³⁶ Mahuika, 2019, p. 7.

In 'The Terminology of Whakapapa' Wayne Ngata notes how his tipuna Apirana Ngata had hoped to create a framework that helped structure the social organisation of Māori communities. He writes:

In Māori, various terms are used to define a pedigree or genealogy, or the act of tracing descent or setting out genealogically the relationship of persons or groups. A people such as the Māori, which had intense pride of race and a social system based largely on the family status of its members, would be expected to evolve a rich terminology relating to the preservation and transmission of pedigrees and the processes connected therewith.¹³⁷

These terms refer to specific types of relationships or even identities and highlight specific identity connections. As an historical concept, then, whakapapa tells us about who we are, and helps to arrange the past for speakers, writers and storytellers. Indeed, terminology such as 'tatai', which 'is to arrange or set in order', as Apirana Ngata explains, is a significant term in understanding whakapapa.¹³⁸ He defines tatai as the 'Māori equivalent of the classical expression of adorning a tale' which further displays the way in which a genealogical expert would traditionally recite whakapapa.¹³⁹ On this topic, Cleve Barlow also writes that:

The word 'tātai' is often used as a synonym for whakapapa. There is a major difference, however, in that tātai signifies the order and structure of various domains – for example, the organization of the stars and heavenly bodies, the organization of the forest, and the organization of the sea and all the life within it', highlighting the story-telling, or 'adorning of a tale' version of whakapapa.¹⁴⁰

Knowing the language of whakapapa is pivotal to reading it, reciting it, understanding it, and seeing how it organises the past in specific narrative relationships, including gendered readings of the past, and inter-tribal and familial

¹³⁷ Apirana Ngata, 'The terminology of Whakapapa (With an introduction by Wayne Ngata)', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 128, (2019), p. 21.

¹³⁸ Ngata with Ngata, 2019, p. 25.

¹³⁹ Ngata with Ngata, 2019, p. 25.

¹⁴⁰ Barlow, 1991, p. 173.

unions (as well as departures and separations). Without it, historians have little way of deciphering and appreciating what they are looking at when they come across various genealogical recitations and texts. Although the language and terminology of whakapapa is clearly significant and well addressed in existing literature, there is no discussion of it in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. It might be that the authors considered the terminology too advanced for students, yet it would have been invaluable for History teachers, and should have been included, even if only introducing a few terms to begin with.

Whakapapa as Epochs, Origins, and Time-Marking

Whakapapa is, for many, a method of knowledge-holding and lineage-keeping that links us all the way back to the Māori creation and iwi origin stories. As a key concept in Māori and iwi histories, whakapapa has often been used to mark turning points and beginnings, and over time has been unpacked for what it tells us about epochs of time. These epochs are noted, for instance, by Ranginui Walker, who in ‘The Creation Myth’ recounts the whakapapa of each cosmological epoch or era, including Te Kore and Te Pō (the void and the darkness).¹⁴¹ Like many others, he recites the history of the separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku, and narrates the role of their children as Atua which also serves to explain the way our ancestors engaged with their environment and related to each other.

In his history, Walker refers to Tāne Mahuta who plays a significant part in the creation of Te Ao Marama (the world of light in which human beings and all other things were created).¹⁴² This origin history focuses largely on the whakapapa that Māori today recite as their connection to the land, ocean, sky, and all things. As descendants of Atua, whakapapa as an historical concept helps to explain how iwi

¹⁴¹ Walker, 1996, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴² Walker, 1996, pp. 15-19.

arrived here, and how their customs, rituals and beliefs, were tightly connected to genealogies to the natural world they lived in and to the Atua associated with those various divisions of both time and place. Whakapapa as a historical concept, then, is regularly used as a marker of time, epochs, eras, origins, and turning points throughout the past.

Epochs and eras in te Ao Māori have aligning whakapapa that guides us from the past to the present, and might be seen by some as akin to the non-Māori idea of chronology. This, in many ways might be thought of as a whakapapa of Atua and time, or as some refer note, divisions of time. For example, Walker asserts that Te Kore has been ‘characterised by divisions’ wherein each era have their own ‘descriptive terminology’ such as, Te Kore Tē Whiwhia (the void in which nothing could be obtained) and Te Kore Tē Rawea (the void in which nothing can be done).¹⁴³ According to Walker, Te Pō has a ‘numerical sequence of darkness’ beginning with Te Pō Tuatahi (the first night) which continues till the thousandth night.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, Rawiri Te Maire Tau argues that whakapapa can be used as a historical method to mark time through generations, rather than through years, despite Peter Munz’s claim that history taught through oral transmission is unreliable.¹⁴⁵ Tau writes that:

[H]e is right in his remark that genealogies cannot be used as a precise time reckoning system. It is questionable whether Māori saw time in the same way as defined in the West... just because genealogies were not designed for purposes of ordering time, does not mean genealogies cannot be used to create some chronological order. Time simply needs to be measured genealogically. We should say that the genealogy of Ngāi Tahu indicates that ancestor A arrived in New Zealand 20 generations ago, not 1350AD.¹⁴⁶

Using whakapapa as a time-marker, Tau claims that he is able to cross-reference and correlate Ngāi Tahu’s whakapapa with other East Coast iwi to create a sense of time,

¹⁴³ Walker, 1996, p. 14.

¹⁴⁴ Walker, 1996, pp. 14-15.

¹⁴⁵ Tau, 1999, p. 10.

¹⁴⁶ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, 1999, p. 11.

and although not a ‘precise time reckoning system’ according to some, it is still a system worth exploring, ‘albeit an imprecise one.’¹⁴⁷ In this way, Tau acknowledges whakapapa as a methodological tool for historians that can support an understanding of when, who, and what, took place in Māori history. Others, similar to Tau, reject a dating of whakapapa in this way (discussed further below), choosing not to ground Māori history in a non-Māori perception of time based around others beliefs and dating systems and calendars.¹⁴⁸ For Māori, the lunar calendar and recent Matariki celebrations denote a history set in our own understandings of time. Whakapapa is not in this sense a concept that deals directly with time and dates, but takes us back through generations that cannot be easily assigned to time-markers.

Writing on the history of Ngāti Porou, Nēpia Mahuika points out that we can see the idea of a peripeteia or turning point in the history of the acclaimed whale riding ancestor Paikea. His departure from Hawaiiki is referred to as ‘te Hurpureiata’ or ‘the turning point.’¹⁴⁹ As an organising framework, then, whakapapa assist storytellers or historians in their narrations of the past, providing genealogical references to pockets of time, departures, arrivals, and origins. Each iwi has their own narrative that is inextricably connected to their own whakapapa. Many write about key ancestors or voyagers, and others of migrations and contests over land and people. While different iwi hold their own peculiar histories that speak to their origins, they also share overlapping whakapapa connections that reveal their interrelated histories.

¹⁴⁷ Tau, 1999, p. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Rangi Mataamua, ‘Matariki and the Decolonization of Time’, in *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies*, edited by Brendan Hokowhitu (New York: Routledge, 2020), pp. 65-77.

¹⁴⁹ Te huripureiata is also the name of the fishing spot, and in Ngāti Porou history reflects a tradition of naming places after events, like Whetu kamokamo (knowing glances) a similar fishing spot where Poroumata was killed. Mahuika, 2019.

Whakapapa as an Organising Framework for Tribal Identity

One of the more obvious ways in which whakapapa has been used to structure and organise the of past is evident in published tribal histories, most of which were produced around the mid-twentieth century onward. Iwi and waka histories became a focus for European ethnographers and as a result, whakapapa also became a common interest often misunderstood and abused by non-Māori. Following on from earlier research that had obsessed over waka migrations and Māori arrivals, there was a flurry of writing based on canoe genealogies. Rather than focusing on the eponymous ancestors of specific iwi, writers bundled hapu and iwi together in a range of waka histories that counted the generations back to key navigators and canoes. These included histories of waka groups, such as *Te Arawa*, *Tainui*, *Aotea*, *Takitimu*, and *Horouta*.¹⁵⁰

In *Mataatua* John Aramete Wairehu Steedman seeks to explain the differentiating accounts of Mataatua waka migration, the people aboard and their descendants, and relies heavily on whakapapa.¹⁵¹ Using whakapapa from other waka histories, such as Rongowhakaata Halbert's *Horouta*, Steedman produces a timeline that he uses to organise his history along successive generations.¹⁵² But it was not always common for Māori to simply hand over whakapapa to their European researchers. Whether intentional or merely a mistake, there have been accounts of Māori deliberately providing inaccurate information.¹⁵³ For example, Steedman writes of a genealogical table he copied from Elsdon Best's *Tuhoe*: 'of which Best has given his detailed views and expressed great doubt of such an absurd listing which someone

¹⁵⁰ Don M. Stafford, *Te Arawa: a History of the Arawa People* (Rotorua: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1967; Auckland: Reed, 1986); Pei Te Hurinui Jones & Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995); T.G Hammond, *The Story of Aotea* (Christchurch: Lyttleton Times, 1924); Tiaki Hikawera Mitchell, *Takitimu* (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, 1997); Rongowhakaata Halbert, *Horouta: the History of the Horouta canoe, Gisborne and East Coast* (Auckland: Reed, 1999).

¹⁵¹ John Aramete Wairehu Steedman, *Mataatua* (Tauranga: Publicity Printing Limited, 2001), p. 1.

¹⁵² Steedman, 2001, p. 12.

¹⁵³ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikituroa o Ngāi Tahu: the Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003).

has handed to him.’¹⁵⁴ Despite this, Steedman cites and employs both Best’s and Percy Smith’s whakapapa research fraught with what other scholars later noted as severe inaccuracies and misinterpretations.¹⁵⁵ Thus, while whakapapa has been used as an organising framework, histories like Steadman explicitly employed local genealogies to fashion what are ultimately waka identities which were popularised sometime earlier by the likes of Best, Smith and Edward Treager. Indeed, Ngata used waka whakapapa as the basis for organising the 28 Māori Battalion in the 1940s.¹⁵⁶

As an organising frame in historical research, whakapapa has not only been used by early European ethnographers to piece together Māori waka migrations and arrivals, but as a frame used by both Māori and Pākehā writers to within which to understand authority, hierarchy and whānau dynamics within the Māori world. Using whakapapa as a frame to assert either iwi, hapu whānau or waka identities, or all at the same time, is a common practice in both written and spoken iwi histories. In his work, Rawiri Te Maire Tau explicitly refers to whakapapa as ‘an organising framework for Māori history.’¹⁵⁷ Indeed, whānau genealogy remains a popular practice for Māori impacted by colonial assimilation who have then sought to reconnect to their own history and whakapapa.¹⁵⁸ As an organising framework, whakapapa has been used to identify iwi and Māori in various ways. Apirana Ngata, for instance, studied and wrote several texts on whakapapa for his incomplete doctoral thesis on Māori social organisation.¹⁵⁹ In each example, whether a tribal history or a more recent settlement claim, the conceptual idea in the use of whakapapa to explain the past revolves around the construction of identities using specific genealogical roots and frames. This crucial idea too is missing in *Te Takanga o te Wā*,

¹⁵⁴ Steedman, 2001, p. 19.

¹⁵⁵ Steedman, 2001, p. 20.

¹⁵⁶ Monty Soutar, *Ngā tama toa = he toto heke, he Tipare Here ki te ūkaipo : Kamupene C, Ope Taua (Māori) 28 1939-1945 : i tuhia tenei pukapua i roto i te reo Māori* (Tamaki Makaurau: David Bateman; 2014).

¹⁵⁷ Tau, 2000; Mahuika, 2019, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ Mahuika, 2019, p. 9

¹⁵⁹ Mahuika, 2019.

where identity as a theme is still present, but disconnected from the significant body of work that shows how it is nuanced in various arrangements of whakapapa.

Whakapapa and Western Genealogical Methods

Whakapapa always has been and is still, taught orally, but there has been a significant shift to writing and text that served to flatten whakapapa out on the page. The language of tikanga is essential to understanding and doing whakapapa, but over time whānau, hapu and iwi experimented with new ways of keeping and disseminating their taonga.¹⁶⁰ Before this, whakapapa was not as easily accessible. Ranginui Walker writes that:

Tribal whakapapa were taught in schools of learning known as whare wānanga. The whakapapa were maintained by tohunga, who were recognised as professional genealogists. Their teaching was conducted in secret, under rigidly prescribed rules. Secrecy maintained the gap between priests and the uninitiated. The mystique was fostered by the use of archaic forms, obsolete words and guttural recitation. This prevented the whakapapa being captured by the uninitiated.¹⁶¹

Like Walker, Cleve Barlow also describes whakapapa as ‘one of the most prized forms of knowledge’ and points out that great efforts were made to ‘preserve it.’¹⁶² Indeed, scholars have written of the exclusiveness of whakapapa to specific genealogical experts, or tohunga, within the whānau, hapū, and iwi.¹⁶³ In one example, Wayne Ngata writes of Te Koro Kiriahuru (Tairāwhiti), a “noted genealogy expert”, who he writes “was consulted by Ngata and others in matters of genealogical knowledge and practice.” However, as Ngata observes, Te Koro and other tohunga were, and ‘have

¹⁶⁰ Mahuika, 2019, p. 7.

¹⁶¹ Walker, 1996, p. 23.

¹⁶² Barlow, 1991, p. 174.

¹⁶³ Mahuika, 2019. Tau, 1999, p.11.

now been, overtaken by Western models of absorbing, retaining and utilising bodies of knowledge.’¹⁶⁴

This transition was encouraged by influential Māori thinkers and scholars including Ta Apirana Ngata and Te Rangihīroa, who regularly referred to the work Pākehā researchers including, Edward Shortland, Richard Taylor, Sir George Grey, Elsdon Best, Edward Treager and Stephenson Percy Smith.¹⁶⁵ When Pākehā began interacting closely with Māori communities, their curiosity regarding Native social organisations, histories, and mythology led to a raft of research focused on social structures within hapū, whānau and iwi. To interrogate these phenomena, whakapapa was a key framework employed by contemporary researchers. In doing so, many adopted a Western genealogical methodology that sought to date the arrival of iwi navigators.¹⁶⁶ This led to the proposition of a ‘Great Fleet’ theory, which was supported by Ngata and others.¹⁶⁷ Nēpia Mahuika writes about this process noting how ‘researchers and genealogical specialists’ such as J. B. W. Robertson and Edward Shortland used whakapapa as a ‘genealogical method or system of counting and dating generations popularised in the work of Polynesian Society.’¹⁶⁸ In this approach, historians were encouraged to count each generation as twenty-five years, and in doing so sought to calculate dates and times wherein Māori arrived on these Islands.¹⁶⁹

The ‘Great Fleet’ theory, then, histories written by John White, Percy Smith, and Elsdon Best, all of whom took an interest in iwi origins, genealogies and cultural practices. Their work was then also popularised by Māori and iwi writers, like John Aramete Wairehu Steedman, who promoted the ‘main fleet’ theory in his book on the history of Mataatua.¹⁷⁰ In it, Steedman refers to Te Rangihīroa’s *The Coming of the*

¹⁶⁴ Ngata, 2019, p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ Mahuika, 2019, p. 5.

¹⁶⁶ Stephenson P. Smith, *Hawaiiki: the Original home of the Māori, with a sketch of Polynesian History* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1904).

¹⁶⁷ Mahuika, 2019, p. 5.

¹⁶⁸ Mahuika, 2019, p. 5.

¹⁶⁹ Atholl Anderson et al, 2014.

¹⁷⁰ Steedman, p. 20-21.

Māori, and the Western genealogical method incorporated within. Of Buck's use of whakapapa he writes that '[t]here are many who refuse to entertain this method of settlement, but of recent years, many of our reputable historians have adopted this same theory. Many who appear to disbelieve, really do believe, but are too stubborn to concede.'¹⁷¹

Like Steedman, many Māori embraced the use of Western genealogical methods, and sought to use it in dating the history of their ancestors. In his Raurunui-a-Toi lectures in 1944, Ngata strongly advocated for the use of this method, advising his students to read key Pākehā texts that all supported the Great Fleet theory. Decades after Ngata's death, the Great Fleet myth was thoroughly debunked by various scholars, who pointed how Smith had grossly manipulated and misrepresented his own evidence.¹⁷² Applying a twenty-five year rubric per generation was also seen as deeply problematic, and unable to accurately determine the life span of each ancestor, many of whom married relatives not in their own generation. Some continue to use this method today, seemingly unaware of its deeply problematic history. It is not mentioned at all in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, despite the fact it is a well-used approach applied over several decades.

Whakapapa as Historical Pedagogy

Whakapapa was an essential part of curricula and teaching in traditional and post-invasion Whare Wānanga.¹⁷³ The recitation of whakapapa has been discussed by scholars as a specific cultural pedagogy and a key method for transmitting and retaining the past over generations.¹⁷⁴ Traditional schools of learning like Wahre Wānanga incorporated specific oral techniques to support memory through repetition

¹⁷¹ Steedman, p. 15.

¹⁷² H. D. Skinner, *The Morioris of Chatham Islands* (Papakura: Southern Reprints, 1990).

¹⁷³ Mahuika and Mahuika, 2020, p. 369.

¹⁷⁴ Mahuika & Mahuika, 2020.

and rhythm. One of these practices included the use of waha kohatu (a stone placed in the mouth), which Mita Carter asserts functioned as an 'aid to memory, and to prevent stammering.'¹⁷⁵ The pedagogical approach of the whare wānanga included specific rituals related to the recitation of whakapapa that incurred severe repercussions if errors were made.¹⁷⁶ Of this practice, Ranginui Walker writes that:

The world view of the Māori is encapsulated in whakapapa, the description of the phenomenological world in the form of a genealogical recital. Implicit in the meaning of whakapapa are ideas of orderliness, sequence, evolution, and progress. These ideas are embodied in the sequence of myths, traditions and tribal histories. They trace the genesis of human beings from the creation of the universe to the creation of the first woman and, thereafter, the development of culture and human institutes.¹⁷⁷

For some, like Walker, whakapapa included a mix of both historical fact and myth. His tendency to also see various whakapapa as mythic reflects a non-Māori perception of genealogy, which arrived with early ethnographers and researchers who displaced a range of Māori histories and genealogies as unreliable mythology and superstition.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Walker highlights the importance of whakapapa recital for retaining the origin story and explaining how it shapes Māori culture, values and ideologies through storytelling that has been passed down within whānau. He writes that 'in Māori philosophy, gods are the source of knowledge. For this reason, intermediary ancestors between gods and humans fetch knowledge from their ancestors above them in the whakapapa, and transmit it to human descendants who come after them.'¹⁷⁹ Similarly, in discussing the whare wānanga and likening the teaching methods to that of the Medieval era's schooling techniques and Greek scholars such as Plato and Aristotle, Rawiri Te Maire Tau argues that '[t]he whare wānanga taught its students the spiritual relationship of the person to the world. Its

¹⁷⁵ Mita Carter, 'The Preservation of the Māori Oral Tradition', *Oral History in New Zealand*, vol. 3 (1990-91), p. 5.

¹⁷⁶ Mahuika, 2019.

¹⁷⁷ Walker, 1996, p. 13.

¹⁷⁸ Mahuika, 2019.

¹⁷⁹ Walker, 1996, p. 19.

purpose was to maintain an established framework that ordered and categorised the world by whakapapa.¹⁸⁰ In this way, whakapapa as an historical concept enabled an understanding of 'divisions' within the culture, but most importantly various frameworks that connected the past and present, descendants and ancestors.

As a pedagogy whakapapa has been used to teach us about the evolutions and origins of our complex identities and inter-relationships. On the marae, for instance, when visitors are welcomed, whakapapa is an essential part of pōwhiri and often recited in waiata, chants, haka, Karanga and whaikōrero.¹⁸¹ These contained important histories of the tribe, senior lines, famous battles, voyages, ancestors, and intergenerational political ideas. In these contexts, whakapapa is lived like a story, contested, experienced, and intertwined.¹⁸² Visiting groups, for instance, during the welcome process are part of the chorus of voices that contribute to this shared mode of storytelling and remembering. Taranaki historian, Danny Keenan refers to this as 'the past from the paepae', wherein whakapapa is often part of the multisensory process of powhiri and whaikōrero.¹⁸³ Each speaker recites their whakapapa in order to establish relations between home people and visitors. This is not only to relate the speaker to other people, but to their ancestors and the gods, as well as landmarks significant to their community. This co-shared nature of storytelling, as Te Maire Tau observes, is based on the knowledge of whakapapa which he argues 'brought one closer to the Atua and reinforced the spiritual relationship'.¹⁸⁴

As an historical practice, then, whakapapa in native pedagogy welcomed repetition, encouraged critical thinking and debate, and is a foundational body of knowledge embedded in multiple forms (historical sources).¹⁸⁵ Mahuika writes that

¹⁸⁰ Tau, 1999, p. 14.

¹⁸¹ Poia Rewi, Higgins, Rawinia, and Vincent Olsen-Reeder, eds., *The Value of the Maori Language: Te Hua o te Reo Maori*, Vol. 2 (Wellington: Huia, 2014).

¹⁸² Julie Cruickshank, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Yukon Native Elders* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1992).

¹⁸³ Danny Keenan, 'The Past from the Paepae', in *Remembering, Writing Oral History*, edited by Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), pp. 145-151.

¹⁸⁴ Tau, 1999, p. 15.

¹⁸⁵ Mahuika and Mahuika, 2020, p. 369.

whakapapa was part of a sophisticated body of mnemonic devices and ‘evocative displays of Māori oral history and philosophy in action.’ These, he writes, included songs, welcoming rituals, karakia (incantations/prayer), genealogies, food, relationship building, proverbs, and speeches.¹⁸⁶ Similarly, Melinda Webber and Kapua Connor point out that whakapapa has long been a methodological and conceptual tool that assisted in exploring interrelated paths through Māori epistemologies. ‘As a research methodology’, they write, whakapapa is about ‘relationships with living and non-living.’¹⁸⁷

Storying is a crucial part of the way whakapapa is disseminated and passed on. It is a key aspect of its pedagogy and transmission across generations. Moana Jackson describes whakapapa as a series of never-ending stories, and suggest that ‘[i]f they are to help us work towards improving the nature and extent of our interconnectedness, if they are to help us to find and nurture those relationships, then they have to be continually in this process of never-ending beginnings.’¹⁸⁸ Whakapapa as an historical concept, then, can be nuanced and is not an impediment to robust historical examination. Indeed, whakapapa has been at the heart of Māori history and knowledge long before, and well after, European invasion.¹⁸⁹ Whakapapa as an historical concept and pedagogy did not dissipate with the introduction of writing, but simply found another form (or vehicle) to use within which iwi and Māori could document, keep, and transmit, their personal and connected histories.¹⁹⁰ As a pedagogy, then, whakapapa can be sung, written, carved, recited, used in speeches, official welcomes, and many other forms.

¹⁸⁶ Mahuika and Mahuika, 2020, p. 369.

¹⁸⁷ Melinda Webber and Kapua O'Connor, ‘A Fire in the Belly of Hineāmaru: Using Whakapapa as a Pedagogical Tool in Education’, *Genealogy*, 3: 41 (2019), pp. 1-15.

¹⁸⁸ Chantel Matthews, ‘I see a vessel filled with tea: A sculptural practice exploring day-to-day Wāhine ways through whakapapa layers’ (Exegesis in support of practice-based Master of Arts thesis, AUT University, 2021), p. 33.

¹⁸⁹ Mahuika, 2019, p. 1

¹⁹⁰ Mere Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004).

In their recent work, Melinda Webber and Kapua O'Connor have suggested using whakapapa as a pedagogical tool for identity development.¹⁹¹ Drawing on examples of their tūpuna from Te Tai Tokerau, they accentuate how whakapapa as a source can be of 'immense cultural pride, aspiration, and inspiration' for young Māori who are learning about their own identity development or are reconnecting to their iwi roots. They write that:

Educating students about Māori knowledge, whakapapa, and ways of knowing the world can be considered a decolonising project. It is a project that encourages Māori students to challenge the persistent rhetoric relating to Māori underachievement and deficit and instead consider the many ways Māori have not only survived but thrived despite the systematic devaluing, minimisation and misrepresentation of Māori identity, culture, and knowledge systems throughout history.¹⁹²

The idea of changing the narrative so that the strengths of Māori are highlighted in the school curriculum will mean that our rangatahi are able to see not just their stories, but their modes of storytelling, pedagogies and tikanga as normative and accepted in the process and teaching of history. As *Te Takanga o te Wā* suggests, focusing on the histories and whakapapa of local iwi and hapū within each school grounds students, allowing them to understand their place in those communities, and where their stories converge (and perhaps diverge) with the hundreds of years of iwi history. It tells them where they are, and whose lands and oceans they are currently living on. As a pedagogical tool, whakapapa is more than simply exploring your own personal family genealogies, it is an act that facilitates a relationship to the genealogies of the land, seascapes, natural world, and intellectual and spiritual pasts of local peoples. It is, then, an invaluable conduit and practice that helps all those living here learn how to belong.

¹⁹¹ Webber and O'Connor, 2019.

¹⁹² Webber and O'Connor, 2019, p. 2.

Whakapapa in Historical Research and Ethics

Aside from organising or teaching the past, whakapapa is a concept often discussed in history research methods and ethics.¹⁹³ For some, whakapapa acts as a 'backbone' or 'skeletal' frame in which the ethics of mana and tapu govern who can recite and claim a genealogy (and who cannot). Writing on the mana and tapu of whakapapa, Rawiri Te Maire Tau suggests that 'Māori obviously need to define mātauranga Māori.'¹⁹⁴ He writes that:

The skeletal backbone to our knowledge system is whakapapa. The ethics that stem from whakapapa are mana and tapu. These ethics effect the Māori view of everything. There is no reason why these forms of knowledge and ethics cannot be taught according to modern academic convention... the danger with this approach is that because mātauranga Māori is ordered by whakapapa, it functions as a relative framework of knowledge.¹⁹⁵

The 'relative' framework here is grounded in cultural knowledge and ethics. In Māori research ethics, the whakapapa of the researcher is pivotal to access, accountability, ownership and custodianship of the past. Whakapapa as an ethical concept has, in this diverse and scattered body of work, has been well traversed by Māori and iwi scholars. Writing on the 'ownership' of history, for instance, Ngai Tahu scholar Tipene O'Regan contended some time ago that the 'the past belongs to all New Zealanders, but first it is ours.'¹⁹⁶ His emphasis on whakapapa as a vital component of ownership is a reaction to generations of abuse of our past, and misrepresentations of our tipuna and our beliefs, by non-Māori who he argues dissected our ancestors on 'the post mortem bench of science' without our consent.¹⁹⁷ This 'cannibalising' of our histories

¹⁹³ Mahuika, 2015.

¹⁹⁴ Tau, 1999, p. 20.

¹⁹⁵ Tau, 1999, p. 20.

¹⁹⁶ Tipene O'Regan, "Who Owns the Past' Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past', in John Wilson, ed., *From the Beginning: The Archeology of the Māori*, Auckland, 1987, p. 145.

¹⁹⁷ O'Regan, p. 145.

by those without whakapapa has been a source of frustration for Māori over many generations now. Writing on the ethics of this problem, Nēpia Mahuika asserts that:

[R]eturning the control of historical knowledge to those with whakapapa in the community is an important act of empowerment. Most ethical guidelines refer to the importance of empowering participants and research communities, yet it often appears that historians tend to see their research as exclusively their property.¹⁹⁸

Whakapapa as an ethical concept, then, disrupts the powerfully embedded notion in Western historical research that objectivity is the gold standard for robust methodology and practice.¹⁹⁹ The subjectivity of whakapapa is not an impediment to good history, but instead a vital ethical component of culturally appropriate and ethical research.

For Māori, whakapapa is often a key determiner of whether you are positioned as an ‘insider’ or ‘outsider’, and is considered alongside other intersections such as gender, age, and ones’ commitment to their local whānau, hapu or iwi.²⁰⁰ This is not simply a Māori ethical protocol, but an Indigenous concept in research maintained by Native peoples across the world. In te ao Māori, this custodianship is referred to by many as kaitiakitanga (another ‘theme’ in *Te Takanga o te Wā* explored in Chapter Four of this study). According to Ngāti Porou leader, Apirana Mahuika, kaitiekitanga is determined by ones genealogical connection. Thus, ‘Ko te tangata kaitieki’ (a custodian or caretaker), he argues, ‘he whakapapa tona’ (is a person who has genealogy).²⁰¹ Thus, Kaitikitanga is essentially about the genealogical relationship the historian or researcher has to the people to whom that knowledge belongs.

¹⁹⁸ Mahuika, 2015, p. 2.

¹⁹⁹ Dr Apirana Mahuika interview with Lawrence Wharerau, *Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua, Series One, Episode 6*, Michele Bristow, kaihautu, Eruera Morgan, Kaihautu Matua, Māori Television.

²⁰⁰ Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, pp. 138-142.

²⁰¹ Mahuika, *Ngā Taonga Whitiāhua*, 2010.

In more recent writing, whakapapa has been highlighted as an important factor when ensuring better quality relationships in research by ensuring historians do not assert themselves as experts on communities they have no genealogical links to.²⁰² For historians, this often means acknowledging appropriately where the intellectual whakapapa used in their work comes from, and who holds the rights to mātauranga today.²⁰³ These are crucial aspects of the role, ethics, and significance of whakapapa as a theme and concept in Māori and iwi history handed down across generations. The absence of these pedagogical, ethical, and foundational, discussions in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is deeply troubling. Whakapapa as an historical concept and practice is so much more than simply 'Tūpuna', 'Connections', 'Belonging', 'Identity' and 'Culture.'²⁰⁴ To adequately teach iwi and Māori histories, educators require a more sophisticated and supported body of work – reference points that they can refer back to that enables them to illustrate for students with greater authority some of the key ideas Māori have posited in regard to this key idea in the field.

Summary

Whakapapa is been a key concept, and framework in Māori and iwi histories by many prominent Māori historian and academics and has been described as a skeletal structure of Māori epistemology and an important concept for tribal identities, ethics research, archaeology, and history. Some have written about whakapapa as a method to transmit the past, such as Apirana Ngata. The literature on whakapapa is diverse and substantial, and highlights its importance in te ao Māori and Māori

²⁰² Smith, 1999, p. 138.

²⁰³ Ermine et al write that 'In the Indigenous context, knowledge is a gift and the researcher is indebted to give credit to the source which means that participants ought to be named if they consent to it and receive recognition in any reporting or publications.' Ermine, Willie, Raven Sinclair, Bonnie Jeffery, *The Ethics of Research Involving Indigenous Peoples: Report of the Indigenous Peoples Health Research Centre to the Interagency Advisory Panel on Research Ethics*, (Canada: Health Centre Research, July, 2004), p. 34.

²⁰⁴ Tamua, p. 5.

historiography, including Māori Land claims, Iwi histories and Settlement Reports. This thesis agrees that whakapapa most definitively has a key place in the new curriculum, and so is rightfully included in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. However, this study does not question why whakapapa is a key theme in this Ministry of Education document, but how it has been interpreted. As a hugely important concept for Māori and history, this thesis has argued that whakapapa has been superficially presented in this brief twenty-page booklet. Instead of highlighting what Māori writers have produced about whakapapa over generations, the authors choose to focus instead on activities aimed students.

This chapter has looked beyond the surface meanings of whakapapa presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and has examined how whakapapa has been applied as a concept in te ao Māori as a traditional concept. It has also surveyed the various ways in which whakapapa has been defined and discussed by historians, ethnographers, and iwi and Māori scholars. It closely considers the methodological, pedagogical and theoretical ways in which whakapapa has been used and applied to historical work, including the use of Western methods and concepts. In various fields whakapapa as a historical concept has served as a structuring device and framework. This chapter addresses how Māori and iwi histories were largely ridiculed and displaced by non-Māori as superstitions and myths, fairytales and fables, yet whakapapa has remained a constant device used by writers in the mid twentieth century to produce tribal histories.

The prominence of Whakapapa as a key theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* aligns with its significance in the field of Māori and Iwi history, but this thesis has examined how there is scant reference to that body of work in the book. For example, major aspects of whakapapa as a concept, the language and terminology, are well addressed in existing literature, yet there is no mention of it in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Discussion on whakapapa as an organising framework that assist's historians in their narrations of the past, is also absent, which is surprising as this method is commonly used

throughout Māori historical scholarship for providing genealogical references to pockets of time, departures, arrivals, and origins. Identity as a theme is still present, but disconnected from the significant body of work that shows how it is nuanced in various arrangements of whakapapa.

This chapter shows how the traditional ways of teaching whakapapa is also absent from this teaching booklet. For Māori, whakapapa has always been an essential concept and pedagogical tool, more than simply learning your ‘family tree’, it is an act that facilitates a relationship to the genealogies of our natural world, and intellectual and spiritual pasts of local peoples. In pre and post colonisation where wānanga, whakapapa was and is still, taught orally, but there has been a significant shift to writing and text that served to flatten whakapapa out on the page. As this chapter discusses, this method is still used today, ignorant of its problematic history. However, this is not mentioned at all in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, despite the fact it is a well-used approach applied since the introduction of reading and writing to Māori communities.

This chapter has shown that whakapapa is also a concept often discussed in history research methods and ethics. But the absence of whakapapa concept as pedagogical, ethical, and foundational, from discussions in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is deeply troubling. The writers have instead provided a brief, surface-level description of whakapapa, barely scratching the surface of whakapapa as a historical concept or mention its traditional past for that matter. This chapter agrees that whakapapa should be a key theme in the new curricula, however, it is how the concept is being taught is a key concern of this study.

Tūrangawaewae as an Historical Concept

For Māori, tūrangawaewae is part of the way we explain and locate ourselves, narrate our identities in pepeha to place and the deeper notion of belonging – “culturally, linguistically, and emotionally” – it is where we have a “right to stand.”²⁰⁵ It is considered by some as “one of the most well-known and powerful Māori concepts” and as a place or places, where we, as tangata whenua, “feel especially empowered and connected.”²⁰⁶ The concept and theme, tūrangawaewae, in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is most commonly translated as a “place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa.”²⁰⁷ Tūrangawaewae, then, is both a place as well as a concept. For Waikato Tainui, Tūrangawaewae at Ngaruawahia is a significant home for the Kīngitanga, but this is not necessarily the case for many other iwi across the motu who have their own places that are equally understood as tūrangawaewae. For my people, the descendants of Ngāti Rangi, Tauranga and te mouhere o Matakana (Matakana Island), where our marae stand, are our tūrangawaewae and hold more significance to who we are as individuals and as a people.

Throughout this study, I found that Māori and New Zealand historians barely mention tūrangawaewae, but when they did, it is often in reference to Tūrangawaewae the place and marae, rather than the concept. Perhaps the most notable example is from a Pākehā historian, Michael King, who in *A Place to Stand, A History of Tūrangawaewae Marae* (1981), his topic is entirely focused on the history of one marae, not a broad and popular theme in Māori or New Zealand history.²⁰⁸ Beyond narratives about Tūrangawaewae the marae, it is not a theme used by Māori

²⁰⁵ Timoti Kāretu, ‘The Clue to Identity’, in *New Zealand Geographic*, 005 (1990) <https://www.nzgeo.com/stories/the-clue-to-identity/> [accessed 10 March 2022].

²⁰⁶ Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, “Papatūānuku the land, Tūrangawaewae a place to stand”, *Te Ara: the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 22-Sep-12, URL: <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/papatuanuku-the-land/page-5> [accessed 12 March 2022].

²⁰⁷ Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015), p. 17.

²⁰⁸ Michael King, *A Place to Stand, A History of Tūrangawaewae Marae* (Hamilton: Centre for Māori studies and Research, University of Waikato, 1981).

historians to frame, conceptualise, or organise the past. This study, in surveying the available literature in Māori history, found no evidence that *tūrangawaewae* is a common or prevalent theme and concept in Māori and iwi historiography since the nineteenth century.²⁰⁹

This chapter notes the difference between *tūrangawaewae* the place and concept and contemplates its value as an historical theme. It contends that *tūrangawaewae* is not a compelling Māori or iwi history concept and should not have been promoted as one of five key themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.²¹⁰ This chapter, then, will also discuss the deeper understandings of *tūrangawaewae* as an historical term, and its role or not in ethics, potential pedagogy, and framing the past. It pushes beyond the brief introductory notes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* and considers the various ways historians and other scholars have used and applied the idea of *tūrangawaewae* across multiple disciplines.²¹¹ This chapter is mindful that the term *tūrangawaewae* has, like other Māori phrase and kupu, been co-opted by some non-Māori to support their claims of belonging too.²¹² This “Pākehā captur-ing” of *tūrangawaewae* is also highlighted below as problematic, dangerous, and deeply colonial.²¹³

Tūrangawaewae in Te Takanga o te Wā

Tūrangawaewae is the second of five themes introduced in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Its inclusion is puzzling because it has never been well a developed concept in the work of Māori historians over the past century.²¹⁴ It is, however, a popular topic in studies that deal with Māori understandings of place, identity, and belonging. Thus, it aligns

²⁰⁹ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014).

²¹⁰ Tamua, pp. 7-8.

²¹¹ Tamua, pp. 7-8.

²¹² Martin Shortland, ‘Seeking a *Tūrangawaewae*: constructing a Baptist identity in New Zealand: among the indigenous people of New Zealand, the concept of *tūrangawaewae* is of great importance. A *tūrangawaewae* is, literally, “place to stand.”’, *Baptist History and Heritage* (Macon, GA: Baptist History and Heritage Society, 2001) p. 1.

²¹³ Graham H. Smith, ‘Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture’, in *Political Issues in N.Z. Education*, edited by J. Codd, Harker, R. & R. Nash (Palmerston North: Dumore Press, 1990), pp. 183-197.

²¹⁴ Tamua, pp. 7-8.

strongly as a concept within studies in geography, law, politics, architecture, Māori studies, and education.²¹⁵ For historians, identity and belonging are also key to the narratives we produce to help those in the present make sense of who they are and where they've come from. Identity is born of history, and this narrative tells us who we are and how we came to belong here.²¹⁶

Even so, while historians have written about place, identity, and belonging, few have explicitly addressed the significance and meaning of *tūrangawaewae* as an historical theme. In *Te Takanga o te Wā* the authors use *tūrangawaewae* in various ways. They write that for students:

[H]istory starts locally, exploring the features of the land of hapū and iwi, tūpuna, stories, protocols, and taonga. Places in Aotearoa New Zealand are significant to different people for different reasons and are used in different ways. Our identity builds from where we come from.²¹⁷

Here, *tūrangawaewae* is used to focus learners on the history of where they are living and how identity is shaped in the stories of places and their significance and use. While there is a focus on local hapū and iwi identities, *tūrangawaewae* is co-opted to refer to everyone's "belonging", but does not unpack enough how identity making in historical scholarship has problematised reductive labels like "pioneers", "settlers",

²¹⁵ See some examples: Deidre Brown, 'Tūrangawaewae Kore: Nowhere to Stand', in *Indigenous Homelessness: Perspectives from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand*, edited by Evelyn J. Peters and Julia Christensen (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2016), pp. 331-362; S TE Marino Lenihan, 'Māori Land in Māori Hands', in *Ko Ngaa Rake Ture Māori*, edited by Katherine Taurau, *Auckland University Law Review*, 563 (1997), pp. 563-589 (p. 571); Precious Clark, *Te Mana Whenua O Ngati Whatua O Orakei, Ko Ngaa Take Ture Māori*, *Auckland University Law Review*, 9:2 (2001), pp. 562-585; W. T. Penetito, 'Tūrangawaewae: A place where one can stand – The context for developments in Māori Education', in *Re-Thinking Aid Relationships in Pacific Education*, edited by K. Sanga, C. Hall, C. Chu and I. Crowl (Wellington: He Parekereke, Institute for Research and Development in Māori and Pacific Education, Victoria University, 2005) pp.348–374; C. Michael Hall, Ian Mitchell and Ngawini Keelan, 'The Implications of Māori Perspectives for the Management and Promotion of Heritage Tourism in New Zealand', *GeoJournal*, 29:3 (1993), pp. 315-322; Aroha Harris and Melissa Matutina Williams, 'Māori Affairs, 1945-1970', in *Tangata Whenua* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), pp. 333-357; Mariaelena A Huambachano, 'Indigenous food sovereignty', *New Zealand Journal of Ecology*, 43:3 (2019), pp. 1-6.

²¹⁶ Trudie Cain, Ella Kahu and Richard Shaw, *Tūrangawaewae: Identity and belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Chicago: Massey University Press, 2021). Stephenson P. Smith, *Hawaiiki: the Original home of the Māori, with a sketch of Polynesian History* (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1904)

²¹⁷ Tamua, p 7.

“savages”, “Kiwis”, and “Natives.”²¹⁸ It fails to address the obvious colonial and decolonial politics that are pivotal in the contested narratives of belonging that continue to shape the national story and Māori identities.²¹⁹

Without addressing that key political elephant in the room, *tūrangawaewae* is too simplistically introduced in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.²²⁰ It is defined in the glossary as a “place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa”, but it offers little depth on the idea of *tūrangawaewae* as it has been discussed and used by historians or by iwi and hapū keepers and transmitters of the past.²²¹ Instead the writers again, similar to the way they introduce their other themes, suggest that teachers ask their students to learn about the local history and events while “always bringing the thinking back to a notion of *tūrangawaewae*” which is not only vague and repetitive, but also shows a lack of understanding of *tūrangawaewae* as a Māori concept.²²²

Te Takanga o te Wā includes an entire section within the *tūrangawaewae* “theme” to promote the idea of “Mapping History” and suggest asking “[w]hy was this map made? How was it used? Who put the maps together? What or whose knowledge do the maps represent?” It is unclear how this relates *tūrangawaewae* to history, and looks much more like a question in Geography. The writers of *Te Takanga o te Wā* appear to use *tūrangawaewae* as a geography theme and concept more than an explicitly history theme. In an attempt perhaps to connect it more to history, they then suggest that students write about the historical events of these areas and be “online contributors and makers of a resource with a worldwide audience.”²²³ There

²¹⁸ Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019). Peter J. Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonisation and National Identity’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:1 (1997), pp. 5-17.

²¹⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: University of Otago Press/Zed Books, 1999/2014), pp. 146-147; 260.

²²⁰ Tamua, p. 7.

²²¹ Tamua, p. 17.

²²² Tamua, p. 8.

²²³ Tamua, p. 7.

is no through explanation here about how this mapping exercise grounds learners in specific ideas and themes common to Māori and iwi historians.

While *tūrangawaewae* is a term used by historians, it is not a common tool or framework that historians have used to organise the past, nor is it a topic that has driven a major study or subfield in history. It does, however, share commonalities with *whakapapa*, particularly in regard to identity, and with *kaitiakitanga* in reference to ethics and belonging.²²⁴ Like *kaitiakitanga* it similarly crosses paths with *mana motuhake* and other concepts not included in *Te Takanga o te Wā* that deal with ownership and place. There is simply not enough word-space in an introductory booklet like *Te Takanga o te Wā* for the writers to have adequately dealt with *tūrangawaewae*. Aside from the need to include a more robust discussion of how it relates to the politics of colonialism, it is a theme that could more easily have been tied together with the other concepts mentioned above. Most significantly, its inclusion is ultimately not a reflection of the field, wherein *tūrangawaewae* is barely addressed by Māori or Pākehā historians since the nineteenth century.

Tūrangawaewae a Concept in Cultural Health and Wellbeing

Tūrangawaewae as concept relates to a connection (umbilical link) to place. There are few examples of histories that use *tūrangawaewae* as an organising frame. Instead, it tends to be used, much like *mana motuhake* and *kaitiakitanga* (I discuss in the following chapters) in histories that deal with identity and belonging.²²⁵ For example, the *Tūrangawaewae* marae is named after Kīngi Tāwhiao's claim to Ngāruawāhia being his *tūrangawaewae* through the well-known proverb, as written by King:

*Ko Arekahanara toku haona kaha;
Ko Kemureti toku oko horoi;*

²²⁴ Tangiwai Rewi, 'The Ngāruawāhia Tūrangawaewae Regatta: Today's Reflections on the Past', *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 124:1 (2015), pp. 47-81 (pp. 59-60); Irene Visser, 'The Trauma of Goodness in Patricia Grace's Fiction', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 24:2 (2012), pp. 297-321 (p. 306).

²²⁵ Harris and Williams, 'Rights and revitalisation, 1970-1990', in *Tangata Whenua* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), p. 360; John Reid, Golda Varona, Martin Fisher and Cheryl Smith, 'Understanding Māori 'lived' culture to determine cultural connectedness and wellbeing', *Journal of Population Research*, 33:1 (2016), pp. 31-49 (p. 40).

Ko Ngāruawahia toku tūrangawaewae
 Alexandra (Now Pirongia) will be a symbol of my strength of character;
 Cambridge a washbowl of my sorrow;
 And Ngāruawahia my tūrangawaewae.²²⁶

Kīngi Tawhaio's claim to Ngāruawāhia as his "tūrangawaewae" is a well-known proverb in te ao Māori that refers to place, identity, and belonging. Tawhaio's assertion is grounded in a particularly traumatic past. His powerful political statement came as a response to the 1863-64 invasions of his homelands, and is shrouded in, and framed by, an intergenerational narrative of ongoing colonial subjugation, protest, resilience and survivance.²²⁷ His assertion that "Alexandra", or rather Pirongia, remains his "horn of strength", "Cambridge his wash bowl", and "Ngāruawahia his place to which his right was inalienable" are deeply political, cultural and spiritual claims to understanding his personal and collective past.²²⁸ Tawhaio's granddaughter, Te Puea fulfilled her dream to retain Ngāruawāhia as their home, a place of belonging and gathering for all.²²⁹ Tūrangawaewae fits well in this scenario, but it is not easily transferable to wider Māori and iwi experiences. Thus, while it works here in the context of the Kingitanga, it is simply not a theme repeated in multiple iwi histories enough to warrant its place as a key theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Health and well-being for Waikato-Tainui is important, and relates to tūrangawaewae marae, but there are much more appropriate terms that address well-being in te ao Māori like mauri.²³⁰ King (1978) refers to John Rangihau of Tūhoe once saying:

I talk about mauri and some people talk about tapu Perhaps the words are interchangeable. If you apply this life-force feeling to all things – inanimate and animate – and to concepts, and give each concept a life of its own, you can see how difficult it appears for older people to be willing and available to give out information. They believe it is part of them, part of their own life-force, and when they start shedding this they are giving away themselves. Only when

²²⁶ King, 1981, p. 3.

²²⁷ King, 1981, p. 2-3; Rewi, pp. 57-60.

²²⁸ Kāretu, 1990.

²²⁹ Rewi, p. 60.

²³⁰ Chellie Spiller, Ljiljana Erakovic, Manuka Henare and Edwina Pio, 'Relational Well-Being and Wealth: Māori Business and an Ethic of Care', *Journal of Business Ethics*, 98 (2011), pp. 153-169; Nin Tomas, 'Māori Concepts and Practices of Rangatiratanga: "Sovereignty"?', in *Sovereignty: Frontiers of Possibility*, edited by Julie Evans, Ann Genovese, Alexandra Reilly and Patrick Wolfe (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2013), pp. 226-227. Michael King, in referring to

they depart are they able to pass this whole thing through and give it a continuing character. Just as they are proud of being able to trace their genealogy backwards, in the same way they can continue to send the mauri of certain things forward.²³¹

Perhaps mauri as a concept within the transmission of traditional knowledge's would have been a more apt concept than tūrangawaewae that remains narrow and barely mentioned throughout these histories. The concept of Tūrangawaewae has been applied as a health concept to ensure the identity and safety of their people. When academics have discussed Tūrangawaewae, it is almost always in regards to the place and the marae, rather than as a tool to shape historical research. For example, in King's history of the Tūrangawaewae Marae, he barely discusses tūrangawaewae as a concept. King writes:

Tawhiao remained conscious of Ngaruawahia and the intimate associations it held for him. It was the place where he had spent a good deal of his young adulthood. He had seen his father confirmed there as king. He had mourned Potatau's death and had interred his remains there. For Tawhiao, Ngaruawahia was his tūrangawaewae, his place to stand.²³²

Through explaining that the placing of Tūrangawaewae marae in Ngāruawāhia, scholars often to the concept of tūrangawaewae, such as King and Rewi who have written detailed accounts on the history of Tūrangawaewae.²³³ This highlights that most of the historical literature on tūrangawaewae more focuses mainly on the place, rather than the concept. This chapter does not argue that tūrangawaewae is not a prominent concept within te ao Māori, as it is obvious through this example of Kīngi Tāwhiao's proverb that it is significant to Māori well-being and identity.²³⁴

The literal definition of tūrangawaewae is a place to stand. This is defined and explained throughout a range of literature, although, the use of tūrangawaewae as a historical concept is scarce, and has not been a common theme in New Zealand or

²³¹ Michael King, 'Some Māori Attitudes to Documents', in *Tihe Mauri Ora: Aspects of Māoritanga*, edited by Michael King (New Zealand: Methuen Publications, 1978), pp. 9-18 (p. 13).

²³² King, 1981, pp. 1; 2.

²³³ Rewi, pp. 58-60; King, 1981, pp. 1-3.

²³⁴ King, 1981, p. 3.

Māori historiographies.²³⁵ It is however, a major principle relative to Māori identity, and is present in research on Māori well-being, particularly health and homelessness.²³⁶ King writes that in regards to the raupatu, or the loss of, of the Waikato whenua, Kīngi Tāwhaio felt “Waikato and he, himself, had lost identity and self-respect.”²³⁷ Through this example, it is clear that the concept of tūrangawaewae is important for the identity and overall health of Tāwhaio and the people of Waikato. King writes about tūrangawaewae, and Tūrangawaewae being an important part of Tainui and Waikato identity, but does not offer a deep discussion for its relevance to historical research or broader Māori historical thinking.

Māori education researcher Mere Kēpa discusses the displacement of her people from their own land, and in doing so interrogates the meaning of tūrangawaewae.²³⁸ Kēpa writes that:

Tūrangawaewae does entail a separation of people, heaven and earth. The land is not a separate entity to be observed for excavation, fragmentation, exploitation and profit but remains deeply embedded in the relationship between objects and subjects, the individual and the collective, people, heaven and the earth. In this tūrangawaewae, te rohe o Patuharakeke is where the people live and die over generations.²³⁹

Kēpa emphasises the importance of tūrangawaewae in upholding the culture and identity for her hapū and the connection to the whenua, and both the physical and spiritual world. This approach looks more at cultural politics of tūrangawaewae in health research, but is not unpacked here as an historical theme or concept. It is the umbilical-cord in which connects people to the land, but not explored by Kēpa as an explicitly historical theme. Of tūrangawaewae, Hirini Moko Mead writes that it is a very “important cultural bond to the land”, not an important “historical” bond.²⁴⁰

²³⁵ Rewi, p. 60. Brown, 2016, p. 331. Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2013), p. 67. Huambachano, p. 3;

²³⁶ King, 1981, p. 3; Brown, 2016.

²³⁷ King, 1881, p. 3.

²³⁸ Mere Kēpa, ‘Tūrangawaewae: A place to stand. A Discourse of Cultural Awareness or Hope’, *MAI* (2007), p. 5.

²³⁹ Kēpa, p. 5.

²⁴⁰ Mead, 2013, p. 79.

Kēpa focus is on tūrangawaewae's health benefits for Māori, not its potential or use as an explicitly historical idea, practice or narrative theme. Scholars like Kepa other like write about tūrangawaewae as a theme connected to healthy identities of connectedness to once lost and take Indigenous lands. Historians like Michael King, as this section noted, refer to tūrangawaewae, but as a place, not a common and significant theme in the field of Māori or New Zealand history.

Tūrangawaewae as a concept of Home and Movement

For some tūrangawaewae has been more a theme in describing home and movement. It is a concept used by Deidre Brown, a Māori architectural historian, for instance, who is one of the few historians to write explicitly on tūrangawaewae.²⁴¹ Brown draws on *kōrero tuku iho*, oral testimony, from whānau that recounts the history of the purchase of her hapū whenua in Wairoa and Rangihoua by early Pākehā settlers and missionaries in 1815.²⁴² Brown explains that "local *kōrero tuku iho* has always maintained that Māori were offering usufruct rights to the land through the exchange, believing that it would remain their tūrangawaewae", but in 1832 when the missionaries relocated, the land remained in Pākehā possession.²⁴³ Brown chronicles a history of cultural assimilation and the removal of her ancestors from their tūrangawaewae. She recounts that:

Although the intent of the mission was to civilise and convert, these objectives were regarded as achievable only if Māori were brought into a Pākehā property system that divested them of their tūrangawaewae and placed their land in individual and perpetual ownership. Māori were made homeless as a result and had no choice but to move away from their tūrangawaewae and live elsewhere. The lack of recognition afforded to tūrangawaewae's cultural importance in land transactions and the right of Māori to equal if not equitable treatment would be a running theme throughout nineteenth century history and causative factors in homelessness, and some cases of serious housing need and houselessness.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Brown, 2016.

²⁴² Brown, 2016, pp. 335-336.

²⁴³ Brown, 2016, p. 337.

²⁴⁴ Brown, 2016, p. 337.

Brown's history interweaves much more than simply themes of place or home, but concepts relative to historical trauma, cultural appropriation, and the impact on Māori and iwi displaced and disconnected. These are themes well beyond the parameters of *tūrangawaewae* to explain or convey. For Brown, the concept of *tūrangawaewae* works as an anchor, and assists in an understanding of the connection between people and the land, and the many health and social implications in the long history of Māori cultural assimilation and deep trauma suffered as part of the loss of that land. She is one of the few writers to explicitly use *tūrangawaewae* as a broad organising narrative concept in her history. This history of dispossession and survivance is a highly political and complex, and is not adequately conveyed simply in the concept or theme of *tūrangawaewae* alone.²⁴⁵ It sits, as noted above, alongside other key ideas such as *kaitiakitanga*, *tino rangatiratanga*, and *mana motuhake*. These terms speak to issues of belonging, ownership, and identity, and thus *tūrangawaewae* also sits alongside other key terms already in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, like *whakapapa* and *whanaungatanga*.

Tūrangawaewae a concept in Protest, Claims, and Colonial Politics

Hirini Moko Mead refers to *tūrangawaewae* as a significant Māori principle and a key concept relative to Māori land ownership and the Native Land Court.²⁴⁶ He describes *tūrangawaewae* as “a place associated with the ancestors and is full of history”, but does not elaborate on *tūrangawaewae* as an historical concept and or narrative framework.²⁴⁷ According to Mead, the principle of *tūrangawaewae* is based on land ownership which, similar to *mana motuhake*, connects it explicitly to the land. He explains that, “[o]ne must have ownership rights in the land”, of topic, in which they are either the direct owner, or “a descendant of an owner.”²⁴⁸ Therefore, it is a concept that is more appropriately applied in works on land claims, or research and ethics as

²⁴⁵ Gerald Vizenor, *Native liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Gerald Vizenor, *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998).

²⁴⁶ Mead, 2013, pp. 67-79; 153-154; 383-386.

²⁴⁷ Mead, p. 42.

²⁴⁸ Mead, p. 86.

a way of understanding Māori tradition and tikanga. Mead refers to tūrangawaewae as an important idea that should be discussed throughout teaching Māori history. However, he also writes of tūrangawaewae alongside whakapapa and its crucial role in the political expression of Māori identity.²⁴⁹ On tūrangawaewae as a concept, Mead highlights that:

Māori people have been consistent in placing a high value on ancestral land. In more recent times there have been protests and occupations since the 1970s beginning with Bastion Point, which became the benchmark for future protests.²⁵⁰

Tūrangawaewae, as Mead points out, was a key issue evident in Ngāti Whātua's protests at Ōrākei, and other moments of resistance throughout Māori and iwi history.²⁵¹ The history of protests and land claims in Aotearoa are important historical topics, but tūrangawaewae is no more prominent in unpacking those pasts than other crucial terms like tino rangatiratanga, mana motuhake, and kaitiakitanga. Moreover, while it is term with obvious relevance to identity and place, it is not prominent term in Māori historical scholarship.

Tūrangawaewae, Whakapapa, and Belonging

For tangata whenua (and moana), tūrangawaewae, is a part of one's genealogy or whakapapa to land, ocean, and place, this is evident in one of the names for Indigenous communities as "tangata whenua" which literally means people of the land.²⁵² These ideologies stem from the land being in our whakapapa as told in the Māori creation story. As I have detailed in the first chapter, beginning with Papatūānuku (the earth mother) from who we all descend from as told in the creation story.²⁵³ Māori land defender and lawyer, Pania Newton (Ngāpuhi, Waikato), makes reference to this in her talk on the recent protests at Ihumātao. She argues that:

²⁴⁹ Mead, p. 54.

²⁵⁰ Mead, p. 210.

²⁵¹ Mead, p. 210.

²⁵² Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2014), p. 1; Mead, 2013, p. 67.

²⁵³ Ranginui Walker, *Ngā Pepa a Ranginui, The Walkers Papers: Thought-Provoking Views on the Issues Affecting Māori and Pākehā* (Auckland: Penguin Book, 1996), pp. 14-18.

It is there that I possess my greatest sense of belonging and connection to the landscapes and to my culture and to my ancestors. For us as Māori, this is termed *tūrangawaewae*, it is there that i feel this umbilical connection to the land, the mountains, the awa, the moana, because it is those things that sustain me physically, mentally, socially, and this aligns with a holistic worldview, a Māori worldview.²⁵⁴

The ideas behind *tūrangawaewae*, Newton asserts, are ancient and traditional. Her strong sense of connection and belonging stems from an understanding of the history her ancestors have in the *whenua*. In her fight for an understanding of the significance of this *wāhi tapu*, or a sacred place for her people, Newton explains that when you take away an individuals' *tūrangawaewae*, you take away their sense of self, a part of their identity.

In Auckland, Ngarimu Blair (Ngāti Whātua) writes that “this city has been pretty good at teaching us to forget about our past, to forget our traditions, forget the stories and so on.”²⁵⁵ Like Brown, he narrates colonial invasion as a long history of the loss and disconnection from their *tūrangawaewae* through deliberate racist colonial policies of land alienation and cultural assimilation. A NZ History online biography of ex-Attorney-General, Minister of Justice, and Minister of Māori Affairs, Ralph Hanan, discusses the Māori Affairs Amendment Act of 1967:

It was influenced by the 1960 Hunn report and the 1965 Prichard/Waetford report, which showed that Māori economic development was held back by multiple ownership and splitting up Māori land... Both reports claimed the solution was for Māori to be fully integrated into European society, with any legal distinctions removed. But they seriously underestimated the symbolic importance of land to Māori - however fragmented and uneconomical - and the cultural and spiritual importance of *tūrangawaewae* (a place to stand, or ancestral lands)²⁵⁶

In explaining Hanan's part in this the Māori Affairs Amendment Act 1967, the writers suggest that the concept of *tūrangawaewae* was not considered in the cultural and

²⁵⁴ Pania Newton, “Tedx Talk: Ihumātao: Recognising Indigenous Heritage”, YouTube, Dec 18th 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tT11yvE5plo> [accessed 23rd January 2022]

²⁵⁵ Ngarimu Blair, ‘Orakei Papakāinga ki Mua: Towards 2030 and beyond’, in *Taone Tupu Ora*, edited by Keriata Stuart & Michelle Thompson-Fawcett (Wellington: Steele Roberts Publishers, 2010) p. 50.

²⁵⁶ ‘Ralph Hanan’, *NZ History (Ministry for Culture and Heritage)* (2017) <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/josiah-ralph-hanan> [accessed 10 July 2022].

spiritual effects that land confiscation/divide had on the well-being of tangata whenua, as well as highlighting the importance of tūrangawaewae for Māori, that was absent from this 1967 Act.²⁵⁷

Tūrangawaewae as a History of Displacement and Reconnection

In little more than two centuries, many Māori have lost their tūrangawaewae and with it their ways and means of living. From the outset, the colonial process has been one of stripping Māori of their assets to support the needs of Pākehā with almost no regard to how this would affect the wellbeing of the indigenous population.²⁵⁸ But while tūrangawaewae is a topic in history, it is more than simply colonial removal and decolonial reconnection. In the literature, scholars write of its relevance to health, homelessness, belonging, and identity, but despite the array of recent literature that presents tūrangawaewae as a concept in colonial invasion, *Te Takanga o te Wā*, barely mentions it in relation to cultural assimilation.²⁵⁹

Tūrangawaewae is a theme relative to histories of diaspora and reconnection, but it is not the key term or theme used by Māori historians to name and narrate this historical experience. Melissa Williams, for instance, writes about the history of Pangaru migrants to Auckland, and invokes themes relative to diaspora, but does not use tūrangawaewae as a key concept.²⁶⁰ Others like Rawiri Te Maire Tau also talk about movement and migration, but does not use tūrangawaewae either as the key theme or concept in his history of Ngai Tahu migrations.²⁶¹

Tūrangawaewae has also been misused, and appropriated by non-Māori desperately in search of ways to claim and assert their own sense of belonging. New

²⁵⁷ 'Ralph Hanan', *NZ History (Ministry for Culture and Heritage)* (2017) <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/josiah-ralph-hanan> [accessed 10 July 2022].

²⁵⁸ Brown, 2016.

²⁵⁹ Tamua, p. 16.

²⁶⁰ Melissa M. Williams, *Pangaru and The City: Kainga Tahi, Kainga Rua: An Urban Migration History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015).

²⁶¹ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, and Atholl Anderson, eds., *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, the Carrington text* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2008).

Zealand historian Peter Gibbons has argued that this taking and appropriation of Māori ideas has been part of the long history of colonisation, wherein Pākehā claim and then redefine Native knowledge in order to facilitate their own sense of belonging and “Nativity.”²⁶² This is problematic and concerning because the vagueness of *tūrangawaewae* as a theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* only enables those unaware of its meaning to co-opt it ways that perpetuate, rather than disrupt, colonial power. Theology historian Martin Sutherland does this in his article, “Seeking a *Tūrangawaewae*: constructing a Baptist identity in New Zealand.”²⁶³ In it, he outlines the Baptist church’s search for identity and sense/place of belonging in Aotearoa.²⁶⁴ He refers to *tūrangawaewae* in order to explain a lack of “place” or belonging for those from the Baptist church, since the arrival of the first person in Aotearoa to declare themselves as Baptist in 1839.²⁶⁵ In appropriating *tūrangawaewae* to serve the Churches claims to belonging, Sutherland writes that:

For Māori their *tūrangawaewae* is their home, where they have a right to be present, the anchor point for their sense of who they are and with whom they belong. For non-Māori or Pākehā New Zealanders, the concept has grown in significance.²⁶⁶

Sutherland’s subtle usurpation of *tūrangawaewae* as a concept that might also be used by non-Māori to claim Aotearoa as home highlights how easy it is to misuse themes that are not well defined in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Unless history teachers are made acutely aware of the various ways in which Māori concepts have been appropriated by non-Māori to serve their political interests, they run the risk of using terms out of context and perpetuating coloniser narratives.

The shallow introductions in *Te Takanga o te Wā* do not adequately address the ways in which Māori concepts and themes like *tūrangawaewae* have been

²⁶² Gibbons, 2003.

²⁶³ Martin Sutherland, ‘Seeking a *Tūrangawaewae*: constructing a Baptist identity in New Zealand: among the indigenous people of New Zealand, the concept of *tūrangawaewae* is of great importance. A *tūrangawaewae* is, literally, “place to stand.”, *Baptist History and Heritage* (Macon, GA: Baptist History and Heritage Society, 2001) pp. 1-7.

²⁶⁴ Sutherland, 2001, p. 1.

²⁶⁵ Sutherland, 2001, pp. 1-7.

²⁶⁶ Sutherland, 2001, p. 1.

misinterpreted and “captured” by non-Māori researchers and writers.²⁶⁷ Sutherland uses *tūrangawaewae*, but not as a concept aligned with Māori political aspirations or histories, instead he has taken a Māori concept and used it to gain a sense of belonging in a place where his culture and religion do not originate from. Further causing concern for Māori that our *tūrangawaewae*, identity, and culture are again under threat of being taken and misused.²⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the authors of *Te Takanga o te Wā* are adding to this narrative by asking teachers to discuss local histories under the *tūrangawaewae* theme, and reinforcing the idea that *tūrangawaewae* can simply be “created” by, and applied to, anyone.²⁶⁹ Michael King has also made similar overtures in this narrative of white nationalism in *Being Pākehā Now* and other work.²⁷⁰

Traditionally for Māori, *tūrangawaewae* as a concept has a life beyond colonial invasion, yet this is disregarded in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Nevertheless, historians do not use *tūrangawaewae* to articulate the nuance of land claims and protest. Other themes and concepts do this more effectively, such as *mana motuhake*, as throughout the other chapters. Although *tūrangawaewae* is an important concept within *te ao Māori*, its use in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and lack of, in historical research highlights that a more robust, apt, and accurate theme would have been better placed in the document.

Tūrangawaewae and Place-based History and Ethics

A local place-based approach was practised by Māori within their own *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*, in *wānanga* on intergenerational knowledge from their *tūpuna*, their tribe and their ancestral lands.²⁷¹ In the new curriculum, the notion of “placed-based history” also relates to concepts of *tūrangawaewae*. That appear to be more an enquiry

²⁶⁷ Graham, H. Smith, ‘Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture’, in *Political Issues in N.Z. Education*, edited by J. Codd, R. Harker. & R. Nash (Palmerston North: Dumore Press, 1990), pp. 183-197.

²⁶⁸ Sutherland, 2001, p. 1.

²⁶⁹ Tamua, p. 8.

²⁷⁰ Michael King, *Being Pākehā Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland: Penguin, 1999).

²⁷¹ Mahuika and Mahuika, p. 370.

in Geography than history.²⁷² This seems to best reflect some of the ideas carried in Tūrangawaewae – because it grounds the learner in a local whānau and hapū history. Richard Manning notes place-based education as an appropriate pedagogical method for teaching Indigenous histories, and suggests that teachers “acquire and demonstrate historical knowledge of the places they work in and to incorporate the knowledge of the local whānau, hapū and iwi they serve.”²⁷³ He points out the deeply relevant cultural politics of teaching place-based histories that are sensitive and aware of past grievances and trauma. In reference to the teaching of the haka Ka Mate in Ōtautahi (Christchurch), Manning, for instance, reminds us that for local’s in Te Waipounamu, a Ngāti Toa haka only relives and re-traumatizes locals whose ancestors were victims of nineteenth century raids on Ngāti Kuri in Kaikōura.²⁷⁴ For Manning, place-based history grounds history learners and educators in local tikanga and ethics that govern what should be taught and how. Within the scope of this place based approach, the concept of tūrangawaewae is grounded in an ethics of research. As a concept, tūrangawaewae is attentive to place, ties, life, death, and nurturing. Tīmoti Kāretu has described his tūrangawaewae, Matawaia as:

[T]he place from which my canoe was launched on life’s rocky road; it is the stump to which I will tie that canoe at journey’s life end. In life it is the ground on which I stand, in death it becomes te ukaipo, the breast that nurtures me at night.²⁷⁵

In academic research it has seemingly fit more readily within fields that focus on place like geography or identity and politics, but not so much its deeply historical underpinnings. History is interested in place, identity, and politics, but the concept of tūrangawaewae for Māori historians also carries meaning and implications relative to research ethics.²⁷⁶ Tūrangawaewae as an ethical concept to the notion of connection

²⁷² Richard Manning, ‘Place-based education: Helping early childhood teachers give meaningful effect to the tangata whenuatanga competency of Tātaiako and the principles of Te Whāriki’, in *Te Aotūroa Tātaki: Inclusive early childhood education: Perspectives on inclusion, social justice and equity from Aotearoa New Zealand*, edited by D. Gordon-Burns, A.C. Gunn, K. Purdue and N. Surtees (Wellington: New Zealand Council of Education Research, 2016) pp. 57-73.

²⁷³ Richard Manning, 2016, p. 59.

²⁷⁴ Manning, 2016, p. 62.

²⁷⁵ Kāretu, 1990.

²⁷⁶ Hudson et al., 2010; Mahuika, 2015; Spiller et al., 2011.

and is dependent on whakapapa. Thus, tūrangawaewae is a crucially important and pervasive Māori and iwi concept that is borrowed and used within the process of history keeping and transmission. It is, then, important to acknowledge the implications imposed on tangata whenua when they have been displaced from their language, land, home and tūrangawaewae.

Summary

While tūrangawaewae has been subject in history, it is not a common concept that historians have used to organise or frame the past, and as this study shows, it has neither been a drive or main topic for any major historical literature. As an identity concept, it does, however, share commonalities with other historical and/or Māori concepts such as whakapapa, and kaitiakitanga in reference to ethics and belonging. As a political concept, tūrangawaewae aligns with other Māori concepts like mana motuhake or tino rangatiratanga, however, this chapter argues it is not as effective. It has also been applied as a health and well-being concept. Nevertheless, *Te Takanga o te Wā* is a guideline for Māori history, not any of the above fields and so tūrangawaewae seems out of place.

In recent scholarship, tūrangawaewae has been taken and used by non-Māori to explain a sense of belonging for themselves. This ideology or colonial way of thinking has been discussed and criticised by academics, naming under titles such as ‘pākehā capture’, and others. This method only adds to the effects of colonisation on tangata whenua. Again, a part of Māori culture is being incorrectly and dangerously misunderstood, which leads me to argue that *Te Takanga o Te Wā*’s input has not been helpful with this issue. It is concerning to say the least, that the authors have chosen to misrepresent an important Māori concept that ties closely to our identity and well-being.

Furthermore, tūrangawaewae as a concept has a life beyond colonial invasion. However, this is completely disregarded in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, which seems ironic, as

it is a guideline to Māori history, and thus, should include and acknowledge all parts of our history, not only the past that connects us to colonisation. Nevertheless, one of the key take-away's from this chapter is that historians do not use tūrangawaewae to articulate our history. Other themes and concepts do this more effectively, as highlighted throughout this thesis. Although tūrangawaewae is an important concept within te ao Māori, its use in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and lack of, in historical research highlights that a more robust, apt, and accurate theme would have been better placed in the document.

Mana Motuhake as an Historical Concept

Mana motuhake, like the other concepts or themes profiled in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, is a term that is familiar within Māori and Iwi communities but has been defined and used in a number of ways beyond the boundaries of the communities and culture within which the concepts originate and make-sense. Mana Motuhake is commonly translated to refer to Māori political authority, or a Māori term akin to sovereignty and self-determination often interpreted in similar ways to tino rangatiratanga. Although, as has been discussed in relation to other themes within this study, attempts to translate or define such cultural terms in English, has a tendency to distort or misrepresent the broader interpretations and applications of the concept in unhelpful and confusing ways. Mana motuhake is most often associated with assertion of Māori rights and identity, and therefore resistance against the Crown or state incursions and impositions. Even though mana motuhake is but one articulation of the much broader overarching concept of mana, this, as with the other themes critiqued within the thesis, raises questions about the appropriateness of theme selection that will be unpacked further throughout the chapter.

Within the history literature surveyed for this thesis, mana motuhake does feature with some consistency across a range of texts. The majority of references to mana motuhake within history texts mentions or discusses specifically the Mana motuhake political party and movement.²⁷⁷ Ranginui Walker, uses the phrase within a chapter title in *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* as 'Mana Māori Motuhake', with the chapter discussing the political unrest and growing activist movement that built through the 1970s and 80s, and led to the establishment of the Mana motuhake party in 1981.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Michael King, *1000 years of Māori History Nga Iwi o te Motu* (Auckland, Reed, 1997), p. 96; Michael King, *Māori A Photographic and Social History* (Auckland: Penguin Group, 2008), p. 253; Ranginui Walker, *Mana Motuhake Party Manifesto* (1981), pp. 1-3.

²⁷⁸ Ranginui Walker, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004), pp. 186-219.

In contemporary times, the terms increasing association with asserting Māori political aspirations has seen it embraced and applied by divergent groups with common collective visions.²⁷⁹ As a motivating mantra for Māori political parties attempting to fight for rights within mainstream New Zealand like Matiu Rata and the Mana motuhake party, or as a rallying call by particular iwi who use it as a framework to articulate their understanding of their identity as a people, and the basis upon which they insist on engaging with the Crown best exemplified by 'te mana motuhake o Tūhoe'.²⁸⁰ For the people of Tūhoe, mana motuhake is an extremely important concept, which can be seen clearly in the way the term is asserted within their waiata and oral traditions, as sources of Iwi and hapū literature.²⁸¹

This relationship between the concept of mana motuhake, and assertions of unique collective identities and perspectives also highlights a significant gap in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, in terms of the apparent absence of considering notions or ideas of Māori religion or spirituality. Given the close association between Māori religious movements as forms of resistance to colonisation and imposition of Crown/State beliefs, mana motuhake, as a concept reflective of assertions of Māori identity, including spiritual and religious identity highlights this significant omission from the curriculum resource.

Mana motuhake is a term that is undeniably tied to Māori politics, and therefore must feature in the content of Māori history. Whether that makes it a core Māori history concept or theme, because its influential in understanding an inherently Māori way of thinking about the past or how we retain, understand and convey that historical information is questionable. This chapter examines mana motuhake and the way it is described in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. It will then go on to consider how the term is considered within the literature, first looking at its treatment by History scholars,

²⁷⁹ Ranginui Walker, *Mana Motuhake Party Manifesto* (1981), pp. 1-3.

²⁸⁰ Higgins, 2018, p. 129; Te Rangimārie Williams, 'Te Mana Motuhake o Tūhoe' (MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010), p. 8.

²⁸¹ Higgins, 2018, pp. 129-130.

then it's use by Māori and Iwi scholars, and other fields in comparison to the ways in which the term is explained within *Te Takanga o te Wā*. This chapter argues that mana motuhake, while an important Māori cultural and political concept, is not a core Māori history theme, and that there are other more appropriate selections that could have been made, such as the broader overarching concept of mana, or potentially tino rangatiratanga.

Mana motuhake in *Te Takanga o te Wā*

As with all of the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, the authors provide a set of conceptual understandings that they identify as central to a proper understanding of Māori history. For mana motuhake, the corresponding conceptual understandings are identified as belonging, identity, mana, controversy, conflict, consequences and tino rangatiratanga.²⁸² The presentation and discussion of these concepts within the document implies that they are subordinate to the broader overarching theme. However, in this particular context, positioning of 'mana' or 'tino rangatiratanga' in a subservient relationship to mana motuhake makes very little sense from a Māori perspective, which will be unpacked further on in the chapter. Similarly, the same first two concepts listed under tūrangawaewae and mana motuhake are not the only significant crossovers in the way the information is being presented, which is likely to cause confusion for teachers and students alike further emphasising the problems with the existing theme identification and discussion.

Following listing of the conceptual understandings the resource views as fitting within the scope of mana motuhake, a paragraph providing more insight into how the document anticipates exploring the theme explains in more detail that:

The status of Māori as tangata whenua is significant for all in Aotearoa New Zealand. Exploration and innovation create opportunities and challenges for

²⁸² Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

people, places, and environments. Students examine how far-reaching the consequences of actions can be when examining the historical efforts by Māori for a return to self-determination.²⁸³

Acknowledgement of the status of Māori as tangata whenua, highlights a recurrent theme across the literature, linking mana motuhake to the land and attempts by iwi to assert their identity and authority both over and thorough mana whenua. As Ngāti Whātua Ōrākei leader and activist Ropata Paora has explained mana Motuhake is a form of ‘authority that derives from the land and is of the land,’²⁸⁴ although *Te Takanga o te Wā* doesn’t explicitly provide that clarity or definition within the text.

However, the second sentence requires considerable unpacking as it’s not clear whose ‘exploration and innovation’ is being discussed, how it created ‘opportunities’ and whether, it created ‘opportunities’ and ‘challenges’ equally for all parties, places and environments involved? Similarly, the final sentence encourages students to examine “how far-reaching the consequences of actions can be,” whilst focusing attention on the actions and efforts of Māori in their assertions of ‘mana motuhake’ instead of encouraging consideration of the actions taken by the colonising government and it’s forces and the consequent impacts on Māori.

Indeed, when read in conjunction with the identified conceptual understandings of controversy, conflict and consequences, the information and examples further unpacking ideas to explore *Te Takanga o te Wā*’s framing of the theme inherently ties Māori assertions of mana motuhake with protest and conflict. Whether intentional or not, such portrayals represent Māori assertions of autonomy and identity within the limited binary framing of colonised and coloniser highlighting an addition problem with utilising mana motuhake as a core history concept.

²⁸³ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

²⁸⁴ Ropata Paora, Teanau Tuiono, Te Ururoa Flavell, Charles Hawksley, and Richard Howson, ‘Tino Rangatiratanga and Mana Motuhake: Nation, State and Self-Determination in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *AlterNative*, 7:3, (2011), p.254.

The way in which mana motuhake has been framed to emphasise the idea of conflict gives the impression that Māori history only exists within our experiences of colonisation and our efforts to fight against it, as the core concepts necessary to understand a Māori perspective of history implies that Māori history is inherently tied to our colonisation. This is not only wrong but dangerous, as Māori have understood and retained histories well before the arrival of colonisers in Aotearoa. Without explicitly stating so, it reinforces a common colonial myth that Māori are prehistorical, that we lacked the sensibilities to have been able to do real history and therefore history didn't occur until our civilised and objective colonizers arrived and were able to reliably begin to record our history.

While the associations are evident, even from an iwi and Māori perspective, within the context of this resource, the oversimplified ways in which the concept and potential activities to explore it are suggested creates potential risk for teachers and students. Encouraging discussion about “why Māori wanted to preserve their independence, tikanga and land” might be beneficial, but sensitivity would need to be exercised to ensure dance or drama could be used to engage with these ideas in respectful and culturally appropriate ways.²⁸⁵ Suggesting that because “Young learners may connect with these concepts better by comparing them with their own lives,” that it might be appropriate for teachers to discuss, by comparison, how students might “feel if they had something important (such as break time at school) unexpectedly taken away from them for good,” as if morning tea is comparable to what Māori could be said to have lost under colonisation.²⁸⁶ Comments and statements such as this, albeit poorly thought through, are not likely to have been penned with the intention to cause offense. Unfortunately though, the intention is not necessary for damage to be caused.

²⁸⁵ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

²⁸⁶ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

It is also interesting to note within this section the strong affiliation made between mana motuhake as self-determination as teachers are encouraged to discover with students “historical events that led local Māori to strive for self-determination” and it’s noted “in the quest for mana motuhake, hapū and iwi across the country have worked to regain some level of self-determination.”²⁸⁷ Although self-determination is an appropriate interpretation, another Māori term also commonly interpreted as self-determination, and identified in *Te Takanga o te Wa* as a subordinate concept to mana motuhake is tino rangatiratanga. What makes this comparison more interesting is the references within the section to the Treaty of Waitangi, fighting against land confiscation and “other treaty-related injustices,” without any discussion of the relationship between mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga. Given that tino rangatiratanga, interpreted as paramount authority or sovereignty was promised to the Chiefs under Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the decision to select mana motuhake over tino rangatiratanga is difficult to understand. Arguably from a Māori and iwi perspective, “the resurgence of tikanga and te reo, the reclamation of land and business opportunities, and successful settlements with government agencies”²⁸⁸ are all more obviously associated with restoration of tino rangatiratanga in accordance with those Treaty of Waitangi obligations, than with mana motuhake explicitly. While mana motuhake and tino rangatiratanga are both significant political concepts, mana motuhake was not promised to hapū under the Treaty, and as such from a political and legal perspective, tino rangatiratanga is probably the stronger or more dominant of the two terms. One might wonder cynically whether this might explain why a Ministry of Education endorsed resource might prefer the lesser politically loaded term mana motuhake over one that has a considerably larger literature base, and legal weight such as tino rangatiratanga.

²⁸⁷ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

²⁸⁸ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

Similarly, the sharing of belonging and identity as conceptual understandings between mana motuhake and tūrangawaewae, and *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s focus on local history, finding out the stories and experiences for the local iwi and hapū groups, and sharing information about a local historic landmark suggested as potential activities to explore mana motuhake,²⁸⁹ while visiting the local marae, examining the history of local iwi and hapū, gathering information about the local area, and mapping historical events are opportunities to explore tūrangawaewae.²⁹⁰ The similarities in the way the concepts are discussed, and the content covered within each demonstrates an overly simplistic understanding of the themes and concepts identified within *Te Takanga o te Wā*, which is likely going to encourage equally poor and simplistic understandings of Māori history in those teachers who rely on this resource because they don't yet have the necessary competency themselves to identify the flaws in the resource.

Mana motuhake has been an important concept that has been influential through Māori political movements, and the resource acknowledges these connections through inclusion of political events such as Bastion Point, the 1975 Land March, Moutoa Gardens and Hone Heke's historical cutting down of the flagpole.²⁹¹ The specific selection of these events over others also highlights a significant oversight within the resource generally, that could have been picked up under the mana motuhake theme. These political movements were assertions of identity, tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake no less or more so than the religious communities and collectives formed by Rua Kenana²⁹² or Te Kooti.²⁹³ Indeed, given the common colonial construction of Māori religious zealots as heathen rebels this lends further weight to inclusion of these specific examples to allow exploration of Māori engagement with religion and spirituality. None of the themes within *Te Takanga o te*

²⁸⁹ Tamua, 2015, pp. 9-10.

²⁹⁰ Tamua, 2015, pp. 7-8.

²⁹¹ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

²⁹² Judith Binney, Gillian Chaplin, Craig Wallace *Mihaia The Prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungpohatu* (Wellington, Bridget William Books, 2011).

²⁹³ Judith Binney *Redemption Songs: A Life of Te Kooti Arikiranga Te Turuki* (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2012).

Wā provide an opportunity for exploration of Māori ideas of religion or spirituality, which given the traditionally spiritual nature of Maori people and the Historical significance of religion and spirituality as an analytical theme present a problematic omission.

As has been discussed elsewhere in the thesis however, simply being able to show that mana motuhake is evidenced and influential in the content of history is not the same as the concept being a Māori history concept. The discussion in *Te Takanga o te Wā* highlights the political and legal background of the concept, its connections to Māori assertions to self-determination, the conflicts that arose out of contests for identity, and the conflicts over who belonged to the land and who the land ended up belonging to. The next section considers the way mana motuhake is discussed by Māori and New Zealand historians to look at what evidence might exist to support its selection as a core theme of Māori history.

Mana motuhake in History Scholarship

Mana motuhake is inextricably connected to colonialism, and that is evident in that way *Te Takanga o te Wā* has heavily focused on political movements that involve Māori activism and the crown.²⁹⁴ However, historians who have written on colonial histories tend not to use mana motuhake as a key analytical concept, instead using other terms and frames, such as “survance,”²⁹⁵ “historical trauma,”²⁹⁶ the “Other.”²⁹⁷ and

²⁹⁴ Tamua, 2015, pp. 9-10.

²⁹⁵ G. R. Vizenor, ed., *Survivance: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Tahu Kukutai, Nēpia Mahuika, Heeni Te Kani, Denise Ewe, Karu H. Kukutai, ‘Survivance as Narrative Identity: Voices from a Ngāti Tipa Oral History Project’, *Mai Journal*, 9:3, (2020), pp. 309- 320;

²⁹⁶ Rebecca Wirihana, and Cheryl Smith, ‘Historical trauma. Healing, and Well-being in Māori Communities’, *Mai Journal*, 3: 3, (2014), pp. 197-210; Leonie Pihama, P. Reynolds, C. Smith, J. Reid, L. T. Smith, & R. Te Nana, ‘Positioning historical trauma theory within Aotearoa New Zealand’, *AlterNative*, 10:3, (2014) pp. 248–262.

²⁹⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism Western Conceptions of the Orient* (India: Penguin Books, 1995).

“decolonisation”²⁹⁸ to more effectively interrogate histories of land loss, and the suppression of Indigenous rights, knowledges, and self-determination. These are much more well-worn concepts that deal with the same history. While Ranginui Walker wrote of *mana motuhake* as a nuanced and evolving contemporary political concept, the theme he decided to use to frame his history was not founded in the concept of *mana motuhake*. In his title, *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou* Ranginui invokes a theme about resistance, survival, and the ongoing struggle and movement toward autonomy.²⁹⁹ Walker’s history aligns well with the theme of “survivance”, a concept used to frame Indigenous histories here and elsewhere. For Walker, *mana motuhake* is part of that theme, not the overarching historical theme of his work.

Mana motuhake as a concept in history is not commonly discussed within the literature. An apparent exception is Ranginui Walker’s dedication of an entire chapter to *mana motuhake*, with its focus on several specific Māori movements arising in resistance to coloniser oppression, creating notable historical turning points, through initiatives such as the establishment of the Kīngitanga, the *Mana motuhake* party, and other self-determining communities.³⁰⁰

Mana motuhake within the historical literature, then, is often invoked to articulate different historical identities. This is due in part to the fact that some communities have embraced and utilised the concept in ways that others have not. Consequently, use of *mana motuhake* as an overarching theme for exploration of Māori history across the country is problematic due to the selective way the concept has been embraced within Māori and Iwi communities. *Te Takanga o te Wā* incorrectly presumes that *mana motuhake* is a key historical theme universal to all iwi narratives.

²⁹⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London, Zed Books, 1999); Bianca Elkington, Moana Jackson, Rebecca Kiddle, Ocean Ripeka Mercier, Mike Ross, Jennie Smeaton, Amanda Thomas, *Imagining Decolonisation* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020); Waziyatawin Angela Wilson and Michael Yellow Bird, eds., *For Indigenous Eyes Only A Decolonization Handbook* (Santa Fe, School of American Research, 2005).

²⁹⁹ Walker, 2004, p. 10.

³⁰⁰ Walker, 2004, pp. 186-219.

The writers encourage students “to examine and engage in the perspectives of different groups in the search for mana motuhake, especially in communities that experienced conflict and loss” while also asking students to apply this to local events and the history of their area.³⁰¹ Seeking to impose mana motuhake as an overarching Māori history theme in this way, cannot help but lead to a narrow framing of iwi histories that will fail to make appropriate space for hundreds of years of Māori political history prior to the arrival of Europeans, that don’t use mana motuhake as a central principle or guiding precept.

Rather than using mana motuhake as a concept to explore how Māori engage with self-determining identity politics, Māori historians have instead sought to use iwi or context specific terms that relate more explicitly to how that group identify their “kaupapa.”³⁰² Dr Nepia Mahuika has discussed how for Māori and Iwi researchers, these kaupapa are often inherited, and follow on from the work and agendas set by the ancestors who went before us.³⁰³ Mahuika further highlights the decolonising imperative in much of the work of indigenous academics ‘within various fields of Western academia’ using their research as a tool to ‘indigenize, decolonize, and reconfigure those fields to enable indigenous perspectives.’³⁰⁴

Māori historian and Anglican minister Hirini Kaa (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata) has also recently discussed decolonisation in a 2021 article on ‘Decolonizing and reindigenizing church and society in New Zealand’.³⁰⁵ Kaa highlights the significance of decolonisation and reindigenization as Māori history teaching concepts within the curriculum. He claims that due to climate issues non-indigenous peoples are beginning to ‘embrace and understand this land and

³⁰¹ Tamua, 2015, p. 9.

³⁰² Kaupapa is a term used by Mahuika, 2019, but also referenced by Ranginui Walker as a term that was used in the title of a New Zealand Māori Council discussion paper, because it would be less politically loaded than Mana Motuhake in Waitangi Tribunal, WAI2417, 2015, at p. 159.

³⁰³ Mahuika, 2019, p. 35.

³⁰⁴ Mahuika, 2019, p. 35.

³⁰⁵ Hirini Kaa, ‘Decolonizing and reindigenizing church and society in New Zealand’, *Anglican Journal* (Online)(2021) < <https://anglicanjournal.com/aotearoa-histories/> > [accessed 18th Sep 2022]/

context' and are further 'embracing the language, values and worldview of this land.'³⁰⁶ Kaa examines how the concepts of decolonisation and re-indigenisation have begun to positively influence the education system in Aotearoa, stating that 'generations of Pakeha school children will grow up far more knowledgeable of this land than the generations before them' highlighting the significant potential transformative impact that decolonisation holds as a Māori historical concept, not only for Māori and Iwi communities, but for all New Zealanders through a mainstream history curriculum resource.

Established New Zealand historians, such as Judith Binney, Michael King³⁰⁷ and James Belich³⁰⁸ barely refer to mana motuhake in their work. In *Tangata Whenua*³⁰⁹, a significant Māori history text, New Zealand historians Judith Binney and Vincent O'Malley briefly discuss mana motuhake in 'the quest for survival, 1890-1920', a chapter on the loss of Māori land and the rise of Māori resistance and autonomy. The writers elaborate on the growing tension between the government and Māori during this time, stating that:

[T]he government paid particular attention to two districts where Māori held defiantly to their independence, their mana motuhake – Te Rohe Pōtae (the 'King Country') and Te Urewera.³¹⁰

This reference emphasises the predominant way in which the history literature deals with mana motuhake as part of the content of Māori and New Zealand history, without really engaging with mana motuhake as historical or conceptual theme that

³⁰⁶ Kaa, 2021.

³⁰⁷ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004). Michael King, *Nga Iwi o te Motu: One Thousand Years of Māori History* (Auckland: Reed, 2001).

³⁰⁸ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: a History of the New Zealanders from the 1800s to the year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane; Penguin, 2001). James Belich, *Making Peoples: a History of the New Zealanders: From Polynesian Settlement to the end of the nineteenth century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996). Judith Binney, 'Māori Oral Narratives, Pākehā Written Texts', in *The Shaping of History: essays from the New Zealand Journal of History*, edited by Judith Binney (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 3-15. Judith Binney, Vincent O'Malley and Alan Ward, 'The Coming of the Pākehā', in *Tangata Whenua: A History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), pp. 167-193.

³⁰⁹ Binney and O'Malley, 'The quest for survival: 1890-1920', in *Tangata Whenua* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), pp. 280-308.

³¹⁰ Binney and O'Malley., 2015, p. 280.

facilitates greater insight into how Māori think about and engage with the past and history. Instead as a concept, mana motuhake is central to enabling a deeper understanding of how some Iwi and Māori communities understood their political identity. Mana motuhake is a concept that has been used to assert Māori and Iwi authority over their own lives, lands and legacies, and it has been instrumental in specific movements to resist colonial oppression.

Also writing in *Tangata Whenua*, Māori historians Aroha Harris (Te Rarawa, Ngāpuhi) and Melissa Matutina Williams (Te Rarawa, Ngāti Maru), in 'Rights and revitalisation, 1970-1990', also briefly refer to mana motuhake,³¹¹ with a focus on the historical events of Māori resistance, protests and activism.³¹² Any other mention of mana motuhake throughout *Tangata Whenua* is specifically referring to the name of the Mana Motuhake Party. Although mana motuhake is present in historical literature, as this section has emphasised it is by no means a central or core historical concept, and there are in fact more appropriate Māori concepts that could have been selected instead.

The following section considers an intersection in the literature between History and Māori research ethics and practice, that engages with ideas around mana motuhake and the need for Māori and Iwi to have authority over their own knowledge and cultural teachings. This is a core critique of *Te Takanga o te Wā*, made throughout the thesis, and an irony in the authors identification of mana motuhake as a central theme in the document, when the document does not recognise or align with the definitions of these themes and concepts from a Māori cultural perspective. Consequently, the rendering of 'mana motuhake' conveyed in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is neither an authentic representation of the Māori concept of mana Motuhake, or a

³¹¹ Harris and Williams, 'Rights and revitalisation, 1970-1990', in *Tangata Whenua* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015), pp. 350-376.

³¹² Harris and Williams, 2015, pp. 375-376.

useful history theme to convey learning considered “crucial to students understanding of Māori history.”³¹³

Mana motuhake as a concept in History and Ethics

Mana motuhake is a concept evident in Māori research ethics, alongside other key Māori ethical concepts such as kaitiakitanga and whakapapa. Māori academics have aligned mana motuhake as an ethical concept.³¹⁴ In a 2015 article on “tikanga as an ethical foundation of historical scholarship”, Mahuika writes:

Kaitiekitanga (guardianship, caretaking) is not only about how you deal with, present and look after whānau and iwi mātauranga, but also about how that custodianship is always aligned to the mana motuhake of the whānau.³¹⁵

Through connecting the two concepts, kaitiekitanga (Ngāti porou dialect) and mana motuhake, Mahuika is able to base an understanding on the ethical importance of Māori concepts such as these two, in historiography.

Alongside other concepts such as kaitiakitanga and whakapapa, Māori scholars have used mana motuhake as an ethical approach to kaupapa Māori, histories and research methodologies, more so than mana motuhake has been applied as a historical concept to retell the past by historians. This has been evident in other scholarship, as Mahuika has pointed out, New Zealand researchers from interdisciplinary fields, Russell Bishop, Maui Hudson, and Annabel Ahuriri-Driscoll have listed ‘a range of principles in te reo Māori’ as underpinning Māori research ethic concepts, such as mana (authority)’, ‘kaitiekitanga (guardianship)’, and ‘rangatiratanga (self-determination)’.³¹⁶ Although mana motuhake is not specifically listed here, as has been

³¹³ Tamua, 2015, p. 2.

³¹⁴ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘New Zealand History is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 49:1, (2015), pp. 5-30 (p. 18);

³¹⁵ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18.

³¹⁶ Mahuika, 2015, p. 10.

mentioned previously, there are strong connections and associations between these concepts, and the correlations with kaitakitanga will be explored in more detail in the next chapter. However, as one particular articulation of the broader theme of mana, mana motuhake would also fit within this ethical conceptual framework.

As an ethical concept, mana motuhake provides an understanding of ownership and accountability in Māori research. Mahuika discusses this in the above article, in reference to non-Indigenous researching Indigenous studies.³¹⁷ Mana motuhake means that Māori have the authority over what is being researched, and so, for those wishing to be involved in kaupapa Māori, understanding mana motuhake as an ethical concept is a must. From Linda Tuhiwai Smith's well-known work, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Mahuika examines the 'insider and outsider' identities within kaupapa Māori research.³¹⁸ On this, Mahuika writes:

Historians are caretakers or repositories of knowledge that often have no genealogical or whakapapa relationship to the community, their history and taonga. They become kaitieki of that knowledge, but there is a difference between those who simply act in a caretaking role and those with real kaitiekitanga authority.³¹⁹

As an 'ethical code of conduct', mana motuhake provides a foundation of understanding Māori rights to what is being researched and produced about our culture and knowledges, especially to those not of Māori descent.³²⁰ Although this is important for historical scholarship, as it is for all quality academic research, it still seems insufficient to establish mana motuhake as an appropriate and key Māori historical theme.

Mana motuhake is applied as an ethical concept by historians, and Māori academics, who discuss the ethical codes to Māori research. When Māori knowledge and tikanga are being 'researched' by non-Māori, it is essential for those researchers

³¹⁷ Mahuika, 2015, p. 14.

³¹⁸ Mahuika, 2015, p. 15. Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, pp. 138-42.

³¹⁹ Mahuika, 2015, p. 15.

³²⁰ Mahuika, 2015, pp. 17-18.

to understand Māori ethical concepts, such as mana motuhake, kaitiakitanga and whakapapa. However, although it is important, mana motuhake is not necessarily as significant throughout historical scholarship. As this chapter argues throughout, although Māori historians have discussed mana Motuhake from time to time in their work, when they have it has related predominantly to the content of history, and discussion of a specific political party and the associated Māori political movement. Where it is used as an ethical concept, it's usually in relation to other, interrelated Māori concepts, which further highlights that although mana Motuhake is an important idea, that can be traced in the literature, its treatment does not demonstrate is positioning as an overarching theme. Indeed, by looking at the terms meaning and use, other concepts such as mana and tino rangatiratanga seem more appropriate candidates for potential Māori history themes. The next section of the chapter will look at literature beyond the field of history, considering how mana motuhake has been discussed and defined from broader Māori and Iwi perspectives.

Mana Motuhake from Māori and Iwi perspectives

As a political concept, mana motuhake has provided a political agenda, identity, and motto that reflects underlying cultural beliefs and understandings. Like many Māori cultural concepts, the deep spiritual philosophies that are woven together through these traditional frameworks are not always immediately apparent in their every day common usage as illustrated by this definition provided in the 1981 Mana Motuhake Party manifesto, which defines mana motuhake as:

[T]he mauri (life force) and wairua (spirit) of the Māori people. It is a force that cannot be denied because it embodies the spirit of the ancestors and soul of the people.³²¹

³²¹ Walker, 1981, p. 3.

Indeed, this inherent connection and therefore the implications of contravening such a force are central to understanding the term. From a linguistics perspective, motuhake means “to separate, set aside,”³²² with mana motuhake then translated literally as:

‘[S]eperated mana’, that is, the authority and capacity to be autonomous. This is a political term forged in post-Waitangi attempts by Māori groups to continue to control their own affairs or regain jurisdiction that had been removed or lost... The first element in the later word, *motu*, means ‘to be severed, broken off, seperated’... the second element may be a variant of *ake* ‘up, upwards’.³²³

However, as been highlighted previously, although this might be a common understanding based on te reo Māori, the ways in which mana motuhake has been embraced and embodied by various Iwi groups and their political movements has been assorted, with the notion finding much firmer footing in some tribal regions than others. In an exploration of mana motuhake as a key concept among her own people, Tūhoe academic, Rawinia Higgins includes a traditional tribal waiata composed by the noted influential historical leader, Te Kooti, which includes the following lyrics:

Ko te mana tuatahi ko te Tiriti o Waitangi. Ko te mana tuarua ko te Kooti Whenua.
Ko te mana tuatoru ko te Mana Motuhake!³²⁴

Higgins explains that these lyrics provide an insight into the thinking that informs the three principles of mana from a Tūhoe perspective: ‘the Treaty, the Land Court, and Mana Motuhake,’ elaborating that, ‘when this song is sung, the emphasis is always placed on the last *mana, mana motuhake*’.³²⁵ As a form of story-telling, this waiata holds traditional knowledge, that enables a better understanding of the importance of mana

³²²<https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keyword=s=motuhake>.

³²³ Richard Benton, Alex Frame, Paul Meredith, eds., *Te Mātāpunenga A Compendium of references to the concepts and institutions of Māori customary law* (Wellington: Te Mātāhauariki Research Institute/Victoria University Press, 2013), p. 175.

³²⁴ Higgins, 2018, pp. 129-130.

³²⁵ Higgins, 2018, p. 130.

motuhake as a political concept for the people of Tūhoe that underpins the long-standing conflicts that have ensued as the tribe sought to exercise their rights against a colonizing government. However, it must be understood that although the concept is of significance to Tūhoe, not all Iwi Māori or hapū groups attach the same levels of significance to mana motuhake. Hence, one argument as to why mana motuhake is inappropriately selected as a central Māori history theme in the way it has been promoted in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Potentially then, rather than a “theme” or history concept, mana motuhake can be more appropriately understood as a thread, bound within the interwoven language of resistance and reclamation. A number of terms then have been used within the literature to articulate and describe the “Māori aspiration for greater control over their own destinies and resources” including mana motuhake, tino rangatiratanga, sovereignty, autonomy, self-determination, self-governance, independence. However as esteemed scholar Mason Durie (Ngāti Kauwhata and Rangitāne) has commented:

There are important distinctions between those terms, though they all capture an underlying commitment to the advancement of Māori people as Māori, and the protection of the environment for future generations. And all reject any notion of an assimilated future.³²⁶

Discussing the relative benefits and flaws of advocating for the English terms in relation to sovereignty he points out the problems of adopting non-Māori terms, that come out of cultural frameworks and approaches that are fundamentally different to a te ao Māori worldview:

It did not arise from Māori concepts of power, governance or territorial right nor, since it ascribes sovereign power to a supreme source, does it reflect Māori decision-making, which favours consensus rather than decree. In advocating Māori sovereignty, the focus inevitably shifts away from the advancement of Māori as Māori to the relationship of Māori with the Crown.³²⁷

³²⁶ Mason Durie, *Te Mana, Te Kāwanatanga The Politics of Māori Self-Determination* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 218.

³²⁷ Durie, 2001, p. 219.

Aside from the potential misalignment in cultural frames, Durie emphasises the shift in focus this brings, and the potential that creates for Māori energy and resource to be directed in ways that might not best serve our needs. As such he argues and provides a range of references to support his claim that most Māori “favour tino rangatiratanga” as the primary concept to “convey the message of Māori autonomy and control.”³²⁸ Interestingly, the term mana, is used in the Declaration of Independence to describe Māori sovereignty:

Ko te Kingitanga, ko te mana i te wenua o te wakaminenga o Nu Tireni, ka meatia nei kei nga tino Rangatira anake i to matou huihuinga...

All sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity.³²⁹

A new term was used, translated from king, kingitanga was coined as a representation of an ‘all-powerful federal sovereign’ because at that time Māori did not have an equivalent word or concept. To clarify and ensure understanding, kingitanga was supported with the more traditional and familiar concept of mana, a term with “both worldly and ethereal meanings” but within this specific context, and “as used in the Declaration of Independence, it spells out authority and control.”³³⁰

Te Mātāpunenga A Compendium of references to the concepts and institutions of Māori Customary Law is a unique resource that assembles an array of references to traditional Māori law concepts.³³¹ In addition to identifying ‘mana’ as an important concept and framework within Māori customary law, it also identifies several variations and specific ways that mana can be expressed including mana kōrero,³³² as the authority

³²⁸ Durie references Mike Smith, Tipene O’Reagan and Peter Tapsell from Hineani Melbourne, *Māori Sovereignty*, 2001, p. 219.

³²⁹ Durie, 2001, p. 2.

³³⁰ Durie, 2001, p. 2.

³³¹ Richard Benton, Alex Frame, Paul Meredith, *Te Mātāpunenga A Compendium of References to the Concepts and Institutions of Māori Customary Law* (Wellington, Victoria University Press, 2013).

³³² Benton, Frame and Meredith, 2013, p. 161.

to speak on behalf of a community or group, mana moana,³³³ as authority and jurisdiction over lakes and ocean areas, mana tangata,³³⁴ authority and jurisdiction over people and or the rights and authority of the people themselves, mana whenua,³³⁵ as power, authority, jurisdiction, influence or governance over land or territory, and mana motuhake.

Within *Te Mātapunenga*, a quick consideration of the number of pages and entries per terms soon highlights that even in comparison to the ways in which other expressions of mana are referenced, mana motuhake is not the strongest and overarching expression of mana. Mana motuhake and mana kōrero each have 1 page and 1 entry, whereas mana tangata features 2 entries over 2 pages, mana moana has 23 entries over 13 pages, and mana whenua has the most at 51 separate references over 27 pages. Mana itself is explored over 7 pages and 13 different entries and defined as:

A key philosophical concept combining notions of psychic and spiritual force and vitality, recognised authority, influence and prestige, and thus also power and the ability to control people and events. As a verb the word means to be effectual or to take effect, also, in some contexts, to be avenged; the derived causative whakamana denotes the application of mana, in bringing something about, making it worthy of admiration and respect, or rectifying an undesirable state of affairs.³³⁶

This connection between ones actions, and generating mana is therefore inherent in the associations between mana and rangatiratanga, summarised in a well-known Māori aphorism “Te kai a te Rangatira, he kōrero. Te tohu o te Rangatira, he mnaaki. Te mahi a te Rangatira, he whakatira te iwi,”³³⁷ which explains the attributes of a

³³³ Benton, Frame and Meredith, 2013, p. 162.

³³⁴ Benton, Frame and Meredith, 2013, p. 176.

³³⁵ Benton, Frame and Meredith, 2013, p. 178.

³³⁶ Benton, Frame and Meredith, 2013, p. 154.

³³⁷ Margret Mutu and Moana Jackson, *He whakaaro Here Whakaumu mō Aotearoa: The Report of Matike Mai Aotearoa – The Independent Working Group on Constitutional Transformation* (Wellington, Matike Mai Aotearoa, 2016), p. 34.

Rangatira or leader can be seen in the ways that they are able to respond to their people, the way they provide for and unite their people.

Tracing through the content of New Zealand history you can track the ways in which Māori and Iwi have constantly sought to negotiate the imposed approaches and models of the colonisers to develop uniquely Māori expressions of self-determination and political autonomy as the Tribunal has observed:

In the nineteenth century, they took British institutions such as committees and councils and turned them into Māori self-government institutions, combining Māori values and tikanga with Pākehā powers and procedures to create uniquely Māori institutions. The establishment of a Māori King in the 1850s, and of a Māori Parliament in the 1890s, were major events in the pursuit of mana motuhake on the national stage.³³⁸

Thus, mana motuhake is synonymous with tino rangatiratanga and other autonomy-focused movements, such as the Waikato-Tainui based Kīngitanga movement³³⁹ and the Te Kotahitanga parliament.³⁴⁰ Each of these pivotal movements in Māori history, incorporated tribal and traditional notions of political authority expressed in ways that were hoped would be recognised, acknowledged and more appropriately made space for by the colonizer government with limited success.³⁴¹ This has been articulated by the Waitangi Tribunal:

For Maori, their struggle for autonomy, as evidenced in the New Zealand wars, is not past history. It is part of a continuum that has endured to this day. The desire for autonomy has continued to the present day in policies of the Kingitanga, Ringatu, the Repudiation movement, Te Whiti, Tohu, the Kotahitanga, Rua, Ratana, Maori parliamentarians, the New Zealand Maori Council, Te Hahi Mihinare, iwi runanga, the Maori Congress, and others. It is a record matched only by the Government's opposition and its determination to impose instead an

³³⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, WAI 2417, 2015, p. 3.

³³⁹ Angela Ballara, *Te Kingitanga: The People of the King Movement* (Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1996).

³⁴⁰ Lindsay Cox, *Kotahitanga: The search for Māori Political Unity* (Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993).

³⁴¹ Seen throughout book chapters such as: Binney and O'Malley, 2015, pp. 280-308; Harris and Williams, 2015, pp. 350-376; Walker, 2004, pp. 186-219.

ascendancy, though cloaked under other names such as amalgamation, assimilation, majoritarian democracy, or one nation.³⁴²

Within each of these movements, the central goal was always the assertion of legitimate Māori political authority and yet within its contemporary context, mana motuhake is a political ambition more so than a core historical understanding. Using the Kingitanga as one of several possible examples, the agreement on behalf of a number of hapū and Iwi to place their lands under the mana of the King was a demonstration of mana motuhake in as much as:

The Kingitanga also symbolised the maintenance of tribal authority. Accordingly, it appears to have represented not the authority of the King over others but the independent authority of the people, as symbolised by the King. The expression used at the time was 'te mana Maori motuhake', or the independent authority of Maori. These words were emblazoned on the King's crest.³⁴³

This vesting of the collective authority into the mantle of the King, demonstrates a uniquely Māori culturally informed expression of leadership through what had been taken on as a colonial model. With a clear focus on land retention, and a desire to end warfare, the legal and political underpinnings of the concept are also not difficult to discern. Evidence to support mana motuhake's construction as a core Māori history concept is more difficult to identify, as the literature doesn't furnish evidence of any significant use of the term by historians to frame or analyse Māori or New Zealand history.

All of the above interpretations refer to mana motuhake as a traditional Māori concept, and a political concept. It is difficult to find mana motuhake in Māori scholarship without it relating to political agendas, and although it is clear mana motuhake is a key theme throughout research in relation to Māori politics and identity, it is not as obvious how mana motuhake has been used as a concept to tell Māori history. This section has explored the concept of mana motuhake as an

³⁴² Waitangi Tribunal, WAI143, 1996, p. 19.

³⁴³ Waitangi Tribunal, WAI143, 1996, p. 63.

expression of resistance and reclamation, a common theme to the ways in which Iwi and Māori groups identify with and think about mana motuhake. Although the term is central in the literature discussing these efforts at resistance and reclamation, the literature highlights additional and related Māori cultural and social concepts that emphasise the existence more appropriate Māori history themes than *Te Takanga o te Wā* chose to profile.

Summary

Mana motuhake as an ideal is synonymous with a particular time period in Māori history, however, this does not equate as a predominant theme central to understanding thinking about Māori history in more general terms. Tino rangatiratanga could have been a better fit, as it is focused on in many tribunal and land claims that are still being discussed today, rather than mana motuhake which is, within the literature at least, more obviously focused and concerned with the specific political party and movement originating in the 1970's. This chapter has explored mana motuhake throughout historical scholarship, other academic fields such as law and ethics, and considered how the term has been discussed and explained by Māori and Iwi scholars and leaders. While mana motuhake does feature across historical literature, it is clearly and most commonly understood as a political concept and an assertion of Māori political authority, rather than as an historical tool to organise and consider the past.

As with the other themes *Te Takanga o te Wā* identifies, its definition and interpretation of mana motuhake fails to appropriately reflect what mana motuhake means, and is consequently a misrepresentation of the concept. Furthermore, the way in which the resource defines mana motuhake, through its description of the underlying concepts and the curriculum content presented under this theme, also unhelpfully restricts and confines understandings of both mana motuhake and Māori

history and culture. Under this theme, and others within the document, *Te Takanga o te Wā* maintains and encourages unsupportive and undermining colonial troupes that insist on positioning Māori as victims of colonisation and loss, and frame Māori assertions of mana motuhake as conflict and controversy. As such the resource is potentially a dangerous tool to provide to some teachers who might not have the cultural competency to appropriately unpack and critique the material shared within *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

This chapter has shown how mana motuhake is a concept in research method, but not explicitly in historical method. Few Māori have written about mana motuhake as a specifically history related theme or concept, but more so as an ethical code to researching Māori kaupapa. It is not as common in historiography as it is in legal tribunal and treaty scholarship, or Māori ethics work. Therefore, this chapter has made a consistent argument for more apt historical concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and advocated that terms such as decolonisation, tino rangatiratanga, or mana would all have made more appropriate selections.

Indeed the chapter also noted, that given the strong associations with the concept of mana motuhake, Māori political resistance, and acknowledgement of several protest and resistance initiatives within *Te Takanga o te Wā* that nothing was mentioned of the associated between mana motuhake and Māori religious movements which, in the context of colonial New Zealand were viewed as rebellious and resistance. The absence of religion or spirituality across the entire document seems odd given the commonality of spirituality or religion as an Historical theme, and one that holds potential to offer rich insights into how Māori understand and think about the past, and how that might have changed over time, when viewed through the lens of spirituality and religion. This absence seems stranger still considering the highly spiritual nature of Māori culture, and the historical fervour with which Māori embraced western religions.

As mana motuhake is a narrowly focused concept that ties heavily to iwi and political organisations relationships to the Crown and history post-colonial invasion, this chapter has shown that mana on its own as a historical concept is much more prominent throughout Māori scholarship and historiography, and broadens the range of Māori history, including the thousands of years of history pre-colonisation.

Incorrectly identifying mana motuhake as a core Māori history theme, in a guideline for teachers and the new history curriculum is not only problematic for Māori history, but potentially sets up those teachers and students to fail. Given the central significance of education in improving understanding and tolerance across cultures, and the pre-existing tensions and social pressures around Māori history even being taught in the mainstream curriculum, this is a responsibility the Ministry of Education really needs to take more seriously. Teaching Māori history in mainstream schools is a daunting task for many teachers. It is essential that schools, teachers and classrooms are provided with the resources, professional development and support to ensure they can feel supported to do a good job, for themselves and their students. Unfortunately, at this point *Te Takanga o te Wā* is the only major resource in this area and it seriously misses the mark.

Kaitiakitanga as an Historical Concept

Kaitiakitanga is a familiar and well-known concept within te Ao Māori.³⁴⁴ It is recognised and used in a wide range of contexts and by diverse groups from Iwi,³⁴⁵ to local government bodies and Councils,³⁴⁶ government departments,³⁴⁷ educational and research focused organisations,³⁴⁸ environmental groups³⁴⁹ and private businesses.³⁵⁰ Within these spaces it is discussed as a guiding principle, a philosophy, a concept that has been defined in law, and yet has its origins from within traditional Māori worldviews.

Although use of the term is increasingly spreading across an array of groups, kaitiakitanga is consistently identified as an environmental ethic, most commonly translated into English as ‘guardianship’ or ‘stewardship’ with connotations of protecting and maintaining the well-being of the environment and therefore all of

³⁴⁴ Margret Mutu, ‘Custom Law and the Advent of New Pākehā Settlers: Tuku Whenua - Allocation of Resource Use Rights’, in *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā tāhuhu kōrero*, edited by Danny Keenan (Wellington: Huia, 2012), p. 95.

³⁴⁵ Te Runanga nui o Ngati Porou discuss their views on kaitiakitanga in their iwi website <https://ngatiporou.com/nati-story/our-kōrero/kaitiakitanga-environment>; as do Ngati Toa Rangatira <https://www.ngatitoa.iwi.nz/kaitiakitanga>; and Ngai Tahu <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/environment/>.

³⁴⁶ Environment Canterbury notes their responsibilities to enable and support tangata whenua to practice kaitiakitanga <https://www.ecan.govt.nz/your-region/your-environment/water/measuring-cwms-progress/kaitiakitanga/>; The Bay of Plenty Regional Council has an entire chapter focused on Kaitiakitanga in its Natural Resources Plan <https://www.boprc.govt.nz/your-council/plans-and-policies/plans/regional-plans/regional-natural-resources-plan>; while Auckland Council also identify action areas and project and activities to “enable active kaitiakitanga of whakapapa connections in current management and planning practices, but also future innovations and processes of change” <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/topic-based-plans-strategies/environmental-plans-strategies/aucklands-climate-plan/te-ora-o-tamaki/Pages/kaitiakitanga.aspx>.

³⁴⁷ <https://www.nzta.govt.nz/projects/waikato-expressway/huntly/tangata-whenua-kaitiakitanga/>; <https://environment.govt.nz/publications/aotearoa-new-zealands-first-emissions-reduction-plan/empowering-Māori/>; <https://www.digital.govt.nz/standards-and-guidance/privacy-security-and-risk/privacy/data-protection-and-use-policy-dpup/read-the-dpup-principles/kaitiakitanga-principle/#:~:text=Kaitiakitanga%20means%20to%20have%20guardianship,information%20when%20that%20is%20appropriate.>

³⁴⁸ <https://www.sustainableseaschallenge.co.nz/news-and-events/news/new-resource-understanding-kaitiakitanga-in-our-marine-environment/>; Victoria <https://www.wgtn.ac.nz/Māori-hub/ako/te-tiriti-o-waitangi/principle-of-kaitiakitanga>.

³⁴⁹ <https://www.janegoodall.org.nz/our-work/our-approach/kaitiakitanga/>

³⁵⁰ <https://www.waitomo.com/discover/more/kaitiakitanga>; <https://www.btw.nz/news/kaitiakitanga-a-guiding-principle/>.

those who are dependant on it.³⁵¹ It would be fair to state that most Māori and many non-Māori understand, or have at least heard of the term kaitiakitanga, especially for those working with Iwi and hapū or in areas related to environmental resource management.

Kaitiakitanga, as a concept that focuses on the ethical responsibilities Māori communities feel they are obliged to fulfil, for the well-being of the environment, highlights why the concept is emphasised throughout the Waitangi Tribunal, Iwi and hapū land claims and debates over ‘ownership.’ Māori assertion of their rights as kaitiaki, is an articulation of the tino rangatiratanga guaranteed to hapū under article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, that would enable the independence of their lands, villages and their treasures. Māori and Iwi have gone to great lengths to affirm and assert these rights, and indeed their acknowledgement by the Waitangi Tribunal has likely been influential in the legislative initiatives that have attempted to recognise and include kaitiakitanga within mainstream legal terminology.³⁵²

This is not a concept that Māori and New Zealand historians have commonly used to explore ways of thinking about or understanding the past. Kaitiakitanga is clearly a significant cultural concept, that underpins the way many Māori might think about and interact with the world around them. However, while kaitiakitanga may be a well-known and important te ao Māori cultural concept, that doesn’t mean that it is a core theme or Māori history concept appropriate for framing a mainstream history curriculum in the way it has been used in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

³⁵¹ See for example the definition provided in section 2 of the Resource Management Act 1991, “kaitiakitanga means the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship.”

³⁵² Resource Management Act 1991, s2; Fisheries Act 1996, s2, which states: “kaitiakitanga means the exercise of guardianship; and, in relation to any fisheries resources, includes the ethic of stewardship based on the nature of the resources, as exercised by the appropriate tangata whenua in accordance with tikanga Māori.”

Initially the chapter questions how kaitiakitanga, as a historical theme, has been included in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. With the power to shape how Māori history is taught in schools, and potentially change the current narrative that fails to prioritise or accentuate the importance of Māori history in the national history curriculum, this chapter considers whether or not kaitiakitanga should be taught as a key historical concept. This chapter will illustrate that the way kaitiakitanga has been defined and discussed within *Te Takanga o te Wā* is somewhat problematic, and has the potential to make meaningful teaching of Māori history more difficult for teachers, and ineffective for students, and Māori and Iwi communities. The chapter will explore the ways in which kaitiakitanga has been considered as a concept throughout other fields such as ethics, law, environmental studies and social work. The chapter will draw conclusions as to the validity of kaitiakitanga as a core theme or Māori historical concept, asserting that it has not been used or discussed in this way by Māori historical scholars, and that there are likely other Māori historical concepts of more relevance and utility to *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s aims and objectives.

Kaitiakitanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā*

Each of *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s themes are intended to provide "teachers and students with a way to connect with Māori history."³⁵³ Each theme has a designated section, which begins with the theme identified in the title, followed by a series of "conceptual understandings" those concepts that the resource identifies as "crucial to students' understanding of Māori history."³⁵⁴ The conceptual understandings are followed by a short paragraph summarising *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s framing of the theme and its relevant content, before those ideas and concepts are explored in a brief and selective manner over two pages per theme.

³⁵³ Tamua, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ Tamua, p. 2.

For kaitiakitanga, the conceptual understandings identified as crucial were: time, context, perspective, knowledge, tikanga and guardianship. The focus of the theme kaitiakitanga is summarised in *Te Takanga o te Wa* in this way:

Historically, guardianship and ownership of the land in Aotearoa New Zealand has been subject to the conflicting values of different cultures. These values have shaped the land and the people. For students, local landmarks and natural resources are a foundation for looking at a history of guardianship, ownership, confiscation, conflict and settlement.³⁵⁵

By framing kaitiakitanga in the limited binary context of conflicting views about land between Māori and the invading colonial forces, land ownership and settlement, the resource maintains and assumes “that in most areas of Aotearoa New Zealand students will be investigating the historical loss of kaitiakitanga.”³⁵⁶ Such an assumption implies that most Iwi and hapū are currently unable to exercise the kaitiakitanga they once enjoyed as a result of the losses and injustices brought about by colonisation. Not only does this illustrate a failure to appropriately understand what kaitiakitanga is, it further misrepresents the concept as an appropriate theme to banner the subject matter that is covered under this theme. While the significant amounts of land and resources that were stolen clearly has had a negative impact on the ability of tangata whenua to realise their kaitiakitanga, that doesn’t mean that Iwi stopped asserting or exercising their kaitiakitanga, or any of the cultural principles, concepts, values and beliefs that the proceeding chapters have covered. Creating a focus under kaitiakitanga on ‘conflicting values’ distorts what is meant by the term in a way that is not only insensitive but potentially offensive. Given the significant difference between how kaitiakitanga would be framed from a te ao Māori perspective, the focus on conflicting values and land ownership risks encouraging misunderstanding and misrepresentation of kaitiakitanga in a way that has potential

³⁵⁵ Tamua, p. 11.

³⁵⁶ Tamua, p. 11.

to put teachers with minimal te ao Māori cultural competency at risk of failure or causing offence.

The focus on land and landmarks acknowledges the connections to local places and knowledge sources but fails to articulate the ways in which this explicitly aligns with the concept of kaitiakitanga as a Māori historical concept. Encouraging students to explore the history of the local area and specific landmarks including the local marae has great potential to generate some rich historical learning experiences, but how or why they fit under the banner of kaitiakitanga rather than any other Māori concept is unclear. Furthermore, *Te Takanga o te Wā* fails to reference or appropriately acknowledge any of the significant historical or Māori literature and resources that would be useful to support teachers to explore and more fully understand the way the concept of kaitiakitanga might appropriately be shared with their students.

The discussion of restoration and rāhui begins to more appropriately align the content of the theme with the ways in which kaitiakitanga has been most commonly defined within the literature that the chapter will explore following this section. Acknowledging that “the restoration of environment and culture has always been an important part of Māori history”, this section goes on to discuss “the concept of rāhui” as “one starting point for the study of kaitiakitanga.”³⁵⁷ Rāhui is defined:

Rāhui is a limit or ban on the use of a particular resource. It is put in place to protect a resource or people in response to a perceived threat to the environment. This is an important part of kaitiakitanga.³⁵⁸

Traditionally applied by Indigenous communities as a restorative practice, the concept of rāhui is traditional ecological knowledge for protecting and caring for the natural world, and in that way is an expression of kaitiakitanga in action.³⁵⁹ Rāhui, although

³⁵⁷ Tamua, p. 12.

³⁵⁸ Tamua, p. 12.

³⁵⁹ Alan M. Friedlander, Janna M. Shakeroff and John N. Kittinger, ‘Traditional marine resources and their use in contemporary Kawai’i’, in *The Rāhui: Legal pluralism in Polynesian traditional management of resources and territories*, edited by Tamatoa Bambridge (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2016), pp. 177-194. Jacinta Ruru and Nicola Wheen, ‘Providing for rāhui in the law of Aotearoa

originating from Māori resource management approaches, has now officially been adopted as a conservation tool by the Ministry of Fisheries as part of the conservation measures for preservation of our marine environment.³⁶⁰

After acknowledging the environmental aspects of kaitiakitanga the section then includes a slightly more expansive and abstracted thread through consideration of taonga, as a way “to connect with history and explore guardianship, use, and craftsmanship.”³⁶¹ Here the resource encourages exploring notions of kaitiakitanga through considering what makes something special or valuable, and the different reasons why might value something or see it as worth looking after and protecting. Again, while these questions and lines of thinking are more in alignment with Māori definitions and conceptions of kaitiakitanga, as has been previously discussed, it’s not clear that these same questions and lines of thinking couldn’t have been explored under a different and potentially more appropriate Māori cultural concept or that kaitiakitanga is clearly a Māori historical concept.

Although *Te Takanga o te Wā* proports to be a Māori history guideline, it has failed to include a number of significant Māori history resources or any of the recognised Māori historians work, either in the development of the resource or simply as references within the document they compiled. In the next section, the chapter will consider how Māori and New Zealand historians have discussed or engaged with the concept to further consider whether kaitiakitanga is in fact an appropriate Māori history concept for inclusion in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

The writers of *Te Takanga o te Wā*, do not clearly or appropriately define kaitiakitanga within the resource, and consequently the perspective or understanding

New Zealand’, in *The Rahui: Legal pluralism in Polynesian traditional management of resources and territories*, edited by Tamatoa Bambridge (Canberra, Australia: ANU Press, 2016), pp. 195-210.

³⁶⁰ Ruru and Wheen, p. 195-210; An example of the Ministry of Fisheries adopting rāhui as a method of conservation. Simon Nathan, ‘Conservation – a history - Māori conservation traditions’, *Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand* (2015) <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/13901/rahui-sign> [accessed 24 April 2022].

³⁶¹ Tamua, p. 12.

of the concept it communicates is not only confusing, but equally not an accurate reflection of the way in which the concept is understood from a *te ao Māori* perspective. In doing so, the writers have misused and misunderstood *kaitiakitanga* as a concept, and are yet to confirm that it is in fact an historical concept, rather than a cultural or social one. As a guideline for teaching Māori history, it is important that *Te Takanga o te Wā* provides teachers with appropriate and clear understandings of Māori historical concepts, so that our knowledge is not being distorted and incorrectly taught in the new curriculum.

Kaitiakitanga in Historical Scholarship

Despite having been included in the five historical themes identified within *Te Takanga o Te Wā* as “a way to connect with Māori history,”³⁶² *kaitiakitanga* is not a concept that has been commonly used to think about the past. Although there is evidence of Māori historians referring to the idea, rather than discussing it as a way to organise historical thinking, *kaitiakitanga* is more often discussed as a practice,³⁶³ or an articulation of particular values or *tikanga*.³⁶⁴ Frequently, Māori scholars have listed *kaitiakitanga* alongside other Māori concepts, values and principles to acknowledge their collective and interrelated significance within the Māori world. Ngāti Kahu Professor Margaret Mutu provides one example here:

The nature of the power and control exercised by hapū was clear and well understood. It was and remains based on underpinning values and principles that include *mana*, *tapu*, *tikanga*, *whangaungatanga*, *manaakitanga*, *rangatira* and *rangatiratanga*, *kaitiaki* and *kaitiakitanga*; the *tikanga* or custom law of each hapū determines the correct way to carry out something in accordance with these values and principles.³⁶⁵

This is common throughout Māori literature, however, within historical scholarship this is often the only mention of *kaitiakitanga*. Unlike *whakapapa*, as discussed and explained earlier in the thesis, *kaitiakitanga* does not provide its own inherent

³⁶² Tamua, p. 2.

³⁶³ Friedlander et al., p. 178.

³⁶⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, *Te Paparahi o te Raki: He Whakaputanga me Te Tiriti, The Declaration of Independence and the Treaty, Stage One Report, (WAI1040)* (Wellington, 2014), refers to *kaitiakitanga* as a value at pp. 2; 31-32; refers to *kaitiakitanga* as a *tikanga* at p. 187.

³⁶⁵ Mutu, 2012, p. 95.

framework which fits it well for historians purposes, to structure discussions of the past. Instead kaitiakitanga's interconnected nature as a concept, highlights how it is but one part of a complex and intricately woven social and cultural framework, that's meaning and relevance can't be fully understood without the contextual related concepts, values, beliefs and practices.

Although *Te Takanga o te Wā* attempts to explore kaitiakitanga through the conflicting views about land and the environment, to do so in any meaningful way would first require an understanding of how tangata whenua viewed their relationships to the land, and the significance of the whakapapa connections that enable Māori to identify and claim a tūrangawaewae or assert mana Motuhake or kaitiakitanga. Māori have an inherently different way of viewing and understanding the world, "an understanding of the world that was based on whakapapa; on the values of whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga, and rangatiratanga; on the imperatives of mana, tapu, utu."³⁶⁶

Te Takanga o te Wā does acknowledge that there is interconnection and overlap between the Māori history themes it identifies, however it neglects to adequately explain both how and why this is important. The most obvious reason why such an explanation would have been useful is to provide insight into the systemic nature of these concepts. As the thesis has repeatedly asserted, the Māori concepts identified in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are important social and cultural concepts. Together they work to inform and influence how Māori understand and negotiate our engagement in the world in a way that makes most sense based on our cultural values, tribal social beliefs and practices. The Waitangi Tribunal has discussed and affirmed the interrelated value-based system that governed Māori/Iwi societies prior to first contact with Europeans. Exploring the relationships between those underlying values reveals a tradition system where:

³⁶⁶ Waitangi Tribunal, (WAI1040), p. 2.

We... see how whānaungatanga (kinship) provided a fundamental ordering principle for their society, encompassing not only relationships among living people, but also with whenua (land or territories) and tūpuna (ancestors) – all of whom embodied atua (ancestor-gods). We will see how the maintenance of spiritual balance among atua in their various manifestations was an essential driving force behind Māori actions; how that balance was enshrined in values such as manaakitanga (caring for or nurturing others) and kaitiakitanga (guardianship or care for the environment); how it gave people mana, empowering them to act in the world; and how it was maintained through the legal and spiritual imperatives of tapu (sacred, or set apart) and utu (reciprocity).³⁶⁷

However, it's important to note, that simply being able to identify the cultural values and trace the way in which these values and the system they are part of has been passed on over time is not sufficient to make them core Māori History concepts or themes. Furthermore, none of the freely available historical resources such as the Waitangi Tribunal reports, Māori land court records, Newspapers Past etc that would support and enable the rich and interesting explorations of early Māori views around 'land ownership' that could be facilitated under kaitiakitanga are mentioned or referenced. Although it would appear that the authors of *Te Takanga o te Wā* were not anticipating encouraging such nuanced and informed understandings of kaitiakitanga or its potential Māori historical relevance. As the Waitangi Tribunal's quote above makes clear, kaitiakitanga, although an important value and part of "Māori systems of authority and social organisation,"³⁶⁸ it remained still but one part, and not necessarily an overarching or higher-level concept or principle. It remains unclear then, why it was prioritised within the Ministry of Education backed resource, over and above other Māori concepts which may have been more appropriate.

As part of the research for this project specific History authors and sources were surveyed, skimming through the indexes and contents pages of books, looking for evidence to confirm that kaitiakitanga was potentially a key theme or concept that had been used within the field to explore Māori history. Māori historians, including those

³⁶⁷ Waitangi Tribunal, (WAI1040), p. 19.

³⁶⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, (WAI1040), p. 19.

from Te Pouhere Kōrero the Māori Historians collective³⁶⁹ were included, published Iwi waka histories,³⁷⁰ Iwi settlement and tribunal historical materials,³⁷¹ mainstream New Zealand history authors including Keith Sinclair,³⁷² Michael King³⁷³ and James Belich,³⁷⁴ across all of these sources the term kaitiakitanga is seldom used. Although the search was not completely exhaustive, as the bibliography will affirm the spread and range of material looked at was considerable.

Whilst this chapter maintains that the concept of kaitiakitanga is not commonly used as an historical concept to explore Māori understandings of the past within the field of New Zealand or Māori History, it is useful to make a distinction around some of the ways in which kaitiakitanga is discussed and used. Most frequently, if kaitiakitanga is mentioned, it is discussed as a cultural or social value, or in terms of the ways it has been historically practiced, such as through rāhui. The examples often describe kaitiakitanga in relation to the wider belief or cultural system, for example in describing Māori understandings of relationships to the environment:

According to Marsden, 'all life was birthed from Mother Earth' and thus 'the resources of the earth did not belong to man but rather, man belonged to the earth'. Rangatira were obliged to exercise their authority in accordance with this principle, caring for and nurturing resources to preserve their mauri and keep them available for future use. This is the sacred contract between humans and atua that Marsden described earlier, and the value now referred to as 'kaitiakitanga'.³⁷⁵

³⁶⁹ This study surveyed Māori historians essays published in *The New Zealand Journal of History*, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, which are long running periodicals. It also included *Te Pouhere Kōrero*, the journal of Māori historians in Aotearoa which spans the past 2-3 decades.

³⁷⁰ Rongowhakaata Halbert, *Horouta: the History of the Horouta canoe, Gisborne and East Coast* (Auckland: Reed, 1999). Don M. Stafford, *Te Arawa: a History of the Arawa People* (Rotorua: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1967; Auckland: Reed, 1986). Pei Te Hurinui Jones, & Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).

³⁷¹ Waitangi Tribunal, (WAI1040); (WAI143).

³⁷² Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart: New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Port Nicholson press, 1986). Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (Auckland: A. Lane, 1980).

³⁷³ Michael King, 'Some Māori Attitudes to Documents', in *Tihe Mauri Ora: Aspects of Māoritanga*, edited by Michael King (New Zealand: Methuen Publications, 1978).

³⁷⁴ James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland: Penguin, 1986). Phillipa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011)

³⁷⁵ Waitangi Tribunal, (WAI1040), pp. 31-32.

Describing these ‘traditional’ cultural practices, while potentially more in line with social studies, entails an approach to teaching history that focuses on history as telling the story of what happened, instead of history as an opportunity to consider what stories have been told about our past, why they have been told that way and what that might teach us about ourselves.

Beyond this descriptive discussion of kaitiakitanga, the term has been used to highlight and explore the ethical considerations that Historians and researchers must take into account when engaging with Māori and Iwi knowledge and mātauranga. Māori historian Nēpia Mahuika emphasises here a key aspect of kaitiakitanga that *Te Takanga o te Wā* irresponsibly neglects to mention, that is that kaitiakitanga is an expression of whakapapa: “for many Māori, Kaitiekitanga is essentially about the genealogical relationship the historian or researcher has to taonga, mātauranga, and kōrero.”³⁷⁶ It is this genealogical connection that creates a reciprocal ethical obligation on the researcher to take good care of the knowledge that has been shared with them, and the collective from whom the knowledge comes from to ensure they too are mindful of who and how that knowledge is shared, and that those its shared with are held accountable.

While Mahuika’s discussion of kaitakitanga highlights the relationship between this concept and whakapapa, the wider discussion within that article frames both whakapapa and kaitiakitanga as expressions of Tikanga, as the title stresses *Tikanga as the ethical foundation of historical scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand*.³⁷⁷ Discussion of Tikanga as a more appropriate theme will be explored in chapter 6, however the point here is that again, Mahuika’s discussion of the concept supports the chapters argument that kaitiakitanga on its own, is potentially not the most appropriate Māori concept to have identified as a core Māori history theme. Although Mahuika does discuss kaitiakitanga as a concept in historical research, this is the only

³⁷⁶ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18, note here also that ‘kaitiekitanga’ is a Ngāti Porou dialectal difference, and means the same as kaitiakitanga.

³⁷⁷ Mahuika, 2015.

explicitly Māori history text that engaged with the concept beyond simple description and his argument leans more to advocating for kaitiakitanga as an ethical concept and expression of whakapapa or tikanga Māori.³⁷⁸

There are however some examples in the literature where the ideas and notions that Mahuika alludes to are explored, without using the same terminology. Mahuika asserts kaitiakitanga can apply to historical research as an ethical concept that protects mātauranga Māori.³⁷⁹ The realities of negotiating these concerns has been well canvassed by Māori researchers in history and wider fields, as Māori historian, Monty Soutar has observed when he commented that our people “are careful as to who has access and are not keen to part with the material even if it will help historians toward a more informed view of history.”³⁸⁰ He notes further that:

In the past there has been concern that in the wrong hands, either Māori or Pākehā, the information might be used inappropriately.... While such manuscripts were probably never intended for an audience beyond the writer’s particular whānau, the difficulty facing the tribal historian using this material is to present the facts without diminishing the value of the material in the eyes of those who carefully guard it.³⁸¹

Within the context of *Te Takanga o te Wā* and the implementation of the new history curriculum, Māori history and knowledge will now need to be taught by teachers who may have little to no understanding of te ao Māori, or the concepts the resource has identified as its key Māori history themes. Ensuring that teachers have sufficient understanding of the themes and the cultural system those concepts come from themselves, as well as having access to appropriate resources and support will be key to ensuring that teachers and students alike can have positive, useful and meaningful learning experiences in relation to the new History curriculum. Unfortunately, *Te*

³⁷⁸ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18.

³⁷⁹ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18.

³⁸⁰ Monty Soutar, ‘A Framework for Analyzing Written iwi Histories’, *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2:1 (1996), p. 45.

³⁸¹ Soutar, 1998, p. 44.

Takanga o te Wā will not be a useful resource to support teachers to achieve that outcome, in the documents current form.

Kaitiakitanga from a Māori and Iwi perspective

While the history literature provided greater clarity around what kaitiakitanga as a concept means than *Te Takanga o te Wā* was able to communicate, Māori and Iwi sources must be central to any appropriately informed understanding of this Māori cultural and social concept. Indeed considering the term itself is in te reo Māori, exploring the translation of the term and its ontological roots are an important starting point for understanding what kaitiakitanga really means, and therefore how it can be best understood within the wider context of Māori culture.

Kaitiaki as a term is a noun that can be translated as “Minder, guardian, caregiver, keeper, spiritual guide”, while kaitiakitanga is “[t]he act of minding, guarding, caring, keeping, trusteeship.”³⁸² Tiaki is the root word, which as a noun means “looking after, protection, safeguarding,” and as a verb can be used to mean “to guard, keep; to look after, nurse, care, protect, conserve; to have custody of; to hold in trust, administer for others.”³⁸³ When the prefix ‘kai’ is added to a verb like tiaki which expresses some kind of action, the combined word forms a noun “denoting a human agent (i.e. the person doing the action)” such as “kaitiaki (guardian, trustee).”³⁸⁴ Although Māori scholars have commented that kaitiakitanga “did not appear within Māori dictionaries prior to 1960... but came into more prominence in

³⁸² Majorie Beverland, ‘Kaitiakitanga: Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, Massey University, 2022), p. viii; Moorfield, John C., ‘Kaitiakitanga’, *Te Aka: Māori Dictionary* (2003-22) <https://Māoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=motuhake> [accessed 3 August 2022].

³⁸³ John C Moorfield, ‘Tiaki’, *Te Aka: Māori Dictionary* (2003-22) <https://Māoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=tiaki> [accessed 3 August 2022].

³⁸⁴ John C Moorfield, ‘kai’, *Te Aka: Māori Dictionary* (2003-22) <https://Māoridictionary.co.nz/search?idiom=&phrase=&proverb=&loan=&histLoanWords=&keywords=kai>. [accessed 3 August 2022].

the 1990's with the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA),"³⁸⁵ the terms kaitiaki and tiaki have a much deeper customary basis, which gives much needed context to more appropriately understand the Māori concept of kaitiakitanga and it's proper contemporary application from a te ao Māori perspective. Dr Majorie Beverland has articulated the importance of unpacking the insights the language offers to better appreciate the complexity of kaitiakitanga:

Providing a definition of kaitiakitanga from the standpoint of te reo Māori is key to understanding the components of the term itself. As noted, the root word is 'tiaki' to grow, develop and flourish, all of which align to a notion of care or caring for something. Furthermore, the component parts of 'ti' and 'aki' positions the term in relation to the essence of our relationship as people to give light and to nurture. Each of these kupu further emphasise, alongside the 'tanga', that we have inherent relationships to all things and that those relationships are always reciprocal, caring, nurturing, and uplifting.³⁸⁶

In this way kaitiakitanga can be understood as "a contemporary expression of an ancestral way of being."³⁸⁷ Although this chapter has already touched on the significant connections between whakapapa and kaitiakitanga as expressed by Māori academics, Iwi have also expressed their own views and understandings of kaitiakitanga.

Although the confines of the Master's thesis hasn't enabled the word count to appropriately review traditional Māori historical sources, there is no doubt space for further research and work to unpack the significant resources for teachers that exist within mōteatea, waiata, haka, whakatauki, whakatauāki, and kōrerō tuku iho. These resources are not referenced or considered within *Te Takanga o te Wā* but would nonetheless be great additions to support interesting and engaging teaching of locally relevant Māori history. This study has focused instead on resources that might be more easily accessible through mainstream sources teachers might reasonably be able

³⁸⁵ Beverland, pp. 49-50, see also Kawharu, 2000.

³⁸⁶ Beverland, p. 50.

³⁸⁷ Beverland, p. 50, see also Kawharu, 2000.

to find themselves. However, even a simple google search can render Iwi views evident through the large number of Iwi and hapu with runanga websites.

Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou (Te Runanganui) as one example, has a specific 'kaitiakitanga – environment' page on its website providing some insight into Ngāti Porou understandings of kaitiakitanga, and their own role as kaitiaki.³⁸⁸ Even a cursory glance over the pages content reveals the connection between the land and the people, a view that has been reiterated by esteemed Ngāti Porou leader Apirana Mahuika as he once pointed out: 'Ko te tangata kaitieki, he whakapapa tona / a guardian is a person who has genealogy.'³⁸⁹

Using commonly recited tribal proverbs such as 'Hikurangi te maunga, Waiapu te awa, Ko Ngāti Porou te Iwi',³⁹⁰ the webpage content highlights the intimate relationship between the people, their mountain, their waters and their environments. Understanding this symbiotic relationship is central to understanding the underlying cultural tenets that give kaitiakitanga true life and meaning, as Ngāti Porou explain on their website:

We do not just share a relationship with our environment: our identity, our knowledge and our world view is built on it. Matauranga-a-iwi (our tribal knowledge system) is built on our environment. Our unique reo, for example, is a product of our unique environment.

Western identity is built around human characteristics. Our Ngati Porou identity is also built around things that came before us - mountains, rivers, plants, animals, and so on. Our culture seeks to reflect our surroundings, not to dominate it. We do not claim 'ownership' of land but rather our right is based on mana, through our ties to the whenua. We are the tangata whenua: the people of the land.³⁹¹

Providing further affirmation of their kaitiaki status, the Runanganui go on to detail examples of practices carried out as kaitiaki, the specific impacts of colonisation and

³⁸⁸ 'Kaitiakitanga, Environment', *Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou* (2022) <https://ngatiporou.com/nati-story/our-kōrero/kaitiakitanga-environment> [accessed 23 August 2022].

³⁸⁹ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18.

³⁹⁰ This pepeha or traditional tribal proverb translates as "Hikurangi is the mountain, Waiapu is the river, Ngati Porou is the tribe."

³⁹¹ 'Kaitiakitanga, Environment', *Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou* (2022) <https://ngatiporou.com/nati-story/our-kōrero/kaitiakitanga-environment> [accessed 23 August 2022]. – **HOW TO SHORTEN**

economic development on the environment within their rohe including the relationship to the Native Land Court provisions, and racist legislative policies intended to give Pākehā farmers an advantage while intentionally excluding Māori farmers.³⁹² The page further highlights the connection between those past policies and the very serious environmental issues plaguing the East Coast now as a result of excessive land clearing, and concludes by reasserting the connection between kaitiakitanga and tino rangatiratanga, acknowledging the role that the treaty settlement process has played in supporting Ngāti Porou to be better positioned to exercise both their tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga.³⁹³

Another Iwi to acknowledge the connection between exercising their tribal tino rangatiratanga and exercising their responsibilities and obligations under kaitiakitanga on their tribal website is Ngāti Toa Rangatira:

Kaitiakitanga involves tino rangatiratanga for our iwi to lead and take action in the environment based on traditions of mātauranga, kawa and tikanga. Often this will be about the ability of Ngāti Toa Rangatira to exercise cultural responsibilities and obligations and undertake customary practices.³⁹⁴

Ngāti Toa Rangatira, like other iwi note the intimate relationship between a Māori sense of identity, the geographical area and specific environment, lands and waters within which the tribe is based, and the Māori/Iwi sense of obligation or responsibility that is inherent in the ethic of kaitiakitanga. This understanding of being Māori, through our relationship with our environment and whakapapa similarly motivates the desire to “re-insert ourselves into the ecosystem” so we can build and “support a resilient environment in sustaining future generations.”³⁹⁵ As one final example of an Iwi perspective on kaitiakitanga, Ngai Tahu presents a vision for their environmental kaitiakitanga on their runanga website also:

³⁹² ‘Kaitiakitanga, Environment’, *Te Runanganui o Ngāti Porou* (2022) <https://ngatiporou.com/nati-story/our-kōrero/kaitiakitanga-environment> [accessed 23 August 2022].

³⁹³ ‘Kaitiakitanga’, *Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira*.

³⁹⁴ ‘Kaitiakitanga’, *Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira*.

³⁹⁵ ‘Kaitiakitanga’, *Te Rūnanga o Toa Rangatira*.

Our dream is that our ancestral landscape is protected and our people have living relationships with their whakapapa and traditions through the environment. The goal is that Ngāi Tahu is a principled kaitiaki (steward) of our takiwā (tribal territory).³⁹⁶

What all of these Iwi perspectives demonstrate is that there is a wealth of resources and views available, that have not been referenced or identified by *Te Takanga o te Wā*. They also highlight how inadequately the concept of kaitiakitanga was explained within the *Te Takanga o te Wā* resource, and reiterate that the focus on conflict between Māori and colonizer views around land encouraged within the resources is inappropriate and insensitive at best, offensive and racist at worst. As has been asserted earlier within the chapter, failure to provide appropriately clear definitions, support and resources for those teachers and school environments that are early on in their te ao Māori cultural competency journeys is setting many teachers and their classrooms up for failure in an environment where well-intentioned teachers are already overworked, under resourced and stretched beyond capacity. *Te Takanga o te Wā* as a Ministry of Education funded and supported resource, unfortunately may mislead teachers to believe it is a quality resource they can rely on when it is significantly off the mark. This is a concern and gap this study hopes to highlight and attempts to begin to address.

These issues similarly trigger requirements within Māori and iwi communities for those engaged in tribal history, and the crucial role of having appropriate relationships within these communities. Non-Māori and non-Indigenous historians have been widely criticised for purporting to undertake research and publish work within this field, without having any appropriate connections to local iwi that would enable mana whenua verification, authentication and support for any views or work undertaken.³⁹⁷ Within these communities, Historians are expected to take

³⁹⁶ 'Te Ao Tūroa: Environmental Kaitiakitanga', *Te Rūnanga o NGĀI TAHU*. <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/environment/> [accessed 23 August 2022].

³⁹⁷ Discussed in Nēpia Mahuika, 'New Zealand History is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 49:1 (2015), pp. 5-30.

responsibility as caretakers or repositories of knowledge, with tribal ethics and tikanga dictating that some genealogical or whakapapa relationship is not only preferable, but potentially a prerequisite for work within those communities.

Despite Iwi perceptions and definitions, kaitiakitanga continues to gain attention and be defined and used by non-Māori, in ways that do not always align with traditional interpretations, understandings or applications of kaitiakitanga, as Majorie Beverland observed:

Kaitiakitanga in a dominant discourse is being translated to mean guardianship or stewardship (Ministry for the Environment, 1991), however, the literature shows that it has multiple meanings and understandings which stretch across the metaphysical, physical and human realms (Forster, 2012a, 2019; Kawharu, 2000; Selby, Moore, & Mulholland, 2010b).³⁹⁸

She further emphasises the importance of asserting correct definitions and understandings of Māori concepts and terminology, as Māori knowledge becomes more widely applicable across fields that have traditionally lacked appropriate cultural competency in the past.³⁹⁹ Through the course of colonisation, aspects of te reo Māori have become increasingly incorporated into relatively common usage across mainstream New Zealand society, and this process has also resulted in shifts in the meanings of those terms “to reflect their continued use from a non-Māori worldview, and arguably a Māori worldview.”⁴⁰⁰ Arguably, *Te Takanga o te Wā* is another example of this shift in interpretation, as this section has demonstrated so far, the definition advocated in the resource document is significantly distorted in comparison to the understanding of kaitiakitanga that both the historical and Māori/Iwi literature sources reveal.

In the next section, the chapter now turns to consider the ways in which kaitiakitanga has been used as an environmental concept through central government legislative provisions, and resource management approaches, highlighting again the

³⁹⁸ Beverland, p. 4.

³⁹⁹ Beverland, p. 4.

⁴⁰⁰ Beverland, p. 3.

ways in which government and mainstream sources misuse Māori concepts. Yet even these sources and their misinterpretation of kaitiakitanga are clearer than the definitions provided in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Kaitiakitanga in Environmental Ethics

Merata Kawharu examines kaitiakitanga as an ‘environmental ethic’ for research management, noting that although the term may be used commonly in legal and environmental contexts “there are dimensions and applications” beyond this common usage “that are not widely understood.”⁴⁰¹ Kawharu acknowledges that while it does have important application within the environmental realm, that failure to appreciate the breadth and depth of the concept, for example by failure to understand its relevance and application within the social realm, misses a true understanding of what kaitiakitanga means for Māori, as she astutely observes:

[P]roceeding to any analysis of kaitiakitanga in legal or political contexts, first of all it is necessary to consider its original meanings as well as the rights and responsibilities of those who customarily apply the principle. Kaitiakitanga is being used increasingly by Māori tribal groups in political discourse to claim certain rights under the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi on the basis of being tangata whenua (primary custodians of a given geo-political territory, literally ‘people of the land’).⁴⁰²

Indeed, perhaps the writers of *Te Takanga o te Wā* should have taken Kawharu’s advice in this regard. While they manage not to explicitly provide a definition for kaitiakitanga, the way the concept is described, the content covered within it, all provide a particular perspective that is not representative of ‘those who customarily apply the principle’ nor the culture from which the concept or term was derived. Again, as Kawharu highlights the political usage of the term for Māori and Iwi asserting tino rangatiratanga as guaranteed by Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and the inherent

⁴⁰¹ Kawharu, 2000, p. 349.

⁴⁰² Kawharu, 2000, p. 352.

ties and connections to land, there is no doubting that kaitiakitanga is an important Māori cultural, social and policultural concept. The evidence to support its identification as a key Māori history theme or concept however is not so obvious.

Further emphasising kaitiakitanga's relevance not only to the relationship between people and the natural world, but to other worlds beyond, in her recently submitted Social Work doctoral thesis, Majorie Beverland also highlighted the expansive nature of kaitiakitanga and its inherent connection across metaphysical, physical/environmental, and human realms:

the three realms of kaitiakitanga are an inseparable part of its understanding and practice and that, when situated outside of kaupapa Māori, kaitiakitanga becomes divorced from its traditional understanding and its underpinning elements, and therefore loses integrity.⁴⁰³

She elaborates that '[k]aitiakitanga is the practice, by Māori, of addressing and taking responsibility for everything that exists between Ranginui (Sky) and Papatūānuku (Earth).'⁴⁰⁴ Kaitiakitanga therefore acknowledges and includes philosophical and spiritual underpinnings that are not evident from *Te Takanga o te Wa's* treatment of the theme and its content. The obligations kaitiakitanga imposes are bound through blood and whakapapa, and for Māori, those genealogical threads bind us back through time, through our ancestors to the earth and the sky, to the Atua (Gods) who birthed the world in which we live. As some have observed:

Kaitiakitanga is not an obligation which we choose to adopt or to ignore; it is an inherited commitment that links mana atua, mana tangata and mana whenua, the spiritual realm with the human world and both of those with the earth and all that is on it.⁴⁰⁵

When discussed as an environmental concept, kaitiakitanga is commonly discussed as belonging to or being exercised by the mana whenua, or more specifically, those people whose whakapapa bestows upon them the "[p]ower from the land and

⁴⁰³ Beverland, p. 5.

⁴⁰⁴ Beverland, p. 8.

⁴⁰⁵ Selby et al., 2010a, p. 11.

authority over the land”.⁴⁰⁶ Again, the connections between kaitiakitanga and mana whenua raise questions about whether kaitiakitanga is an appropriate Māori History theme. Although mana whenua is an important concept, as the quote above also shows, potentially the broader concept of mana might be a more appropriate theme or overarching concept. Kaitiakitanga and mana whenua are only two ways to think about or understand or express a small aspect of what mana encompasses.

Beyond cultural and esoteric understandings of kaitiakitanga, as has been alluded to previously, the term itself has been embraced within mainstream spaces, included in legislation kaitiakitanga is now defined by law. In the context of the Resource Management Act 1991 kaitiakitanga is defined as “the exercise of guardianship by the tangata whenua of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori in relation to natural and physical resources; and includes the ethic of stewardship.”⁴⁰⁷ The term is also defined very similarly in the Fisheries Act 1996:

Kaitiakitanga means the exercise of guardianship; and, in relation to any fisheries resources, includes the ethic of stewardship based on the nature of the resources, as exercised by the appropriate tangata whenua in accordance with tikanga Māori.⁴⁰⁸

Defining kaitiakitanga in legislation then, while it further grounds the idea as a significant legal and political concept, not only for Māori but for all New Zealanders, also prescribes a now set and specific legal definition for kaitiakitanga, which does not encapsulate the full breadth, depth and complexity of both the concept and the cultural and social systems within which that complexity can be fully understood. Although kaitiakitanga has always been understood as having inherent connections to the environment, which will be further explored and unpacked throughout the chapter, legislative definitions and increasing use in non-Māori or governmental type contexts are increasingly shifting, narrowing and reducing the concept in ways that

⁴⁰⁶ Beverland, p. ix.

⁴⁰⁷ Resource Management Act 1991, s2.

⁴⁰⁸ Fisheries Act 1996, s2.

are “divorced” of its whakapapa, and are therefore deviating from the “traditional understanding”.⁴⁰⁹

This can be seen in the consistent definitions and messaging from central and local government organisations related to the environment, especially as the Government is interested in being seen to appropriately deal with Māori and Iwi as respectful and mana-enhancing Te Tiriti partners. One example of this is the government's first emissions reduction plan as part of their response to climate change, which dedicates an entire chapter to Māori perspectives and the potential impacts on Iwi and Māori communities. The plan affirms the relevance of their role as kaitiaki and tangata whenua and the direct impact such environmental changes have on our communities:

Climate change, and our response to it, has the potential to affect all aspects of Māori life. Tangata whenua are especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change and there are particular risks and opportunities for the Māori economy in the transition.

Māori are kaitiaki of their whenua, leaders in their communities, decision makers about resources and infrastructure, landowners and business owners. Māori will help lead the transition in each of these roles. Mātauranga Māori will help us learn and better inform our decision making.

We need to ensure an equitable transition for Māori, led by Māori, to uphold their rights and interests under Te Tiriti o Waitangi. That will require building Crown–Māori relationships and capability to work together as equal partners on our climate response.⁴¹⁰

This central government focus is evident beyond those Ministries focused on environmental related work. The Ministry of Education's guideline on teaching sustainability defines kaitiakitanga as “stewardship, protection and preservation,” further describing it as “[o]ne of the taonga of the Tiriti o Waitangi” as “a way of

⁴⁰⁹ Beverland, p. 5.

⁴¹⁰ Ministry for the Environment, *Te hau mārohi ki anamata, Towards a productive, sustainable and inclusive economy: Aotearoa New Zealand's First Emissions Reduction Plan* (Wellington: Ministry for the Environment, 2022) pp. 15, 42.

respecting and caring for the environment, based on a Māori worldview”.⁴¹¹ The government's new Digital Government project, has developed a Data Protection Use Policy with a set of principles. Kaitiakitanga is identified as a principle which encourages them to “act as a steward in a way that people understand and trust,” while affirming themselves as “kaitiaki rather than an owner of people's information.”⁴¹² They go on to explain that:

Those who collect, use, share and store data and information are kaitiaki, stewards and caretakers, not owners, of that data and information. Being a kaitiaki is about working in the service of, and being accountable to, New Zealanders around the collection, use and sharing of their data and information, and ensuring that it is valued and respected. A kaitiaki recognises the importance of people being able to access their information and helps them do that.⁴¹³

Taking what are clearly Māori cultural concepts and applying them outside of that cultural context, without support and encouragement from the people to whom those concepts belong and good reason, is cultural appropriation. Central government practice, even if it is well-intended, is then imitated by local government agencies, who follow the same narrative as the follow through on the implementation of centrally instigated reforms and changes.⁴¹⁴ This further reiterates the importance of ensuring the terms being used are being used in ways that align with the original

⁴¹¹ ‘Te Whāriki Online: Sustainability’, *Te Kete Ipurangi, Ministry of Education* (2017-2021) <<https://tewhariki.tki.org.nz/en/teaching-strategies-and-resources/belonging/sustainability/>> [Accessed 1 September 2022].

⁴¹² <https://www.digital.govt.nz/standards-and-guidance/privacy-security-and-risk/privacy/data-protection-and-use-policy-dpup/read-the-dpup-principles/kaitiakitanga-principle/#:~:text=Kaitiakitanga%20means%20to%20have%20guardianship,information%20when%20that%20is%20appropriate.>

⁴¹³ <https://www.digital.govt.nz/standards-and-guidance/privacy-security-and-risk/privacy/data-protection-and-use-policy-dpup/read-the-dpup-principles/kaitiakitanga-principle/#:~:text=Kaitiakitanga%20means%20to%20have%20guardianship,information%20when%20that%20is%20appropriate.>

⁴¹⁴ Environment Canterbury notes their responsibilities to enable and support tangata whenua to practice kaitiakitanga <https://www.ecan.govt.nz/your-region/your-environment/water/measuring-cwms-progress/kaitiakitanga/>; The Bay of Plenty Regional Council has an entire chapter focused on Kaitiakitanga in its Natural Resources Plan <https://www.boprc.govt.nz/your-council/plans-and-policies/plans/regional-plans/regional-natural-resources-plan>; while Auckland Council also identify action areas and project and activities to “enable active kaitiakitanga of whakapapa connections in current management and planning practices, but also future innovations and processes of change” <https://www.aucklandcouncil.govt.nz/plans-projects-policies-reports-bylaws/our-plans-strategies/topic-based-plans-strategies/environmental-plans-strategies/aucklands-climate-plan/te-ora-o-tamaki/Pages/kaitiakitanga.aspx>.

understanding, use and application of the term. Neither the Digital Government project or *Te Takanga o te Wā* have done a good job in this respect.

A closing point for this section that should not be overlooked is the fact that, although *Te Takanga o te Wā* doesn't provide a specific definition of kaitiakitanga, the document does specifically use both the terms "guardianship" and "stewardship" that come directly from the legal definitions of the term kaitiakitanga, not an Historical articulation of the concept. Furthermore, referencing any of the wide range of definitions and resources this chapter has surveyed as a means to help teachers and students both understand and explore what kaitiakitanga meant beyond the limited and slightly distorted narrative represented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* may have been more useful.

Summary

Kaitiakitanga is a dominant concept in environmental ethics studies, more than it is a concept in history. The Westernisation of Māori concepts such as kaitiakitanga have influenced their traditional meanings and uses from within te ao Māori.⁴¹⁵ For kaitiakitanga, in mainstream research kaupapa and academia, it is most commonly discussed and understood in relation to natural resource management, and the necessary regulations or practices that ensure conservation and sustainability of the resources and protection of the environment. Much of the Māori and Iwi informed literature evidences that kaitiakitanga can be understood in multiple ways: as an asserting of tino rangatiratanga, mana Motuhake, mana whenua all inherited through whakapapa and claimed in the same way; or as an expression of tikanga, each with far broader possible applications than a simple focus on sustainable management of

⁴¹⁵ Erana Walker, 'Reclaiming Kaitiakitanga : An intergenerational perspective of Kaitiakitanga within Te Parawhau' (Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, 2016), p. 4; Beverland, 2022, p. 3.

natural resources would allow. Kaitiakitanga connects beyond the human realm, and can also be understood and practiced differently based on the diverse Iwi, hapū and whānau practices, as much as it can be applied to understanding reciprocal relationships beyond the environment, such as with matauranga and taonga.⁴¹⁶

This chapter has examined kaitiakitanga as a Māori concept, within historical scholarship and other fields; environmental, Māori and Iwi research and central and local government use. Kaitiakitanga is a prominent Māori concept. As displayed above, it is a popular concept throughout Māori scholarship, however, it is not a dominant concept for Māori history. Māori historians have discussed and applied kaitiakitanga as a concept relevant to an understanding of Māori research ethics, applying as much to our matauranga as it does to our whenua and taiao, however this is not a common occurrence in historiography. Although kaitiakitanga is an interesting and well-discussed Māori social and cultural concept across a range of fields, it is not a prominent historical concept appropriate for identification as a central theme of Māori History. While it may have a useful place within the national curriculum, there are other concepts which should likely take precedence over kaitiakitanga within a curriculum focused on teaching Māori history.

⁴¹⁶ Erana Walker, 2016, p. 4.

Whanaungatanga as an Historical Concept

Whanaungatanga is a popular theme and concept in te Ao Māori, particularly in regard to the way family and other social and cultural relationships especially are defined and discussed. It does not have, as this chapter contends, an explicitly strong presence in Māori historical scholarship, and yet is considered a key theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015).⁴¹⁷ Whanaungatanga has been defined as “extended family” or “relationships” and “relatives” and is invoked in different ways by scholars who have applied it predominantly in the fields of social work, health, anthropology and ethics.⁴¹⁸ Its derivative, “whānau”, has its own literature that is also stretched across multiple disciplines and often clustered together with interconnected terms like whakapapa, iwi, and hapū. This family of words are seen by some as part of a “procreative sequence” wherein iwi, hapū, and whānau are “physical referents to bone, pregnancy and birth.”⁴¹⁹ While Māori and mainstream historians rarely use whanaungatanga as a specific organising framework or explicit narrative theme, they do talk about different and varying historical “relationships”, albeit not always identities that have been advanced by Māori themselves (like “hybridity” or “savages”).⁴²⁰ A basic idea of whanaungatanga is certainly present in Māori history, but as this chapter points out, these *relationships* are not referred to in the historiography as specifically “whanaungatanga.”

This chapter examines the various ways in which whanaungatanga is discussed or employed as a key theme and concept, or not, in Māori historiography. It begins with a

⁴¹⁷ Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā: Māori History Guidelines for Years 1-8* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015).

⁴¹⁸ Russell Bishop, James Ladwig, and Mere Berryman, ‘The Centrality of Relationships for Pedagogy: The Whānaungatanga Thesis’, in *American Educational Research Journal* (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2014), p. 184.

⁴¹⁹ Joan Metge, and Sir Edward Taihakurei Durei, *Tumaka: The Challenge of Difference in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2010), p. 81.

⁴²⁰ Māori and other Indigenous scholars have rejected being defined by non-Indigenous invaders as backward and savage. Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Closing the Gaps: From Post-colonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45:1, (2011), pp. 15-32. Daniel Paul, *We Were Not the Savages, First Nation History: Collision Between European and Native American Civilizations* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood, 2006). Bhabha, H., ‘In the cave of making: Thoughts on third space’, in *Communicating in the Third Space*, edited by K. Ika and G. Wagner (New York: Routledge, 2009), pp. ix-xiv.

brief analysis of the way whanaungatanga is introduced and defined in *Te Takanga o te Wā* and goes on to examine how it has been described and applied as a theme or concept in various fields of research like education, anthropology, and social work. This chapter also explores the notion of whanaungatanga as a way of thinking about historical relationships like coloniser-colonised binaries, but shows how in practice historians prefer other terms, themes, and concepts, to articulate this and not “whanaungatanga.”

Whanaungatanga and *Te Takanga o te Wā*

Like many of the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, whanaungatanga is vague and is not strongly referenced in existing Māori history literature.⁴²¹ Whanaungatanga is described as the “foundation of our identity” that comes from “culture and heritage sustained through familial links”, “bonds”, and “kinship”, that inform collective and individual decision-making around certain “historical events.”⁴²² This emphasis on “kinship”, “culture”, and “heritage” reflects interests and concepts, as later sections in this chapter show, popularised in Anthropology and Social Studies, not in Māori and iwi historiography. The basic inference in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is that whanaungatanga’s key role in historical practice is to “indicate and describe different types of relationships.”⁴²³ But a close look at what Māori and iwi historians have written shows that whanaungatanga is not the concept or phrase that deals with discussions of historical relationships (this thesis suggests stronger historical concepts in Chapter 6).

In asserting whanaungatanga as a key Māori history theme, the authors of *Te Takanga o te Wā* ask teachers and students to consider “the significance of collective responsibility and the value placed on the maintenance and power of connections and networks.”⁴²⁴ This includes an eye on how “whanaungatanga may have changed” as

⁴²¹ Tamua, p. 13.

⁴²² Tamua, p. 13.

⁴²³ Tamua, p. 13.

⁴²⁴ Tamua, p. 13.

Māori became more “mobile” and urbanisation separated many hapū from home and each other.⁴²⁵ This emphasis on collective responsibility, however, is not a key theme or concept employed or examined explicitly by Māori historians of migration or urbanisation.⁴²⁶ It is, instead, likely a government theme based in “civic” responsibility that aligns more with the Social Studies curriculum emphasis on “citizenship” as a cross-curricular theme. Indeed, Social Studies, according to the most recent Ministry guidebook on *Civics and Citizenship Education* (2020) is the “primary vehicle for citizenship education in Aotearoa New Zealand” and is tasked with shaping future “responsible citizens.”⁴²⁷ The subtle manipulation of Māori terms to align them with coloniser ambitions is not a new phenomenon. On this issue, Graham Hingangaroa Smith observed some time ago that:

Māori critically engaged the selected curriculum, the control over funding and resources, the manipulation of democratic process, the mono-cultural management and administrative structures These critical penetrations of prevailing hegemony gave impetus to the alternative schooling and education resistance initiatives taken up by Māori [in the 80s and 90s].⁴²⁸

Māori had become so accustomed to seeing our concepts reinterpreted for mono-cultural colonial institutions in 70s and 80s, we set out to create our own kura in the 1980s and 90s. This appropriation, or Pākehā-fying, of Māori concepts and knowledge have described by historians in history as a type of colonial “discursive construction” of nationhood, wherein invaders claim and rename local places, peoples, flora, fauna, and

⁴²⁵ Tamua, p. 13.

⁴²⁶ See, for instance, Melissa Mautini Williams, *Pangaru and The City: Kainga Tahi, Kainga Rua: An Urban Migration History* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2015). Williams history is not organised around the theme of “collective responsibility” as it is outlined in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. and certainly not around any broader responsibility to citizenship or the state. Williams history discusses more the concept of “Kainga” or home and how those who have moved away to cities from Pāngaru navigated that disconnection and reconnection.

⁴²⁷ Ministry of Education, *Civics and Citizenship Education Teaching and Learning Guide* (Wellington, Ministry of Education, 2020). While Māori, like Ta Apirana Ngata, wrote about citizenship as a contemporary ambition, it is not a theme used by historians to sum up Māori and iwi historical aspirations or experiences. Apirana T. Ngata, *The Price of Citizenship*; Ngarimu V.C (Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1943).

⁴²⁸ Graham Hingangaroa Smith, ‘Beyond Political Literacy: From Conscientization to Transformative Praxis’, *Counterpoints*, 275, (2005), p. 34.

concepts to they can control what it means to belong and be native.⁴²⁹ For early Pākehā, as Peter Gibbons has argued, the fear was to avoid “going” Native (actually becoming Native), but safely appropriating Māori knowledge to assist in the assertion and maintenance of settler-nationalism.⁴³⁰ The interpretation of whanaungatanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* as a supposed Māori history theme, as the collective “responsibility” is not at all strongly reflected in the writing of Māori or Pākehā historians.⁴³¹

Under the theme of “Whanaungatanga” in *Te Takanga o te Wā* students are advised to explore and look at “the things they do” with their nuclear and extended families, and to consider as they get older the “broader role of whanaungatanga in local history.”⁴³² The invocation of whanaungatanga here is again, vague, and is not the best theme to explore political, cultural, social, gendered, and spiritual relationships in iwi and Māori histories, and fails to align with recent scholarship in the field which explore relationships.

Uses and Definitions of Whanaungatanga

Like many of the other themes and concepts in *Takanga o te Wā*, whanaungatanga is a concept used in an array of fields. Educationalist, for instance, write about developing local “whānau of interest” in research and cultivating relationships in school communities using whanaungatanga as a collaborative model.⁴³³ Whanaungatanga,

⁴²⁹ Peter J. Gibbons, ‘Cultural Colonisation and National Identity’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36:1, (1997), pp. 5-17.

⁴³⁰ Peter J. Gibbons, “‘Going Native’: A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand During the First Half of the Twentieth Century, 3 vols’ (DPhil thesis, Waikato University, 1992).⁴³¹ Nēpia Mahuika has written about the place of “culture” in Māori history, and other non-Māori frames and terms that were used to describe Māori life and experience. This grounding of Māori worldviews in non-Māori terms is deeply problematic. Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁴³¹ Nēpia Mahuika has written about the place of “culture” in Māori history, and other non-Māori frames and terms that were used to describe Māori life and experience. This grounding of Māori worldviews in non-Māori terms is deeply problematic. Nēpia Mahuika, *Rethinking Oral History and Tradition: An Indigenous Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁴³² Tamua, p. 13.

⁴³³ Russell Bishop, and Mere Berryman, *Culture Speaks: Cultural Relationships and Classroom Learning* (Wellington: Huia, 2007). Russell Bishop, James Ladwig, and Mere Berryman, ‘The Centrality of Relationships for Pedagogy: The Whānaungatanga Thesis’, in *American Educational*

according to Ranginui Walker, was a concept developed in Education in the 1980s as Māori educators established kura kaupapa to provide continuity of Māori-language teaching between kōhanga reo and primary schools using pedagogy based on “the values of whanaungatanga, manaaki and aroha ki te tangata.”⁴³⁴ In the early 2000s, Māori educationalists Russell Bishop and Mere Berryman used whanaungatanga as a core theme in building strong relationships between schools and Māori communities.⁴³⁵ Bishop also used the theme of whanaungatanga metaphorically as a research strategy.⁴³⁶ Others in education, like Jenny Ritchie and Cheryl Rau, have used whanaungatanga as an approach in professional practice to build “relationships with Māori families within early childhood centres and communities that promote Māori ways of knowing, being, and doing.”⁴³⁷

Whanaungatanga is also a term used in Anthropology and Ethnography.⁴³⁸ In *Ethics of Care* (2015), for instance, Joan Metge defines whanaungatanga as “a relationship through shared experiences and working together which provides people with a sense of belonging” and develops as a result of “kinship rights and obligations. It also extends to others to whom one develops a close familial, friendship or reciprocal relationship.”⁴³⁹ Kinship is a common refrain, especially in non-Māori writing around Māori whānau. Defining and unpacking different types of “kinship” or whanaungatanga relationships in iwi and Māori communities has been an important process in dealing with the politics of settlement and competing land claims, as well as challenging non-Māori definitions that have misrepresented Māori people. Judges in the Māori Land Court, as Metge observes

Research Journal (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2014), pp. 184-214.

⁴³⁴ Walker, 1994, p. 344.

⁴³⁵ Russell Bishop, James Ladwig and Mere Berryman, “The Centrality of Relationships for Pedagogy: The Whānaungatanga Thesis”, *American Educational Research Journal*, 51: 1 (February 2014), pp. 184-214.

⁴³⁶ Bishop et al., 2014, p. 189.

⁴³⁷ Ritchie & Rau, 2006, p. 16.

⁴³⁸ Joan Metge, *Ethics of Care: Critical Advances in International Perspective* (UK: Policy Press, 2015). Steven Webster, Māori ‘Kinship and Power: Ngai Tuhoe 1894-1912’, *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 126: 2, (2017), pp. 145-180. Jeffrey Sissons, ‘Re-Territorialising Kinship: The Māori “Hapu”’, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 122: 4, (2013), pp. 373-391.

⁴³⁹ Metge, *Ethics of Care*, 2015, p. 73

for example, have explicitly called for ‘inclusive settlements which foster whanaungatanga and tribal relationships.’⁴⁴⁰ It is not so much a history specific theme, then, than a concept and theme used in law, politics, education and studies of culture and society in anthropology.

Māori and iwi scholars have for decades posited various definitions about whānau, hapū and iwi, in guidebooks and texts, in affidavits and reports for settlement claims, and various other publications already noted in this thesis (like Mead and Barlow), focused on defining and describing the Māori cultural and social world.⁴⁴¹ This was such a thriving industry in the 1980s and 90s for Pākehā researchers, that one commentator complained about what he perceived at the time to be Māori gatekeeping in *Patrons of Māori Culture* (1998). In it he argued that there is too much focus on “traditional culture rather than everyday contemporary Māori culture.”⁴⁴² In seeking to reclaim our own definitions, Māori and iwi in, and before, that period, like Apirana Mahuika, wrote on their own iwi understandings of “kinship” relationships such as tuakana (senior) and taina (junior) roles in regard to leadership and “primogeniture.”⁴⁴³ Of the concept of Whanaungatanga Hirini Moko Mead also highlighted how “the mātāmua principle, the tuakana/taina principle and the tūrangawaewae principle all influence how an individual was regarded in relation to others.”⁴⁴⁴

The writing on tuakana, taina/teina, and other whanaungatanga “relationships” often explicitly refers to anthropological themes like kinship and culture that arose in a

⁴⁴⁰ Metge, *Tuamaka*, p. 85.

⁴⁴¹ Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia, 2003).

⁴⁴² Steven Webster, *Patrons of Māori Culture: Power, Theory and Ideology in the Māori Renaissance* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998). Giselle Byrnes, ‘Review: Patrons of Māori Culture: Power, Theory, and Ideology in Māori Resistance’, *Te Kotare*, 2: 2, (1999), pp. 71-73.

⁴⁴³ Primogeniture or “the state of being the firstborn child”, which in the work of non-Māori scholars like Raymond Firth were patricarchal in Māori society. This was idea was challenged by A. T Mahuika. See Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, ‘Ngā Wahine Kaihatu o Ngāti Porou/Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, Sydney University, 1974). John Lincoln Hutton (Historian, activist), “Trouble Specimens”: A study of the relationships between the crown and the tangata whenua of hauraki 1863-1869 (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books 2002). Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, “An Essay on Iwi; Prepared and set out as a Personal Affidavit for the Privy Council” (14th November 1996). Firth, Raymond, *Two Studies of Kinship in London* (Milton: Taylor & Francis, 1956).

⁴⁴⁴ Mead, p. 79.

considerable body of writing toward the end of the twentieth century, much of it produced by Pākehā. Likewise, Pākehā historians of that era dominated cultural histories about Māori, which led to a significant backlash against prominent figures in the field like Michael King.⁴⁴⁵ Kerry Howe writes that the “broad area of culture contact” in New Zealand history “came to a sudden end in the mid-1970s as a direct result of Māori opposition to Pākehā writing about ‘Māori history’.”⁴⁴⁶ Howe observes that:

In the context of the new Māori assertiveness of the 1970s this was seen as an issue of gate-keeping and led to the notable public case of the castigating and effective banning of Michael King from writing Māori history. Aspiring history theses students, most of whom were Pākehā, simply chose less problematic areas of study. Historical research into culture contact virtually stopped.⁴⁴⁷

Culture contact, kinship, and other themes that are embedded in many of today’s notions of whanaungatanga came from themes popular in anthropology last century, but not from the decades of Māori history literature available when *Te Takanga o te Wā* was published in 2015. Māori historians continue to critique Pākehā who misinterpret and disfigure our past using ideas and themes that have no relevance to us or our mātauranga.⁴⁴⁸ Knowing this history, it is not surprising then that whanaungatanga as a theme in the Ministry of Education’s *Te Whariki* principles stress a “socio-cultural approach” to learning that emphasise whanaungatanga as “kinship and belonging.”⁴⁴⁹

Whanaungatanga has been written about in sociology, psychology, geography, Māori health, welfare education, and whānau well-being.⁴⁵⁰ It has a broad array of

⁴⁴⁵ Mead, Hirini Moko, ‘Māoritanga, Should It Be Shared?’, *Listener*, 10th Dec 1977, p. 24.

⁴⁴⁶ Kerry Howe, ‘Two Worlds?’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 37:1, (2003), p. 51.

⁴⁴⁷ Howe, 2003, p. 51.

⁴⁴⁸ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, ‘Review of Paul Moon, This Horrid Practice’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero* 3, *Māori History, Māori People*, (2009), pp. 123-24.

⁴⁴⁹ Cited in James W. Chapman, and William E Tunmer, eds., *Excellence and Equity in Literacy Education: The Case of New Zealand* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), pp. 96-97.

⁴⁵⁰ Lyana Ross, ‘Whānaungatanga’, *Aotearoa New Zealand Social Work*, 32:2, (2020), pp.73-74. Ministry of Health, *The wellbeing of whānau: the public health issues: Whāia te whānaungatanga : oranga whānau* (Wellington: Ministry of Health, 1998). Bridgette Masters-Awatere, Michelle Patricia Levy, Keri Thompson, Aana Donnelly, Casey Rawiri, ‘Creating whānaungatanga: Kaupapa Māori support in the Psychology Department at the University of Waikato’, *The Australian Psychological Society*, 16: 2, (2004), pp. 29-36 Gerry Cotterell, ‘The Family, Whānau and Wellbeing Project: 2003-2008’, *New Zealand Sociology*, 24:1, (2009), pp. 106-112.

applications in each of these fields and is considered in cross disciplinary work, but rarely in history. It is a particularly popular theme in social work literature, including recent reflections on the Covid-19 lockdown and building stronger relationships online.⁴⁵¹ With all of these various iterations today it is not surprising that whanaungatanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) is vague and appears to align more with Pākehā concepts in what Graham Hingangaroa Smith has termed “Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture.”⁴⁵² “Taha Māori”, he argues, is an “instrument which at one level of influence is perpetuating the status quo within New Zealand schools thereby maintaining the position of Pākehā dominance in relations to the control of education.”⁴⁵³

The above critique of whanaungatanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* does not suggest that the advisory team were in any way complicit in maintaining coloniser power. Rather it is all too common for Māori expertise and knowledge to be twisted and abused by government agencies to progress coloniser aims and objectives, not Māori.⁴⁵⁴ In determining what whanaungatanga is in the new curriculum, the Ministry ultimately decided to use themes from other fields predominantly outside of history. In doing so they largely ignored what historians have actually said and produced on the topic and theme of whanaungatanga. The next section considers more closely how and what historians have produced and said about the themes and concepts of whānau or whanaungatanga and “relationships.”

⁴⁵¹ Nathan Jaquierey, Marissa Kaloga, Susan Wason, ‘Aroha, Manaakitanga, Whānaungatanga: Social work educators’ reflections on the Covid-19 lockdown in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Social Workers*, 32:2, (2020), pp. 65-70. Jude Douglas, ‘Building whānaungatanga online’, *Australian and New Zealand Social Work and Welfare Education and Research Advances in social work and welfare education*, 23:2, (2022), pp. 106-113.

⁴⁵² Graham, H. Smith, ‘Taha Māori: Pākehā Capture’, in *Political Issues in N.Z. Education*, edited by J. Codd, R. Harker. & R. Nash (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1990), pp. 183-197.

⁴⁵³ Smith, 1990, p. 1.

⁴⁵⁴ G. Smith, 1990. Tuhiwai Smith, 1999.

Whanaungatanga as a Theme in Historical “Relationships”

The term whanaungatanga is not used often as a major theme or concept in historical writing and research. Māori, and non-Māori, historians write about family and whānau histories, iwi and waka migrations narratives, and various other types of relationships across a broad array of topics.⁴⁵⁵ While historians have been interested in various types of relationships or “whanaungatanga”, it has been explained through other concepts like whakapapa or mātauranga. In her history of carving on the East Coast, for instance, Ngarino Ellis refers to a “whakapapa” of tradition as she traces intergenerational relationships across time that led to new forms of Ngāti Porou whakairo. Likewise in his history of Te Haahi Matua (the Anglican Church), Hirini Kaa analyses the same relationships in what he calls the “re-negotiation of Ngāti Porou mātauranga.”⁴⁵⁶ Their language and interpretive frames of analysis are not articulated through the term “whanaungatanga”, and neither is Margaret Mutu’s who argues that “the strongest human relationships in Māori terms” are whakapapa or “genealogical ones.”⁴⁵⁷

In his history of *Ngai Tahu* history and traditions Rawiri Te Maire Tau explores the relationship between Atua and “humans” within a framework that separates Atua genealogy and traditions from “human” history and whakapapa.⁴⁵⁸ This, for him, explains this relationship between the imaginary and real. Similarly, Ranginui Walker adopts what he calls “myth cycles” to explain “relationships” between Atua and people.⁴⁵⁹ Like many of the other themes and concepts critiqued in this study, whanaungatanga is perhaps better articulated under the amore apt term, whakapapa.

⁴⁵⁵ Rongowhakaata Halbert, *Horouta: the History of the Horouta canoe, Gisborne and East Coast* (Auckland: Reed, 1999). Atihana Johns, *Ngā tapuwae o Hinetewai : a whānau and hapū kōrero* (Taupo: Pakira, 2012). Pei Te Hurinui, *King Potatau* (Polynesian Society, 1959). Pei Te Hurinui, & Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).

⁴⁵⁶ Hirini Kaa, *Te Haahi Mihinare: The Māori Anglican Church* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2020)

⁴⁵⁷ Margaret Mutu, *Ko Puwheke te Maunga – Puwheke is the mountain: Māori Language and Māori Ethnic Identity – Reaffirming Identity Through Language Revitalisation* (Place: Publisher, Year), p. 2.

⁴⁵⁸ Rawiri Te Maire, *Ngā Pikituroa o Ngāi Tahu: the Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), p. 5.

⁴⁵⁹ Walker, 1992, pp. 170-182.

Whakapapa, Te Maire Tau argues in his history is in its wider sense “attempts to impose a relationship between iwi and the natural world.”⁴⁶⁰

A brief survey on the literature reveals that whanaungatanga does not appear a lot in Māori historical writing in recent decades. Instead, Māori and iwi historians draw on a range of other concepts, themes, and terms to better articulate and discuss often complex and nuanced historical “relationships.” These include racial and colonial binary relationships like kūpapa or Crown loyalists and rebels, savages and settlers, and pioneers and Natives.⁴⁶¹ Iwi historians have convincingly shown that these essentialist binaries are poorly conceived and require considerable rethinking when assessing the motives of Māori. Monty Soutar, for instance, argues that the problematic meanings of terms like ‘rebel, loyalist and kūpapa used to explain “Māori relationships with the Crown” can be interpreted with “damaging effect” is seriously flawed and needs to be revised.⁴⁶²

Both Māori and Indigenous historians have drawn on a range of themes and concepts to articulate problematic colonial relationship noted by Soutar and others. Drawing on the work of writers like Edward Said and Frantz Fanon, Māori and other Native historians invoke terms like “the other” and psycho-analytic insights regarding internalised racism – what Fanon refers to as “the wretched” of the earth - to articulate the deep layers of physical, psychological and emotional trauma of colonial violence.⁴⁶³ Māori and many other Indigenous historians have moved away from what they see as Pākehā dominated literatures in settler-colonial history, ethno-history, and postcolonial

⁴⁶⁰ Te Maire Tau, *Ngā pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu = The oral traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (), p. 33.

⁴⁶¹ These are some of many similar essentialist binaries imposed on Māori historical subjects. Nēpia Mahuika, Nēpia, ‘New Zealand History is Māori History: Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of Historical Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 49:1, (2015), pp. 5-30. James Belich, *I Shall Not Die: Titokowaru’s War, 1868-1869* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Limited; 2015), p. 269.

⁴⁶² Monty Soutar, ‘Kūpapa: A Shift in Meaning’, *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6:2, (2001), p. 38.

⁴⁶³ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1965; London: Grove Press, 2004). Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Granada, 1970).

history, which are seen as spaces that no longer Indigenous peoples.⁴⁶⁴ Nevertheless, some Māori historians, still employ post-colonial theories to unpack whānau histories and wider iwi relationships in their work. Following the Ngāi Tahu Settlement Claim, Angela Wanhalla, for instance, suggested “a new focus on histories of Ngai Tahu intermarriage and mixed whānau descent.”⁴⁶⁵ In discussing the nineteenth century Ngāi Tahu inter-racial marriages, Wanhalla draws on Homi Bhabha’s concept of “hybridity.”⁴⁶⁶ Wanhalla, and others who write iwi and Māori histories, including Pākehā, do not explicitly invoke whanaungatanga as an interrogative lens or frame or theme in their work. While whanaungatanga has been referred to in terms of its significance in describing the power exercised in Māori politics, scholars like Margaret Mutu writes that the “nature of the power and control exercised by hapū was clear and well understood” and was based on underpinning values and principles such as whanaungatanga.⁴⁶⁷ But beyond this use, she barely uses the term “whanaungatanga” to unpack those relationships.

In Māori and New Zealand historical scholarship, whanaungatanga is not the key history theme *Te Takanga o te Wā* suggests it is. While historians discuss relationships and whānau, they have tended, and still do, employ and interweave historical themes and concepts from the broad array of colonial and Indigenous concepts discussed now on the global stage. Whanaungatanga is not a leading theme in this historiography, and has never been.

⁴⁶⁴ Shaleigh Walker, ‘Kia tau te Rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori Theory as a Resistance Against the Construction of Māori as the “Other”’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1996). Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Kaupapa Māori History: Negotiating the Past Before Us’, *Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori Peoples, Māori Histories*, 9, (2019), pp. 51-72.

⁴⁶⁵ Angela Wanhalla, ‘Ngai Tahu Historiography’, *History Compass*, 5:3, (2007), pp. 802–817.

⁴⁶⁶ Bhabha Homi K., *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Angela Wanhalla, ‘Marrying “In”: The Geography of Intermarriage at Taieri, 1830s–1920s’, in *Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History*, edited by Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennet (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005), pp. 73–94. Angela Wanhalla, and Alison Crew, *In/visible Insight: The Mixed-decent families of Southern New Zealand* (Wellington: Bridget Williams, 2009).

⁴⁶⁷ Margaret Mutu, ‘Custom Law and the Advent of New Pākehā Settlers: Tuku Whenua - Allocation of Resource Use Rights’, *Huia Histories of Māori: Nga Tahu Kōrero*, edited by Danny Keenan (Wellington: Huia, 2012), p. 95.

Whanaungatanga and History Research Ethics

A close inspection of the historiography in Māori history shows that whanaungatanga has not been a well-trodden theme in the field when it comes to content and narrative. Where it has some traction as a concept, however, much like the other themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, is in its relevance to Māori and iwi research ethics, methodology and practice. This has been evidenced already (in an early section of this chapter) in examples of the way whanaungatanga has been applied and discussed in educational research with Māori communities and kura, as well in health research and social work.⁴⁶⁸ Whanaungatanga, as Māori educationalists apply the concept seeks to redefine, or rather “reconstitute”, research groups as if they were “a whānau” or “extended family.”⁴⁶⁹ The ethics of whanaungatanga has also been discussed in regard to Kaupapa Māori theory and history, and explicitly to the notion of “tikanga” as the foundation of ethical research in Aotearoa today.⁴⁷⁰ But beyond these conversations, whanaungatanga, as this chapter has highlighted, is simply not written about in enough depth or breadth for it to be considered a key theme in Māori and iwi history.

In her recent thesis on Kaitiakitanga, Majorie Beverland, acknowledges that through the course of colonisation, aspects of te reo Māori have become increasingly incorporated into relatively common usage across mainstream New Zealand society, and that this process has also resulted in shifts in the meanings of those terms “to reflect their continued use from a non-Māori worldview, and arguably a Māori worldview.”⁴⁷¹ As an example, she uses whānau, which is commonly interpreted as meaning family. However, within te ao Māori this has much deeper and richer underpinnings. “Whānau”, she points out:

⁴⁶⁸ Russell Bishop, James Ladwig and Mere Berryman, ‘The Centrality of Relationships for Pedagogy: The Whanaungatanga Thesis’, in *American Educational Research Journal* (Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association, 2014), p. 184.

⁴⁶⁹ Bishop et al., 2014, p. 189.

⁴⁷⁰ Bishop et al., 2014, p. 188. Mahuika, “Tikanga as the Ethical Foundation of New Zealand History”, 2015.

⁴⁷¹ Majorie Beverland, ‘Kaitiakitanga: Māori experiences, expressions, and understandings’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, Massey University, 2022), p. 3.

[R]elates to “birth, being born”, as well as a “sense of spiritual connection, connection to land, obligations to others, and close familial relationships, as well as there are varied whānau diversities which extend to practices such as whangai. Whānau, like many Māori concepts, has multiple meanings. To reduce whānau to a Western domestic notion of ‘family’ or the idea of a nuclear family does not align with Māori ways of being.⁴⁷²

The reduction of whanaungatanga to what looks more like a “Western” notion based in kinship and culture in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is, as this thesis has suggested, not simply the result of Māori who were advisers and contributors to the Ministry, but part of the continued control of not just history curriculum content development and pedagogies, but wider forms of coloniser gatekeeping in research. This ongoing abuse of power is connected, ironically, to the government’s desire to dictate what history is taught here, how and in what way. While the new reset makes overtures to address New Zealand’s colonial past, its commitment is not reflected in the themes chosen in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. If these are not strong themes, then what are?

Summary

The brevity of this chapter provides some indication as to why whanaungatanga is not considered a key theme in Māori history. This chapter has argued that while whanaungatanga has been invoked in different ways by scholars, its application as a theme has much more explanation and traction in the fields of social work, health, anthropology and ethics. This chapter examined the various ways in which whanaungatanga is discussed or employed as a key theme and concept, or not, in Māori historiography. It began with a brief analysis of the way whanaungatanga has been defined in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, which this chapter noted as vague and not strongly reflected in existing Māori history literature. This chapter argued that the emphasis on “kinship”, “culture”, “heritage” and collective “responsibility” are in-fact terms and themes more

⁴⁷² Beverland, 2020, p. 3.

popular in Anthropology and Social Studies than Māori and iwi historical scholarship. This, as this chapter suggested, was no accident but part of the cultural appropriation and control exercised in the Pākehā “capture” and institutionalisation of Māori concepts and themes in ways that serve mono-cultural, and more recently multicultural or “diverse”, coloniser ambitions rather than Māori and iwi aspirations.

This chapter also argued that uses and definitions of whanaungatanga have been dominated by educationalists, anthropologists, and in more recent decades research in social work. Whanaungatanga, as this chapter pointed out, was a theme popular in the 70s, 80s, and 90s, published in various guidebooks. Influenced by the anthropological focus on kinship and culture it led to an emphasis on histories of “culture contact that were rejected by Māori historians who questioned, and still do, a tendency by Pākehā historians to misinterpret and distort Māori and iwi history. Thus, whanaungatanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015), as this chapter has contended, is vague and appears to align more with the “socio-cultural approach” embedded in sociology and anthropology.

This chapter also considered whanaungatanga as a theme in Historical scholarship that deals with complex and nuanced “relationships” between Māori, iwi, hapū, and other local and global communities, languages, religions, and knowledge systems. It argued that while historians discuss relationships and whānau, they have tended, and still do, employ and interweave historical themes and concepts from the broad array of colonial and Indigenous bodies of theory and literature. Māori historians, as this chapter argued, tend to explain and unpack “whanaungatanga” through other concepts like whakapapa or mātauranga. Māori and iwi historians, for instance have drawn on, challenged, and critiqued, racial, and colonial binary relationships like kūpapa and rebels, savages and settlers, and pioneers and Natives. Instead of explicitly using whanaungatanga, Māori and Indigenous historians, as this chapter contended, have preferred terms like “the other” and Fanon’s psychological theorising of colonial violence to make sense of these traumatic and tricky relationships. Iwi scholars like Angela Wanhalla have, as this chapter highlighted, written on inter-racial marriages that promote

postcolonial concepts like “hybridity”, but in most cases Māori historians have moved on from post-colonialism, settler-colonialism, and ethno-histories that are still bastions for non-Indigenous historians to continue writing about us without our permission.

Finally, this chapter noted how whanaungatanga has been more a theme and concept in research ethics than a theme employed to organise Māori historical narratives or content selection. But even in ethics, as this chapter argued, whanaungatanga has been written predominantly in other fields, like education and research in social work, health and wellbeing. While the theme is included in writing on research ethics in history, it falls under the more apt theme of tikanga. Like the other themes selected in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, this chapter has argued that whanaungatanga is simply not a strong concept in Māori and iwi historical scholarship. Where Māori historians write about relationships they have, as this chapter argued, drawn on themes and concepts that more effectively unpack the various complex and layered relationships Māori and iwi experienced. These are more than simply cultural and social whanaungatanga intersections, but include deeply spiritual, political, economic inter-relationships that require more intricate lenses and themes to interpret and understand.

Reclaiming Māori History Themes and Concepts

It is difficult, as this thesis has shown, to find Māori history concepts neatly arrayed in one single book or essay. There are various texts that introduce readers to, and discuss the meaning of, Māori cultural and social themes and concepts. Some of these focus on research ethics and include theorising and discussion around decolonisation and the reclaiming of Indigenous pasts. There are enough Māori history specific essays or books written by Māori historians available to show that *Te Takanga o te Wā* either missed or ignored the current literature. This thesis has argued thus far that aside from whakapapa, the five key themes presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are not compelling or well referenced history concepts in the field.⁴⁷³ The themes, as previous chapters illustrate appear more relevant to social studies, geography, law, and general research ethics than history. The themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* sadly neglect Māori and iwi historical scholarship, and as a consequence fail to address the way our history as a practice and living tradition has developed here. A failure to align current history themes and concepts in the field with the new curriculum will have significant consequences for potentially generations of our children and mokopuna if it is not addressed. So, if the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* are not strong, then what are compelling themes specific to Māori and iwi history?

This chapter proposes a range of themes and concepts that are more aligned with research and scholarship in Māori, Indigenous, and iwi historical research and writing over the past century. Time or Wā is examined here as a crucial theme and concept absent in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. This chapter also considers the importance of tikanga as the foundation of the ethics of Aotearoa New Zealand history under which some of the themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* would be better placed. The different āhua or forms and sources of Māori history and their viability are also discussed here,

⁴⁷³ Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā: Māori History Guidelines for Years 1-8* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015).

particularly their crucial role in illustrating how Māori and iwi pasts are kept, transmitted, and presented as living history. This chapter looks at the significance of te reo Māori, mana, and te ao wairua me te whakapono as other crucial concepts and themes worth closer consideration in Māori history. It also notes how other theories and concepts like “survivance”, “historical trauma” and decolonisation are now part of the way Indigenous peoples here think about and do history.

The Key Role of Wā and Maramataka in Māori Time and History

One of the most notable concepts ironically missing in *Te Takanga o te Wa* is time or Wā. Time is not simply a Western concept, but a key theme and concept in Indigenous communities and historical scholarship globally. *Te Takanga o te Wā* advocates “change over a time”, a concept that arose out of Western historiography and thought, not Māori.⁴⁷⁴ In Aotearoa, the concept of change over time aligns more with colonial “progress” narratives that have been critiqued by Indigenous scholars here as:

[E]xplicitly parading the epic and romantic narrative of settlement and progress as the overarching story of New Zealand, while implicitly marginalizing, or silencing, the histories of the tangata whenua Those producing these ‘discursive constructions’ are not just academics ... but, perhaps more worryingly, they are the architects of national policy, law makers, and those whose words and visions structure our school curriculum and thus influence the minds of future generations.⁴⁷⁵

Māori and iwi histories do not use “change over time” as a key concept and are sceptical of the notion of progress, but speak more about “walking backward into the future” and invoke epistemological understandings that are relative to our own

⁴⁷⁴ 'Analysing change and continuity', URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/te-akomanga/historical-concepts/change-continuity-analysis>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 27-Jul-2021 [Accessed 14th Sep 2022]. David Sylvester, “Change and continuity in history teaching 1900-93”, in *Teaching History*, edited by Hilary Bourdillon (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 9-26

⁴⁷⁵ Mahuika, *Revitalizing Te Ika a Maui*, p. 135.

calendars and philosophies.⁴⁷⁶ The concept of time, for some, has been noted as a social and cultural construction.⁴⁷⁷ In *Measuring Time, Making History*, Rainer Baubock asserts, for instance, that “cultural communities are more strongly anchored in historical time and space.”⁴⁷⁸ Elizabeth Cohen points out how “[a]ll political subjects encounter myriad ways in which time is structured, valued, appropriated or freed by the state.”⁴⁷⁹ As a history concept, then, time is crucial to how we organise the past, and place ourselves in it, it is an indicator of power and whose definition of time matters.

Time, in the field of history, has been discussed in various ways, from the debates around revolutionary epochs in the writing of Karl Marx and feminist critiques of patriarchal periodization in Joan Kelly’s “Did Women Have a Renaissance?”, to dating sources, and contested cultural perceptions of how time is counted, conceived and applied.⁴⁸⁰ In his epic two volume history of *The Mediterranean*, Fernand Braudel famously wrote of a new model of historical time that “broke from the objective empirical methods of his historical contemporaries.”⁴⁸¹ Braudel used the metaphor of the ocean, pointing to cycling movements of hundreds of years as the deep currents of time or “the longue duree.” The medium duree he called “conjectures” with “slow but perceptible rhythms” that circle in ten to fifty year cycles. The third he called, *historie evenmentielle*, “the ephemera of history”, or crests of foam

⁴⁷⁶ Eleanor Jane Rainford, ‘Ka Mua, Ka Muri-Walking Backwards into the Future: An Environmental History of the South Wairarapa Region 1984-2016’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2017).

⁴⁷⁷ Barbara Adam, *Timewatch: The Social Analysis of Time* (Cambridge: Polity Press: Cambridge, 1995). Barbara Adam, *Time and Social Theory* (UK: Wiley, 2013).

⁴⁷⁸ Rainer Baubock, *Measuring Time, Making History* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2008), p. 25.

⁴⁷⁹ Elizabeth F. Cohen, *The Political Value of Time: Citizenship, Duration and Democratic Justice* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 1.

⁴⁸⁰ Kathleen Davis, for instance, writes that “[t]he history of periodization is juridical, and it advances through struggles over the definition and location of sovereignty.” Cited in Cohen, 2018, p. 34. Stavros Tombazos, *Time in Marx: the categories of time in Marx's Capital* (Leiden: Brill, 2014). Joan Kelly, ‘Did Women have a Renaissance?’, in *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly*, edited by Joan Kelly (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1984 [originally published in 1977]), pp. 175-201.

⁴⁸¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Phillip II*, trans. Sian Reynolds, 2 Vols (London: Collins, [1974] 1975). Green and Troup, 1999, p. 88.

that the tides of history carry on their backs.”⁴⁸² Māori have never taken up Braudel’s “total” history schema, but his focus on histories of the land and oceans still have considerable resonance to Māori conceptions of deep eras and epochs in *kōrero tuku iho*, and the notion of mountains that move, a living environment (Papatuanuku), and rhythms and cycles of time (maramataka).⁴⁸³

Braudel is one of many to have theorised the way time might be defined, used, and relative to history.⁴⁸⁴ Chapter One of this thesis noted how Māori experimented with Western Genealogical methods to “date” generations back to the arrival of *waka*.⁴⁸⁵ This dating framed iwi histories within Western and Christian-centric notions of time, but was critiqued as flawed and inaccurate by later scholars.⁴⁸⁶ Rangi Mataamua writes that “as part of colonisation, Māori were converted to Western time, and most of our traditional time-centred practices were replaced.”⁴⁸⁷ The promotion of Matariki – the Māori new year – he writes “is part of a wider movement to decolonise time, and to reinstate many of our native time practices so they once again become a meaningful part of our day-to-day lives.” This Māori calendar system is driven by reference to Māori lunar phases, the environment, and inherited knowledge aimed at enabling us to “synchronise our lives” to the “rhythms that reflect mātauranga Māori and practice.”⁴⁸⁸

Although only a small body of work, there is nevertheless enough research on Māori understandings and uses of time that are simply left out of *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Research on this topic includes *The Māori Division of Time* published in 1959 by Pākehā

⁴⁸² Braudel, pp. 20-21.

⁴⁸³ Mahuika, 2019.

⁴⁸⁴ Martin Heidegger, *History of the Concept of Time: Prolegomena*, translated by Theodore Kisiel (Bloomington: Indian University Press, 1985).

⁴⁸⁵ Mahuika, 2019. A.T Ngata, *The Porourangi Māori Cultural School, Rauru-nui-a-Toi Course, Lectures 1-7* (Gisborne: Māori Purposes Fund Board/Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou, 2011, originally presented in 1944). Don M Stafford, *Te Arawa: a History of the Arawa People* (Rotorua: A. H. & A. W. Reed, 1967; Auckland: Reed, 1986). Pei Te Hurinui Jones, & Bruce Biggs, *Ngā Iwi o Tainui* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995).

⁴⁸⁶ Mahuika, 2019.

⁴⁸⁷ Rangi Mataamua, *Matariki: Te Whetu Tapu o te Tau* (Wellington: Huia, 2017), p. 75.

⁴⁸⁸ Mataamua, p. 75.

writer Elsdon Best, who, as Mataamua affirms, observed that the Māori “division of time was based on the movements of the moon” or a maramataka/lunar calendar.⁴⁸⁹ In his history, Ranginui Walker invokes a stratification of “time” based in “three major myth cycles, beginning with the creation myth of Ranginui, the Sky father, and Papatuanuku, the earth mother; the second phase grounded in the stories or myths of “Maui the demi-God, who fished up the land”, and a final phase based on the “The life of Tawhaki.”⁴⁹⁰ He refers to “three states of existence” as “Te kore (the void); Te po (the dark); And Te Aomarama (the world of light).”⁴⁹¹ Similarly, Te Maire Tau, frames his history of Ngai Tahu migration within a conception of time that separates Māori “human” history from “Gods”, and writes that for Māori “‘time’ is established by whakapapa, which essentially consists of ‘seemingly’ immovable stepping-stones across spaces of time.”⁴⁹² The problem when referring to Māori history and time as “myth” has been noted by Nēpia Mahuika who argues that the reduction of Māori history to “myth” continues a colonial practice of displacing and delegitimizing Māori histories as myth and fable.⁴⁹³

Writing on the theme and concept of time, Indigenous historians and scholars have referred to the importance of the “circular nature of time” and how local environments carry Native systems and meanings of time which are more resonant to Indigenous peoples than “analyses of global social and political change.”⁴⁹⁴ Māori, as others argue, prefer “event time orientation” rather than “clock time orientation” – a

⁴⁸⁹ Elsdon Best, *The Māori Division of Time* (Wellington: Government Print, 1959), p. 7. More recent research in Aotearoa on time and history includes Gerard S. Morris, ‘Time and the making of New Zealand: a theme in the development of a settler society, 1840 to 1868’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2012).

⁴⁹⁰ Ranginui Walker, 1990, p. 11. On this topic, Ngai Tahu scholar, Atholl Anderson writes that if “the Kupe tradition is mythical, the narrative myth nevertheless stands for an historically founded belief in a voyage of discovery and return that closely preceded and triggered the later migration.” Anderson et al, 2014, p. 54.

⁴⁹¹ Walker, 1990, p. 11.

⁴⁹² Tau, Year, p. 259.

⁴⁹³ Mahuika, 2019.

⁴⁹⁴ Marker, 2011, p. 98. Michael E. Harcourt, ‘Teaching and Learning New Zealand’s difficult history of colonization in secondary school contexts’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Victoria University Wellington, 2020), p. 25.

perspective based on cultural knowledge common the Polynesia.⁴⁹⁵ For Māori, time is a crucial organising and positional concept in history, for both Māori and non-Māori. Indigenous historians, and Māori, have contemplated and experimented with ideas around time, epochs, eras, and dating arrivals, migrations, and turning points. The absence of this theme in *Te Takanga o te Wa* is troubling because it is such a foundational concept in the way Māori conceive of, organise, and narrate, the past.

Tikanga a Key Concept in Māori and Iwi History

As earlier chapters have illustrated, many of the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā* have strong connections to writing in Māori research ethics, protocols, and tikanga.⁴⁹⁶ At the opening of this century, Hirini Moko Mead described tikanga as a new body of knowledge that should be taught in schools.⁴⁹⁷ Tikanga had been the subject of various books in preceding decades, like Cleve Barlow's popular *Tikanga Whakaaro: Key Concepts in Māori Culture* (1991) and Michael King's edited compilation *Te Ao Hurihuri* (1992).⁴⁹⁸ In 1991 Ngahuia Te Awekotuku published a short guide on tikanga based ethical principles in research. A year later, Charles Royal's *Te Haurapa*, (1992) focused more explicitly on research tikanga specific to iwi history.⁴⁹⁹

When discussing Māori history themes and concepts, especially in regard to research ethics, tikanga better encapsulates most of the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. This is reflected in the literature. Nēpia Mahuika, for instance, writes that tikanga is the “ethical foundation of historical scholarship in Aotearoa New

⁴⁹⁵ K. Lo, & C. Houkamau, 2012, pp. 108-109.

⁴⁹⁶ See for instance Maui Hudson, Moe Milne, Paul Reynolds, Khyla Russell, Barry Smith, eds., *Te Ara Tika Guidelines for Māori research ethics: A framework for researchers and ethics committee members* (Auckland, 2010).

⁴⁹⁷ Mead, 2003, p. 23.

⁴⁹⁸ Michael King, ed., *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga* (Auckland: Reed, 1992).

⁴⁹⁹ Te Awekotuku's guidelines were based on the New Zealand Association of Social Anthropologists code of conduct, which itself had been based on the American Anthropological Association model. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, *He Tikanga Whakāro: Research Ethics in the Māori Community: a Discussion Paper*, (Wellington, 1991). Charles Royal, *Te Haurapa: an Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992). Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori, Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia, 2003).

Zealand" (2015), and provides a number of examples from research guides and texts compiled over three decades.⁵⁰⁰ Whakapapa, whanaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, and mana- moutahake, as he notes, are all concepts in Māori history specific ethics that intersect with accountability, tikanga like kanohi ki te kanohi, custodianship, ownership, access, consent, archiving, and data sovereignty.⁵⁰¹

Whanaungatanga, as this thesis has already pointed out is a well-trodden concept in research tikanga and ethics. Both Kathie Irwin and Russell Bishop argue for the importance of whānau as supervisory bodies and organisational structures in research. Irwin refers to a 'whānau of supervisors', while Bishop writes of the need to build a 'research whānau of interest.'⁵⁰² The whānau model privileges hapū tikanga in establishing the terms of research and positioning the researcher."⁵⁰³ Likewise, mana motuhake, as Nēpia Mahuika writes, has relevance to self-determination and the power to define the past on your own terms."⁵⁰⁴ Mana-motuhake, whakapapa, and kaitiakitanga, then, are all aspects of tikanga.⁵⁰⁵ Tipene O'Regan wrote explicitly about his tikanga regarding the of ownership of the past, asserting "the past belongs to all New Zealanders, but first it is ours."⁵⁰⁶

Tikanga is a vital part of doing and understanding Māori and iwi history. It will be essential for teachers and learners to realise, for instance, that iwi mātauranga in "the public domain does not mean that anyone is allowed to just help themselves" to that history.⁵⁰⁷ Tikanga in history includes knowing when you are an "insider" or "outsider" and how to navigate those roles appropriately. "Insiders", as Linda Tuhiwai Smith observes, generally have to "live with the consequences of their

⁵⁰⁰ Nēpia Mahuika, 'New Zealand history is Māori history: Tikanga as the ethical foundation of historical scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, 63:1, (2015), pp. 5-30.

⁵⁰¹ Mahuika, 2015, p. 13. p. 9.

⁵⁰² Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 187.

⁵⁰³ Cited in Mahuika, 2015, p.17

⁵⁰⁴ Mahuika, 2015, p. 18.

⁵⁰⁵ Mahuika, Year, p. 18.

⁵⁰⁶ O'Regan, p. 145.

⁵⁰⁷ Mahuika, 2015, p. 17.

processes, while outsiders have in the past too frequently set themselves up as ‘experts’, yet are never, or seldom, seen by the locals again.”⁵⁰⁸ This binary relationship has inextricable connections to inter-related concepts like whakapapa, kaitiakitanga, and whanaungatanga.

Tikanga is inherited, but it is also fluid and contextualised in response to each contemporary generation and their needs and aspirations – this is also how Māori history works.⁵⁰⁹ Māori historians today have a range of guidelines and ethical codes we can consult. The *Te Ara Tika* guidelines, for instance, are a kaupapa Māori ethical framework based on the application of tikanga and Western ethical principles that also integrate Treaty of Waitangi principles.⁵¹⁰ Historians here can, if they choose, also refer to both the Professional Historians Association of New Zealand/Aotearoa *Code of Practice* (1998) and The National Oral History Association of New Zealand’s *Code of Ethical and Technical Practice* (2001).⁵¹¹

Ethics and tikanga are fundamental to Māori and iwi histories. It is where colonisers can be held to account, where Indigenous knowledge and peoples can be protected, and where non-Indigenous historians can be reminded of the various rules and concepts vital to culturally appropriate research and scholarship. Māori history ethics challenges the coloniser State’s power to dominate public histories, national narratives, and curricula.⁵¹² The absence of tikanga as a key concept in *Te Takanga o te Wa* neglects the significance of ethics which has been a key debate and discussion in Māori historiography since Ngata and Buck questioned the work of Elsdon Best over

⁵⁰⁸ Tuhiwai Smith, 2012, p. 138.

⁵⁰⁹ Enoke K. Murphy, ‘Ka Mate Ko Te Mate, Ka Ora Taku Toa: Ko Nga Matawhaura o te Rau Tau Tekau ma Iwa’ (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Waikato, 2017).

⁵¹⁰ Came, 2013, p. 65.

⁵¹¹ The Professional Historians Association of New Zealand/Aotearoa (PHANZA), ‘Code of Practice’, (1998). Available online at <http://www.phanza.org.nz/content/code-practice>. National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ), *Code of Ethical and Technical Practice*, Wellington, 2001. Available online at <http://www.oralhistory.org.nz/code.htm>. The NOHANZ code has recently been updated, and translated into te reo Māori, but still requires work to add specifically Māori and iwi specific ethical guidelines.

⁵¹² Māori were not included in the production of the national narrative. Keith Sinclair has written that well into the twentieth century ‘Māoris were still peripheral to Pākehā society’ and not ‘central to Pākehā thinking about their own national identity.’ Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart, New Zealand’s Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Publisher, 1986), p. 24.

a century ago.⁵¹³ Tikanga should have been one of the key Māori history concepts and themes introduced in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015), under which themes like kaitiakitanga, tūrangawaewae, and mana motuhake, and whanaungatanga would have been better understood.

Te Reo Māori “Key” to Iwi and Māori History

Another glaringly absent theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is te reo Māori. Competency in te reo Māori is a crucial part of Māori and iwi history. Monty Soutar, for instance, has argued that those who are “competent in the language” are more adequately placed to interpret the tribe’s history.⁵¹⁴ The promotion and telling of our past in our language is crucial to the conveying of ourselves in our own terms. Indigenous scholars have learnt that we “cannot rely on colonial languages to define Indigenous cultures”⁵¹⁵ The influential Kanaka Maoli historian, Huanani Kay Trask, insisted that to know her people, you must first put away your books and immerse yourself in the language.⁵¹⁶ Native peoples have stressed the points repeatedly that “Non-indigenous researchers must learn indigenous languages to understand indigenous worldviews.”⁵¹⁷

The use of language in historical scholarship, as Nēpia Mahuika asserts, is “an act of empowerment and revitalisation.” “Language”, he writes, “conveys knowledge, and the currency of historical research in the language of the coloniser is a major problem in historical research in Aotearoa.”⁵¹⁸ The capacity of te reo Māori “to convey historic and customary concepts, knowledge and traditions” is why it is so significant as a key concept in iwi and Māori history.⁵¹⁹ Poia Rewi argues that it is only through

⁵¹³ M.P.K Sorrenson,., Na to hoa aroha: from your dear friend, the correspondence between Sir Apirana Ngata and Peter Buck, 1925 – 1950 Vol 2. (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1987)

⁵¹⁴ Monty Soutar, ‘A Framework for Analyzing Written iwi Histories’, *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2:1, (1996), p. 48.

⁵¹⁵ Battiste, pp. 503; 504.

⁵¹⁶ Huanani-Kay Trask, ‘From a Native daughter’, in *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, edited by Calvin Martin (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 171-179.

⁵¹⁷ Battiste, p. 504.

⁵¹⁸ Mahuika, 2015, p. 17.

⁵¹⁹ Rewi, Year, p. 75.

Māori language that one can begin to understand “the absolute richness of the culture, the people and their histories.”⁵²⁰ Historians like Ranginui Walker draw on whakatauki (proverbs) and kiwaha (sayings) as historical evidence, and much of the archival records in the Native Land Courts and elsewhere remains in our language.⁵²¹ But the key concept and theme of te reo Māori in historical practice and theory is about reclaiming our past by decolonising it from the dominant colonial languages and ideologies that have subtly, and not so discretely, redefined it.

Te Takanga o te Wā (Tamua, 2015) chooses not to see te reo as a key aspect of Māori history, despite a long pedagogy in wānanga that is inextricably tied to the use of te reo.⁵²² The absence of the reo is a curious omission in a document where one of the historians, albeit a Pākehā historian, literally published his own history *Killing Te Reo* (2018) just a few years later, which was widely criticised by Māori historians and language experts.⁵²³

Te Ahua o te Hitori Māori – The Form of Māori and iwi History

The form or ahua of Māori history sources, how they are made and particularly their reliability, is also missing from *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Knowing how these forms or sources are used to convey the past is important to knowing how to use read, hear, engage with, and learn from them. It is key to knowing how to do and understand Māori histories. Māori and Indigenous historians have written at length about the significance of the form of our history, and their reliability as viable historical evidence. These texts have critiqued rigid Western empirical standards, which once dismissed our history as backward superstitions.⁵²⁴ The ahua of Māori and iwi histories as well as their validity, then, should be a significant topic or theme in Te

⁵²⁰ Rewi, 2012, p. 88.

⁵²¹ Walker, 1994, p. 45.

⁵²² Tamua, 2015.

⁵²³ Walker, 1990, pp. 242-243, 268-272, 334-356; 358. Moon, 2018. Rangi Mataamua & Pou Temara, *Te Karere*, 2018.

⁵²⁴ Mahuika, 2019.

Takanga o te Wā, but makes no mention of the scholarship in this area. The most common form perhaps is oral history, which often sits in an uncomfortable tension with oral traditions.⁵²⁵ Both refer to songs or waiata, proverbs, whakapapa, and placenames, however, Rawiri Te Maire Tau defines oral tradition as “the passing down of tribal information” and oral history as “events recalled within one’s lifetime or the lifetime of an informant.”⁵²⁶ This as Nēpia Mahuika has pointed out is a Eurocentric view of Indigenous history, and is part of the colonising and whitewashing of Native pasts as myth and legend.⁵²⁷

Māori use Pākehā and Māori concepts and sources, and include an array of interviews, written documents, songs and other evidence in their work.⁵²⁸ “Māori oral literature” according to Aroha Harris includes “waiata, whakatauki, kōrero (talk, discussion, narrative) and whakapapa (genealogy)” and are key sources used to convey Māori narratives of past events” along side govt nme⁵²⁹ Māori historians have discussed various types of ahua or forms of Māori history, including carving or whakairo.⁵³⁰ Whakairo, as Ranginui Walker writes has been an important part of the telling of history of cultural revival, and resistance.⁵³¹ The form of Māori histories have been woven, sung, carved, and disseminated in many ways.⁵³² Danny Keenan, for instance, writes about the significance of the past “from the paepae” emphasising the importance of whaikōrero, karanga, powhiri, and the marae as a frame for understanding and engaging with Māori history.⁵³³ This is accentuated by Pei Te

⁵²⁵ Mahuika, 2019.

⁵²⁶ Tau, 2012, pp. 17; 111.

⁵²⁷ Sir George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race, as furnished by their Priests and their Chiefs* (London: John Murray, 1855; Reprinted Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956).

⁵²⁸ Aroha Harris, “Modern in a Traditional Way: The Māori Search for Cultural Equilibrium in a Saying, a Song and a Short Story”, in *Huia Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, edited by Danny Keenan (Wellington: Huia, 2012), p. 340.

⁵²⁹ Harris, 2012, p. 340.

⁵³⁰ Mere Whaanga, *A Carved Cloak for Tahu* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004).

⁵³¹ Walker, 1990, p. 189.

⁵³² Māori Marsden, *The Woven Universe: Selected Readings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (Otaki: Estate of Rev Māori Marsden, 2003). Te Rangi Hiroa, *The Coming of the Māori* (Wellington: Māori Purposes Fund Board, Whitcombe & Tombs, 1949), p. 166.

⁵³³ Danny Keenan, ‘The Past from the Paepae’, in *Remembering, Writing Oral History*, edited by Anna Green and Megan Hutching (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2004), pp. 145-151.

Hurinui Jones who once affirmed that “whaikōrero, poroporoaki and mōteatea, is still the starting point for any Māori historian.”⁵³⁴ Today, scholars continue to write about the depth and richness of the various types of forms available to Māori and Indigenous historians.⁵³⁵ This theme in Māori historiography tells us about what Māori and iwi history looks and feels like. It reminds us that Māori and iwi histories are lived and constantly adapting to tell stories in new genre and to enhance old forms innovative and empowering ways.

Mātauranga, Mana, Te Ao Wairua and Whakapono in Māori History

Beyond te reo and tikanga, which are both crucial foundations of Māori history, are a few other key themes and concepts such as mātauranga Māori or mātauranga-a-iwi, mana, and wairuatanga or whakapono. Whakapapa, according to Rawiri Te Maire Tau, is the “skeletal structure” of mātauranga Māori or what he sees as Māori history.⁵³⁶ Nēpia Mahuika has recently written about the value of mātauranga or the underlying Māori and iwi underlying worldviews, and bodies of knowledge, that important to Māori history.⁵³⁷ Raiwiri Te Maire Tau has argued that while “Western historians interpret the bulk of their history from written sources” iwi like Ngāi Tahu use historical concepts such as time “located in a different cultural context.”⁵³⁸ The underlying mātauranga or specific iwi or whānau bodies of knowledge historians invoke is also a crucial aspect of Māori and iwi history. In his history of the Anglican

⁵³⁴ Jones, 1995, p. 18.

⁵³⁵ Ruka Broughton, ‘Ko Ngaa Paiaka o Ngaa Rauru Kiitahi/The Origins of Nga Rauru Kiitahi’ (Unpublished MA Thesis, Victoria University, 1979). Raukura Roa, ‘Formulaic Discourse Patterning in Mōteatea’ (PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 2008).

⁵³⁶ Rawiri Te Maire Tau, Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology’, in *Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past - A New Zealand Commentary*, edited by Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), pp. 61-7

⁵³⁷ Nēpia Mahuika, ‘The Value of Mātauranga to History’, in *Mātauranga Māori at the Interface*, edited by Jacinta Ruru and Linda W. Nikora (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2021), pp. 148-159.

⁵³⁸ Te Maire Tau, *Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2003), p. 15.

Church in Ngāti Porou, Hirini Kaa explores the way iwi matauranga has been renegotiated as in a focus on religion, te ao wairua, “Church history.”⁵³⁹

Mana has also been a constant concept and theme in Māori history and historiography. It is a concept used by Rawiri Te Maire Tau in his history of Ngai Tahu to explain the acquisition of new lands and those who held mana previously.⁵⁴⁰ Mana is vital, as Henare Manuka notes, to understanding “the history of Māori encounters with white settlers” and involved considerations of religion and ecology to assessing different interpretations.⁵⁴¹ Mana is also a concept used in the Pacific and discussed at length in regard to shared Polynesian themes in politics, religion, and “everyday discourse.”⁵⁴² More wide reaching than mana-motuhake, it allows scholars to consider other types of mana tangata, mana wahine, mana whenua and moana, and other types of mana as authority, power, and influence in Māori history. Like Tikanga, it is a much better term to house some of the concepts presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, but is also a concept referred to, and discussed, by various experts in the field.

Closely connected to the theme and significance of mana in Māori history is te ao wairua and religion and whakapono. Māori and iwi histories are filled with prophecies, karakia, and allusions to Atua, tipua, and other concepts often misunderstood and dismissed as legends by Pākehā religions and school curricula. What colonisers dismissed as superstition and fantasy were elaborate histories of ancestors and communities. The deeply spiritual worldviews held by Māori are core key concepts in iwi and Māori histories and chronicle a conversion and resistance to Christianity.⁵⁴³ While New Zealand history been critiqued for its seeming indifference

⁵³⁹ Hirini Kaa, “Aotearoa Histories: Decolonizing and Reindigenizing Church and Society in New Zealand,” *Anglican Journal*, 147: 6, (June 2021), p. 3.

⁵⁴⁰ Tau, 2012, p. 11.

⁵⁴¹ Manuka Henare, “Tapu, Mana, Mauri, Hau, Wairua: a Māori Philosophy of Vitalism and Cosmos”, in *Indigenous Spiritualities at Work: Transforming the Spirit of Enterprise*, edited by Chellie Spiller and Rachel Wolfram (US: Information Age Publishing, 2015), pp. 77-98.

⁵⁴² Matt Tomlinson, & Ty P Kawika Tengan, eds., *New Mana: Transformations of a Classic Concept in Pacific Languages and Cultures* (Canberra; ANU Press, 2016).

⁵⁴³ Buddy Mikaere “Musket Wars, Migrations, New Tribal Alignments”, in *Huiā Histories of Māori: Ngā Tāhuhu Kōrero*, edited by Danny Keenan (Wellington: Huiā, 2012), p. 120.

to religious themes in its own historiography, Māori and iwi historiography is replete with histories chronicling iwi and pan tribal movements like Ratana, Ringatu, and Te Haahi Mihinare.⁵⁴⁴⁵⁴⁵ Māori histories have always included creation stories with reference to cosmogony, and share this similarity with many other Indigenous communities around the world.⁵⁴⁶ Pei te Hurinui Jones argues that the “real concern of the historian is to understand how our ancestors thought” and the ways they captured that best in mōteatea, karakia and whaikōrero.⁵⁴⁷

There are better and bigger encompassing themes and concepts in Māori and iwi historical scholarship than those that were selected for *Te Takanga o te Wā* in 2015. Mātauranga-a-iwi and mātauranga Māori ground the language and tikanga that breathe life into that history within a specific tribal, whānau or hapu epistemological and ontological frame of reference. Similarly, mana is a much better and more encapsulating theme and concept that not only allows for more breadth to talk about different types of mana beyond just “mana motuhake”, but it is also well supported with research in the field. A surprising omission from *Te Takanga o te Wā* was no mention of the deeply spiritual and religious world-Ao framing concepts and themes that have long been at the core of Māori and iwi history narrative and practice. Māori historians have written extensively on our histories of prophetic leadership, and the many deeply spiritual and religious political movements that have been central to iwi and pan tribal histories like Ringatu and Te Kooti, Tohu, Te Whiti and Parihaka, and Rua Kenana’s community at Maunga Pohatu.⁵⁴⁸ Whakapono and Māori and iwi narratives of belief and relationship to te tai ao are often signifying features of iwi and Māori history.

⁵⁴⁴ Walker, 1990, p. 184.

⁵⁴⁵ Haami, 2012, p. 175.

⁵⁴⁶ Buck, 1952, p. 433.

⁵⁴⁷ Jones, 1998, p. 27.

⁵⁴⁸ Judith Binney, *Redemption Songs: a Life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki* (Auckland: Auckland University Press; Bridget Williams Books, 1995). Te Miringa Hohaia, *Parihaka* (Te Whanganui-a-Tara: Huia, 2005). Judith Binney, *Mihaia : the prophet Rua Kenana and his community at Maungapōhatu* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2011)

Decolonisation, Historical Trauma, and other Māori History Concepts

Māori and iwi people have been incorporating non-Māori technologies and ideas into our arts, practices, and ways of knowing for generations. Because much of our writing has been in English and to non-Indigenous audiences and fields, Native historians have sought out studies, methods, tools, words and research, that assists us to tell our histories. Māori history concepts and themes used by historians today coalesce with other global Indigenous themes like resistance, struggle, decolonialisation, trauma and survivance. Hirini Kaa argues that decolonisation and reindigenisation are essential for the understanding our history because they simultaneously center and assert Māori narratives and disrupt the ongoing power of coloniser-centric history.⁵⁴⁹

He writes that:

History and our historical narratives have been transformative here in Aotearoa over the past several decades. We have become more truthful with ourselves, moving from the settler narrative of hardworking, egalitarian, fair and "kind" communities to accepting and understanding that our society and economy was established--and still thrives--on the back of Māori (Indigenous) dispossession and marginalization.⁵⁵⁰

It is essential that teachers grasp the concept of decolonisation, especially when dealing with the histories of trauma, dispossession, and ongoing oppression in Aotearoa. This is a more pressing issue than the recent flurry to comfort embarrassed guilt stricken Pākehā students who are only just now learning about the history of the state, while Māori have had to fight just to have that experience barely acknowledged.⁵⁵¹ Decolonisation is a crucially important concept and theme in Māori

⁵⁴⁹ Kaa, 2021, p.1.

⁵⁵⁰ Hirini Kaa, "Aotearoa Histories: Decolonizing and reindigenizing church and society in New Zealand", *Anglican Journal*, 147:6, (2021), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵¹ Averil Bell & Elizabeth Russell Aotearoa New Zealand's New National History Curriculum and Histories of Mourning, *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-021-00231-2>. Margaret Stuart, 'Unravelling Imperial Knots: Teaching New Zealand History Contrapuntally', *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40841-021-00235-y>.

history, and it needs to reflect Māori perspectives and not Pākehā aspirations. This has been an issue before in Indigenous scholarship, highlighted by Māori rejections of postcolonial theory as an approach that continues to centre non-Indigenous history and ignore Native scholarship.⁵⁵²

Indigenous peoples around the world have argued that decolonization is important to understanding, teaching, and reclaiming history.⁵⁵³ In the United States, Indigenous historians have likewise stressed that “[t]he distinctive history of Native Americans as colonized peoples should not result in their marginalization in narratives of American history.”⁵⁵⁴ Beyond Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s seminal text on Decolonising methods, there are now a wide array of texts that deal with decolonialism and historical research. These include recently published texts like Jill Jarvis’s *Decolonizing Memory* (2021) and Lee Evans and Emma Lee’s *Indigenous Women’s Voices* (2021) which revisits decolonial concepts and themes introduced twenty years on from Tuhiwai Smith’s defining text. Decolonisation in Māori and Indigenous history often debunks powerful coloniser myths like the Great Fleet (discussed earlier in this study), but is also crucial in countering inept and racist right wing political histories that claim Te Tirii o Waitangi “was Britain’s reluctant response to pleas by Māori chiefs to rescue the tribes from a culture of cannibalism, slavery and inter-tribal warfare that had wiped out about a third of their race by 1840.”⁵⁵⁵

In writing about our shared history of colonial trauma and survival, Indigenous scholars have drawn on key studies from Eduardo and Bonnie Duran, who theorise

⁵⁵² Nēpia Mahuika, ‘Closing the Gaps: From Post-colonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 45:1 (2011), pp. 15-32. Shaleigh Walker, ‘Kia tau te Rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori Theory as a Resistance Against the Construction of Māori as the ‘Other’ (Unpublished Masters thesis, University of Auckland, 1996).

⁵⁵³ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 31.

⁵⁵⁴ Susan Sleeper-Smith, Juliana Barr, Jean M. O’Brien, Nancy Shoemaker, & Scott M. Stevens, eds., *Why You Can’t Teach United States History Without American Indians* (North Carolina, North Carolina University Press and Chapel Hill, 2015), p. 4.

⁵⁵⁵ John Robinson, Bruce Moon, David Round, Mike Butler, Peter Cresswell, Hugh Barr, *Twisting the Treaty: A Tribal Grab for Wealth and Power* (Wellington: Tross Publishing, 2013), Backcover. Hugh Barr, Don Brash, Mike Butler, Peter Cresswell, Bruce Moon, John Robinson, & David Round, David, *One Treaty, One Nation* (Wellington: Tross Publishing, 2015).

the way “historical trauma” is transmitted across generations.⁵⁵⁶ Historical trauma theory in New Zealand, as Rebecca Wirihana and Cherryl Smith write, offers “a template for Māori to examine their own experiences of colonial oppression.”⁵⁵⁷ Gerald Vizenor’s concept of “survivance” stories is also an increasingly popular theme which can be understood as “renunciations of dominance, detractions, obstructions, and unbearable sentiments of tragedy.”⁵⁵⁸ In their study of intergenerational Ngāti Tipa kōrero, Tahu Kukutai observes that “survivance narratives of identity” showed how their histories resisted “colonial erasure by centring whānau and iwi stories of persistence.”⁵⁵⁹ Decolonisation and other similar concepts like survivance and historical trauma are part of the evolving vocabulary and themes in Māori and iwi writing and thinking about the past. If the new curriculum is to be transformative and address New Zealand colonial history, then the Māori concepts it promotes should be up to that task. These concepts might yet be improved as Māori and iwi experts interrogate their value to other more prominent key concepts, and test the extent of their utility. But they must be present in any teacher guide that purports to convey key Māori history themes and concepts in today’s political climate.

Summary

This chapter has argued that there are more apt and well researched historical themes in Māori history than those presented in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015). It proposed a range of themes and concepts more consistent with research and scholarship in Māori,

⁵⁵⁶ E Duran, *Healing the soul wound: Counselling with American Indians and other native peoples* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2006). E. Duran, & B. Duran, *Native American postcolonial psychology* (New York: State University of New York, 1995). E. Duran, & B. Duran, M. Brave Heart, & S. Yellow Horse Davis, ‘Healing the American Indian soul wound’, in *International handbook of multigenerational legacies of trauma*, edited by Y. Daneili (New York, NY: Plenum Press, 1988), pp. 327-340.

⁵⁵⁷ Rebecca Wirihana & Cherryl Smith, ‘Historical trauma. Healing, and Well-being in Māori Communities’, *Mai Journal*, 3: 3, (2014), pp. 197-210.

⁵⁵⁸ Gerald R. Vizenor, *Survivance: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 85.

⁵⁵⁹ Tahu Kukutai, Nēpia Mahuika, Heeni Kani, Denise Ewe, Karu H. Kukutai, ‘Survivance as Narrative Identity: Voices from a Ngāti Tipa Oral History Project’, *MAI Journal: A New Zealand Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, 9, 3: (2020), p. 316.

Indigenous, and iwi historical research and writing. The first looked at the key role of wā and Maramataka in the way Māori understand time and history. This chapter argued that the concept of “continuity and change over time” in *Te Takanga o te Wā* aligns more with colonial “progress” narratives than Māori concepts. Māori experimented with Western Genealogical methods of “counting time” to date generations. While that experiment failed, some as this chapter suggested might yet find potential resonance in the theories of time like Fernand Braudel’s *longue* and *medium duree*. Māori historians, this chapter argued, have invoked a stratification of “time” based in “three major myth cycles, beginning with the creation myth, but have since criticised this reduction of Māori history to “myth” as a continuation of colonial displacement and the delegitimization of Māori histories. Māori have, as this chapter asserts, their own preference on “event time orientation” not clock-time, and use maramatanga and lunar phases embedded in living mātauranga.

This chapter also suggested that tikanga is a key concept in Māori and Iwi History, and better encapsulates most of the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Tikanga is inherited, but it is also fluid and contextualised in response to each contemporary generation. Māori historians today, as this chapter noted, have a range of guidelines and ethical codes we consult designed to hold colonisers and ourselves to account and protect Māori and iwi historical taonga and knowledge.

Te Reo was also promoted in this chapter as a vital concept and theme in Māori and iwi History, and another glaringly absent theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Those who are “competent in the language” are more adequately placed to interpret the tribe’s history, but the real value of te reo Māori comes in its ability to convey historic and customary concepts, knowledge and traditions” that no other language is capable of matching or adequately translating.

This chapter stressed that the form or āhua of Māori and iwi History sources and archives has also been a long term theme and debate in Māori historical scholarship. The most common form is perhaps oral history, which often sits in an

uncomfortable tension with oral traditions. These forms of Māori histories include whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving) and woven, waiata (songs, carved) and an array of work in the field on whakatauki, kōrero tuku iho, whaikōrero, the paepae, and whakapapa. Knowing how historians engage with, and use these sources is as this chapter argued important to understanding how to do Māori and iwi history.

The vital and foundational role of mātauranga-a-iwi and Māori were also highlighted in this chapter, alongside discussions about the significance of concepts and themes like mana, te ao wairua and whakapono in Māori History. Historians have discussed the renegotiation of mātauranga and its importance to Māori and iwi history, while mana is, as this chapter showed, is also a better concept and theme better than the limited focus on mana-motuhake in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, and covers other types of mana, like mana tangata, mana wahine, mana whenua and moana. This chapter suggested that te ao wairua and whakapono are also significant themes and concepts in Māori and iwi history, and that Māori histories are filled with prophecies, karakia, and accounts of religious movements old and new that are rely heavily on these concepts.

Finally, this chapter argued that popular global Indigenous concepts and themes like decolonisation, historical trauma, and survivance are also increasingly used now together with the Māori History concepts noted above. This chapter asserted that it is essential that teachers grasp the concept of decolonisation, especially when dealing with the histories of trauma, dispossession, and ongoing oppression in Aotearoa. Definitions of decolonisation, then, should be driven by Māori and iwi aspirations and perspectives, not Pākehā coloniser's attempts to ease their own guilt and shame. Māori have, as this chapter emphasised, cultivated theoretical ideas and narratives around liberation and healing beyond citizenship and nation-making themes. But they will not be present in the new curriculum under the current themes and concepts advocated in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Key Concepts in Māori History

In 1978, te Hokianga reo Māori expert Sir Patu Hohepa asked “what would have been the Māori viewpoint of history if there had been a historian unaffected by European perspectives?” His response listed a chronology of ideas in which proposed that:

There would have been a detailed account of Hawaiki and the events leading to the discovery and settlement of this country. The six generation of Māori-Pākehā contact would have been marked by the following: the musket wars, the deeds of Hongi Hika, Te Wherowhero, Te Rauparaha. Te Umukai and Rangihaeata and their contemporaries; the Treaty with the English which promised much but proved of little worth in protecting Māori rights and lands; missionaries and measles; land alienation and land wars; depopulation; the growth of the Pākehā population and new economic and social ways; a period of bad laws; new Māori leaders from Te Kooti, Te Whiti, Titokowaru, Ropata Wahawaha, Hone Heke, Pomare, Carroll, Buck, Ngata, Te Puia Herangi and others; new Māori organisations, from the Kotahitanga, Te Kingitanga, to the Ratana movement; The two world wars and the intervening years; the Ratana/Savage agreement; the frustrations and hopes under National and Labour, the hopes under the third Labour Government and a Māori minister of Māori affairs; the plight of the voluntary Māori organisations interwoven with strands of Māori history would be individual experiences with the system with Europeans, with the urban environment and with other Polynesians.⁵⁶⁰

Patu Hohepa’s re-imagined history curriculum interweaves iwi and Māori movements, people, strands, and stories together in a tapestry that uses Māori motifs and patterns as the central theme and design. The narrative, or the overarching history, is Māori-centric not a search for national identity or a coloniser account of how Māori became responsible citizens and New Zealanders. Māori history concepts and themes, as Hohepa reminds us, always place our stories – histories – at the centre. What this thesis illustrated, however, is that in New Zealand school history curricula since the nineteenth century, Māori history content and concepts have been peripheral, and at times entirely and deliberately ignored or misrepresented, for the majority of this country’s brief nation-making past.

⁵⁶⁰ Sir Patu Hohepa, ‘Māori and Pākehā: The One-People Myth’, in *Tihe Mauri Ora*, edited by Michael King (New Zealand: Methuen Publications, 1978), p. 105.

This thesis closely examined the five key themes presented in the 2015 New Zealand Ministry of Education publication, *Te Takanga o te Wā*.⁵⁶¹ These were Whakapapa, Tūrangawaewae, Mana-Motuhake, Kaitiakitanga, and Whanaungatanga. The five main chapters of this study, based on these concepts, identified and analysed the strengths and weakness of each theme by considering their depth within, and relevance to, over a century of research in Māori and New Zealand historiography. Following that, the thesis then offered a small selection of what it contends are better themes and concepts with more resonance to the field (in Chpt 6).

This study, from the outset, stressed that it is crucial for the new history curriculum to make sure the themes and concepts it selects are robust or risk adding to the already long legacy of colonial domination and subordination of Māori and iwi history in the and beyond Kura in Aotearoa. It provided a brief background of the place of Māori history, or not, in the national curriculum since the arrival of European colonisers. This important historical backdrop showed that the long-standing policies and process that have served to exclude, control, or appropriate and capture, Māori history were, and are, still present in the publication of *Te Takanga o te Wā* in 2015, which provides much of the Māori conceptual groundwork for both of the new history curricula. The main contribution of this thesis, then is not simply to add the very small literature on Māori and iwi history teaching and pedagogy in Aotearoa, but to hopefully put right any ongoing intergenerational displacement and control of Māori history narratives, practices, themes and concepts taught poorly to future generations of our tamariki and mokopuna.

This thesis argued that a closer examination of what Māori historians have already written reveals much more significant and relevant themes and concepts than the those proposed in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. It noted the interchangeable and problematic nature of how the terms “themes” and “concepts” are so loosely used, defined,

⁵⁶¹ Michelle Tamua, *Te Takanga o te Wā: Māori History Guidelines for Years 1-8* (Wellington: Ministry of Education, 2015).

manipulated, and applied or discussed in multiple disciplines, by Māori and non-Māori. The approach to selecting themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā* appears, as the introductory chapter highlighted, to focus more on the content of the past and its attendant narrative “themes” rather than concepts that relate specifically to the practice of history, its ethics, theory, or political and theoretical discussions. As a result, it fails to discuss key ideas in history such as time, and as this study argued, tikanga, te reo, mana, wairuatanga, and other popular ideas in Indigenous and Māori scholarship such as decolonisation. This thesis showed that *Te Takanga o te Wā* did not draw its own themes from existing Māori historical research and literature in the field, but most likely from concepts outside of Māori historical scholarship that in some cases have also been framed and redefined to assist overarching government ambitions and aims, not Māori.

Is Whakapapa a Key Theme and Concept in Māori History?

Of the five concepts introduced in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, this thesis agreed that whakapapa is the most appropriate and significant. Chapter one showed how whakapapa is a well traversed and applied theme and concept in Iwi and Māori historical scholarship, and has a small, but important body of work, vital to explaining how Māori organise and make sense of the past. This chapter noted how diverse, and varied the archive of writing on whakapapa is, with much of its recent work particular to Māori Land claims, written Iwi histories, and settlement reports. It pointed out that a lot of written and published whakapapa (genealogy) remains in private and public spaces, but not a lot of scholarship exists explicitly dedicated to its pedagogy, form, and history specific politics and meaning. The chapter noted, however, that in a twenty-page booklet, *Te Takanga o te Wā* was never going to be able to adequately define and unpack this concept enough for teachers.

Chapter One emphasised how whakapapa as a key practice, concept, and framework in Māori and iwi histories has been discussed in the literature widely over

generations by Māori historians and scholars. This included a substantial body of work that has tackled the meaning and use of whakapapa across several disciplines. Whakapapa, as this chapter showed, is researched and written about in Ethics, Law, Education, Māori and Indigenous Studies. It looked beneath the surface level description in *Te Takanga o te Wā* highlighting its traditional use in tribal histories that were disregarded in school curricula and the discipline more broadly, re-labelled by Pākehā as merely fairy-tales and fables, not legitimate history. The Chapter showed that as an historical concept in various fields, whakapapa served as a structuring device and framework to date the arrival of waka and was used alongside whakapapa (albeit this same methodology was eventually critiqued and widely shunned after the 1960s and 70s). It was also a constant device used by writers in the mid twentieth century to produce tribal histories.

Whakapapa, as Chapter One showed, has its own language and terminology, which is overlooked in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. As a concept it has been used to articulate eras and epochs in Māori and iwi history, and connected Māori to all things. Therefore, as concept, whakapapa is ubiquitous to all Māori history topics and is a foundational theme. Whakapapa, as this chapter also illustrated, has been used to help explain tribal identities and their complex relationships from whānau, to hapū and iwi. This key role of whakapapa is so significant in mātauranga-a-iwi and Māori, that it was noted in later chapters that whakapapa is by the far the more apt term to use when dealing with concepts like relationships and identity.

The Chapter also stressed the absence in *Te Takanga o te Wā* of the traditional āhua, or forms, in which whakapapa was taught. This includes acknowledgement of its varying forms in writing, orality, and carving, as iwi and Māori transitioned from predominantly oral transmission, kōrero tuku iho, whakairo, raranga, and waiata, to new mediums in print and other technologies. It noted how whakapapa as a concept is an important part of Māori historical theory, but also pedagogy, and that this is inextricably tied to its form or āhua. Finally., this chapter noted how key whakapapa also is in research ethics, and in Māori and iwi history research practice and writing.

Is Tūrangawaewae a Key Māori History Concept?

Chapter Two, “Tūrangawaewae”, highlighted how this term or theme has predominantly been used to refer to a specific place or to the notion of belonging. It noted the difference between tūrangawaewae the place and concept and argued that tūrangawaewae is not a compelling Māori or iwi history concept and should not have been promoted as one of the five key themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Tūrangawaewae, as Chapter Two argued, is not a common or prevalent topic of history in the work of Māori historians, and while historians have written about place, identity, and belonging, few have explicitly addressed the significance and meaning of tūrangawaewae as an historical theme or used it to convey their work.

Chapter Two contended that tūrangawaewae is co-opted in *Te Takanga o te Wā* to refer to everyone’s “belonging” and fails to problematise enough how identity making has often led to reductive colonial labels and binaries that tend to serve colonial politics by controlling national definitions belonging. Without addressing that key political issue, tūrangawaewae, as Chapter Two argued, is too simplistically introduced in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. It observed that while tūrangawaewae works as a theme in the context of the Kīngitanga (so does mana-motuhake), it is simply not a theme repeated or popular in most iwi histories.

As a health and well-being concept, Chapter Two also showed that tūrangawaewae is much more common in other fields outside of history, but when it has been discussed in regard to history it has been related predominantly to well-being around connection to place, like Tūrangawaewae marae. This chapter also looked at the notion of tūrangawaewae as home and movement, and how it has played a role thematically in some histories of migration and urbanisation. This is partly true, but looking more closely at the literature, this chapter pointed out that most Māori historians, like Melissa Williams and Te Maire Tau do not explicitly use it as a “key” theme in their histories of migration, home or kainga. On this crucial

concept regarding histories of dispossession and survivance, this chapter pointed out how the various historical context are often highly political and complex, and in many ways tūrangawaewae as a theme, then, is not defined or conveyed robustly enough in *Te Takanga o te Wā* to adequately engage students with these histories. Instead, as this chapter has also highlighted, tūrangawaewae has been a theme appropriated by Pākehā to assert belonging. This capture and use, as Chapter Two argued, is deeply unethical and a considerable concern if *Te Takanga o te Wā* suggests teachers and students learn about where they *feel* is their tūrangawaewae.

Tūrangawaewae, as this chapter also argued, has a life beyond colonial invasion, yet this is barely discussed in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. This chapter argued that traditionally, and in present-day, tūrangawaewae is an important Māori concept, and is hugely significant for our overall health and sense of belonging. However, historians have not used tūrangawaewae as a tool to narrate, organise, theme, or conceptualise Māori history, and so its selection in *Te Takanga o te Wā* defies the historiography and has little connection to the field.

Is Mana-Motuhake a Key Māori History Theme and Concept?

Chapter Three argued that “Mana motuhake” is synonymous with a particular time period in Māori history but is not an explicit or predominant theme central to Māori history. This chapter suggested that “Tino-rangatiratanga” could be a stronger choice because it focuses Tribunal and land claims still being settled. Mana motuhake, as this chapter pointed out, within the literature looks most at the political party and movement originating in the 1970’s. Chapter Three examined mana motuhake as a concept in historical scholarship and other fields like law and ethics. It argued that while mana motuhake does feature across historical literature, it is clearly and most commonly understood as a political concept and an assertion of Māori political authority, rather than as an historical tool to organise and consider the past.

Chapter Three showed that, similar to the other themes, *Te Takanga o te Wā*'s definition of mana motuhake fails to appropriately reflect what mana motuhake means and is consequently a misrepresentation of the concept. The way the guidebook defines mana motuhake, as this thesis argued, offered limited and oversimplistic understandings of mana motuhake, Māori history, and culture. This chapter contended that *Te Takanga o te Wā* sustains and encourages unsupportive and undermining colonial troupes that continue to reposition Māori as colonial victims of colonisation and loss, and too narrowly frame and apply Indigenous assertions of mana motuhake as merely conflict and controversy. Thus, as this thesis suggests, it is potentially a dangerous tool for teachers who might not have the cultural competency to appropriately unpack and critique the material shared within it.

Chapter Three argued that mana motuhake is a concept in research methodology, but not explicitly in historical method. Few Māori, it observed, have written about mana motuhake as a history theme or concept, but more so as an ethical concept in research. It is not as common in iwi and Māori history historiography as it is in legal tribunal and Treaty scholarship, or Māori ethics literature. Thus, Chapter Three asserted that a more apt historical concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā* is necessary to better encapsulate wider meanings and more accurate of local decolonisation, tino rangatiratanga, or mana.

This chapter also noted, that motuhake, despite a concept in Māori political resistance, and protest is not well discussed in *Te Takanga o te Wā* and subsequently ignores the crucial link between mana motuhake and Māori religious movements which were mis-represented as rebels and resisters (framing mana -motuhake in this way, centres the Crown). The absence of religion or spirituality across the entire document, as Chapter Three observed, seems odd given the commonality of spirituality or religion as an historical theme, and one that holds potential to offer rich insights into how Māori understand and think about the past. This absence, as this chapter pointed out, is troubling considering the highly spiritual nature of Māori autonomy and the significant conversion to Western religions.

Chapter Three showed that mana on its own as a historical concept is much more prominent throughout Māori scholarship and historiography, and broadens the range of Māori history, including the thousands of years of history pre-colonisation. It argued that identifying mana motuhake as a core Māori history theme is not only problematic for Māori history but for teachers of new curriculum. Teaching Māori history in mainstream schools should not be a daunting task, a better theme and concept more tightly connected to robust scholarship is crucial to ensure teachers have are able to teach racist, colonial, and traumatic histories, appropriately and ethically.

Is Kaitiakitanga a Key Māori History Theme and Concept?

Kaitiakitanga, as Chapter Four asserted, is a familiar and well-known concept, adopted and used by local government bodies and Councils, government departments, educational and research focused organisations, environmental groups and private businesses. Translated into English as ‘guardianship’ or ‘stewardship’ it has, as this chapter argued, been interpreted often in alignment with environmental discourse and perspectives, when it has a much broader range than just te tai-ao. The interpretation of Kaitiakitanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* as a focus on land and landmarks limits its breadth as a Māori concept, and also limits the type of history that arises out of that theme. Moreover, as this chapter argued, *Te Takanga o te Wā* fails to reference or appropriately acknowledge any of the significant historical or Māori literature and resources that explicitly uses Kaitiakitanga as a theme.

Chapter Four also looked at Kaitiakitanga in historical scholarship and found that although there is evidence of Māori historians referring to the idea, rather than using it to organise historical thinking, kaitiakitanga is often discussed as a practice or as values or tikanga. Māori scholars, as this chapter argued, have listed kaitiakitanga alongside other concepts and principles and this, as this chapter argues, is perhaps better included under the more broader theme and concept of tikanga. Unlike whakapapa, as this chapter observed, kaititakitanga does not provide its own inherent

framework which aligns well with historians purposes. Moreover, because it is one part of an intricately woven social and cultural framework, it's meaning cannot be understood without the contextual related concepts, values, beliefs and practices.

Kaitiakitanga, as Chapter Four highlighted, has been used in history and research ethics to assist with ensuring the correct care is taken when dealing with other historical sources, stories, practices, mātauranga and taonga. Kaitiakitanga in history ethics, as this Chapter showed, is essentially about the genealogical relationship the historian or researcher has to taonga, mātauranga, and people. This chapter also asserted that Kaitiakitanga can be understood as “a contemporary expression of an ancestral way of being” and that while there is a wealth of resources available, they have not been referenced or identified, but ironically show how inadequately the theme has been summed up in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Finally, this chapter noted that *Te Takanga o te Wā* specifically uses “guardianship” and “stewardship” to interpret Kaitiakitanga, and that this language comes directly from the legal definitions of the term kaitiakitanga, not an Historical articulation of the concept. This chapter referred to a wide range of definitions and resources that would be much more helpful for teachers and learns than what the interpretation provided in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. This chapter contended that Kaitiakitanga is an important theme, but it is not conveyed as a history specific very well because there is not a strong literature to show that it is a key theme in the field.

Is Whanaungatanga a Key Māori History Theme and Concept?

This theses found that the fifth theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, “Whanaungatanga”, has barely been used explicitly in Māori and iwi historical scholarship, and like most of its other concepts has not been a regular or deeply explored theme in the field. This chapter argued that while whanaungatanga has been invoked in different ways by scholars, it's application as a theme has much more explanation and traction in the fields of social work, health, anthropology and ethics, than history. This, as this

chapter suggested, was no accident but part of the cultural appropriation and control exercised in the Pākehā “capture” of Māori concepts and themes in ways that serve coloniser ambitions rather than Māori aspirations. Chapter Five also emphasised that the uses and definitions of whanaungatanga have been dominated by educationalists, anthropologists, and in more recent decades by research in social work.

Moreover, this chapter asserted that whanaungatanga in *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) is simply too vague and conceptually aligned more with the “socio-cultural approaches”, not Māori or iwi-centric themes and concepts. It showed how the notion of “relationships” in Māori and non-Māori historical scholarship deals with complex and nuanced “relationships” between Māori, iwi, hapū, and other local and global communities, languages, religions, and knowledge systems, and does not often invoke the term whanaungatanga to explore these entanglements. Chapter Five argued that Māori historians tend to explain and unpack “whanaungatanga” through other concepts like whakapapa, mātauranga, and have over time drawn on broader on other ideas like binary essentialisms to unpack the problematic history of binary relationships.

Finally, Chapter Five pointed out how whanaungatanga has been more a theme and concept in research ethics than a theme employed to organise Māori historical narratives or content selection. But even in ethics, as this chapter argued, whanaungatanga has been written predominantly about in other fields, like education and research in social work, health and wellbeing, not history. Like the other themes selected in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, Chapter Five insisted that whanaungatanga is simply not a strong concept in Māori and iwi historical scholarship and should be rethought and potentially be better placed under the more apt theme, Whakapapa.

What are Strong Māori History Themes and Concepts?

In response to the previous chapter’s critiques of the five themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, Chapter Six, “Reclaiming Māori History Themes and Concepts”, argued for more apt

and well researched historical themes be used to define and teach Māori history. It proposed a small array of themes and concepts more consistent with research and scholarship in Māori, Indigenous, and iwi history. The first looked at how wā and maramataka have been promoted and used to understand the way Māori understand time and history. It argued that the concept of “continuity and change over time” in *Te Takanga o te Wā* aligns more with colonial “progress” narratives than Māori concepts. It showed how Māori experimented with Western Genealogical methods of “counting time” to date generations (as was discussed also in Chapter One in regard to whakapapa). While that experiment failed, some as this chapter suggested, might yet find potential in revisiting theories of time suggested by Fernand Braudel and others. Nevertheless, Māori historians, as this chapter argued, have invoked a stratification of “time” based in “three major myth cycles, beginning with the creation myth, but have since criticised this reduction of Māori history to “myth” as a continuation of colonial displacement and the delegitimization of Māori histories. Māori continue, as some write, to hold their own preference on “event time orientation’ not clock-time, and use maramatanga and lunar phases embedded in living mātauranga.

Chapter Six also stressed that tikanga should be considered a *key* concept in Māori history and better encapsulates most of the themes and concepts in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Tikanga is inherited, but it is also fluid and contextualised in response to each contemporary generation. Māori historians today, as this chapter pointed out, have a range of guidelines and ethical codes available for consultation that are increasingly aware of the significance of tikanga to ethical research. Likewise, Chapter Six argued that te reo is also a key and vital concept and theme in Māori and iwi History, and like tikanga is glaringly absent theme in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. Those who are “competent in the language”, this chapter noted, are more adequately placed to interpret the tribe’s history, but the real value of te reo Māori comes in its ability to convey historic and customary concepts, knowledge and traditions” that no other language is capable of matching or adequately translating.

Chapter Six also emphasised how the understanding the form or āhua of Māori and iwi history sources and archives is also a crucial theme debated in historiography. The most common form, as this chapter highlighted, is perhaps oral history, which often sits in an uncomfortable tension with oral traditions. Important “forms” and archives of Māori and iwi histories include whakairo (carving), raranga (weaving) and woven, waiata (songs, carved) and an array of work in the field on whakatauki, kōrero tuku iho, whaikōrero, the paepae, and whakapapa. Knowing how historians engage with, and use these sources is, as this chapter argued, important to understanding how to do Māori and iwi history.

Mātauranga-a-iwi and Māori were also highlighted in this chapter alongside concepts and themes like mana, te ao wairua and whakapono. Chapter six argued that the renegotiation of mātauranga is an important theme and concept in Māori and iwi history. Similarly, it contended that mana is also a better concept and theme than the limits inherent in mana-motuhake. Chapter Six, then, suggested that te ao wairua and whakapono are also apt themes that deal with histories of prophecy, karakia, and accounts of religious movements old and new that are require thoughtful interpretive frames and tolls to make sense of them. Finally, Chapter Six contended that popular global Indigenous concepts and themes like decolonisation, historical trauma, and survivance are also important, and regularly employed now together with the Māori History concepts. Chapter Six argued that definitions of decolonisation, as this thesis has stressed, should be driven by Māori and iwi aspirations and perspectives, not Pākehā coloniser’s attempts to ease their own guilt and shame. Māori, as this chapter pointed out, continue to cultivate theoretical ideas and narratives around liberation and healing beyond citizenship and nation-making themes, but unless these are included by the Ministry will not be present in the new curriculum under the current themes and concepts advocated in *Te Takanga o te Wā*.

Contributing to, and Challenging, the Field and Kaupapa

This thesis contributes to intersecting topics and sub-fields in history, education, and Indigenous studies. These include literatures in placed based pedagogy, citizenship education, Māori history theory and methodology, ethics and curriculum development. An unpacking of what constitutes viable local Indigenous history themes and concepts is not a common research topic, thus this thesis contributes to a very scant but slowly growing body of writing that looks explicitly at the way Native people teach the past. It intersects, as the introductory chapter noted, with current research on Native history development in Canada (Marie Battiste and co) and the United States, where historians like Jean O'Brien continue to argue that you cannot teach American history without Native Americans. This study contributes to this growing body of work and offers a timely discussion on what exactly are the key Māori history concepts best suited to teaching a new vibrant and potentially decolonial curricula?

In critiquing the five themes in *Te Takanga o te Wā*, this thesis reminds us that for many Indigenous communities, like Māori, our words and concepts have been appropriated and repeated back to us in ways that do not always reflect our own perspectives. This thesis, then, reclaims our themes and concepts from the machinery of ongoing government control that takes Māori terms and redefines them in ways that serve the state's goals, and not ours. This study accentuates that issue, and therefore contributes to this ongoing conversation in Māori history and Indigenous studies literature. This study, as was noted in the introduction, is also part of a current Marsden project, "Ngā Hanganga Mātua o te Whakaako Hītori" (2022-2024), which aims to add to the limited scholarship that deals with Māori history concepts and themes, and aims to bring that discussion together in one place to assist in deepening the field and providing crucial concepts and pedagogies for history educators across all sectors.

The rush to access funding to provide resources for the new curriculum attracts sharks and vultures often with little expertise in Māori history. Indeed, Māori historians have been inundated with calls to now support resource developers and the many sharks circling the available Ministry funding pools. This study, then, as was noted in the introduction responds to a real need beyond just the literature, to ensure that Māori and iwi maintain control of our own knowledge and history, It contributes to that long struggle to legitimate Māori and iwi history as required learning in all New Zealand schools in order to disrupt and the dominance of Pākehā academic strongholds and curricula that have othered and displaced Māori. This has been, and continues to be, as this study has noted, the normative experience of Indigenous communities across the colonial world. And so, this study hopes to spark the conversations here in Aotearoa, and bring to the forefront the worries and risks that come with indigenous peoples willing to teach their knowledges within colonial institutions. It also provided suggestions and arguments in order to aid the government and Ministry of Education to truly teach Māori history, not to control and assimilate it to serve a nation-making agenda by co-opting Māori themes in order to maintain and assert its ongoing colonial power.

Aku Kupu Whakakapi

This thesis is not simply a critique of the themes promoted in *Te Takanga o te Wa*, but is connected to local and global Indigenous aspirations to ensure our pasts are not abused and appropriated for colonial consumption and nation making. Māori history and its concepts are fluid and not fixed in some pure untouched distant tradition. The term “Māori” in the field is common and widespread. This study contributes to international discussions in Indigenous pedagogy and decolonisation. This study aligns with that global literature and community driven aspiration, as well as other discussions on the importance of Native methods and forms of doing history and knowing the past. This thesis is mindful on a history of control, displacement, and

sometimes the whitewashing of Māori concepts, as well as the various ways that iwi and Māori have legitimately adopted and experimented with Western ideas and methods, and heavily considers this while unpacking *Te Takanga o te Wā*. And so, this study continues a rare discussion on the deeper meanings and use of Māori history concepts and approaches across a wide and varied range of books, theses, journal articles, and others.

There are only a small number of essays and texts that address Māori history research, concepts, and ethics specifically. Nevertheless, the fact that *Te Takanga o te Wā* (2015) is perhaps the only text dedicated specifically to a discussion of Māori history themes and schooling highlights the extent to which Māori history has been ignored in more than a century of New Zealand education. This arises a disturbing lack of understanding about the relevance and nature of Māori history concepts and themes in the profession, and that is highlighted in *Te Takanga o te Wā*. While *Te Takanga o te Wā* has a number of excellent teaching suggestions, and is a step in the right direction, it is riddled with themes and concepts that are, as this thesis will show, out of step with previous and current scholarship. Therefore, this thesis encourages the Ministry, and other experts, to rethink the concepts driving the new curriculum, and consider whether or not they are indeed history concepts and themes. This thesis centres this research in mātauranga Māori and iwi that emphasise mana Māori, whānau, hapū and iwi narratives, tikanga, reo, and so forth. Teachers need to be prepared for students who were not raised within te ao Māori.

This thesis asserts that we need to use the most apt, culturally relevant and progressive knowledge, and in teaching Māori and iwi histories must use themes and concepts consistent with the Māori history historiography past and present. Māori and iwi history experts have been experimenting with, and adapting, non-Māori concepts for generations and these have often revolved around key terms and debates in the historiography. Iwi and Māori experts have, thus, used Western historical Methodologies. Māori have been adept at writing our histories for generations now,

and as this thesis will show have discussed terminology around whakapapa (genealogy) and other aspects of our historical practice, archives, ethics and storytelling, such as memory, narrative, time, myth, and other themes and concepts in non-Māori history have significant traction in Māori historical scholarship, practice, ethics and theorising.

Finally, this thesis, I hope will add in some way to the current Indigenous revolution, the decolonising and re-Indigenising kaupapa here in Aotearoa and across the globe. Most importantly, this study hopes to help heal some of the trauma and mamae that has been inflicted on our people, by changing the narrative and ensuring our past is taught using our concepts and themes, not someone else's (and definitely not our colonisers). Ensuring the safety of our culture and our people through telling and sharing our knowledge and history as appropriately and accurately as possible is the main aspiration of this study.

No reira, karawhiua!

Mauri Ora!

Glossary of Māori Terms

Ahi kaa roa	domestic fire, signifying continuous occupation of land
Ahua	form, appearance
Aotearoa	land of the long white cloud, another name for New Zealand
Awa	river, stream
Haka	dance, war dance/chant
Haahi Mihinare	Anglican church
Hapū	clan, sub-tribe, descendants, pregnant
Hawaiki	ancestral homeland
Hikoi	step, walk, march
Horouta	ancestral canoe in the east coast region
Hui	assembly, gathering, meeting
Io	an omnipotent being, god of creation
Iwi iwi,	tribe, bone, people
Iwi kaenga	home people
Kai	food, agent when used with a noun, eg. kaimahi (worker)
Kaimahi	worker
Kaitiaki	protector, caretaker
Kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
Kapahaka	dance group
Karakia	incantation, prayer
Karanga	call, welcome
Kauae raro	lower jawbone, operational tasks that implement the interpretations of the esoteric
Kauae runga	upper jawbone, refers to higher esoteric knowledge
Kaupapa	plan, principle, philosophy, proposal
Kaupapa Māori	a Māori political and theoretical approach to research
Kaumātua	elder, elders
Kawa	custom
Kingitanga	King movement
Kohanga reo	language nest
Koka	mother, aunt
Kotahitanga	Māori political movement, unity
Kōrero	talk, speech, narrative
Kōrero tuku iho	oral history or tradition
Kōtiro	girl
Kuia	grandmother, elderly woman
Kupapa	stoop, be neutral in a quarrel, loyalists to the British Crown
Mana	authority, power, prestige,
Manaia	ornate beaked lizard figure
Mana tangata	authority and power exercised by people
Mana motuhake	authority power over land, and independence

Mana wahine	authority and power exercised by women
Mana wairua	authority and power derived from spiritual sources
Mana whakapapa	authority and prestige derived from ancestors
Mana whenua	authority and prestige derived from control over land
Manaaki	hospitality, help, care for
Māori	normal, natural
Marae (atea)	courtyard in front of meeting house
Mataku	afraid, fearful
Matatua	ancestral canoe
Mātauranga/	knowledge, learning
Mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
Mātauranga-a-iwi	knowledge belonging to an iwi
Matekite	seer, second sight
Mātua	parent
Maui	ancestor of Ngāti Porou (and other iwi)
Maunga	mountain
Mauri	life force
Moana	ocean
Mokopuna	moko grandchild
Mōteatea	lament, song
Motu	island, sever, cut
Ngāti Porou	East coast tribe of the north island
Paepae	horizontal board, speakers of the tangata whenua
Paikea	ancestor of Ngāti Porou
Paimarire	good and peaceful, Māori religious following
Pākehā	person of European descent
Pākeke	adult, old person
Pāpatuanuku	Earth mother, land
Pepeha	to say, exclaim, be the subject of a saying
Pono	true, honest
Poroporoaki	farewell
Pūrākau	legend, myth, story
Rangatira	chief, leader
Rangatiratanga	chiefly control and authority
Ranginui	sky father, also a genealogical ancestor (Māori)
Raranga	weave, intertwine
Reo	voice, language
Ringatu	upraised hand, Māori religious following
Rūnanga	council, assembly
Tainui	Waka/canoe, West coast tribe of the North Island
Taina/Teina	younger male relative of male/younger female relative of female
Takitimu	ancestral canoe

Tāne	male, Atua of the forest, also a genealogical ancestor
Tangaroa	Atua of the sea, also a genealogical ancestor
Tāngata whenua	people of the land
Tangi, Tangihanga	to cry, Māori funeral ceremony
Taonga	treasure, treasured item, prized possession
Tapu	sacred, prohibited, restricted
Tauīwi	foreigner
Tautoko	support
Te Ao Māori	the Māori world
Tika	correct, straight
Tikanga	customs, protocols
Tinana	body
Tino rangatiratanga	self determination
Tipu	grow, develop
Tipuna/Tūpuna	ancestors, grandparents
Tōhunga	expert, doctor
Tuakana	older male relative of male/older female relative of female
Tuhoe	inland Bay of Plenty tribe of the North Island
Tupāpaku	deceased person, corpse
Tūrangawaewae	domicile, standing, place where one has the right to stand - place where one has rights of residence and belonging through kinship and whakapapa.
Tūturu	authentic, real, true
Uri	descendants
Wahine	woman, women
Waiata	song, sing
Wairua	spirit
Wairuatanga	spiritualism, spirituality
Waka	canoe
Wānanga	school of learning
Whaikōrero	formal speech
Whakairo	traditional art of carving
Whakapapa	genealogy
Whakatauakī/	
Whakataukī	proverb, sayings
Whānau	family, birth
Whanaunga/	
Whanaungatanga	relations, relationships with others
Whangai	adopt, adopted person
Wharenui	traditional meeting house
Whariki	woven mat
Whatū	to weave
Whenua	land

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I. Official Publications

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