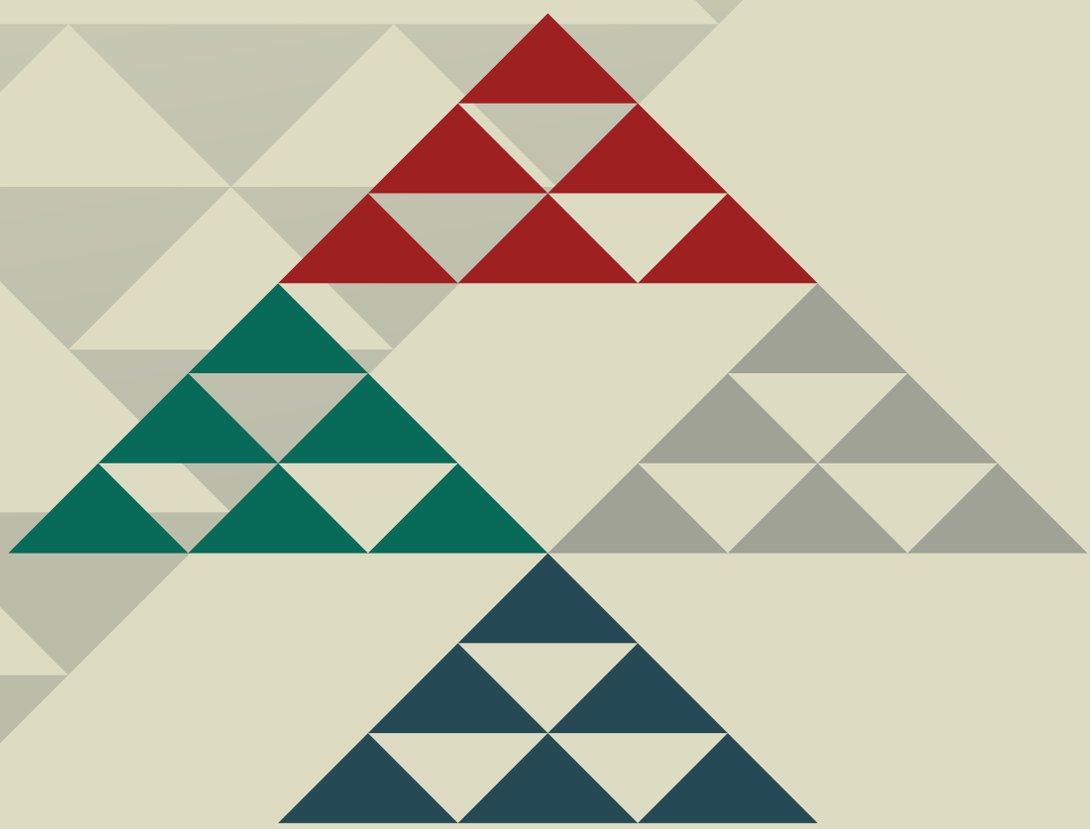


Kaupapa Rangahau: A Reader

A collection of readings from the Kaupapa Māori Research workshop series led by Associate Professor Leonie Pihama and Dr Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai

Edited by Leonie Pihama and Kim Southey

Te Kotahi Research Institute
THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Te Mata Punenga o Te Kotahi
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
Private Bag 3105
Kirikiriroa 3240

Web www.waikato.ac.nz/rangahau
Email rangahau@waikato.ac.nz
Phone +64 7 838 4426

WAIKATO-TAINUI
COLLEGE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development
451 Old Taupiri Road
Ngāruawāhia 3742

Web www.waikatotainui.ac.nz
Email info@waikatotainui.ac.nz
Phone +64 7 824 5430

NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga
Waipapa Marae Complex
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142

Web www.maramatanga.co.nz
Email info@maramatanga.ac.nz
Phone +64 9 923 4220

ISBN 978-0-9941217-0-7

Kaupapa Rangahau: A Reader

Contents

Preface 5

Source Acknowledgements 6

Kaupapa Māori theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa 7
Leonie Pihama

The dialectic relation of theory and practice in the development of Kaupapa Māori Praxis 18
Graham Smith

Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the ordinary 29
Helen Moewaka-Barnes

Kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anticolonial 34
Rangimarie Mahuika

Kaupapa Māori research – some kaupapa Māori principles 46
Linda Tuhiwai Smith

The thing's revelation: Some thoughts on Māori philosophical research 53
Carl Mika

'Closing the gaps': From postcolonialism to kaupapa Māori and beyond 61
Nepia Mahuika

Understanding and Doing Research A Māori Position 74
Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai

Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrakau as method 91
Jenny Lee

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! Protective power: 100
Women, skin, carving and life force.
Mera Penehira

Kia Mau Ki te Aka Matua: Researching Māori development and learning. 109
Margie Hohepa

Kaupapa Māori epidemiology. 118
Shirley Simmonds, Bridgette Robson, Fiona Cram, and Gordon Purdie

Postcolonial profiling of indigenous populations: 124
Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand
Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

Preface

Leonie Pihama (Te Ātiawa, Ngāti Māhanga, Ngā Māhanga a Tairi), Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai (Te Rarawa, Waikato, Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Pikiao)
Kim Southey (Ngāti Porou, Kai Tahu)

He hōnore, he korōria, he maungārongo ki runga i te whenua, he whakaaro pai ki ngā tangata katoa. Pai Mārire!

This reader 'Kaupapa Rangahau' is a collation of a range of articles related to Kaupapa Māori theory and research. It has been developed as a resource for the Kaupapa Māori workshops provided to Māori researchers through the collaborative efforts of Te Kotahi Research Institute and Waikato-Tainui College for Research and Development. The workshops have provided training in the area of Kaupapa Māori theory, methodology, methods and research proposal development to over 150 participants over the past two years.

It has become increasingly evident to us through the workshop planning and facilitation that there is a need for more literature to support and challenge Māori researchers who are seeking to expand and enhance our engagement in both academic and community research contexts. As such we have selected a range of articles that can provide insights into a range of Kaupapa Māori approaches to theory and research.

The articles presented here provide engagement across diverse sectors within Māori theory and research. We have chosen carefully to ensure that readers are presented with examples of Māori theory and research across both qualitative and quantitative methods. What these articles have in common is that they contribute to understanding how Kaupapa Māori can be utilised in multiple ways within the research sector. This is an important principle that is articulated in regards to Kaupapa Māori, that it is both organic and evolving. These key principles are engaged fully within the workshop series.

We acknowledge and thank all of our whānau, hapū and iwi that participate in the Kaupapa Māori workshops (past, present and future) and who contribute generously and powerfully to the collective knowledge and sharing that is a feature of the workshop process. Our appreciation to the authors who graciously agreed to share their writings to enable the publication of this reader as a resource to inform and support ongoing development in the area of Māori theory and research. Our collective contributions to Kaupapa Māori enables the development of theories, methodologies and methods that enhance the realisation of Māori research that is grounded within Māori research needs and aspirations, and which had meaningful transformative outcomes.

Source Acknowledgements

The editors and publisher gratefully acknowledge the permission granted to reproduce the material in this reader.

1. Leonie Pihama, "Kaupapa Māori theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa", originally printed in, He Pukenga Korero: A Journal of Māori Studies, Raumati (Summer), volume 9, number 2, 2010, 5 – 14. Reprinted with permission from the author.

2. Graham Hingangaroa Smith, "The dialectic relation theory and practice in the development of Kaupapa Māori praxis", from Graham Hingangaroa Smith's PhD thesis (1997), The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis, 1997. Reprinted with permission from the author.

3. Helen Moewaka Barnes, "Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the ordinary", reprinted with the permission from the author. Originally printed by the Whariki Research Group, Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit, University of Auckland.

4. Rangimarie Mahuika, "Kaupapa Māori is critical and anti-colonial", originally printed in, MAI Review, 2008, volume 3, article 4. Reprinted with permission from MAI Review.

5. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, "Kaupapa Māori research: Some Kaupapa Māori principles", adapted from paper presented at Massey University, 1996. Reprinted with permission from the author.

6. Carl Mika, "The things revelation: Some thoughts on Māori philosophical research", accepted as an article for publication in the Waikato Journal of Education (www.wje.org.nz). Included with permission from the author.

7. Nepia Mahuika, "Closing the gaps: From postcolonialism to kaupapa Māori and beyond. Originally printed in, New Zealand Journal of History, volume 45, issue 1, 2011, 15-32. Reprinted with permission from New Zealand Journal of History.

8. Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai, "Understanding and doing research: A Māori position", from Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai's PhD thesis (2001), ''Māori participation in higher education Tainui graduates from the University of Waikato, 1992 to 1997". Reprinted with permission from the author.

9. Jenny Lee, "Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method", originally printed in, MAI Review, 2009, volume 2, article 3. Reprinted with permission from MAI Review.

10. Mera Penehira, "Mana kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!" Reprinted with permission from the author.

11. Margie Hohepa, "Kia mau ki te aka matua: Researching Māori development and learning". Reprinted with permission from the author.

12. Shirley Simmonds, Bridget Robson, Fiona Cram, and Gordon Purdie, "Kaupapa Māori epidemiology", originally printed in, Australasian Epidemiologist, volume 15, issue 2, 2008, 3-6. Reprinted with permission of the Australasian Epidemiologist Journal.

13. Tahu Kukutai, "Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand". Reprinted with permission from the author.

Kaupapa Māori Theory Transforming Theory in Aotearoa

Dr Leonie Pihama

Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa

Leonie Pihama

Kupu whakataki

E whakaaturia ana tētehi whakarāpopotoranga o tewhanaketanga o te Kaupapa Māori hei anga ariā Māori, ko tōna tūāpapa ko Te Reo me ōna Tikanga Māori. E tohea ana ko te pūtaketanga o te Kaupapa Māori ko te kaupapa e whai wāhi ana ki ngā āhuatanga Taketake, ā, nā te Māori i whakatau, nā te Māori i whakahaere. Nā wai rā, nā te Kaupapa Māori i huri ai te āhua o tēnei mea te ariā i Aotearoa.

An overview of the development of Kaupapa Māori Theory as a Māori theoretical framework that is grounded within te reo and tikanga Māori is presented. It is argued that Kaupapa Māori theory is informed by its indigenous underpinnings and is defined and controlled by Māori. As such, Kaupapa Māori theory has transformed theory in Aotearoa.

Introduction

The development of Kaupapa Māori as a foundation for theory and research has grown from Māori struggles for tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake. As such there is a clear cultural and political intent. The idea that theorists and researchers are a-cultural is directly challenged by the assertion of indigenous theories, such as Kaupapa Māori, that are grounded within cultural frameworks and epistemologies. Thus, Kaupapa Māori is transforming the way in which theory and research is being shaped in this country. Despite attempts by some academics and researchers to stifle the development, there is a growing awareness and practice of Kaupapa Māori frameworks. I, alongside others, have for the past 15 years asserted that Kaupapa Māori theory is a part of a wider struggle against colonisation:

As a part of the wider struggle against colonialism Māori people have engaged multiple forms of intervention and resistance. Our histories remind us of many acts of resistance to colonial imperialism and struggles of resistance against the forced cultural genocide imposed in our lands. In the history of Taranaki, where my own tribal links hold firmly, we have many examples of the approaches taken by our tūpuna, our ancestors, in the struggle against the confiscation of our land, the imprisonment and death of many of our people and the denial of our language, culture and knowledge bases. As such our people have always been theorists. We have for generations engaged with our world and constructed theories as a part of our own knowledge and ways of understanding our experiences. The denial of our knowledge and theorising has been an integral part of the colonising agenda. (Pihama, 2005: 191)

Over the past five years there has been a growth in the development of Kaupapa Māori theory and research methodologies. As a part of that growth has come an engagement with Kaupapa Māori across all sectors within our community and also within the academy. Where Māori students used to approach our teamii to discuss how dismissive their lecturers or supervisors were of their use of Kaupapa Māori theory and of the work of Māori theorists, there is now a body of literature and research on which students can draw to support their arguments.

The point that we have always been theorists is important to this discussion. Our ancestors have always theorised about our world. The navigational expertise of our people highlights a deep understanding of a range of sciences related to building waka, tides and sea movement, distance navigation, cosmology and much more. Each of these skill and knowledge areas requires the development of frameworks for understanding and explaining the knowledge base that informs Kaupapa Māori. As such, Kaupapa Māori theory is based upon and informed by mātauranga Māori that provides a cultural template, a philosophy that asserts that the theoretical framework being employed is culturally defined and determined. This has been argued consistently by Kaupapa Māori theorists as the organic nature of Kaupapa Māori theory (Mane, 2009; Mead, 1996; Pihama, 1993, 2001; Smith, G.H., 1997). In other words, Kaupapa Māori theory is shaped by the knowledge and experiences of Māori. It is a theoretical framework that has grown from both mātauranga Māori and from within Māori movements for change.

Tuakana Nepe (1991) emphasised that Kaupapa Māoriknowledge is distinctive to Māori society and has itsorigins in the metaphysical. Kaupapa Māori, she states, is a "body of knowledge accumulated by the experiences through history, of the Māori people" (Nepe, 1991: 4). For Nepe, this knowledge form is distinctive to Māori in that it derives fundamentally from Māori epistemologies that include complex relationships and ways of organising society. She argues that this distinctive nature of kaupapa Māori is seen in the ways in which Māori conceptualise relationships.

the concept of the relationship between the living and the dead; life and death; the Māori concept of time, history and development; the relationships between male and female; individual and group; and the implication of such relationships for social power relations. These knowledge types and their functions are the content and product of the interconnection of the purely Māori metaphysical base and Māori societal relationships. (Nepe, 1991: 5)

Nepe (1991) argues that kaupapa Māori is the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge transmitted through te reo Māori. In regard to Kaupapa Māori within the Māori education sector this is defined by the Māori Education Commission as distinct in that its basis is within mātauranga Māori and the philosophical underpinnings are Māori (Māori Education Commission, 1998). Mereana Taki (1996) argues that Kaupapa Māori derives from a networking of iwi knowledge frameworks. This position identifies the diversities that are a part of Kaupapa Māori and which must be maintained if we are to ensure the recognition of whānau, hapū, and iwi complexities, which are essential to Kaupapa Māori theory.

For many Māori who have actively sought theoretical explanations for our experiences, Kaupapa Māori theory provides a culturally defined theoretical space. Māori students and academics have struggled within universities across the country because there is resistance from many sectors of the university and from some educationalists to Māori asserting our right to argue for Kaupapa Māori theory. In the process of this ongoing struggle, the historical dominance of Western theorising is being challenged at a very fundamental level; that is, at the level of relevance to the indigenous people of this land. For many Pākehā academics this challenge is viewed as a threat. The possibility of Māori taking control of our own theoretical frameworks is a threat to the survival of many who have spent the best part of their academic lives theorising about and on Māori. However, in spite of these challenges, Kaupapa Māori theory continues to thrive. Kaupapa Māori theory is presented as an indigenous theoretical framework that challenges the oppressive social order within which Māori people are currently located and does so from a distinctive Māori cultural base.

The drive for tino rangatiratanga and mana motuhake in this country is based within historical and cultural precedents set by many of our tūpuna. In my own iwi area of Taranaki the struggle against colonial imperialism is one that was multifaceted, the message however was consistently that of Taranaki people maintaining our own autonomy and sovereignty over all things (Waitangi Tribunal, 1996). The commitment of our people to philosophies of resistance against colonial power acts is, for me, an example of the expectations of our people to regain our fundamental rights as people of the land. The affirmation of being Māori is central to our struggles. That affirmation is also central to Kaupapa Māori theory.

Kaupapa relates to notions of foundation; plan; philosophy and strategies. Kaupapa Māori, therefore, indicates a Māori view of those things. It relates to Māori philosophies of the world, to Māori understandings on which our beliefs and values are based, Māori worldviews and ways of operating. While the theoretical assertion of Kaupapa Māori theory is relatively new, Kaupapa Māori as foundation is not. Kaupapa Māori is extremely old – ancient, in fact. It predates any and all of us in living years and is embedded in our cultural being. The naming of Kaupapa Māori theory indicates an explicit acknowledgement of the theoretical approach being undertaken. The multiple layers of meaning within te reo Māori means that the term Kaupapa has many possibilities. Tracing further the origins of Kaupapa Māori knowledge Tuakana Nepe (1991) places its origins in Rangiātea, which she states makes it exclusively Māori. Rangiātea is the first known Whare Wānanga (Higher house of learning) located in Te Toi-o-ngā-Rangi (this refers to the upper level of the spiritual realm), the home of Io-Matua-Kore (the creator). What is clear in her writing is that Kaupapa Māori is grounded in Māori knowledge. Knowledge has always had a central place within Māori society and the complexities of knowledge and knowledge transmission are recognised in the structures of the Whare Wānanga.

Kaupapa Māori is transformative. To think and act in terms of Kaupapa Māori while experiencing colonisation is to resist dominance. This is not something in which Māori alone are engaging. It is the experience of vast numbers of indigenous peoples across the world. Native woman writer Rayna Green, reflecting on Indian notions of leadership in their communities, writes, "In Indian country, maybe the most radical change we will ever have is a return to tradition" (1990:62). Being grounded in Māori knowledge, Kaupapa Māori cannot be understood without knowledge of mātauranga Māori and the ways Māori engage knowledge and forms of knowing. Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal (1998) outlines mātauranga Māori as theory and whakapapa as research methodology. In posing a number of possibilities in what he refers to as theory in embryonic form, Te Ahukaramu gives the following working definition:

He mea hanga te mātauranga Māori nā te Māori. E hangaia ana tēnei mātauranga i roto i te whare o Te Ao Mārama, i runga anō hoki i ngā whakaaturanga o te whakapapa kia mārama ai te tangata ki tōna Ao.

Mātauranga Māori is created by Māori humans according to a worldview entitled 'Te Ao Mārama' and by the employment of methodologies derived from this worldview to explain the Māori experience of the world. (Royal, 1998: 83)

Mātauranga Māori is created by the use of whakapapa. Whakapapa is regarded as an analytical tool that has been employed by our people as a means to understand our world and relationships. In such a framework it appears that whakapapa is both vehicle and expression of mātauranga Māori. The assertion through whakapapa of the origins of mātauranga Māori returns us to Papatūānuku and Ranginui (Royal, 1998). Rapata Wiri (2001) also locates mātauranga Māori as essential to the construction of what he refers to as a mana Māori model. Mātauranga Māori provides a distinct Māori epistemology and way of knowing and draws upon a range of both verbal and non-verbal forms for its expression. Wiri (2001) highlights the complexity of definitions of mātauranga Māori and its multiple elements as follows:

Māori epistemology; the Māori way; the Māori worldview; the Māori style of thought; Māori ideology; Māori knowledge base; Māori perspective; to understand or to be acquainted with the Māori world; to be knowledgeable in things Māori; to be a graduate of the Māori schools of learning; Māori tradition and history; Māori experience of history; Māori enlightenment; Māori scholarship; Māori intellectual tradition. (Wiri, 2011:25)

Defining 'Theory' and its Place in Indigenous Movements

The appending of the term theory to Kaupapa Māori may, for some, be literally a contradiction in terms. Kaupapa Māori is conceptually based within Māori cultural and philosophical traditions. Theory, however, may be said to be conceptually based within European philosophical traditions. To query the relationships between Māori traditions and Western traditions is not unfamiliar to Māori. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) has given in-depth analysis of the impact of Western research forms on indigenous peoples. In Decolonizing Methodologies: Indigenous Peoples and Research Linda Smith (1999) argues that Western research has been instrumental in the marginalisation of indigenous peoples' knowledge and as such has contributed in key ways to the maintenance and perpetuation of colonisation.

Theory, like research, has rarely been Māori friendly. In fact theory often provided the justification for the ongoing perpetuation of violence against Māori. Theories of racial inferiority, deficiencies and cultural disadvantage have been central in the denial of Māori people access to our land, language and culture (Mead, 1996). It is clear that theories can be used both for and against Māori. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) maintains that Māori, as a subordinate group, must critically engage theory as a site of struggle. As a tool, theory is not inherently oppressive just as it is not inherently transformative. As African-American intellectual Bell Hooks writes, "Theory is not inherently healing, liberatory or revolutionary. It fulfils this function only when we ask that it do so and direct our theorizing towards this end" (1994:61).

All theories are socially constructed and therefore the worldviews and philosophies of those who participate in their construction inform all theories. In terms of Kaupapa Māori theory, Graham Smith (1997) argues that the deliberate cooption of the term 'theory' has been an attempt to challenge dominant Pākehā notions of theory and provide "counter-hegemonic practice and understandings" (1997:455) in terms of how theory is constructed, defined, selected, interpreted and applied. Thomas J. Ward (1974) in his article Definitions of Theory in Sociology gives an extensive overview of the use of the term theory by a range of sociologists. The complexities of attempting to provide a definition of theory are highlighted most significantly in Ward's attempt to answer the question, what is theory?

Using language that reflects at least some areas of consensus, a theory is a logical deductive-inductive system of concepts, more selected aspects of phenomena and from which testable hypotheses can be derived. Theories in sociology are intended to be descriptive, explanatory, and predictive of phenomena of interest to the discipline and to its individual practitioners. (Ward, 1974: 39)

Abbott and Wallace (1997) note that, given all people engage in acts of thinking and having ideas, we are all theorists. We are all able to theorise and analyse what is happening around us; in fact we all participate in common-sense notions that are a part of our engaging with processes of theorising. There is, however, a need to distinguish between common-sense notions and sociological theorising. Abbott and Wallace identify that in the social sciences theories are expected to be, "openended, open to new evidence, capable of modification and improvement, and clear about the way its concepts are formed" (1997: 25).

Social theories are expected to be more systematic in their explanations and ideas, taking account of the facts presented, providing coherent explanations, and being open to refutation. These expectations make social theories quite distinct from common-sense assumptions. As such, the possibilities of theory are multiple.

Theories are not solely descriptive or explanatory or predictive, but can be all of these simultaneously. Focusing on the explanatory nature of theory, Coxon, Marshall and Massey (1994) note that theories may be viewed fundamentally as collections of general principles that provide explanations for events and experiences. Theories can provide ways of explaining the world through the use of given understandings. Given the diversity of worldviews, of cultural ways of seeing, understanding and therefore explaining the world, it is expected that a range of theories may exist simultaneously for any given event or to explain experiences. Theories are, and must be, more.

Having looked at some of the literature that presents theory as prescription, description, explanation and analysis, it is clear to me that theory can not only be about these things but must be rooted in practice. To use a term from the work of Paulo Freire (1985), theory and practice must exist in dialectical unity. Dialectical unity acknowledges the interdependence of theory to practice and vice versa. One cannot act fully without the other but rather there is a process of constant reflection and reshaping as each part of the unity informs the other. Theory and practice are not closed entities, they are open to each other and therefore, in our practice and our theorising, we need to be open to the possibilities that come with such a process of reflection.

The shifting of a definition of theory from the descriptive mode within which it is positioned by Ward (1974) to one that is related explicably to practice and therefore is informed by the politics and social realities within which the practice is located, makes theory worthwhile for Māori. Without the unity of theory with practice, theory has little to offer. The idea of theory as a means of describing and explaining what is happening around and, more often than not, to us, and its relationship to transformative practice, is explored in some depth by Bell Hooks (1994) in her piece 'Theory as Liberatory Practice'. Coming to theory was for Hooks, "because I was hurting – the pain within me was so intense that I could not go on living. I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend – to grasp what was happening around and within me" (1994: 59).

Bell Hooks' (1994) exploration of theory as liberatory practice is helpful in that her discussion engages with some issues that are central for African-Americans, many of which also have direct relevance for Māori. Where theory has on the whole been imposed on Māori experiences and events, there has emerged an often deep resentment and dismissal of the idea that theory could be at all transformative. Reflecting on similar responses within her own community, Hooks identifies the difficulties that such responses pose for the black intellectual, in particular the ways that dismissal of intellectuals and theory can silence the black academic. The silencing noted by Hooks can equally be felt by Māori academics in this country. It is a process that I have felt and seen on many occasions. The dismissal of Māori academics and any notion of theory, through utilising anti-theory discourses, has become a means of silencing or of capturing ground within a debate.

Barbara Christian (1990), an African-American woman literary critic, offers much to this discussion. Christian gives an articulate and powerful critique of the developments in literary theory. A key point of concern is what she considers the race for theory and the ways in which new literary criticism is being constructed. While it is important to engage and develop theory, she states, it must be grounded in experiences and practice, without which theory becomes prescriptive and elitist (1990). Further, she challenges the notion that new theoretical developments will make change for black women writers:

These writers did announce their dissatisfaction with some of the cornerstone ideas of their own tradition, a dissatisfaction with which I was born. But in their attempt to change the orientation of Western scholarship, they, as usual, concentrated on themselves and were not in the slightest interested in the worlds they ignored or controlled. (Christian, 1990: 339)

For theory to be invented in ways that have little or no relevance to people's lives because of its prescriptive, exclusive and elitist foundations, is of no use to Māori. Any theoretical framework must be located within our experiences and practices. Equally, I would argue a strong Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework must be cognisant of our historical and cultural realities, in all their complexities.

A further source of rejection of theory is related to accessibility. Many theoretical frameworks that espouse a focus on transformation are themselves inaccessible. If theory is inaccessible because of the language chosen by academics then the potential for that theory to transform the lived realities of oppressed groups becomes limited. A common complaint by Māori students is regarding the inaccessibility of some theoretical discussions. Bell Hooks (1994) expresses her amazement at the limited number of feminist theoretical texts that actually speak to women, men and children about transforming our lives. By speak, she is referring to the meanings and theories being accessible. The academy does little to support the development of accessible texts.

Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa

Leonie Pihama

Māori academics often speak of being caught in the bind between our communities and the academy. Māori thesis students often voice the position that their thesis must be able to be read by their whānau and the wider Māori community, if it cannot then its potential for offering information and knowledge is, in their minds, diminished (Pahiri, 1997; Taki, 1996). This can create a dilemma for Māori students in that the expectations of the university, and what constitutes a thesis and theory, can differ significantly from the expectations of the Māori student and their priority audience.

Struggling with and over the notion of theory is a part of Kaupapa Māori theory. The process of decolonising theory is a crucial element of a Kaupapa Māori theoretical approach. Developing analyses that can both engage the underpinning assumptions of a range of theoretical approaches and providing critique is key to identifying whose interests are served and how power relationships are being constructed. What I am arguing is for a need to be able to name the dominant theories that form the basis for much of the analysis of indigenous peoples experiences and issues. Theory is constructed by groups of people through their own cultural and political understandings. Theory is as with other social constructions, both socially and culturally bound. In Aotearoa we have a history of theoretical frameworks imposed on our people. Assimilation and integration were the focus of early colonial contact (Johnston & Pihama, 1995; Simon, 1998), since then biological and environmental deficit theories have dominated the ways in which Māori issues are analysed. Western psychological theories that focus on the individual, have consistently placed Māori as requiring change (Hohepa, 1999; Stewart, 1995). A deficit approach imported from the States in the 1960s has held currency in most sectors since that time.iii As such, Māori continue to be viewed as deficient, culturally disadvantaged, environmentally lacking and through a process of biological/genetic reductionism Māori health issues are being presented as genetically deficient (Cram, Pihama & Philip-Barbara, 2000; Reynolds & Smith, 2003). However, we should not delude ourselves that it is only the more conservative theoretical constructions that require challenge. There are also more recent theories that posit notions that have the potential to further disturb and disrupt Māori epistemologies.

Post-structuralism, post-modernism, post-colonialism, post-feminism have all emerged as the new forms of analysis that lay claim to opening the debate to issues of difference and otherness. There is little acknowledgement that Māori people have struggled to have our voices heard over the past 200 years of colonial imperialism on our lands. Furthermore, the assumption of the existence of the Western individual self as central to analysis acts to marginalise Māori assertions of whakapapa and collective relationships. The imposition of theoretical frameworks that deny Māori knowledge, culture and society merely maintain the dominance of Western theoretical imperialism over indigenous theories.

As in other areas of our existence in the academy, as both teachers and students, the use of theory, and how we use theory, are sites of contestation. There are ways to present theory in understandable language and this is something that many Māori academics seek in their own writings. This is especially relevant to Kaupapa Māori theory as its sustainability is dependent on its reproduction by Māori for Māori. To write in ways that deny access to the majority of Māori people is in my opinion bringing closure rather that ensuring ongoing debate and evolution.I agree with Graham Hingangaroa Smith's contention that theory is a central problem in the development of liberatory processes which Smith refers to as "transformative action in the interests of subordinated groups" (1997: 131).

However, the development and assertion of liberatory theory can only derive from a political positioning that acknowledges that injustices and oppression exist. Without that acknowledgement the need for liberatory theory would not be evident. Bell Hooks calls for the recognition of the potential for theory to be liberatory, and that such recognition is realised through active critical reflection that is located in an understanding of oppression, of pain, of struggle. Theories that develop from these concrete and known experiences bring possibilities for transformation (Hook, 1994: 70).

For Graham Smith (1997), theory is a definite site of struggle between interest groups and the struggle for theoretical space, to support Māori to critically analyse our experiences, is a worthwhile struggle. This struggle is about contesting theoretical space. As with all forms of contestation, the underpinning power relations require challenge. This is a threat to those who argue the dominance of Western theories. It is also about Māori constituting theory within our own terms. Sheilagh Walker argues that Māori academics engage in theory because of our engagement in the struggle for Kaupapa Māori. In her terms "our struggle becomes our Theory" (1996: 119). Furthermore, she suggests that Kaupapa Māori theory is not defined within Western philosophical traditions but through Kaupapa Māori praxis.

It is worth outlining this argument more fully by referring directly to a statement made in her Masters research:

I conclude that Kaupapa Māori is not a Theory in the Western sense; it does not subsume itself within European philosophical endeavours which construct and privilege one Theory over another Theory, one rationality over another rationality, one philosophical paradigm over another paradigm, one knowledge over another knowledge, one World view over another World view of the Other. Kaupapa Māori Theory is rather Kaupapa Māori Praxis. My problematic continues. I de-construct the title further; what remains is simply KAUPAPA Māori. (1996:119)

This raises again the necessity or otherwise of appending the word theory to Kaupapa Māori and dealing with the problem of the dominant conceptualisation of theory in Western terms. I would argue that the use of the term theory, when applied in resistance terms, is one that can serve to validate the underpinning intentions of Kaupapa Māori theory, but as with any concept that derives from a Western base the issues raised by Sheilagh Walker (1996) must be continually present and be central to our ongoing reflection on the terms that we choose to use. As both Bell Hooks (1994) and Lee Maracle (1996) would say, that would be absurd, as it would deny that there are theories of Western origin that can be of use for oppressed groups.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory is a theoretical framework that ensures a cultural integrity is maintained when analysing Māori issues. It provides both tools of analysis and ways of understanding the cultural, political and historical context of Aotearoa. A fundamental premise on which Kaupapa Māori theory is argued is that in order to understand, explain and respond to issues for Māori, there must be a theoretical foundation that has been built from Papatūānuku, not from the building blocks of imported theories. Kaupapa Māori theory provides such a foundation. There has been some assertion that Kaupapa Māori theory is grounded on Critical theory (Eketone, 2008; Wiri, 2001). Where it is clearly argued that Kaupapa Māori theory may be viewed as a localised form of Critical Theory (Smith, 1997), this does not mean that Kaupapa Māori theory is grounded on such theoretical frameworks but rather it asserts that the key elements of Critical theory as a theory that challenges dominant systems of power may also be seen within Kaupapa Māori theory (Pihama, 2001, 2010). This should not be surprising, given that Kaupapa Māori theory engages with the fundamental power relationships that are inherent in our history of colonisation in Aotearoa. However, it must be clearly stated that Critical theory is grounded on western notions, primarily that of the Frankfurt School (Gibson, 1986), whereas Kaupapa Māori is grounded on mātauranga Māori as it derives from te reo and tikanga Māori (Mane, 2009; Pihama, 2001).

It is necessary to acknowledge that Kaupapa Māori theory is not a theoretical framework that provides answers by following a set recipe. Where there are recognisable elements within Kaupapa Māori theory, as is presently being defined, these are not seen to be deterministic or exclusive. This is not an attempt to close or define the parameters of Kaupapa Māori theory in a way that would prevent those who draw on Kaupapa Māori theory the ability to be flexible and in fact adaptable to the ever changing contexts of Māori collectively and whānau, hapū and iwi as distinct units. To promote closure would in my mind be the antithesis of what is proposed within Kaupapa Māori theory. The term theory itself is multiple in the definitions associated with it and some exploration of that provides some understanding of the need to ensure against a closure of Kaupapa Māori theory.

Much of the strength of Kaupapa Māori theory comes from the ability of many Māori to see the relevance of such theoretical engagement, and to recognise much of what is said in their own practices. What is also important is the recognition that Kaupapa Māori theory is not set in concrete; in fact it is very much a fluid and evolving theoretical framework (IRI & Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 2000; Smith, 1997). In a wider sense this is a part of a recognition that dominance seeks to set cultures in concrete, to hold us in a construction that is static and unchanging and that is often relentless in its denial of growth and change. We cannot afford for this to be the case. Therefore, in developing, drawing on and refining Kaupapa Māori theory, as indigenous theory, we need to be a part of a process that is accessible and fluid, not something that is controlled by a few or static and unchanging. The evolving of Kaupapa Māori theory is long-term and requires intense reflection. The process itself is as important, if not more so, as the outcome. It is through the process that we are able to engage more deeply with Māori knowledge, with te reo and tikanga Māori in ways that can reveal culturally based frameworks and structures that will provide a foundation of indigenous Māori analyses.

In identifying the evolving nature of Kaupapa Māori theory it is also important to acknowledge those who have been instrumental in its articulation. Much is owed to the foundational work done by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1996) and Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) in providing key elements for exploration in terms of what Kaupapa Māori theory might look like.

This is also indicated in the area of research where Kaupapa Māori research has been carefully developed alongside Kaupapa Māori theory (L.T. Smith, 1999). What is most impressive in the works of both these writers is their desire to be a part of collective and open development of Kaupapa Māori theory withother Māori academics such as myself. More recent works by a range of Māori writers highlight the expansiveness that is Kaupapa Māori theory (Bishop, 1996; Hohepa, 1999; Mane, 2009; Mead, 1996; Nepe, 1991; Pihama, 2001, 2010; Pohatu, 1996; Smith, 1997; Waitere-Ang, 1999).

Kaupapa Māori Theory as an Evolving and Organic Theoretical Development

As a theoretical framework Kaupapa Māori theory is still developing. However, we can be assured that development comes from a philosophical tradition that is as longstanding as any Western philosophical tradition.

The idea that Kaupapa Māori theory is still growing is an important aspect to consider, as it would be easy to stay with what has been written and not build on, critique and reshape Kaupapa Māori theory. To ensure the diversities of Māori experiences and an inclusion of whānau, hapū and iwi knowledge, Kaupapa Māori theory must be reflective, and we as its proponents open to an evolving process. In one of the most in-depth discussions of Kaupapa Māori theory, Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) establishes Kaupapa Māori theory as an evolving theory of transformation that can be understood through an analysis of Kaupapa Māori intervention initiative. He locates the genesis of Kaupapa Māori theory very securely within the political initiatives driven by Māori. This is critical, as Kaupapa Māori theory is not constructed in the competitive, hierarchical nature that is often the case in the assertion of Western theories.

Kaupapa Māori theory is not dualistic or constructed within simplistic binaries. It is not about asserting the superiority of one set of knowledge over another or one worldview over another. It is not about denying the rights of any peoples to their philosophical traditions, culture or language. It is an assertion of the right for Māori to be Māori on our own terms and to draw from our own base to provide understandings and explanations of the world.Kaupapa Māori theory is a theoretical movement that has its foundation in Māori community developments. These developments are epitomised in the Māori education initiatives Te Kōhanga Reo[iv] and Kura Kaupapa Māori (Hohepa, 1990). Both Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are initiatives that originated from Māori communities. They were, and are, driven primarily by the motivation of Māori for initiatives through which te reo Māori could be regenerated for our people and which would intervene in the crisis of Māori educational underachievement that had been the experience of generations of Māori children and whānau.

The development of these initiatives brought a need for Māori people to reflect on and draw upon our own cultural knowledge. Te Kōhanga Reo, the first of the Māori education initiatives to develop, is a prime example.

The history of the development of Te Kōhanga Reo has been well documented by Māori people involved in the movement, as too has its role in the revitalisation of te reo Māori (Hohepa, 1990; Irwin, 1990; Ka'ai, 1990; Royal-Tangaere, 1992; White, 1995).

Māori students across the country have been told by Pākehā supervisors it is not sufficient to reference Kaupapa Māori theory as their theoretical framework, or to rely solely on the writings of Māori academics when discussing issues regarding Māori education. It is clear that those Pākehā academics, some of whom are supervising Māori students at Graduate level, are unable to accept that Kaupapa Māori theory is a valid theoretical framework or that Māori are able to develop theoretical frameworks that have origins in te reo and tikanga Māori. This is a particularly ethnocentric notion, yet it continues to pervade the academy in ways that can seriously disadvantage Māori staff and students. Such dilemmas for Māori academics and Māori students have been documented over the past twenty years as a means of continuing to challenge the institutional racism that underpins that ongoing marginalisation of Māori knowledge (Irwin, 1988; Pihama, 2001; Smith, 1992).

In spite of the resistance to the assertion of Kaupapa Māori theory, we continue seeking ways to claim ground in the framing of our own theories. We do this with the knowledge that theory is not in itself transformative, that it is a site of struggle, and that it must be located in direct relationship with practice. Theory is a term that has a tenuous relationship to Māori. It is my hope that Kaupapa Māori theory will bring to the fore the possibility that we no longer have to adhere to an idea that theory belongs only to the coloniser, but rather that we can as indigenous people once again acknowledge that we have always theorised about our world and that our theories, which are grounded historically on this land, are valid. Kaupapa Māori theory is a theoretical framework that is organically Māori (Mane, 2009; Pihama, 1993; Smith, 1997).

The organic development and nature of Kaupapa Māori theory is perhaps one of its strongest aspects. Having already noted that the coining of the phrase came within a university context it is vital that we do not then assume that Kaupapa Māori theory is only about academia, as that is not the case. Kaupapa Māori theory has in very real terms developed from Māori.

Given that te reo and tikanga Māori are central to Kaupapa Māori theory, we have an established foundation that can be described as nothing other than organic.

Kaupapa Māori theory is a part of a wider resurgence for Māori; it is a part of what is often termed the Māori Renaissance. That renaissance is an outcome of the struggles by many Māori to regain the fundamental Indigenous rights. From these struggles have emerged the Māori educational initiatives of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and Whare Wānanga. The political and historical development of these initiatives has been recorded by those involved directly with these initiatives (Hohepa, 1990; Hohepa & Ratapu, 1992; Nepe, 1991; Smith, 1997; Smith, 1990). It may be stated in more general terms that the development of these initiatives has come about from a basis of the need for Māori to take control of our own educational processes and in doing so of our own destinies. Fundamental to this is the revival, maintenance and development of te reo and tikanga Māori for present and future generations of Māori. Discussion surrounding the context within which Te Kōhanga Reo emerged highlights these general intentions.

Margie Hohepa (1990) describes the development of Te Kōhanga Reo as having emerged as part of wider concerns in regard to te reo Māori. The concern for the potential loss of te reo Māori has been located with various movements and petitions of the 1970s (Brown & Carlin, 1994).v Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Mead, 1996) also identifies the significance of the 1970s period in the revitalisation of te reo Māori. It was a time when significant actions were being undertaken in regard to land issues, including actions such as the 1975 Land March, the reoccupation of Bastion Point by Ngāti Whātua, the occupation of the Raglan Golf course by Eva Rickard and her whānau, and the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal (Greensill, Sykes & Pihama, 1998). Māori movements of the time were not `removed from wider international movements (Greensill, Sykes & Pihama, 1998). Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991) places the American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s as a key influence in Māori politics at the time. Equally, the American Indian Movement was also gathering momentum struggling for indigenous rights in their lands (Mead, 1996).

Kaupapa Māori theory, having derived from organic Māori movements, provides us with a theoretical process that ensures those struggles and the inherent power relationships within those struggles are a conscious part of our analysis. Given the unequal power relations that exist between Māori and the State, the recognition that the organic developments are the outcome of Māori aspirations and a subsequent struggle for the realisation of those aspirations means that there is a clearly articulated political agenda that sits alongside cultural aspirations for te reo and tikanga Māori. The organic nature of Kaupapa Māori theory also means that there are many ways in which it can be and is articulated. Kaupapa Māori theory is not singular.

Kaupapa Māori theory is, by nature of its development, multiple. There is no set formula that we can use to say here this is what it looks like, rather Kaupapa Māori theory has a range of expressions that are influenced by things such as whānau, hapü, iwi, urban experiences, gender, geography, to name a few. The multiple possibilities of Kaupapa Māori theory also enables a range of potential forms of transformations to occur.

Bell Hooks (1994) reminds us that theory can be liberatory if we seek to use it in that way. Transformation is one of the driving elements of Kaupapa Māori theory.

How that transformation is defined and brought about is determined by how the issues are understood, theorised and engaged. Therefore it is necessary, while avoiding a formulaic development, to indicate what may be considered some specific elements inherent in Kaupapa Māori theory and the ways in which a range of Māori people are articulating methods of analysis. The transformation or emancipatory intent of Kaupapa Māori theory may be viewed as a decolonisation process; however, it is not solely about the theorising for transformation but is also directly related to the development of practical interventions. Again, Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori are clear examples of the emancipatory intent of Kaupapa Māori theory. Graham Hingangaroa Smith (1997) takes this aspect of Kaupapa Māori theory a step forward in arguing for a need to include a utopian vision within the development of Kaupapa Māori theory, which serves to highlight its transformative potential.

Summary

This article has opened a discussion of Kaupapa Māori theory as an indigenous theory of change. The key intention was to outline some of the broader philosophical contexts within which Kaupapa Māori theory needs to be considered. What is important is the understanding that Kaupapa Māori theory is founded within knowledge that derives from learning, experiences, understandings, worldviews, values and beliefs that are ancient. These forms have been handed down through generations, and although disrupted and disregarded through colonial impositions they have survived to continue to inform how we are in the world. Kaupapa Māori theory is developed from a foundation of Kaupapa Māori and mātauranga Māori. Its base is firmly entrenched on Māori land, on Papatūānuku, and that holds Kaupapa Māori theory as a distinctive framework.

Kaupapa Māori Theory: Transforming Theory in Aotearoa

Leonie Pihama

Theory is considered to hold possibilities from liberation; however, a wariness remains in Māori communities as a result of the imposition of theories that have historically worked against our interests. Within the academy Western theories have been privileged.

Indigenous peoples' theoretical voices have been rarely heard, let alone engaged in with the same status as those of the West. This is not a surprise to Māori academics, given the ongoing marginalisation of Māori knowledge. Māori knowledge has been under attack since the arrival of colonial settlers to our lands. Within the colonial education system Māori knowledge has been through processes that have denied the validity of our own knowledge and worldviews. Kaupapa Māori theory, it is argued, provides us with the potential to continue a tradition of thinking about, explaining and understanding our world that is not the domain of the colonising forces, but has been a part of Indigenous peoples worlds since creation. Kaupapa Māori theory is an evolving theoretical framework. It is evolving from a base of being Māori, from whānau, hapü, iwi and from collective Māori movements. As a theoretical framework Kaupapa Māori theory is engaged in a site of struggle within the academy. It struggles for the recognition, the validation and affirmation of our cultural worldviews as Māori. It asserts that we have always been researchers, have always engaged in theorising our lives, our experiences, our context. The organic and multiple nature of Kaupapa Māori theory is a powerful force in the future creation of a range of Kaupapa Māori theoretical expression. To position ourselves clearly as Kaupapa Māori theorists is to identify ourselves, to place before others where we are coming from, so that there is no guise of neutrality or assumed objectivity (Smith, L.T., 1999). The resurgence of Māori language and culture over the past thirty years and the continued assertion of tino rangatiratanga indicate that as the indigenous people of Aotearoa we will continue to struggle for our fundamental rights on our lands.

References

Abbott, P., & Wallace, C. (1997). Introduction to sociology: Feminist perspectives. London: Routledge.

Bishop, R. (1996). Collaborative research stories: Whakawhānaungatanga. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.

Brown, A., & Carlin, J. (1994). Mana Wahine: Women who show the way. Auckland, NZ: Reed.

Christian, B. (1990). The race for theory. In C. Moraga & G.

Anzuldua (Eds), This bridge called my back (pp. 335-345). New York: Kitchen Table Women of Colour Press.

Coxon, E., Marshall, J., & Massey, L. (Eds.). (1994). The politics of learning and teaching in Aotearoa–New Zealand. Palmerston North, NZ: Dunmore Press.

Cram, F., Pihama, L., & Philip-Barbara, G. (2000). Māori views on genetic engineering. Auckland, NZ: IRI Publication, University of Auckland.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinnings of Kaupapa Māori directed practice. Mai Review, 1.

Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education: Culture, power and liberation.* South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

Gibson, R. (1986). *Critical theory and education.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Green, R. (1990). *American Indian women: Diverse leadership for social change.* In L. Albrecht, & R.M. Brewer, (Eds) Bridges of power: Women's multicultural alliances (pp. 58-73). Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers in cooperation with the National Women's Studies Association.

Greensill, A., Sykes, A., & Pihama, L. (Eds). (1998). *Tauiwa Hautai Kereopa Rickard: 1925-1997: Ngā puna Roimata.* Independent State of Whaingaroa: Tuaiwa Hautai Kereopa Whānau & Moko Productions.

Hohepa, M.K. (1990). *Te Kōhanga Reo hei tikanga ako i te reo Māori.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Hohepa, M.K. (1999). *Hei tautoko i te reo: Māori language regeneration and whānau bookreading practices.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland.

Hohepa, M. & Ratapu, R. (1992). *He kete kupu kōrero: A bibliography of readings on Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori.* Auckland, NZ: Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Teaching to transgress.* London: Routledge.

International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education (IRI) & Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare. (2000). *Māori research development: Kaupapa Māori principles.* A report prepared for Te Puni Kōkiri. Auckland,Wellington: authors.

Irwin, K. (1988). *Māori, feminist, academic.* Sites, 17, 30-38.

Irwin, K. (1990). *The politics of Kōhanga Reo.* In S. Middleton, J. Codd, & A. Jones. New Zealand Education Policy Today (pp.110-120). Wellington, NZ: Allen and Unwin.

Johnston, P. & Pihama, L. (1995). *What counts as difference and what differences count: Gender, race and the politics of difference.* In K. Irwin, I. Ramsden & R. Kahukiwa (Eds), Toi Wāhine: The worlds of Māori women (pp. 75-86). Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books.

Ka'ai, T. (1990). *Te hiringa taketake: Mai i te Kōhanga Reo: Māori pedagogy, Te Kōhanga Reo and the transition to school.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Mane, J. (2009). *Kaupapa Māori: A community approach. MAI Review, 3(1) Māori Education Commission.* (1998). Report to the Minster of Māori Affairs. Report 2. Wellington, NZ: Author.

Maracle, L. (1996). *I am woman: A native perspective on sociology and feminism.* Vancouver, Canada: Press Gang Publishers. Mead,

L.T.R (1996). *Ngā aho o te kākahu mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Education Department University of Auckland, Auckland.

Pahiri, D. (1997). *Me whakatupu ki te hua o te rengarenga, me whakapakari ki te hua o te kawariki: Reclaiming and contesting culture: Popular culture and Māori youth.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Pihama, L. (1993). *Tungia te ururua, kia tupu whakaritorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of Parents as First Teachers.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Pihama, L. (1997). *Ko Taranaki te maunga: Challenging postcolonial disturbances and post-modern fragmentation.* He Pukenga Korero, 2(2), 8-15.

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tihei mauri ora, honouring our voices, Mana wahine as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland.

Pihama, L. (2005). *Kaupapa Māori theory: Asserting indigenous theories of change.* In J. Barker (Ed.), Sovereignty matters: Locations of contestation and possibility in indigenous struggles for self-determination. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Pihama. L. (2010). *He kaupapa kōrero: Māori health researchers and provider views on the impact of Kaupapa Māori.* Report to the Health Research Council for the Hōhua Tutengaehe Postdoctoral Fellowship, Auckland.

Pohatu, T. (1996). *I tipu ai tātou i ngā turi o o tātau mātua tīpuna: Transmission and acquisition processes within kāwai whakapapa.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Reynolds, P. & Smith, C. (2003). *Aue! Genes and genetics.* Whanganui, NZ: Whanganui Iwi Law Centre.

Royal, T. A. C. (1998). *Te ao mārama: A research paradigm in Te Pümanawa Hauora. Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference (pp. 78-86).* Palmerston North, NZ: School of Māori Studies, Massey University.

Royal-Tangaere, A. (1992). *Te puawaitanga o te reo ka hua te hā o te pōtiki i roto i te whānau ko tënei te tāhuhu o te kōhanga reo: Transference from te kōhanga reo to home, the roles of the child and the family.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Simon, J. (Ed). (1998). *Ngā kura Māori: The native schools system 1867-1969. Auckland NZ: Auckland University Press.*

Smith, G.H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, School of Education, University of Auckland: Auckland.

Smith, L.T. (1992). The dilemma of a Māori academic. In G.H. Smith & M.K. Hohepa (ed), *Creating space in institutional settings for Māori.* Monograph No. 15. Auckland, NZ: RUME Auckland University.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London: Zed Books.

Stewart, T.R. (1995). *Ka pü te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi: Contributions to indigenous psychology in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Taki, M. (1996). *Kaupapa Māori and contemporary iwi resistance.* Unpublished Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *Mana wahine Māori: Selected writings on Māori women's art, culture and politics.* Auckland, NZ: New Women's Press.

Waitangi Tribunal. (1996). *The Taranaki report: Kaupapa tuatahi, muru me te raupatu: The muru and raupatu of the Taranaki land and people.* Wai 143. Wellington, NZ: Government Printer.

Waitere-Ang, H.J. (1999). *Te kete, the briefcase, te tuara: The balancing act – Māori women in the primary sector.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Walker, S. (1996). *Kia tau te rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori theory as a resistance against the construction of Māori as the 'Other'.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Ward, T.J. (1974). Definitions of theory in sociology. In R.S. Denisoff, O. Callahan, & M.H. Levine (Eds), *Theories and paradigms in contemporary sociology.* Itasca, IL: F.E. Peacock Publishers.

White, M.N. (1995). *Te wero – Te uru whakatupu ake te uru o matawhaura: Language scaffolding in a Kōhanga Reo.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Wiri, R. (2001). *The prophecies of the great canyon of Toi: A history of Te Whāiti-nui-a-Toi in the western Urewera mountains of New Zealand.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Endnotes

i This article was supported by the Health Research Council Hōhua Tutengaehe Postdoctoral Fellowship.

ii I am referring here to the Māori Education team at the University of Auckland, during the 1990s who were instrumental in the development of Kaupapa Māori theory and research methodologies.

iii For a critique of deficit theories and a discussion of education programmes influenced by American programmes such as Head Start refer Pihama, (1993).

iv In 1979 a gathering of elders at the Wānanga kaumātua affirmed te reo Māori "Ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori" the language is the life principle of Māori mana. This was followed in 1981 with a resolution from another hui Wānanga Whakatauira for the development of bilingual education at pre-school level. These were taken further to a proposal for immersion pre-school programmes. In April 1982 the first Te Kōhanga Reo opened at Pukeatua Kōkiri Centre Wainuiomata. The overriding goal being the fluency of te reo Māori which would address the priority concern for the revitalisation of te reo.

v In this publication Hana Jackson discusses the instigation of the Māori Language petition in 1970 which was instrumental in the resistance movements that have seen the growth of Māori Language initiatives in Aotearoa. The petition was presented to parliament on September 14, 1972 and consisted of 44,000 signatures.

The Dialectic Relation of Theory and Practice in the Development of Kaupapa Māori Praxis

Professor Graham Smith

The Dialectic Relation of Theory and Practice in the Development of Kaupapa Māori Praxis

Graham Smith[1]

Pa Harakeke

Tiakina te whanau pa harakeke
Tiakina a Rangi raua ko Papa
Tiakina to awa
Tiakina to maunga
Tiakina to whanau
Tiakina to hapu
Tiakina to iwi
Tiakina te rangatahi
Tiakina nga koroua me nga kuia
Tiakina te rangimarie me to aroha
Tiakina te whanau pa harakeke
Ora ra te iwi Māori

The Flax Bush

Look after the flax bush whānau
Look after Rangi and Papa
Look after your river
Look after your mountain
Look after your whānau
Look after your hapū
Look after your iwi
Look after the young ones
Look after the Koroua and Kuia
Look after peace and love
Look after the flax bush whānau so that
We Iwi Māori may live forever

[This poem was written and translated by Kapua Smith, aged eight years old; a student at the Kura Kaupapa Māori o Maungawhau; 1990]

This paper engages in a free ranging discussion of some important characteristics of Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis. In particular, this chapter is concerned to show some examples of significant culturalist and structuralist issues which an effective transformative theory and praxis for Māori must take some account of. Some of the crucial factors which transformative theory and praxis must take account of (which are derived from a number of shaping influences) are structural impediments related to economics, ideology and power which coalesce within a nexus of 'dominant: Pakeha: state' politics – (this nexus of interests is often glossed in generalisations of 'Pakeha' or 'the system'). Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis responds to 'this call to arms' against structured 'state: Pakeha:dominant interests' within a cycle of 'conscientisation, resistance and transformative action', not always successfully, but the key issues here are;

i. That there is a 'conscientisation, resistance, transformative action' response to structural impediments,
ii. That 'conscientisation, resistance, transformative action' is flexible enough to accommodate the 'ups' and 'downs' of struggle; in that some gains are made and some are lost, but these wins and losses have to have been asborbed without disturbing the overall emanicpatory vision (compare here Habermas' notion of 'incremental victories')
iii. That the 'local issue' transformative impetus in the cycle of 'conscientisation, resistance and transformative action' is held together by a larger emancipatory project or 'utopian vision'.

The discussion in this chapter gives some insight into the dynamic aspects of contestation between Māori interests (mediated by Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis – informed by 'conscientisation, resistance and transformative action') and 'dominant: state: Pakeha' politics. This broad canvassing of some of the issues involved in the educational and schooling struggle, marked by 'thrust and counter-thrust', will enable the reader to;

a. Begin to identify some key issues which Kaupapa Māori theory has to explain and respond to,
b. Begin to identify what some of the minimum requirements of an effective theory of transformative praxis within the Aotearoa context might be.

While these considerations are important in showing the linkages between 'Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis' and a critical theory approach, not all of the answers to these questions will be found in this paper. This paper seeks merely to exemplify some of the issues, processes and dynamics of how 'Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis' is both made and re-made 'on the job'. The significant interface of critical theory understandings and 'Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis', for example, is explored in more detail in other papers I have written.

In more pragmatic terms a study of Kaupapa Māori theory and transformative praxis is important, because;

i. It is a Māori defined and organically developed intervention strategy, and therefore has an immediate empathy with the group (Māori) for whom it is meant to be transformative,
ii. It develops change at both the culturalist and structuralist levels, that is, it deals with the liberal education agenda as well as structural concerns related to economics, ideology and power, e.g. it engages with the economic reforms of the 1980s,

[1]This paper is adapted from Chapter Two of Professor Graham Smith's PhD thesis, 'The Development of Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis, (1997).

iii. It attempts to respond to the failure of state schooling in regard to high levels of Māori underachievement by developing a critique of state schooling and its impediments,
iv. It connects closely with critical theory understandings and develops a theory and praxis of transformation,
v. It has the potential for a wider application and intervention into a range of Māori crises,
vi. It critiques liberal reforms and posits the need for more fundamental structural change,
vii. It critiques and extends the conscientisation, resistance, transformative praxis cycle , to emphasise transormative outcomes.

In terms of a 'working' definition (given that Kaupapa Māori is constantly being made and remade within praxis), 'Kaupapa Māori' is the 'inclusive' term which Māori people themselves employ to describe;

'A Māori way of thinking and doing things which feels culturally appropriate and which takes seriously our [Māori] aspirations' – (Fieldnotes: Māori secondary school teacher; 1990)

Kaupapa Māori theory has also been given definition within lectures at the University of Auckland;

'Kaupapa Māori theory builds on the 'Kaupapa Māori' foundations of taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture. Kaupapa Māori theory emphasises the critical theory intervention potential within the logic of 'organic' Kaupapa Māori practice; it is also important to distinguish the theory and practice components in order to reveal the 'praxis' elements which are embedded in this concept as well, that is, the dialectic relationship of 'theory and practice' which evolves through critical reflection and subsequent adjustment. This can be summed up in the words; [re]act (practice), reflect (theory) and reflex (praxis).' (Smith, G.H., Lecture Notes, 1993)

My work has examined the transformative potential embedded within the Māori educational and schooling initiatives of Te Kohanga Reo (immersion Māori pre-schools) and Kura Kaupapa Māori (immersion Māori primary schools), Kura Tuarua (immersion Māori secondary Schools), and Waananga (tertiary institutions). It is not intended to provide a definitive history of the development of these alternative education developments, that aspect being covered elsewhere (eg. See Smith, G., 1986 [b], 1986 [c], 1988 [b], 1990 [g]; Sharples, 1989; Irwin, 1990; Walker, 1990; Nepe, 1991; Rata, 1991; Smith, G. & L., 1990; Smith L., 1995; Rae, 1996). What is of concern here, is how the core element of 'Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis' which is central to all of these Māori education alternatives, is made and re-made 'on the job', in the day to day engagements with respect to multiple struggles, in multiple forms, in multiple sites and at multiple levels. This paper, simply gives an insight into some of complex shapes of struggle between subordinate(d) Māori interests and dominant Pakeha interests within the education and schooling arena.

Kaupapa Māori is Not a Recent Phenomenon

While Kaupapa Māori as a strategy for tranformation has evolved within the praxis of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, it needs to be acknowledged that similar 'theory and practice' is descernible within the work of past leaders such as Te Kooti Rikirangi (Binney, 1995; Best, 1925; Belich, 1986) Apirana Ngata (Ramsden, 1948 ; Salmond, 1980) and Te Puea Herangi (King, 1977; Pei Te Huirnui Jones, 1959). More recently the coining of the Phrase 'Kaupapa Māori theory' to describe the critical theory alignment with key elements of Kaupapa Māori praxis has developed out of the writings of Smith (1988 [a], 1989 [b], 1989 [d], 1990 [a]) and in lecutres and seminars delivered at the University of Auckland. A growing number of other writers and researchers have also used this 'theory' to inform their research and academic writings (following this lead) e.g Johnston, 1990; Jenkins, 1991; Pihama, 1993; Smith, C., 1994; Sutherland, 1994; Ellison, 1994; Timutimu, 1995; Harawira, 1995; Taplin, 1995; Bishop, 1995; 1996; Pohatu, 1996; Walker, 1996; Ormsby, 1996; Lee, 1996. Yet other writers have added to its applicaiton, for example Linda Smith's (1995) notion of Kaupapa Māori Research and Taina Pohatu's (1996) argument that Kaupapa Māori approaches to Māori language, knowledge and cultural revitalisation should not simply be confined to formal schooling and that a Kaupapa Māori praxis needs to be extended into the area of 'socialisation' as well.

Developing Crtically Informed Critique

In order to understand what is meant by 'transformation' as applied to Māori circumstances, an appreciation of what has gone wrong, and what it is that needs to be transformed, ought to be clarified in the first instance. Critical reflection on what has gone wrong in the past is an important prerequisite to developing meaningful transformative strategies, which respond in specific and accurate ways.

As such this thesis is also concerned to critically ascertain the reasons for the (non) development of Māori within the New Zealand education system in particular, and within New Zealand society more generally. These historical and policy issues are canvassed in detail in Section Three. However, suffice it to generalize at this point, that the historical empahsis on the 'assimilation' of Māori into the Pakeha'mainstream', both overtly and through the 'hidden curriculum' during the post-war period is partially repsonsible for the strong resistance reaction mounted by Māori and the subsequent rise of 'self- determination' educational initiatives since the 1980s.

Kaupapa Māori Beginnings Outside of the State

What is important here, is an examination of Kaupapa Māori initiatives from the point of view, that in their formative stages, both Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori began outside of the system, as resistance initiatives to the 'taken for granted' conventional schooling options offered by the state. The significant point here relates to the impact of at least the last three interrelated factors; that schooling in New Zealand is a state provision (for at least 90 per cent of the schooling population), that schooling is compulsory for all children from the age of six until age fifteen, and that schooling has traditionally been an overwhelmingly monocultural, Pakeha defined experience for Māori.

The development in the 1980s of Kaupapa Māori schooling options outside of the state system has provided a 'critical opportunity' for the advancement of Māori educational aspirations. These 'alternative' schooling sites have provided 'space' relatively free of the constraints entrenched within conventional state schooling practice and institutional structures. For example, both the Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori initiatives were able to substantially 'unshackle' themselves from the structural controls associated with being in receipt of state funds, from the 'selected' curriculum, and from dominant Pakeha descision-making. Furthemore, these alternative schooling initiatives removed themselves from the mono-cultural, 'taken for granted' pedagogy, curriculum, and school orgnaisation embedded in the 'common-sense' structures and processes of state schooling. Thus this 'liminal' space', (c.f Van Gennep, 1960) provided opportunities for Māori to elude the ideological confinement and control of Pakeha dominant curriculum. It is within this alternative 'space', that Māori have more meaningfully responded to the culturalist and structuralist politics alluded to within critical questions such as 'why go to school?', education for whose interests?', 'what counts as learning?' and so on.

What is interesting with respect to this 'critical moment' of being 'outside' the constraints of the system, (noting that the 'freedom' enjoyed by Māori in this 'space' is a 'limited autonomy), is that given this situation of increased autonomy to make decisions and choices about what might count as an appropriated education and schooling for Māori – what choices and decisions were actually made? In other words, what preferences were exercised by Māori with respect to developing a Māori – defined education and schooling when they have had the opportunity to have some control and power over the key decisions? Importantly, is it clear from these choices what Māori needs and aspirations are, and are these 'choices' able to inform education and schooling more widely?

Critically Understanding the Constraints of State Schooling

These questions are extremely important, in that for the most part, New Zealand state schooling has not been able to deliver the same outcomes for Māori as it has for non-Māori. That is educational outcomes for Māori are negative. The disproportionate disadvantage and inequality of outcomes experienced by Māori, have remained in the 'system' despite attempts to alleviate this situation through different policy intiatives. Major problematics arising from this failure to deliver optimum education for Māori has been that policy has been developed outside of Māori influence and handed down to them; the self-preserving inclination of state structures and the subsequent reluctance of the dominant structures in the system be reflective and reflexive and where necessary to 'undo' itself; the embedded-ness' of dominant Pakeha political, cultural and economic interests and so on.

A crucial understanding, is why the system has consistently failed to change these circumstances of educational under-development of Māori. Critical questions emanating from the New Sociology of Education bring a better balance to understanding 'where' and 'how' research ought to find answers. The major influence here is a shift in research emphasis to also ask critical questions of the previously taken for granted structures of the 'system'. As well, both 'structuralist' and 'culturalist' constraints and interventions are examined. Recent studies by Maringi Johnston (1991), Pania Ellison (1994), Bonita Sutherland (1994), and Sheilagh Walker (1996) have all undertaken critical analyses of the structures of the Pakeha dominant system across a range of educational sites – all of these studies showing quite clearly how the Pakeha: dominant: state exercises power and control over Māori through education and schooling.

For this reason, the 'critical moment' of 'limited autonomy' outside of state controlled 'institutions' and 'mode' which presents itself in the 'space' created by Kaupapa Māori resistance intiatives has allowed for important shifts within Māori communities with respect to challenging their marginal positioning 'within' and 'as a result' of difficulties within education and schooling. In this way Māori have been able to partially extricate themselves from the constraints of the system long enough to develop some important structural changes which the 'self-preserving' state system has either been unable, or unwilling, to support previously.

Self-Preserving Manoeuvres by the State

It is acknlowledged that for both Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori the 'moment' of opportunity for 'meaningful change' outside of the 'system' has been brief . The hasty re-integration and reclaiming of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools back under the control of the 'system' (state control) can be explained as '(re) incorporation' back into state 'legitimacy'. In these terms, this can be interpreted as a crisis management manoeuvre by the state, to maintain its legitimacy to 'rule' in the eyes of the citizenry. This self-protecting crisis management response by the 'system', can be partially understood within Jurgen Habermas' theoretical frameworks with reference to the 'legitimation and crisis' cycle faced by self-preserving state structures (c.f. Offe, 1984). Of particular importance is Habermas's reconstruction of the 'emancipation' project of critical theory in response to mounting criticism that critical theory's pre-occupation with emancipations was idealistic and a 'utopian dream'. Habermas' 'legitimation – crisis' cycle moves away from the singular, idealisitic vision, to reconstruct emancipation as a progression of smaller 'incremental victories' in pursuit of the 'ultimate' (utopian) resolution. Māori motives in seeking reintergration within the state structures must also be critically understood in terms of economic necessity for the ongoing survival of these initiatives. Māori communities do not have access to the economic base to sustain alternative schooling on a long-term, self-sufficiency bases. It is at this point that Habermas and Offe argue similar strategies, although Offe's concern is with developing a 'crisis management' approach to the welfare state economy's inadequacies rather than a pursuit of a total reconstruction as intended in the libertarian free-market model. The tension between these two economic strategies being contained in the binary opposition of commodification (libertarian model) and de- commodification (restructuring of the welfare state model).

It is also useful to draw a distinction based on Offe's insights, between the 'form' (structure/institution) and the 'practice' (mode) of economies, in seeking a more measured and systematic way of assessing the limits and capacities of where, how and to what extent, transformation is indeed meaningful.

Organic Response to Educational Crises

A crucial element related to the development of Māori education in the 1980s is the wider societal context of major economic reform in New Zealand context. That is, the dismantling of the Welfare state based economy and the construction of a Libertarian free- market formation. The effects of this shift on the 'political economy' of education and schooling needs to be critically understood in order to fully engage with Māori developments in education during this period.

The emergence of 'kaupapa Māori' in the 1980s as an 'organic' (Gramsci, 1971) theory and practice of social and cultural transformation for Māori shares similarities with the emancipatory elelments of a critical theory approach. There is urgent need for intervention into Māori education and schooling crises through the development of meaningful strategies of transformation, given the history of high and disproportionate educational underachievement which accrue to Māori as a group. Three points underpin the need for urgency, the relative increase in the numbers of Māori pupils in schools (in 1996 the ratio of Māori to non-Māori pupils in schools is approximately 1:5 – 20%), the continuing demise of Māori language, knowledge and culture and a deepening crisis with respect to socio-economic marginalisation.
Indeed, in the Annual Report on Māori Education 1994/ 1995 published by the Ministry of Education, the Secretary for Education, Dr. Maris O'Rourke reported;

Even with the dramatic growth of Māori medium education, however, the great majority of Māori students remain in the mainstream education system. Between 1976 and 1994 the number of Māori children in primary schools increased by 25 per cent and in secondary schools by 43 per cent. In the same period there was a decline in numbers of non-Māori children in primary schools (down 25 per cent) and in secondary schools (down 10 per cent). One in five students in New Zealand schools today is Māori.

It is therefore of concern to the Ministry that despite increased participation and increased levels of achievement by Māori in the mainstream, the gap between Māori and non-Māori does not appear to be closing. In 1994 around 40 per cent of Māori students were successful in School Certificate (grades A, B, C)

and in Sixth Form Certificate examinations (grades 1 – 5) compared with over 60 per cent of non-Māori. The proportion of Māori leaving school and going on to further study at colleges of education and universities is less than half that for non-Māori.' – (Nga Haeata Matauranga: 1995: 7)

Another important influence around this time (the 1970s and 1980s) were the developments being made within education theory, practice and analyses, particularly the debates occurring in the New Sociology of Education in Britain and the United States following Michael Young's (1971) seminal work 'Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Education' and the subsequent emergence of an emphasis on enquiry and research related to the Sociology of Knowledge. While it is acknowledged that the work of Ioan Davies (D.I. Davies, 1970; 'Knowledge, Education and Power', paper presented at the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Asscociation, 1970), Basil Bernstein and others foreshadowed the developments in sociology of education, the 1970 Conference of the British Sociological Association and subsequent publication of papers around the topic of knowledge (in 'Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Education', M.F.D. Young, 1971); has provided a marker which distinguishes the development of some coherence for the new directions in the sociology of education, across a significant academic and researcher following.

Struggle Between Māori and State Over Alternative Schooling

A number of significant and radical changes have occurred with respect to Māori education since the development of Te Kohanga Reo (Māori language immersion pre-schools) in 1982. This 'revolution', derived from the theory and practice of kaupapa Māori implicit within Te Kohanga Reo, has subsequently lead to the Māori driven developments within New Zealand education and schooling in the form of Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori immersion primary schools), Whare Kura (immersion secondary schools), and Whare Wananga (Māori tertiary institutions). While these schooling types began in the first instance as oppostional learning settings outside of 'mainstream' state schooling, the period since the advent of Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 has been marked by the struggle of state interests to come to terms with these resistance schools and to legitimise them (on the state's terms in order to incorporate them. After a short period of development outside of the 'system', Kura Kaupapa Māori schools were firstly 'drip' funded by the state and eventually fully funded. Kura Kaupapa Māori schools were also 'incorporated' by the state by being legislated as 'bone fide' state schooling options within the 1989 Education Act, although this de-facto 'marriage' between various Kura Kaupapa Māori and the state has been a tempestuous one. From Māori communities and Kura Kaupapa Māori Schools point of view the eventual re-integration into the state system could best be described as inevitable, given the financial inablility of Māori parents to pay for these schools. The Kura Kaupapa Māori school communities desperately needed the funding and the resources to continue to survive. Whanau (extended family – in this sense, 'schooling communities') were aware that in picking up the 'Pakeha cheque' that they would also have to pick up a number of state (dominant Pakeha) regulations and expectation which would partially contradict, undermine and 'constrain' the 'kaupapa' (philosopy) of 'tino rangatiratanga' (self determination).

Legitimacy Crises for the State

From the state point of view, the legitimacy crises posed for state education and schooling created by the large numbers of Māori opting out of the system and starting their own schools could be contained if not averted altogether by offering to fund these institutions. Thus, to a certain extent, the 'de-facto relationship' was one of convenience between two reluctant partners, each with different reasons for entering into a relationship. Certainly the state had much more to gain in regard to preserving its credibility as a 'fair and just' provider. In this way the state has been able to regain some integrity by enacting fotmal legislation to bring these schools back under the direct control of the state and it presently funding the establishment of approximately five new Kura Kaupapa Māori schools each year, although Māori communities consider this pace very slow.

The intial development of these Māori schooling initiatives outside of the state, by implication, has re-focused attention on the role of the state in education and schooling. The political conscientising that has accompanied the establishment of these alternative schools has contributed to de-stablilsing the'common sense' acceptance of notions about the neutrality of schooling, the soical mobility potential of schooling and the instrumental relationship between schooling credentials and employment.

The rejection of existing state schooling options by increasing numbers of Māori parents has raised serious questions not just about the nature of schooling but also about the role of the state in its involvement in the education and schooling system. Beyond these are questions about the ability of the state to maintain political control over Māori in the wider society. The domesticating role of state schooling was coming undone, and a crisis of state schooling loomed large.

Given the wider context of new right political reform being undertaken in New Zealand in the 1970s, (as shown in libertarian trends towards the dismantling of the Keynesian welfare state economy, and in the drive for privatisation and the insertion of free market economics), the challenge to the legitimacy of state schooling posed by the alternative developments has been a 'two edged' sword for Māori. On the one had, criticism of the existing state schooling highlighted the crisis of underachievement of Māori and as well, some of the shortcomings of the system. However, on the other had such criticism provided a platform for the 'new' right agenda. The very existence of Māori alternative schooling provided a manifest critique of the existing state education system. Such criticism, also supported and substantiated the claims by advocates of the new right economic reforms – that education and schooling were flawed and needed fundamental structural change. However the changes proposed by the ideologues of free-market economics, sought the insertion of 'libertarian' economic ideologies within schooling as encapsulated in the concepts of 'individual freedoms' 'choice', 'competition', 'user pays' and 'free enterprise'.

Struggle for the Treaty and Economic Agenda

A further anomaly, had been the way in which the economic critique of the 'right' and the critique of the failure of liberal education by the 'left' have coalesced into a mutually supportive oppositional discourse to the prevailing state system. In this sense the critique of the existing system developed by Kura Kaupapa
Māori communities and others was very quickly and skulfully co-opted (under protest from some Māori who resisted these claims of similarity and solidarity with the 'right', see for example the papers in Section Four of this thesis; 'Te Putea Maminga ki nga Kura' – Goals and Priorities for Māori Education by the NZEI National Māori Council – 1992; 'Māori Education Policy for NZPPTA' prepared by Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake – 1993; 'Proceedings of the Kura Kaupapa Māori Hui a Tau' – 1994, 1995). Over and above this scenario, there are also many Māori individuals who believe in the heteronomy of the 'free-market' in that its rhetoric supports a plurality of provision of education. Thus the subsequent economic reforms would better deliver their culture and language aspirations as well as develop 'liberating' structures which would ultimately overthrow existing educational and schooling crises (Donna Awatere-Huata's support for the ACT political party [with a 'new right', conservative, libertarian orientation] is an example of this). For example some Māori parents (mistakenly) accepted that devolution of educational responsibility was in fact tantamount to increased 'tino rangatiratanga' (self determination), when in fact (the passage of time and the ability to reflect historically has shown this) what has really happenend is a transfer of responsibility form the state onto communities. 'Real' power which derived from the control over funding has remained with the state. In this way the state has been able to abdicate its former responsibilities for the delivery of education back onto the citizenry, that is devolving responsibility without power. This point is significant in the wider context of the Treaty of Waitangi. Thus the political agenda of government in 'freeing' the state from its Treaty obligations in order to sustain the notion of the 'free-market' and to have unconstrained freedom to 'privatise' state assets and services is a critical understanding here (see Smith & Smith, 1996). Furthermore, the government (the trustees of the state) are able to forgo their contracted responsibilities for the education and welfare of Māori as embedded in the Treaty of Waitangi. In the free-market scenario, Māori educationand schooling crises are no longer the crisis of the state (held to account by the Treaty). The burden of responsibility has been shifted to parents, schools, teachers, communities, families and the pupils themselves. This shift, it is argued here, is an abdication by the state of its Treaty responsibilities.

Other contradictions arise in the unlikely alliance of the ideas informing Māori alternative schooling with the ideas of new right reformists, albeit (from the Māori point of view) unintended. This alignment occurs within a common critique of the inadequacies of current state schooling – although both groups would reform schooling for different reasons, the combined weight of the critiques from both of these interest groups has certainly contributed to the legitimacy crisis of schooling in the 1980s and subsequently, the ensuing reforms.

A further anomaly arises out of the increasing critique of state schooling by Māori groups, which has argued that the contractual obligations on the Crown contained within the Treaty of Waitangi, require the state to deliver equitable education and schooling outcomes for Māori. The 'contridiction' which arises here, is that in 'de-constructing' state shcooling, Māori are also undermining and overthrowing the very state (Crown) structures which have a 'contractual' obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to 'deliver' for Māori, and it is the state of lieu of the Crown therefore, which has an assumed moral, if not legal responsibility, under the Treaty of Waitangi agreement to deliver particular outcomes related to the preservation of Māori language, knowledge and culture and to delivering better outcomes of 'equality'. The danger here for Māori alternative schooling advocates, has been the readiness of the state to export its Treaty obligations in education and schooling outside of itself and on to Māori communities without providing the resources which would enable Māori initiatives to succeed.

In another sense this same trend of the state releasing itself from its contractual Treaty obligations by devolving state responsibilities on to communities, (as in Health, Education and Justice) is a motivating force behind the New Right agenda visible in moves toward the privatisation of state assets and as well, the devolution of state services and programmes into the hands of private contractors or 'responsible' citizens groups. Thus the resistance project of arguing the state out of schooling has already been critically reviewed by some Māori (Smith, G., Marshall & Peters, 1991; Sutherland, 1994; Smith, C., 1994) who now argue for a reconstruction of the 'benevolent' state in order to protect the Treaty obligations, for example the restructuring of state schooling, to deliver more equitably on the Treaty promises. Indeed part of the motivation in accepting government funding and therefore coming back into the state 'fold' by the Kura Kaupapa Schools was based on the belief that the state has a contractualy obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to provide 'fair and just' schooling, for Māori. Such responsibilities pertain to nurturing Māori language, knowledge and culture (as a 'taonga' under Article II of hte Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi) and developing the 'same rights and privileges enjoyed by British citizens' (equality of opportunity as contained in Article III of the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi).

The Struggle for Increased Autonomy and Self-Determination

There are tremendous contradictions which arise our of this situation of struggle between Māori interests on the one hand and state interests (and its subsidiary agent, the Ministry of Education) on the other. For example, one of the most cited reasons used by Māori parents to explain the origins of these schooling alternatives was that they were a deliberate move away from the 'colonising influence of schools and the education system' and represented an effort to take urgent action with respect to stemming 'the imminent death of Māori language and culture' (c.f. Benton, 1978). In this view, schools and the education system as a whole are seen as not just reproducing outcomes of social inequality for Māori, they are also perceived as agencies of colonisation and therefore as instruments for promulagation of 'dominant Pakeha' cultural interests. This point is significant as it under-scores the complexities of social, economic, political and cultural subordinate positioning of Māori within New Zealand society.

Having assumed a situation of relative autonomy form state influence through alternative schooling (since the Te Kohanga Reo revolution in 1982, Māori parents and communities have been able to exercise an increased measure of influence over key decision making related to education. In many ways the success (as defined by the resistance communities themselves) of these Māori schools is more assured given that key decisions has been made by Māori people themselves, for example, (with respect to the control over the mode of education and schooling);

- What is to be taught?
- How should this knowledge be taught?
- Whose interests are to be served by schooling?
- What counts as a good education for Māori?
- What curriculum priorities need to be addressed?

The context of relative autonomy has also enabled the Kaupapa Māori schooling communities to initiate structural transformations as well by confronting the mono-cultural ideological underpinnings of conventional schooling; confronting economic barriers to learning; developing structures and processes which develop, rather than stifle, Māori power and control. Another significant aspect is the control over the institutional context which Māori schools have been able to develop within this 'liminal' space. However, the state: dominant: Pakeha nexus has also constructed gate-keeping constraints in order to maintain control and power over these 'alternative' developments for example through the monitoring function of the Education Review Office, through the control over the curriculum through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority and the control over resource allocation by the centralised Ministry of Education structure.

All of these institutions can be critically anlayzed as imposing and applying limitations on Māori self-determinations (tino rangatiratanga) embedded in the Treaty rights.

Summary

The importance of examining Māori struggle within education and schooling, is that the effects of the educational schooling crises have a correlation within the wider social, economic, politiical and cultural positioning of Māori in New Zealand society as a whole. In this sense there is a need to understand why Māori remain marginal despite the apparent 'neutrality' of a schooling and education system that supposedly acts in the best interests of all, espite the 'fair and just' society created by the state, and despite having a piece of paper (the Treaty of Waitangi) which substantiates the Māori claim to being the tangata whenua (indigenous people) of Aotearoa (the Māori name for New Zealand), and furthermore, which gives guarantees to the protection of various rights and properties.

Another interpretation of the interaction between Māori and state interests since 1982 is that Māori communities associated with these initiatives have deliberately sought the support of the state. The basis of Māori interest in 'flirthing' with the state has been the 'real' and urgent need to access financial support to maintain these alternative learning sites. This is a consequence of the significantly disproportionate working class and underclass positioning of Māori individuals and communities which was historically produced through education policy. Māori therefore have mostly little or no economic resourcing to continue to sustain these alternative schools without assistance.

The dilemma posed here is whether or not Māori parents will be able to sustain their hard won 'freedom' in the alternative schooling 'space' to meaningfully influence the schooling and education of their children more significantly than they have been able to hitherto. The problem with which Māori communities are confronted in 'picking up the government cheque' is how to protect the gains made during this phase of relative autonomy while outside the system. Government funding comes at a 'price' for Māori in that they immediately subject themselves 'into' a more 'structurally determined', economically dependent, existence. It is worth noting here that some Kura Kaupapa Māori schools deliberately opted to stay outside of the state system despite the offer of government funding (e.g. Ruamataa in Rotorua). Their reason for this course of action was expressed in the fear that they would have to 'compromise our cultural gains' (Kathy Dewes, 1991; personal communication) by having to conform to the constraining conditions which are embedded in a coalescence of dominant: pakeha: state interests.

Yet another reading of this struggle between Māori and state interests following the development of the Te Kohanga Reo in 1982 is that the structural considerations related to the state economy, influenced by the international free-market trends following Ronald Reagan in the United States and Margaret Thatcher in Britain, were to be conveniently served by Māori opting out of the state schooling system. This allowed for the partial exporting of the schooling crisis posed by Māori within the state school system back on to Māori themselves. This situation conveniently served state interests, (faced with a legitimation crisis) by putting the state back into a position of authority and power at the precise moment when the alternative schools came to negotiate for state support. In every case to date the Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori which are being funded by the state have had to accept relatively poor funding levels and work conditions (compared to conventional state schooling) which in turn undermine the intervention potential of these initiatives. For example, in many cases high pupil teacher ratios militate against the specialist language learning function of these schools, the lack of appropriate establishment grants to provide facilities which are equal to the normal school and the lack of support fo the development of appropriate curriculum resources and so on. In most cases, when consideredcomparatively with other conventional state schools, it is clear that these schools have been under-funded. The state agencies are able to deny this, usually offering the explanation that such schools ought receive 'no more and no less' than other schools. This contrived definition is based on a distorted notion of equity i.e. that equity means 'that everybody must be treated the same'. In applying such a horizontal notion, those that were already disadvantaged before the application of these definitions through policy, remain disadvantaged through the equitable process of taking care to treat everybody the same. In doing so, there is no attempt to address historical inequities, so the same 'unequal' outcomes are reproduced.

Concluding Comments

This paper has attempted to cover a range of general discussion related to struggle in education and schooling. This has involved looking at contested interests in several sites. The purpose of this exercise is an attempt to acquaint the reader with some of the contested issues as well show how Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis is developed on the 'ground' in the cauldron of contested relations and interests. This broad sweep over several issues also helps to show the 'terrain' which Kaupapa Māori theory and praxis has to respond to. The major theme explored here which embraces the wide ranging discussion can be summed up as an insight in some of the multiple struggles between state and Māori interests.

Kaupapa Māori as conscientisation, resistance and praxis has to negotiate the complexity of the range of issues sampled in this paper. The issues canvassed here are what shapes Kaupapa Māori, in that it is the extent to which Kaupapa Māori can develop meaningful transformation of the existing education and schooling crises which must inform (critical) praxis. Over and above this are questions related to the extent to which Kaupapa Māori can be theorised to enable a more expansive intervention into other crises beyond education and schooling. The educational resistance initiatives undertaken by Māori in the 1980s are internationally significant with respect to the commonality of educational crises in education and schooling faced by indigenous people across the world.

This paper has attempted to model one important factor which is necessary in building effective theory and praxis. In has provided an insight into one of the many aspects which a theory of transformative action has to explain in the 'subordinate: Māori' – 'dominant Pakeha' societal context of Aotearoa. It has also showed the dialectical relation of theory and practice; that is, that theorising struggle and participating in struggle are mutually informing. The theory has to suit the 'terrain'.

In order for theory to have relevance and to impact meaningfully on Māori education crises, structuralist concerns which produce these factors, also (as well as culturalist concerns) need to be understood, consciously resisted, and transformed. This is what this paper has attempted to show – the 'dynamics' of thrust and parry at culturalist and structuralist levels, and the resilience of both interest groups in reforming and repositioning themselves when their interests are thwarted. This 'dynamic' set of relations is theorised by Framsci as 'war of position' – and this particular analysis is used in other sections of my thesis to summarise the theorectical discussions of this whole section.

Critical theory understandings are important as well, as they are able to inform observations and to assist interpretations of Kaupapa Māori theory and transformative praxis. It is also the reason why a critical theory approach is discussed in detail in later chapters of this section.

Bibliography

Belich, J. (1989). *I shall not die: Titokowaru's war New Zealand*, 1968-9. Wellington: Allen and Unwin Port Nicholson Press.

Benton, R. (1978). *Results of sociolinguistic survey of language use in Māori households.* Wellington: N.Z.C.E.R.

Best, E. (1925). *Tūhoe: Children of the Mist.* Wellington, Board of Māori Ethnological Research.

Binney, J. (1995). *Redemption songs: A life of Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhanungatanga: Collaborative research stories.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Davies, D. (1970). *Knowledge, education and power.* Paper presented to the Annual Conference of the British Sociological Association.

Ellison, P. (1994). *The manipulation of Māori voice: A kaupapa Māori analysis of the Picot policy process.* Unpublished master's thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand.

Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks.* (Edited and translated by Quitin Hoare and Geoffry Smith). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Irwin, K. (1990). The politics of kohanga reo in S. Middleton, J. Codd & A. Jones (Eds.), *New Zealand education policy today.* (pp.110-120). Wellington: allen & unwin.

Jenkins, K. (1991). *Te ihi, te mana, te wehi o te ao Māori: literacy, power and colonisation.* Unpublished master's Thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Johnston, P.M. (1991). *A fair measure of influence? Māori members on school boards of trustees.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

King, M. (1977). *Te Puea: a biography.* Hodder & Stoughton.

Lee, J. (1996). *He hainamana toku mama, he Māori toku papa, ko wai ahau? Māori - Chinese tell their stories: an exploration of identity.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Nepe, T. (1991). *E hao nei e tenei reanga te toi huarewa tupuna: Kaupapa Māori, an educational intervention system.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

N.Z.E.I. National Māori Council. (1992). *Te putea maminga ki nga kura: Goals and priorities for Māori education.*

Offe, C. (1984).*Contradictions of the welfare state.* London: Hutchison.

Ormsby, S. (1996). *Te reo puoro - the voices of Māori music: past, present and future Māori musicians of the 1960s.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Pihama, L. (1993). *Tungia te ururua kia tupu wharitorito te tupu o te harakeke: A critical analysis of parents as first teachers.* Unpublished masters, thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Pohatu, T.W. (1996). *I tipu ai taatou i ngaa turi o o taatau maatua tiipuna: Transmission and acquisition processes within kaawai whakapapa.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Rae, K. (1996). *Ara hou, ara tuku iho: a new pathway, an ancestral pathway.* Paper presented at CCEA regional conference Kuala Lumpur.

Ramsden, E. (1948). *Sir Apirana Ngata and Māori culture.* Wellington: A.H & A.W Reed.

Rata, E. (1991). *Māori survival and structural separateness, the history of Te Runanga o Nga Kura Kaupapa Māori o Tamaki Makaurau, 1987-1989.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Salmond, A. (1980). *Eruera: The teachings of a Māori elder.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Sharples, P. (1989). *Kura kaupapa Māori: Recommendations for policy development.* Access, 8(1), pp. 27-36.

Smith, C.W. (1994). *Kimihia te maramatanga: Colonisation and Iwi development.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Smith, G.H. (1986[b]) *Akonga Māori: Māori pedagogy and learning.* Vol II, Nga Kete Wananga Series. Auckland: Auckland College of Education.

Smith, G.H. (1986[c]). *Taha Māori: A pakeha privilege.* Delata, 37.

Smith, G.H. (1988[a]). *Kaupapa Māori schooling: Implications for educational policymakers.* Paper presented to Royal Commission on Social Policy, Policy Conference, Wellington. March, 1988.

Smith, G.H. (1988[b]). *Pikau: A burden for ones back. University of Auckland Seminar on Picot.* Auckland, April, 1988.

Smith, G.H. (1989[b]). *The development of Kura Kaupapa Māori schooling.* Paper presented to the New Zealand Association of Researchers in Education Conference. Wellington, December, 1988.

Smith, G.H. (1989[d]). *Kura Kaupapa Māori: Innovation and policy development in access.* Journal of the Policy Studies Group, 8, pp. 26-28.

Smith, G.H. (1990[a]). *Kura Kaupapa Māori.* Paper presented to the Auckland primary principals annual conference. Auckland, April, 1990.

Smith, G.H. (1990[g]). The politics of reforming Māori education. In H. Lauder, & C. Wylie, (eds.), *Towards successful schooling.* London: falmer press, pp. 73-88.

Smith, G.H. and Smith, L.T. (1990[a]) Ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama: Crisis and change in Māori education. In a. Jones (et. Al.) *Myths and realities.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Smith, G.H., Marshall, J., Peters, M. (1991). *The business roundtable and the privatization of education: Individualism and the attack on Māori in delta.* Studies in Education.

Smith, G.H. and Smith, L.T. (1996). New Māori mythologies. In P. Spoonley, D.G. Pearson, & Macpherson, C. (Eds.), *Nga Patai: Racism and Ethnic Relations in Aotearoa, New Zealand* (pp. 217-234). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Smith, L.T. (1995). *Recentering kaupapa Māori research.* Paper presented at Matawhanui conference, Palmerston North, Massey University.

Stewart-Harawira, M. (1995). *Whakatupuranga ngaro ki to whei ao ki te ao marama: The impact of colonisation on Māori whanau.* Unpublished master's thesis. University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Sutherland, B.A. (1994). *Haramai te toki: Enterprise partnerships and the Treaty of Waitangi: Implications for Māori education.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Taplin, B.F. (1996). *He taumata: Autonomous Māori education and the oppositional nature of the new right ideology.* Unpublished master's dissertation, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Te Huarahi Māori Motuhake P.P.T.A. (1993). *Māori caucus. Māori education policy for NZPPTA.*

Timutimu, N.A. (1995). *Kei ngaro to tatou reo rangatira: Middle generation Māori language crisis.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage.* Chicago: University of Chicago

Walker, R.J. (1990). *Ka whawhai tonu matou: struggle without end.* Wellington: Penguin.

Walker, S. (1996) *Kia tau te rangimarie: kaupapa Māori theory as a resistance against the construction of Māori as the other.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland.

Young, M.F.D. (Ed.). (1971). *Knowledge and control: new directions for the sociology of education.* London: Collier Mcmillan.

Ministry of Education. (1991). *Nga haeata matauranga - the strategic direction for Māori education – 1991 - 1995.* Ministry of education annual report. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the Ordinary

Helen Moewaka-Barnes

Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the Ordinary

Helen Moewaka-Barnes

Introduction

The Whariki Research Group was established in 1995 as part of a process of partnership with the Alcohol and Public Health Research Unit, based at the University of Auckland. The name Whariki arose from a whakatauaki that underlies the kaupapa of the group.

Ko tau hikoi i runga i oku whariki
Ko tau noho i toku whare
E huakina ai toku tatau toku matapihi

Your steps on my whariki, your respect for my home, open my doors and windows.

One understanding of this whakatauaki is that health involves the wairua, tinana and hinengaro and in order to pursue health, all elements must be respected. A further meaning is that, in order for doors and windows to be opened researchers must tread gently. Information and knowledge cannot be asked for without respecting those who choose to share and without an understanding of the responsibilities and accountabilities of researchers.

This paper gives an overview of our kaupapa and processes as Māori researchers within a university institution. It does not attempt to argue the rights of Māori, but assumes their existence. Rather it is about what the position of tangata whenua means to us as Māori researchers and how this affects our practice. We are very much on a journey that raises questions at each turn. There is no one-way of doing things, either as researchers or as a Māori research group.

For us this journey has meant an examination of research and what it can and can't do, as well as an examination of our position as researchers. This begins with the understanding that research is often viewed with suspicion and implicated in the process of colonisation (Smith, 1999). Māori research has, in part, grown out of dissatisfaction with prevailing methodologies. Frequently, issues of concern to Māori are not seen to be adequately addressed by non-Māori researchers and fail to answer questions other than those that are causation, disease and individually focused (Murchie, 1984).

Our Kaupapa

Whariki recognises multiple accountabilities that are negotiated with a range of organisations and people. As a group we are responsible for a number of projects as well as working in partnership with other Unit staff.

As part of our kaupapa, Whariki aims to tautoko Māori communities and organisations, to provide high quality research and to further the development of a Māori health research workforce. Our overall goal is to contribute to uplifting the health of our people and to work towards Māori development. In order to do this, we do not ascribe to one methodology, but believe that high quality research means providing the appropriate methods for different needs and purposes.

Recruitment and workforce development are an ongoing challenge, with the demand for researchers far exceeding the work available. We continue to grapple with the need to bring on and support less experienced researchers while meeting the requirements of existing staff and projects.

Worldview

Clearly, we identify ourselves as Māori researchers who carry out Māori research with Māori. Whether this is kaupapa Māori1research or what kaupapa Māori research is, is the subject of ongoing discussion.

Unfortunately this has too often involved confronting the argument that there is no such thing as kaupapa Māori research. It is ironic that the concept of Māori, arising from its meaning of ordinary (Ryan, 1995), is now seen as the other. Defining kaupapa Māori research is therefore not a comfortable exercise. The need to define, discuss or explain its existence in itself serves as a reminder of the power of colonisation. Kaupapa Māori begins as a challenge to accepted norms and assumptions about knowledge and the way it is constructed and continues as a search for understanding within a Māori worldview (Bishop, 1996). Thus, kaupapa Māori is often in the position of being defined in relation to or compared with dominant paradigms, which have now become 'ordinary'. If kaupapa Māori is about taking for granted a Māori worldview (Smith, 1992), then this discourse in itself subverts our right to be Māori – ordinary. We are now the other in our own country.

Denying the existence of kaupapa Māori research can be seen as a lack of understanding that the worldview of a researcher is integral to the research and how it is carried out, including the way in which methodologies and methods are developed. This dismisses the existence of distinct differences arising from ideology and approach related to ethnicity and culture.

1 In reference to kaupapa Māori the word Māori is given here in lower case, referring to and reinforcing its meaning as ordinary, rather than its meaning of te iwi Māori, Māori people.

It could also be seen as another part of the denial of a Māori voice.

Objectivity, both in design and in analysis, has been an overriding concern in the quest for the 'truth', particularly in epidemiological studies (Arnoux and Grace, 1994). Kaupapa Māori research, on the other hand, may ask, 'whose truth?' and query how is it constructed. Control and ownership, in terms of Māori developing and carrying out the study, are seen as more likely to enable a greater understanding of issues that are relevant to Māori. There is some concept here that Māori are more likely to be able to reach 'a truth' about their own lives, but there is also a recognition that this is more related to worldviews, than an easily defined and clear cut fact, which exists independently of the researcher (Bishop, 1994; Bunkle, 1994; Cram, 1995; Smith, 1996). The issue of who controls the research goes beyond the need to gain a better understanding of the issue under study and is central to kaupapa Māori. As control is closely aligned with power, this is important, not only in terms of tino rangatiratanga, but also in kaupapa Māori research's challenge to the dominant culture and 'cultural superiority' of which Bishop (1994) speaks. While there is still discussion and debate on whether it is necessary for all researchers to be Māori in order for a particular study to be kaupapa Māori, the requirement for Māori control is accepted by most (Bishop, 1994; Irwin 1994; Smith 1999; Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, 1996). This control is not solely held by researchers, but is a process of negotiation.

Methods and Methodologies

If we accept that there is no one way of seeing things, then our methods need to reflect this and embrace rather than deny diversity.

While kaupapa Māori research may be seen as taking a distinctive approach and having underlying principles or aspects which are based on a Māori worldview (Smith, 1996), methods are likely to be subordinate to the issues and utility of the research and may be drawn from a range of methodologies. By taking a position that challenges norms and assumptions, kaupapa Māori research involves a concept of the possibility and desirability of change. The research should aim to make a positive difference (Smith, 1999). Therefore the use, usefulness and ownership of the research are of paramount importance.

A number of Māori researchers see qualitative methods as being particularly well suited to Māori. This is seen as enabling a more equal conversation to take place where power can be negotiated in ways that are not generally considered or thought possible in more quantitative approaches (Dyck and Kearns, 1995; Bryman, 1988). However multi-methods that include quantitative approaches may be adopted to 'serve' the purpose of the study. This means that a range of issues, starting with how the research is initiated, through to ownership, practice and use of the research are examined along with research activities of design, implementation and analysis. The research process is not easily separated out, nor is it subordinate to, the methods. For these reasons, while most of the earlier work of Whariki was largely qualitative, we do not ascribe to one method, but believe that high quality research means providing the appropriate methods to serve different purposes.

Research Programme

The current Whariki research programme encompasses a range of utilisation-focused activities that include both basic strategic and applied research. A major focus has been on participatory research with communities and on evaluations of programmes that fall broadly under the umbrella of hauora. Our kaumatua is an integral part of our research team and our programme. While programme evaluation and community action have been a substantial part of Whariki's work, we have become aware of the need and desire for quantitative data on a range of issues of importance to Māori. Although there is still a level of suspicion and scepticism about 'number crunching', we have been increasingly asked for quantitative data and this is evidenced by the widespread distribution of survey findings. This has meant a move towards building up the quantitative strengths of our group. Much APHRU research has utilised an in-house social survey facility; the CATI system (computer assisted telephone interviewing) that is unique in New Zealand in terms of the validity and reliability of the data collected.

Prior to the existence of Whariki, considerable databases on alcohol and other drug use were amassed, but included little Māori specific analyses. There were a number of reasons for this. General population surveys were seen as a priority and Māori specific analysis was problematic for a mainstream research organisation. It has been the growth of Whariki along with clear directives from Māori organisations that has seen this area develop.

A key part of our quantitative development has been the recreational drug use survey that provided a Māori sample of 1,593. The findings have been released as a separate report for Māori. We are hoping to build on the quality and success of this survey with further quantitative projects, including an alcohol survey in 2000. It is hoped that these projects will be ongoing and will provide Māori specific data over time.

No attempts have been made at this stage to compare Māori with non-Māori in these publications (Dacey, 1997; Dacey & Moewaka Barnes, 2000) but inevitably this is what we are asked to do, particularly by the media.

In order not to perpetuate negative images or stereotypes and to pursue our kaupapa of making a positive difference, analyses of this kind need to be carefully thought out, both in terms of their presentation and in light of the usefulness of such comparisons.

While quantitative data can highlight areas of concern and has the potential to persuade policy makers and funders that action is needed, it does not in itself tell us what we can do to bring about change. This is one of the key areas where the interface between quantitative and qualitative data with community action takes place. Quantitative data can highlight particular areas and legitimate community concerns, but it is the communities who are then the experts in determining their own solutions.

Evaluation of programmes often needs to meet multiple stakeholder expectations. Funders may want information that is different from what the communities want. One of our tasks is to make these expectations explicit and try to find ways of carrying out the research that does not compromise any group. For example, providers may want to focus on what is needed to run the best possible programme, while funders may want to know if they received 'value for money'. If we take on an evaluation, it is with the agreement of all parties. This may involve discussing what we can and can't do. An evaluation of a three-year drink drive programme provided information that was fed back to providers and their communities. The focus was on the implementation of the projects and the collaboration between researchers and Māori communities. Longer-term impacts were considered in light of strategies and processes that were known to be likely to lead to change (Moewaka Barnes, 2000). Rather than trying to describe programmes in terms that are accepted and largely legitimated in non-Māori research, we try to frame evaluations within a Māori world-view. For example, showing how a nutrition programme may have led to strengthening marae and iwi structures and why this is a successful impact has been part of another Whariki evaluation (Moewaka Barnes, et al, 1998).

By contributing to a body of knowledge that asserts a Māori worldview as legitimate, we hopefully move toward a greater acceptance of what Māori see as 'successful' and 'robust', and reframing what is meant by these terms or using different terms altogether. If communities are not recognised for their expertise, which includes knowing what processes and approaches work for their people, then the history of suspicion towards research is perpetuated. Community frustration and the need to constantly explain and persuade hinders rather than supports change. Unfortunately, as in the kaupapa Māori debate, we are too often in the position of explaining why this 'other' way of seeing, doing and expressing things is legitimate.

Conclusion

Our approach as Māori researchers does not dictate specifically defined methods that 'belong' to particular disciplines, but tends to emphasise experience and explore new meanings.

Māori research shares a number of concerns with other groups that have been defined and researched by dominant cultures. The charge that a specific kaupapa Māori methodology does not exist has been levelled at Māori researchers. The basis of this appears to be that, to be given the status of a methodology, research must employ methods that are distinctive from all other defined disciplines. However, kaupapa Māori research takes a distinctive approach which stems from a Māori worldview. Thus, arguments against kaupapa Māori can be seen as an argument for its existence. The problem arises when Tauiwi fail to recognise power and methods which spring from their position of 'normality' and privilege. This necessitates 'others' to place themselves as a distinctive methodology and to argue for the right to exist and define themselves. For us as a Māori research group, this is a constant journey of asking questions about ourselves and our way of doing things. It is also, in line with Māori now being the other in Aotearoa, about being questioned. As Māori, attempting to be seen as Māori within Aotearoa and to control our own research and solutions this can be a frustrating process. As researchers within an institution and from an area that carries a history of suspicion, this is a challenge we must address.

References

Arnoux, L. & Grace, V. (1994). Method and Practice of Critical Epidemiology, in: Spicer, J.et al. (eds.) *Social Dimensions of Health and Disease: New Zealand Perspectives,* pp.260-275. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Baum, F. (1995). Researching public health: behind the qualitative-quantitative methodological debate. *Social Science and Medicine*, 14:4, 459-468.

Beaglehole, R. (1990). Epidemiology and health policy: how do we stop the band playing? *New Zealand Medical Journal*, 103, 323-325.

Bishop, R. (1994). Initiating empowering research? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies*, Vol. 29: 1, 175-188.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative Research Stories: Whakawhanaungatanga*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Bryman, A. (1988). Quantity and Quality in Social Research. New York, Routledge.

Bunkle, P. (1994). Women's Constructions Of Health, in: Spicer, J. et al. (eds.) *Social Dimensions of Health and Disease: New Zealand Perspectives*, pp.219-239. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Cram, F. (1995). *Ethics and Cross-Cultural Research*. Auckland: Department of Psychology, University of Auckland.

Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare .(1996). *Hongoeka Declaration for Māori Health Researchers, in: Hui Whakapiripiri: A hui to discuss strategic directions for Māori health research*. Wellington: Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare, Wellington School of Medicine.

Dyck, I. & Kearns, R. (1995). Transforming the relations of research: towards culturally safe geographies of health and healing. *Health and Place* , 1:3, 137-147.

Hammersley, M. (1995). *On feminist methodology, in: The Politics of Social Research*, pp.45-64. London: Sage.

Health Research Council .(1995). *Attendance at Multi-methods Workshop*, Christchurch.

Hooks, B. (1994). *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations*. New York, Routledge.

Irwin, K. (1994). Māori research methods and practices. Sites, 28, 25-43.

Moewaka Barnes, H. (2000) *Collaboration in community action, a successful partnership between indigenous communities and researchers*. Health Promotion International, 15, 17-25.

Moewaka Barnes, H. Tunk, M. Dacey, B., & Hallmond, H. (1998). *Te Pataka o Te Tai Tokerau: Outcome Evaluation Report*. Auckland: Whariki Research Group, Alcohol & Public Health Research Unit, University of Auckland.

Murchie, E. (1984). *Rapuora: Health and Māori Women*. Wellington: The Māori Women's Welfare League Inc.

Robson, C. (1993). *Designing the enquiry, in: Real World Research: A Resource for Social Scientists and Practitioner-Researchers*. Pp.38-75. Oxford: Blackwell.

Ryan, PM. (1995). *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Māori.* Auckland: Reed Books.

Smith, G.H. (1992). *Tane-Nui-a-Rangi's Legacy...Propping up the Sky: Kaupapa Māori as Resistance and Intervention'*. Paper presented at the joint conference of the New Zealand Australia Association for Research in Education, Deakin University.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed.

Smith, L.T. (1996). Kaupapa Māori health research, in*: Hui Whakapiripiri: A Hui to Discuss Strategic Directions for Māori Health Research*. Wellington: Te Ropu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pomare.

Kaupapa Māori Theory is Critical and Anticolonial

Rangimarie Mahuika

Kaupapa Māori Theory is Critical and Anticolonial

Rangimarie Mahuika

This paper was originally a response to a question posed by the late Dr Bella Graham to a small group of students, 'Is Kaupapa Māori theory critical and anti-colonial?' It explores the underlying theoretical frameworks of the Kaupapa Māori approach to research and some of the attendant issues arising out of it. The paper also considers both the foundational literature of this approach and some of the critiques that have attempted to deconstruct and question it.

We live in a time when many people who traditionally have occupied the role of 'researched' are in increasing numbers becoming 'researchers'. As their minority voices are beginning to be heard they speak of their various but similar experiences of marginalization, cultural inferiority and immobilizing oppression. They speak of bearing the heavy burden of the "colonizing gaze" (hooks, 1992, p. 2). Nevertheless, they are not without hope as they speak also about resistance and liberation and the possibilities for transformation. Kaupapa Māori theory and practice contributes a unique indigenous perspective of these experiences.

Research on Māori began during the initial period of first contact with Pākehā and became an enduring feature of colonization. Linda Smith (1998) has written at length of the negative impact of colonial research on Māori within the context of otearoa and the resulting skepticism that remains for many Māori in their attitudes towards research. This has been a common complaint amongst indigenous peoples who have argued not only that "research has told [them] things they already knew" (Gibbs, 2001, p. 675), but that it implies through deficit theories that the positions they occupy are somehow their own fault, due to their inherent inferiority to their colonizer counterparts (Bishop, 1999). The experiences of many of the world's indigenous peoples can attest to the devastating and dehumanizing impact seemingly 'objective' researchers have had on their traditional cultures (see Bishop & Glynn, 2003; Cram, 2001; Gibbs, 2001; L. Smith, 1998; Spoonley, 1999).

Even though approaches and understanding of the sensitive nature of cross-cultural research have improved significantly since first contact, the underlying notions of what counts as research remain the same. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1991, p. 13) has argued that "[r]esearch is the gathering of knowledge – more usually, not for its own sake, but for its use within a variety of applications. It is about control, resource allocation, information and equity. It is about power".

In this way research serves as a useful tool to maintain the status quo while disempowering minority interests.

Ranginui Walker (1985) succinctly describes this reality for Māori, being treated almost like guinea pigs at the hands of Pākehā researchers, in this particular instance within the field of education:

Māori education [has] become the hunting ground of academics as neophytes cut their research teeth on the hapless Māori. It has the advantage that Māori are in the subordinate position with little or no social power to keep out the prying Pākehās. Furthermore, being marginal to the social mainstream, Māori are not in a position to challenge the findings of published research, let alone the esoteric findings of academic elites. (Walker, 1985, p. 231)

Māori, like other indigenous peoples have had first hand experiences of such disempowerment through researchers who have taken Māori knowledge and claimed it as their own, presuming to set themselves up as authorities on our culture yet discussing our lives and experiences in ways that are alien to our understanding. This is an experience common amongst indigenous and colonized peoples as explained by Albert Memmi (1965):

"The memory which is assigned him is certainly not that of his people. The history which is taught him is not his own ... He and his lands are non-entities ... or referenced to what he is not" (pp. 190-191).

Fighting against the reality of their position as the colonized, and impassioned by the desire to prevent the further loss of our language, knowledge and culture, Māori began to fight back. In the 1970s many Māori began to claim that it was inappropriate for non-Māori researchers to continue to carry out research on Māori (L. Smith, 1999). Such a position was considered to be a necessary safeguard against the continued exploitation of Māori knowledge and materials and an effective means of ensuring greater accountability of researchers to their research participants (Bishop & Glynn, 1992). In the early 1980s, the first of several educational initiatives designed specifically to address issues of language and cultural revitalization emerged. As Kōhanga Reo were established and soon followed by Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura and other similar Māori cultural based institutions, they also created a context in which Māori language, cultural practices and values could be rejuvenated while kaupapa Māori was being refined and reshaped as a theory of liberation (G. Smith, 1995).

Kaupapa Māori Theory is Critical and Anticolonial

Rangimarie Mahuika

In a recent paper, Anaru Eketone (2008) discusses this evolution and suggests that kaupapa Māori, as the theoretical construct developed and critiqued by academics, is somewhat removed from the kaupapa Māori envisioned and implemented in many community-based programmes and organizations. Eketone (2008) examines the theoretical foundations of kaupapa Māori practice, providing an informative and useful discussion of the influences of critical theory and constructivism on the development of kaupapa Māori as a theoretical framework.

Despite the relatively recent rise to popularity, it would be erroneous to suggest that kaupapa Māori is a new phenomenon. Nor is it a simple revamp of existing Western theories disguised in Māori culturally appropriate vocabulary and attire. Indeed, Nepe (1991) describes kaupapa Māori as a body of knowledge that has distinct epistemological and metaphysical foundations, which date back to the beginning of time and the creation of the universe. In this way kaupapa Māori is inherently intertwined in Māori language and culture, indeed a part of Māori identity. It has been defined as "the philosophy and practice of being Māori" (G. Smith, 1992, p. 1). Further descriptions have discussed kaupapa Māori as "a social project" (L. Smith, 2000, p. 233), and "a theory of change" (G. Smith, 1995, p. 21). Even these more recent uses of the phrase are able to find support, both in the more recent initiatives of Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori, but also in long-standing historical examples. Graham Smith (1995) cites the deeds of individuals such as Te Kooti Arikirangi and Sir Apirana Ngata as historical examples of kaupapa Māori resistance in action. Kaupapa Māori theory is seen as a philosophical framework that underpins these resistance initiatives.

Over the past decade, kaupapa Māori theory based approaches have grown rapidly as a preferred research methodology amongst Māori scholars across a range of disciplines. Its popularity lies perhaps in its ability to both acknowledge and accommodate Māori ways of being within an approach that remains academically rigorous (Irwin, 1994). However, kaupapa Māori approaches are not limited to use by Māori researchers or research participants alone. Beyond these shores, indigenous scholars have also found significance in the 'decolonizing' and 'empowering' message inherent within the philosophies and principles espoused as part of a kaupapa Māori approach (Lopez, 1998; Tillman, 1998). It is perhaps one of otearoa's most significant contributions to the paradigm proliferation occurring internationally, as indigenous and minority scholars seek ways and means of articulating their own truths and realities within the western dominant structures of the academy (see Dillard, 2006; Lather, 2006; Wright, 2006).

However, not all have agreed that kaupapa Māori is necessarily self-critical in its 'liberative' philosophy. Some commentators suggest that it creates a totalizing narrative of what it is to be Māori with scarce attention to the multiple intersections of iwi identity that many Māori lay claim to, and the diverse issues inherent in such an approach (Kana, 2007; Lopez, 1998; Tillman, 1998). Others have suggested that kaupapa Māori has been used to set up a 'tribal elite', guilty of creating oppressive structures similar to those within the Western world that they have so heavily critiqued (Rata, 2006). It also remains unclear where kaupapa Māori sits in relation to other post-colonial theories and approaches.

The present study explores the underlying theoretical frameworks that inform kaupapa Māori theory and practice and specifically seeks to discuss the position that kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial. Indeed, is kaupapa Māori a conscience raising theory of liberation that empowers individuals with a critical consciousness, or does it simply critique the 'norm' or 'oppressor' without turning its own critical gaze inward? Moreover, if kaupapa Māori both rejects the epistemological frameworks of the colonizer yet draws on theoretical foundations beyond the Māori world then is it really anti-colonial?

This paper considers these issues, and argues that kaupapa Māori theory is both critical and anti-colonial and yet in other ways is not. Kaupapa Māori theory and practice has generated significant development for Māori research and education in its ability to critique mainstream attitudes and understandings towards issues of relevance for Māori. However, Anaru Eketone (2008) suggests that in theory if "kaupapa Māori is about critiquing unequal power relations that means it is possible to have an identifiable end to kaupapa Māori approaches in a New Zealand context" (p. 6).

While its clearly resistant positioning against the status quo has been an essential component in facilitating opportunities and 'space' for Māori research and researchers (both figuratively and literally), perhaps kaupapa Māori's greatest potential lies in its ability to both challenge and uncover the accepted but un-examined thoughts and practices that are advocated as kaupapa Māori theory and practice.

Perhaps more important than a clear answer to whether or not kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial, is this discussion of the potential to move beyond what is currently known as kaupapa Māori. Foucault (1981) taught that "as soon as people begin to have trouble thinking things in the way they have been thought, transformation becomes at the same time very urgent, very difficult, and entirely possible" (p. 457). This study focuses its attention on previously published sources in the field of kaupapa Māori, and through an examination of this literature provides brief snapshots of some of the issues introduced above. Subsequently, it is limited in its scope and data, but seeks to outline the progress made so far, and to consider the foundational potential that still exists within kaupapa Māori theory and beyond for sustained and significant transformation for Māori.

What is Kaupapa Māori Theory?

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

One translation for the whakatauaki above suggests to Māori especially that 'you can never be lost; you are a seed sown at Rangiātea'. It speaks of a belief that we are directly descended from the Heavens and trace our whakapapa back to the beginning of time. Underlying views and principles such as these are articulated within a wide variety of kōrero tawhito, which in turn have often been used to frame the kaupapa Māori theoretical approach. In this way Linda Smith suggests that:

... there is more to kaupapa Māori than our history under colonialism or our desires to restore rangatiratanga. We have a different epistemological tradition that frames the way we see the world, the way we organize ourselves in it, the questions we ask, and the solutions we seek. (L. Smith, 2000, p. 230)

However, it was this history 'under colonialism', and Māori discontent with the continued negative impact this colonial legacy was having on our unique Māori episteme, which created the context for transformation. Graham Smith (2003) has argued that one of the most significant factors in facilitating this transformation was a 'conscientization', a shift in mindset that occurred within large numbers of Māori:

a shift away from waiting for things to be done to them, to doing things for themselves; a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to an emphasis on being more proactive; a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation. (G. Smith, 2003, p. 2)

This emerging political consciousness among Māori communities in the 1980s provided the impetus for the resurgence and revitalization of kaupapa Māori through the establishment of Te Kōhanga Reo and later Kura Kaupapa Māori, Whare Kura, and Whare Wānanga.

Out of these resistance initiatives kaupapa Māori theory has developed as a "new theory of change" and a critical factor underpinning both the success and emancipatory potential of these initiatives (G. Smith, 1992, p. 13). Kaupapa Māori provides a way to empower Māori to regain control of our lives, our culture and research related to those things (Bishop, 1994). In this sense kaupapa Māori can be viewed as an assertion of our cultural beliefs and practices, our ways of knowing and being and our right to both live and maintain them. Despite this assertion, Graham Smith (1993) maintains that kaupapa Māori:

... is not a rejection of Pākehā knowledge and or culture, however it does understand the critical factor of how knowledge can be controlled to the benefit of particular interest groups. Kaupapa Māori advocates excellence within Māori culture as well as Pākehā culture. It is not an either or choice – Māori parents want full access to both cultural frameworks for their children. (p. 5)

Unlike the dominant Western paradigms, kaupapa Māori does not make claims to universal truth or to superiority over other existing paradigms. Arguably the ultimate goal of kaupapa Māori research, like much of the scholarship from indigenous and minority peoples, is to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being. In this way "kaupapa Māori not only challenges 'legitimate' or 'certified' knowledge claims, but also questions the very process by which such knowledge is produced" (Lopez, 1998, p. 226). Kaupapa Māori theory then provides a platform from which Māori are striving to articulate their own reality and experience, their own personal truth as an alternative to the homogenization and silence that is required of them within mainstream New Zealand society. Inherent in this approach is an understanding that Māori have fundamentally different ways of seeing and thinking about the world and simply wish to be able to live in accordance with that specific and unique identity.

Kaupapa Māori Theory is Critical and Anticolonial

Rangimarie Mahuika

Despite the many writings and discussions on the nature of kaupapa Māori theory and practice, it remains surprisingly difficult to find a concise and definitive explanation of what kaupapa Māori theory actually is (Powick, 2003). Much of the discussion relates to what it may involve, the underlying principles and values inherent in the philosophy, and its various implications for research and researchers. Indeed, there seems to be an apprehension towards providing a definition, perhaps for fear of creating boundaries that may limit both the effectiveness and the widespread use and application of kaupapa Māori. This has been explained partly by the allusion to the heterogeneous nature of Māori as a people and the large variety of ways in which Māori are trying to utilize kaupapa Māori. The greater danger may also be that in defining and codifying kaupapa Māori theory and practice, Māori attitudes, understandings, and approaches to research may be reduced to "simple procedures", which according to Linda Smith (2000) may be "helpful to outsiders, but masks the underlying issues and is a deeply cynical approach to a complex history of involvement as research objects" (p. 242). There are necessarily diverse ways of both interpreting and applying kaupapa Māori depending on the context and content of the research project. Differences in academic disciplines or tribal affiliations, both for researchers and research participants may impact on the way in which an individual may understand a cultural concept or practice, the way a project may be planned and/or carried out, or what may be appropriate to discuss and impart (Kana, 2007).

Further difficulties have been posed by the way in which the term itself has been used simultaneously to describe not only the theory of kaupapa Māori, but kaupapa Māori research methodologies, methods and culturally appropriate research ethics as well. This multi-faceted use of the term has made definition and discussion somewhat more complicated as it is not always clear how the term is being used in a particular context. However, this use of the term is indicative of the finely intertwined and interrelated nature of the many issues involved in kaupapa Māori theory and practice.

Is Kaupapa Māori theory critical?

Graham Smith (1992) has argued that there are three major assumptions that underlie the kaupapa Māori theoretical approach. Firstly, there is an assumption that for the majority of Māori, the institutional frameworks that exist in otearoa are culturally antagonistic, requiring Māori to conform to the 'taken for granted' structures and procedures that operate within these institutions. He further contends that this is often justified by arguments that Māori have chosen to enter the institution and should therefore be subject to the same regulations as everyone else:

What is problematic here is that most Māori do not come into the institution, secondly, if they do, it is often assumed that Māori have exercised freedom of choice ... the reality is of course, that the choices most Māori have are limited, to either participating in Pākehā dominant institutional frameworks, or not participating at all (G. Smith, 1993, p. 18).

As such, the second point is that these biased institutional structures must not be taken for granted, or assumed to be impartial as those who are not from within the mainstream culture are at a distinct disadvantage. Finally, where such institutional structures are restrictive and interfere with the ability of Māori to fulfill our cultural aspirations, they must be challenged and engaged in order to create the necessary space for kaupapa Māori and realization of our cultural goals and aspirations. These assumptions and the issues that naturally flow on from this discussion are indicative of the critical nature of kaupapa Māori theory and practice.

Kaupapa Māori was in large part an initial response to these continued power imbalances and the insistent use of cultural deficit theory as seemingly logical explanations for the position that Māori occupy within New Zealand society. Russell Bishop and Ted Glynn maintain that it is through "the reassertion of indigenous Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices ... termed kaupapa Māori theory and practice ... that historical and ongoing power imbalances will be addressed" (Bishop & Glynn, 2003, p. 223). In developing an understanding of kaupapa Māori theory it is important to realize that kaupapa Māori is more than just Māori knowledge and beliefs, but a way of framing how we think about these ideas and practices. Nepe (1991) asserts that kaupapa Māori is a "conceptualization of Māori knowledge" (p. 15). Linda Smith (2006) takes this idea further and suggests that:

... it is a way of abstracting that knowledge, reflecting on it, engaging with it, taking it for granted sometimes, making assumptions based upon it, and at times critically engaging in the way that it has been and is being constructed. (p. 231).

The process of criticism, however, is not without its problems. Indeed, the challenge for Māori to be necessarily self-critical in the development of theory and practice has different implications than for their non-Māori counterparts.

Linda Mead (1996) comments on this idea, stating that "writing can be dangerous because sometimes we reveal ourselves in ways which get misappropriated and used against us" (p. 45). Elizabeth Rata, who is a strong critic of kaupapa Māori, provides one example of why the practice of self-criticism has different implications for Māori. Rata (2006) describes the kaupapa Māori movement as an ideologically driven "retribalised culture, with prescribed gender roles, religious politics and hierarchical birth-status, [that] has demonstrated the irresolvable conflict between traditionalism and New Zealand's universalist, secular culture" (p. 43). Moreover, Rata (2006) claims that kaupapa Māori is undemocratic and has supported the emergence of a neo-tribal elite, and uses a quote from Leonie Pihama to highlight this "class-ethnic tension evident in the New Zealand experience" (p. 45). Pihama's quote was critical of so-called 'Māori leaders' "the corporate warrior elite many of whom would struggle to recall their last visit to the poverty stricken realities of almost half our people" (Pihama, as cited in Rata, 2006, p. 46). While Pihama's criticism was no doubt deserved, its use to support a point of view so far removed from her own is unfortunate. While comments such as Pihama's provide necessary self-reflexivity to progressing our own initiatives and theories, Māori remain legitimately wary of being too openly critical, and need to exercise caution as often comments can be taken out of context and used inappropriately.

Such oppositional attitudes and experiences perhaps make it much easier for kaupapa Māori theory and practice to assume a strong critical position on "the politics of Pākehā dominance in New Zealand" (G. Smith, 1995, p. 22). Numerous studies, reports, books and articles testify to the detrimental impact culturally arrogant researchers have had on Māori. However, in casting Pākehā in the critiqued position of the 'norm', by default kaupapa Māori then affirms the position of Māori as 'other'. Several commentators have argued that Māori need to move away from this relationship of interdependence with the Crown, toward measures that focus on our needs and aspirations first, in turn developing our tino rangatiratanga (see G. Smith, 2000a; O'Sullivan, 2005, 2007).

This binary characteristic of Māori and Pākehā is also problematic in that it critiques the role of Pākehā as the dominant and the oppressor with little critical consideration of self. The way in which 'Māori' is interpreted in kaupapa Māori raises a range of significant issues especially when viewed in light of the theory's aim for empowerment and liberation. This can be seen in the way 'crucial change elements' and other principles identified as embedded within kaupapa Māori theory and practice are discussed and explained. Their universal application and significance is assumed and considered to be apparently unproblematic. Several authors have identified similar sets of principles or frameworks, which they consider to be significant in gaining an understanding of kaupapa Māori.Graham Smith (1992) has identified six factors or crucial change elements that he draws out of the successful initiatives of Te Kōhanga Reo, and Kura Kaupapa Māori. He argues that these elements form part of the culturally specific framework that underpins kaupapa Māori as an approach, and has influenced the success of these specific educational programmes. These elements are:

1. Tino Rangatiratanga: the relative autonomy principle
2. Taonga tuku iho: the cultural aspirations principle
3. Ako Māori: culturally preferred pedagogy
4. Kia piki ake i ngā raruraru o te kainga: the mediation of socio-economic factors
5. Whānau: the extended family management principle
6. Kaupapa: the collective vision principle. (G. Smith, 1992, pp. 13-14)

These principles have obvious potential for addressing the educational crises facing Māori students within schools in otearoa. While it is pointed out that these principles do not constitute an exhaustive list, Graham Smith (1992) suggests that they provide a useful starting point to highlight the potential of culturally based imperatives for educational advancement for Māori.The recurrence of similar concepts and principles throughout the literature may show the wide-spread relevance of these notions, and points towards the foundational aspects of kaupapa Māori as a theory. Alternatively the use of these 'principles' may also be seen as cliché and detracting from the true cultural significance of the underlying concept as they can be interpreted in many differing ways and often within the literature discussed and applied to justify or explain a variety of approaches or ideas. Whānau and whakapapa provide two examples of this.

The term whānau means the extended family including parents, grandparents, aunties, uncles, cousins and other members. In this way the term whānau and all that it refers to is significantly more than a mere 'principle'. It is a concept, and a basic building block of traditional Māori society. It has its own set of cultural values and practices, and while there may be general similarities there will also be variations, influenced by the tikanga of different tribal affiliations as well as individual whānau differences.

Whānau is also the principle she uses to discuss issues of mana wahine, mana tane, or gender, and the role of kaumatua and kuia in providing guidance and expert advice within the whānau and the relevance of this in kaupapa Māori research. Linda Smith (2000) also makes an interesting qualification of kaumatua and kuia, noting that not all older Māori can be considered kaumatua or kuia in the sense referred to here. Who then is qualified to define whether or not an individual is old enough, or has accumulated sufficient knowledge and expertise or mana to qualify to be a kaumatua? It is an interesting point in the context of critiquing kaupapa Māori as a theory of empowerment. Evidently given the relevance of issues such as tuakana/teina, age, gender, and even holding sufficient or specific expertise, the notion of whānau is hardly an uncomplicated site that is free from the taint of power and struggle.

Russell Bishop (1996) uses the term 'whakawhanaungatanga' to refer to his "culturally constituted metaphor for conducting kaupapa Māori research" (p. 215). Based around the word whānau, a whānaunga is a relation or whānau member, and whakawhanaungatanga is the process of establishing family relationships. Bishop's (1996) approach relates to a type of whānau relationship which he argues has a significant impact on the sharing of power and control throughout the research process as well as the nature of the interactions between researchers and research participants. In his discussion, Bishop also describes the term whakapapa as "the mechanism used by Māori people to establish familial relationships" (Bishop, 1996, p. 215).

More than simple genealogy, Joseph Te Rito (2007a, 2007b) discusses whakapapa as a framework for understanding one's identity while sharing an example of how whakapapa provides not just familial connections, but also connects us to the land and the stories and histories. Linda Smith (2000) describes whakapapa as "a way of thinking, a way of learning, a way of storing knowledge, and a way of debating knowledge. It is inscribed in virtually every aspect of our worldview" (p. 234). Maintaining one's identity within the whānau, hapū, and iwi, and establishing one's relationship both to people and places, are all reliant on knowledge and understanding of whakapapa. As such whakapapa is held to be sacred, and again as with the example of whānau above, whakapapa is not really a principle but has had principles imposed upon it to justify or explain underlying cultural conflicts or potential research tools and approaches in a way that has specific cultural implications (see Royal, 1998). For example Mead (1996) argues that issues of whakapapa may be of great significance when selecting both Māori research participants and researchers. Kiri Powick (2003) notes that "the desire to have more Māori researchers involved in various projects leads to the assumption that simply assigning a researcher who happens to be Māori would be enough to satisfy the need to be culturally sensitive" (pp. 14-15). Such an attitude fails to recognize that both the research participants and the researchers have their own whakapapa links. Tribal differences in tikanga, for example, may mean that both parties have different interpretations of the same practice. Also one's whakapapa may impact on what knowledge others feel comfortable sharing. This may be because one is from another iwi, the ranking of a person's whakapapa within the same iwi, or because of past disagreements between iwi, hapū or whānau.

Another sensitive issue that is presented in a seemingly unproblematic way is that of te reo Māori. It is widely argued that the maintenance of te reo Māori is integral to the survival of Māori culture (Powick, 2003, p. 15). Initiatives such as Te Kōhanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori have started part of the essential task of protecting the language for future generations. However, there are significant implications of this principle for kaupapa Māori theory and research beyond the survival of the language. It has been suggested that the language is also embedded with cultural beliefs, practices and understandings (G. Smith, 1993; L. Smith, 2000). Such values and beliefs are unique to Māori, and as such a full explanation is impossible in another language belonging to an alien culture lacking in similar words, beliefs and practices to parallel those of Māori. In this sense the argument follows that if a researcher lacks the ability to speak in and understand te reo Māori, it may limit the information a participant is able to communicate effectively in the research process. This argument may seem logical. However, it raises issues of authenticity and challenges the identity claims and authority of those Māori who are unable to speak the language. Moreover, these views hold the potential to dis-empower and dis-enfranchise those who may already be marginalized within the mainstream because they are Māori, yet struggle to find acceptance from within their own culture because they are not Māori enough. This is not to say that the maintenance of the language is unimportant, but that it is important to acknowledge and unearth the complex issues that are made invisible when discussing aspects of kaupapa Māori in a simplified and uncritical manner.

Such simplistic discussion of the issues related to kaupapa Māori links to another common criticism, namely that kaupapa Māori essentialises both the Māori people and our culture "ignoring the fluidity of boundaries and possibly creating a 'romanticized' Māori past and present" (Bishop, 2003, p. 224). Gerardo Lopez (1998) raises similar issues in his critique of Russell Bishop's work:

There is an assumption that you make between being an insider and having access to the truth, the Māori truth. Your push for process – to work collaboratively with Māori by establishing one's positionality and by following an elaborate practice that is grounded in Māori cultural traditions – subscribes to a logic that not only assumes that insiders can speak, but that they all speak in the same voice. (Lopez, 1998, p. 228)

The illusion of an uncomplicated and homogenous Māori people is a common criticism of kaupapa Māori. While this totalizing narrative of 'Māoriness' makes claims for legitimacy and authenticity more authoritative, it binds us into the dichotomy of Māori/Pākehā, or insider/outsider. Such binaries not only fail to problematize notions of insider and outsider, Māori and Pākehā, but they prevent us from truly articulating ourselves, of sharing our ways of knowing and being and experiencing the world, with all their inherent contradictions. That is not to say that kaupapa Māori theory and its proponents do not acknowledge the shortcomings and failings of the approach. Hine Waitere-Ang (1998) for instance, asks: "How much is cloaked and diffused when we, as Māori researchers, ignore our own level of institutionalization particularly when we choose to write about ourselves?" (p. 224). Graham Smith (2000a) has also alluded to this danger of 'our stories' becoming overly generalized. He writes:

There is a need to sort out what is romanticized and what is real and to engage in a genuine critique of where we really are. Having said that, I think the point also needs to be made that it is all very well being engaged in deconstruction and going through an exercise of self-flagellation, but at the end of the day there must be room for change (pp. 212-213).

In this way critique is necessary, not for critique's sake, but for the opportunities and potential for greater progress and transformation it may provide.

Is Kaupapa Māori theory anti-colonial

In the same way that Māori cultural practices are validated within Māori cultural contexts, kaupapa Māori theory is validated and legitimated within the understandings of a Māori worldview. Much of the early literature based around kaupapa Māori theory has focused on identifying culturally based elements with emanicipatory potential. These concepts as discussed earlier are identifiable within the successful initiatives of Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and other Māori cultural based education initiatives and research approaches. The literature has provided numerous examples of the use of these cultural concepts as metaphors, operating within a cultural framework that not only makes sense for Māori, but holds meaning and significance that is not easily found in the current mainstream structures (see Bishop, 1994; Kana & Tamatea, 2006; G. Smith, 1992; L. Smith, 2000; Royal, 1998). Furthermore, these elements have proven effective in developing alternative and authentically different ways of thinking about and addressing many of the issues Māori face in a range of contexts including in these specific examples, education and research. It is in this consistent generation of alternatives that we continue to challenge the status quo and maintain our resistance to colonization. But does this mean that kaupapa Māori is anti-colonial? To assess this question further requires an understanding of what it means to be anti-colonial. This term is best comprehended in its relation to the term post-colonial, and the attendant issues which illuminate both the discourse of anti-colonialism and the positioning of kaupapa Māori theory and practice within it.

Much discussion has taken place both nationally and internationally over the contested meanings and interpretations of the term 'post-colonial'. It has been argued that the prefix 'post' attached to the term colonial refers to a framework that can be used to move beyond imperialist colonial models. Accordingly, it is suggested that this moving beyond colonialism provides space for colonized and marginalized peoples to share their own unique perspectives and understandings. Despite this interpretation the common usage of the prefix 'post' seems to imply completion or following on from and infers the idea of chronological progression (Pihama, 1997). Such an interpretation is obviously problematic in the New Zealand context as highlighted by Linda Smith (1998):

Naming the world as 'post-colonial' is, from indigenous perspectives, to name colonization as 'finished business'. According to many indigenous perspectives the term post-colonial can only mean one thing; the colonizers have left. There is rather compelling evidence that this has not in fact occurred. (p. 14)

In spite of these objections some academics maintain that the term post-colonial can be of some practical use in understanding many of the issues facing New Zealand society. Paul Spoonley (1995) is one such academic who states that post-colonialism should be used "to mark a critical engagement with colonialism, not claim that colonialism is overturned ... post-colonialism is used here to signal a project by those who want to critique and replace the institutions and practices of colonialism" (p. 49). Spoonley (1995) is suggesting then that post-colonialism should not be confused with claiming that the act of colonizing is no longer practiced, "that somehow the 'white' world now understands this phenomenon and is able to desist from it" (G. Smith, 2000a, p. 215). Instead he claims post-colonialism is a framework to be used to challenge and crituque colonialism.

Some Māori and Indigenous scholars dispute these apparently helpful interpretations labeling post-colonialism as a Pākehā-centred theoretical framework as it reinforces the oppositional binaries of Māori/Pākehā, colonized/colonizer that Spoonley suggests it can be used to critique (see Pihama, 1997; S. Walker, 1996). It seems somewhat contrary that those who argue the potential for post-colonialism to provide a space and voice for the westernized 'other', continue to ignore the voice of Māori as they point out: "how can we possibly refer to otearoa as 'post-colonial' when every aspect of our lives is touched and imposed upon by the colonizers? Whose interests are served by such a position?" (Pihama, 1997, p. 9).

To avoid the inherent problems of the term post-colonial, some Māori have chosen to use an alternative term truer to their own desires and aspirations, as articulated by Merata Mita (1993): "I have dismantled the frame of reference further, and in my construct – post-colonialism, which denotes passivity has become anti-colonialism, which is a truer description of what influences the arts and politic in the Māori world" (p. 37). The term anti-colonial then is used to describe the active and proactive resistance to both old and new forms of colonization that Māori and Indigenous peoples should adopt (G. Smith, 2000a):

Within the New Zealand context of contested power relations between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori interests the state is not neutral. The state is essentially Pākehā and it works to reproduce the interests of Pākehā. In such circumstances, relative autonomy from the monocultural agents and institutions of the state is necessary if change is to result from struggle (G. Smith, 2000a, p. 185).

Statements such as the quotation above illuminate the obvious anti-colonial undercurrents within kaupapa Māori theory and practice. In its assertion of Māori cultural aspirations, values and beliefs, kaupapa Māori continues to work both against and beyond the struggles and strife created as a consequence of colonization, past and present. In this way kaupapa Māori is very much anti-colonial, its focus no longer consumed by a reactive relationship with the Crown, motivated instead by a proactive focus on issues of relevance and concern for Māori. However, there have been arguments advanced to suggest that kaupapa Māori is not anti-colonial. Bishop (1994) has discussed the relevance of the fact that kaupapa Māori "is not a further paradigmatic shift within a Western dominated cosmology" (p. 183). Instead he maintains that kaupapa Māori is located within a uniquely Māori world view, and from this position is able to generate solutions from that alternative framework. Others would argue that kaupapa Māori is heavily influenced by theories drawn from outside of this unique Māori epistemology. Indeed the works of notable non-Māori theorists such as Paulo Freire, Edward Said, Franz Fanon and Patti Lather can all be found referenced by the seminal proponents of kaupapa Māori theory and their influence is clear to those who are familiar with their works (see Bishop, 1994, pp. 179-181; G. Smith, 2000a, p. 210; L. Smith, 1999, pp. 2, 28). This may constitute an internal contradiction. How can kaupapa Māori be an anti-colonial theory based in specifically Māori ways of seeing and knowing the world, and yet draw on western theories and theorists for inspiration and support?

Graham Smith (2000a) specifically addresses this issue and laments the fact that Indigenous peoples are often anti-theory because of the perception that "theory is considered part of the Western colonizing agenda that serves to keep us oppressed" (p. 214). Smith argues that while it is important to be conscious of the western oriented nature of much of these theories, we similarly need to be aware of the ways in which these theories may support us in developing our own theoretical understandings by drawing on our own Indigenous knowledge. In this sense the origins of the theory are not the deciding factor, but "we ought to be open to using any theory and practice with emancipatory relevance to our Indigenous struggle" (p. 214).

In this way theory can be drawn on for inspiration and guidance, it can support us to consider alternative ways of developing and organizing our own critical and anti-colonial initiatives within the context of otearoa. Indeed drawing on theories in this way, to augment and supplement our own framework of ideas, may mean that we are able to use those aspects of a particular theory which further our cause and discard those aspects that do not. In this we overcome potential issues raised by commentators regarding the conflicting nature of theories that have influenced the development of kaupapa Māori (see Eketone, 2008).

Conclusion

It is clear, we must look. Not simply in order to understand, but in order to resist. In order that we might recognise the workings of power upon us, and at the same time grasp the spaces of freedom those workings allow us. (May, 2005, pp. 89-90). Kaupapa Māori theory and practice have manifested significant development for Māori research in its ability to both challenge mainstream attitudes and understandings towards issues of relevance for Māori and make space for the articulation of Māori ways of knowing and being. Its greatest potential may lie in its ability to challenge Māori to develop a greater awareness of who we are, what it is we really want, and how we want to go about achieving that. The purpose of this paper was to discuss whether or not kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial. It has argued that while kaupapa Māori is highly critical of external constraints and opposition, there remains room for more rigorous internal evaluation if it is to meet the lofty goals of empowerment and emancipation for Māori. Indeed, even defining what empowerment and emancipation for Māori might look like is a monumental task as we are a heterogeneous and diverse group. Commentators and proponents of kaupapa Māori themselves are aware of some of these frailties. However, while no-one suggests that kaupapa Māori is perfect, for many it is perceived to be a huge improvement on the options that existed previously. The task that remains is to continue to develop further possibilities to better cater to the diverse range of needs that can be classified as Māori.

The paper has also argued that understandings of post-colonialism and anti-colonialism are inextricably linked in both the past and future of colonization. As much as Kaupapa Māori theory and practice has developed to deal initially with the problems we face as part of our colonial legacy, it has further potential to deal with matters of importance for Māori beyond colonization. While globalization may have been coined neo-colonization, issues involving mana wahine, hapū and iwi self-determination, among others based within Māori culture remain to be dealt with. They require a philosophy and framework that is culturally legitimate.

This study has shown that kaupapa Māori is a theory and practice of active resistance to the continued colonization of Māori people and culture, and in many ways is anti-colonial. However, it has argued that the modification and adaptation of ideas and theories from outside does not mean that kaupapa Māori is entirely devoid of colonial imprints, mechanisms, and opportunities. Subsequently, the resistance to colonialism as Graham Smith and others have noted, requires a deeper understanding and 'dismantling' of the 'masters house', a re-programming of the 'oppressors' tools, so that revitalization and resistance might be made more effective in the ever evolving present and future. Indeed, after two hundred or more years of colonization to suggest that Māori are capable of existing without being influenced by western ways of thinking is unrealistic. Kaupapa Māori is not about rejecting Pākehā knowledge. Instead, it is about empowering Māori, hapū and iwi to carve out new possibilities, and to determine in their own ways, their past, present and future identities and lives. Finding the correct balance and configuration within which iwi, hapū, Māori and even non-Māori knowledges and influences might be harnessed most effectively remains one of the major challenges for Māori and Māori scholars. In contemplating this pathway, Māori scholars might yet reconsider more closely the often cited whakataukī of Sir Apirana Ngata. It still offers thoughts about how this intertwining might occur:

E tipu, e rea, mō ngā rā o tōu ao.
Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau a te Pākehā hei ara mō tō tinana.
Ko tō ngākau ki ngā tāonga a ō tūpuna Māori hei tikitiki mō tō mahuna.
Ko tō wairua ki tō atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa.

Grow up and thrive for the days destined to you.
Your hand to the tools of the Pākehā to provide physical sustenance.
Your heart to the treasures of your Māori ancestors as a crown for your brow.
Your soul to your God, to whom all things belong.
(Brougham & Reed, 1999, p. 89)

References:

Bishop, R. & Glynn, T. (1992). *Ha kanohi kitea: conducting and evaluating educational research.* New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 27(2), 125-135.

Bishop, R. & Glynn, T. (2003). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education. London: Zed Books.*

Bishop, R. (1994). Initiating empowering research? *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 29(1), 175-188.*

Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhānaungatanga: collaborative research stories.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd.

Bishop, R. (1998). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: a Māori approach to creating knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 11(2), 199-219.

Bishop, R. (1999). Kaupapa Māori research: an indigenous approach to creating knowledge. In N. Robertson (Ed.). *Māori and psychology: Research and practice.* Hamilton: University of Waikato.

Brougham, A. E. & Reed, A. W. (1999). *The Reed book of Māori proverbs.* Auckland: Reed Publishing Ltd.

Cram, F. (2001). Rangahau Māori: Tona tika, tona pono – the validity and integrity of Māori research. In M. Tolich (Ed.). *Research ethics in Aotearoa*

Dillard, C. B. (2006). When the music changes, so should the dance: Cultural and spiritual considerations in paradigm 'proliferation'. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(1), 59-76.

Eketone, A. (2008). Theoretical underpinning of kaupapa Māori directed practice. *MAI Review*, 1, Target Article.

Foucault, M. (1981). So is it important to think? Liberation, 30-31 May. Republished in J. D. Faubion. (1994). *Michel Foucault power: Essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984* (pp. 454-458). New York: New York Press.

Gibbs, M. (2001). Toward a strategy for undertaking cross-cultural collaborative research. *Society and Natural Resources*, 14, 673-687.

Hooks, B. (1992). *Black looks: race and representation.* Boston: South End Press.

Irwin, K. (1994). Māori research methods and processes: an exploration. Sites, 28, 25-43. Kana, P. (2007). *Presentation given on Kaupapa Māori theory at Te Kura Toi Tangata Postgraduate Conference*, University of Waikato, 3 December.

Kana, F. & Tamatea, K. (2006). Sharing, listening, learning and developing understandings of kaupapa Māori research by engaging with two Māori communities involved in education. *Waikato Journal of Education*, 12, 9-20.

Lather, P. (2006). Paradigm proliferation as a good thing to think with: teaching research in education as a wild profusion. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(1), 35-57.

Lopez, G.R. (1998). Reflections on epistemology and standpoint theories: a response to 'a Māori approach to creating knowledge'. International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education 11(2), 225-231.

May, T. (2005). Response to Hamann and McWhorter. *Foucault Studies*, 3, 88-90.

Mead, L. T. R. (1996). *Te aho o te kakahu matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Memmi, A. (1965). *The colonizer and the colonized trans.* Howard Greenfield. London: Orion Press.

Mita, M. (1993). Trick or treat? Issues of feminism and post-colonialism in relation to the Arts. In L. T. Smith (Ed.). *Te Pua 3 – the Journal of Puawaitanga.* Auckland: Education Department, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Nepe, T. M. (1991). *Te Toi huarewa tipuna. Kaupapa Māori an educational intervention system.* Unpublished master's thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

O'Sullivan, D. (2005). Māori self-determination in the modern political context. *Alternative: an International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship,* December, 51-67.

O'Sullivan, D. (2007). *Beyond biculturalism: the politics of an indigenous minority.* Wellington,: Huia Publishing Ltd.

Pihama, L. (1997). Ko Taranaki te maunga: Challenging post-colonial disturbances and post-modern fragmentation. *He Pukenga Korero*, 2(2), 8-15.

Powick, K. (2003). *Nga Take matatika mo te mahi rangahau. Māori research ethics: a literature review of the ethical issues and implications of Kaupapa Māori research involving Māori, for researchers, supervisors and ethics committees.* Hamilton: Wilf Malcolm Institute of Educational Research.

Rata, E. (2006). The political strategies of ethnic and indigenous elites. In E. Rata & R. Openshaw (Eds.). *Public policy and ethnicity the politics of ethnic boundary making* (pp. 40-55). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Royal, T. C. (1998). Te Ao Marama – a research paradigm. He Pukenga Korero, 4(1), 1-8.

Smith, G.H. (1990). Taha Māori: Pakeha Capture. In J. Codd, R. Harker, & R. Nash (Eds.). *Political issues in New Zealand Education* (pp.183-197). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press Ltd.

Smith, G. H. (1992). Tane-nui-a-rangi's legacy: Propping up the sky. Kaupapa Māori as resistance and intervention. Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint conference, Deakin University Australia. Published in *Creating space in institutional settings for Māori. Auckland: International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education*, University of Auckland.

Smith, G. H. (1993). Kaupapa Māori: Educational resistance and intervention in Aotearoa (New Zealand). In G. Smith. *Higher education for indigenous peoples*. Auckland: Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland.

Smith, G.H. (1995). Whakaoho Whānau: New formations of Whānau as an intervention into Māori cultural and educational crises. *He Pukenga Korero*, 1(1), 18-36.

Smith, G.H. (2000a). Protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge. In M. Battiste (Ed.). *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 209-224). Canada: UBC Press.

Smith, G. H. (2000b). *Māori education: Revolution and transformative action.* Canadian Journal of Native Education, 24(1), 57-72.

Smith, G. H. (2003). *Kaupapa Māori theory: Theorizing indigenous transformation of education and schooling.* Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint conference, Kaupapa Māori Symposium, Auckland, December 2003.

Smith, L. T. (1998). Towards the new millennium: International issues and projects in indigenous research. *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research & Development Conference proceedings*, July 1998 (pp.12-31). Palmerston North: Massey University.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples.* Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Smith, L.T. (2000). Kaupapa Māori research. In M. Battiste (Ed.). *Reclaiming Indigenous voice and vision* (pp. 225-247). Canada: UBC Press.

Smith, L.T. (2006). Researching the margins: issues for Māori researchers a discussion paper. *Alternative: an International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, Special Supplement 2006, 5-27.

Spoonley, P. (1995). *The challenges of post-colonialism.* Sites, 30, 48-69.

Spoonley, P. (1999). The challenge of cross-cultural research. In C. Davidson, & M. Tolich (Eds.). *Social science research in New Zealand. Many paths to understanding* (pp.51-61). Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *He tikanga whakaaro: Research ethics in the Māori community: A discussion paper.* Manatu Māori: Wellington.

Te Rito, J. (2007a). *Whakapapa: A framework for understanding identity.* MAI Review, 2, Article 2.

Te Rito, J. (2007b). Whakapapa and whenua: An insider's view. *MAI Review*, 3, Article 1.

Tillman, L.C. (1998). Culturally specific research practices: a response to Bishop. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 11(2), 221-224.

Waitere-Ang, H. (1998). Methodological vertigo: the researcher as a socio-historically constructed phenomenon. *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research & Development Conference proceedings*, July 1998 (pp.224-230). Palmerston North, Massey University.

Walker, R. J, (1985). Cultural domination of Taha Māori: The potential for radical transformation. In J. Codd & R. Nash (Eds.). *Political issues in New Zealand Education (pp.73-79). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.*

Walker, S. (1996). *Kia tau te Rangimarie: Kaupapa Māori theory as a resistance against the construction of Māori as the 'Other'.* Unpublished master's thesis, The University of Auckland.

Wright, H. K. (2006). Qualitative researchers on paradigm proliferation in educational research: a question-and-answer session as multi-voiced text. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 19(1), 77-95.

Author Notes

Rangimarie Mahuika (Ngāti Rangiwewehi) is a part-time research assistant in the Te Kotahitanga Research Unit and is currently completing a Masters degree in the School of Education at the University of Waikato, New Zealand.

E-mail: rmarie@waikato.ac.nz

Kaupapa Māori Research- Some Kaupapa Māori Principles

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Kaupapa Māori Research- Some Kaupapa Māori principles

Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Preamble

This paper was first presented at a conference of Māori academic staff at Massey University in 1996. It predates the publication of Decolonising Methodologies in 1998. You will note that since this paper was first presented our understandings and experiences in using Kaupapa Māori have deepened and we have significant capacity in Kaupapa Māori research. In 1996 there were many topics we could not imagine in depth as we had not completed the work to realise the potential of Kaupapa Māori. Also, our thinking was tentative and we were searching for the pathways to research that made sense in Māori ways. In looking back on the paper I can see my own naïve explorations into ideas that I thought were important. I have resisted the urge to rewrite this paper entirely as I think it stands as a good historical moment of where we were and where we are now. It needs to be read in the context of the 1990s.

Introduction

It is not my intention in this paper to describe the entire Māori epistemological framework. Rather I intend to discuss the kaupapa or philosophies which I believe are beginning to redefine the way we think about Māori research. The fact that the term 'Māori research'[1] is used more freely and that Māori Research units and centres are in operation around different parts of Aotearoa[2] does indicate that there has been a shift in the way research is regarded by many Māori. My own interest in research is not so much in the detail of method but in the underlying theories and assumptions upon which method is based. What we call empirical research assumes that there is a world which can be reached through experience i.e. through empiricism. However making sense of the world and of what constitutes reality relies on how we view the world. It also relies on how we are positioned within the world. There is a wider politics to research which concerns indigenous people, women and other cultures of difference.

I prefer to use the term 'Kaupapa Māori research'. Kaupapa Māori research is research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. It is very different, in my mind, from other forms of research in which Māori may participate but over which we have no conceptual, design, methodological or interpretative control. The term 'Kaupapa Māori' and my use of it comes from my involvement in the establishment of Kura Kaupapa Māori and the on-going struggle to define and control a term which was meaningful for us as a group. If we can not control the definition we can not control meanings and the theories which lie behind those meanings. As an example Kura Kaupapa Māori is a term which Māori control and have theoretical control over. 'Total Immersion schooling', 'bilingual education' and 'Second Language Learning' are terms which have originated elsewhere and which have a literature, research base and theoretical definition, which centre it clearly in the West. When the term Total Immersion is used to describe Kura Kaupapa Māori it invokes a whole range of meanings which simply do not apply in our minds, as advocates of Kura Kaupapa Māori, to what we are on about. It is government's term not ours. It takes away our imagination, our creative control over who we are, what we are and where we are.

The paper will revisit some familiar territory but my purpose is to show you that much of what I am referring to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research is embedded in a wide range of taken for granted practices, values, beliefs and attitudes towards knowledge and towards the ways we view our relationships within the world. These occurred in the past as I intend to show and are currently part of the practices of Māori researchers today. This is not a definitive account but the beginning of an exploration to which many of you, I am sure, add and shape and redefine according to your own experiences, knowledge and tikanga. Kaupapa Māori Research is neither fixed nor rigid. It is open- ended, it is ethical, systematic and accountable. It is scientific, open to existing methodologies, informed and critical. BUT, it comes from tangata whenua, from whānau, hapu and iwi. It is undertaken by Māori. It is for Māori and it is with Māori. I will address what that means for non-Māori later on in the paper.

Re-Centering Kaupapa Māori Important Principles

That Māori people had a complex knowledge system has never been contested by people who have worked or researched in the field of Māori 'culture'. However this knowledge was generally held by the public at large to be irrelevant and no longer valid for Māori in a world which was modern, progressive and civilised. The education system has played a vital role in this process hrough policies directed at the assimilation of Māori. These policies and practices marginalised and de-legitimated most aspects of Māori knowledge, language and culture. Selected aspects of the culture, i.e. 'the more attractive' items such as performance and artistic endeavours were 'permitted' into the school curriculum after the 1930s and into the 'public consciousness' through concert 'parties' and ritual tributes or welcomes for royal and other state dignitaries. Other aspects of culture and identity have been appropriated as national symbols belonging to the character of New Zealand.

1 in this regards, the paper by Evelyn Stokes (1985) marks a significant shift in the way social scientists were prepared to think about Māori research and also in the way funding agencies were moving.

2 Two health research units (Nga Pumanawa Hauora) are funded by HRC, The Sir James Henare Centre and Research Unit for Māori Education are at Auckland University, the Ngati Awa Research Unit is one example of an iwi based research unit.

LT Smith/1994

From the 1970s however Māori people have struggled to regain, reconnect and re-centre what it means to be Māori.

This struggle has coalesced around a number of different ideas for example; whakapapa, Te Reo, Tikanga Māori, Rangatiratanga and Mana Wahine: Mana Tane. These concepts are all inter-connected but each one has been the focus of a particular type of struggle which has been articulated in both Māori and Pakeha contexts. One of the difficulties of the politics associated with these struggles is that they have involved educating Pakeha about the nature of our oppression or colonisation, about the meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi, about who and what we are. This form of education is important, it is what Paulo Freire and others might call emancipatory education or put another way 'humanising the oppressor', it is a form of education which means that ideas and definitions have to be arranged in a form which is recognisable and therefore potentially understandable to Pakeha. That work has to continue but alongside another form of education namely the education of ourselves. This is particularly pertinent as so many of us have had to learn and carry out research skills 'on the run' and more importantly as Māori academics have had to prepare increasing numbers of Māori students to carry out research. The work of the Waitangi Tribunal has signalled a major dearth of skilled Māori researchers in the science and social science arena. It is in this area that I see the developments of what I call Kaupapa Māori research.

Instead of fitting research methods into a Māori framework, Kaupapa Māori assumes the existence and validity of Māori knowledge, language and culture and asks a simple set of questions:

(i) What research do we want to carry out?
(ii) Who is that research for?
(iii) What difference will it make?
(iv) Who will carry out this research?
(v) How do we want the research to be done?
(vi) How will we know it is a worthwhile piece of research? (vii)who will own the research?
(viii) Who will benefit?

The answers to these questions are not straightforward nor is there a direct and instrumental relationship between each question and the answer to be provided by a particular research project. Nor are the questions to be confused with matters of property rights or of material rewards. They are to do with a set of principles which should underpin the way research involving Māori is thought about.

The following is a very brief discussion of each principle.

The Principle of Whakapapa

John Rangihau for example wrote about the difficulty that the term 'Māori' actually presents for him as a person with specific whakapapa which locates him in whānau, hapu and iwi. The pan- Māori approach to all things Māori was an identity imposed externally upon all Māori people. Other definitions of identity such as race classifications were equally problematic. The identity question is complex. It has psychological and political meanings for individual Māori, often positioning them in an insider/outsider quandary or state of confusion. It means something different however for researchers who need some conceptual and empirical control over the classification systems which underpin their work. Statistical attempts to define just who is Māori are also fraught with problems. The last census attempt to record iwi statistics has ended up with a large pool of Māori who have not identified an iwi. It would be dangerous to read into those numbers any assumptions about why that number of people did not choose to name an iwi. Personally I objected to being asked to nominate a primary iwi as I take seriously my rights to claim bilineal descent and resent the state imposing definitions through census on how our identity is shaped. In brief these external measurements of identity are significant at an ideological level because they become normative, they set the norm for what it means to be Māori. Anyone who has worked with urban based adolescent Māori will know how powerful those normative criteria are.
Identity is also inextricably bound to whānau and whenua relationships, to the marae and the value system and language which holds these things together. The move away from pan-Māori approaches to political and economic development and the reassertion of whānau, hapu and iwi criteria have required a re-orientation by all Māori back to the iwi. Accompanying this re- orientation has been a strategic shift in political alliances, economic resources and the locus of accountability. In many ways this devolution nicely coincided with a larger crisis of legitimation affecting the role of the state. The splintering of Māori interests has allowed for a greater degree of state control. All this has a direct relationship to research as a public good.

The Principle of Te Reo

The threat of imminent 'language death' spelled out by the research of Richard Benton in the 1970s and reinforced by Māori experiences has meant a major community driven struggle for the revival and retention of Māori language. In this struggle Māori are not alone as other indigenous people have suffered the same fate with their languages slowly dying as community languages. Māori language has been tide very closely to issues of knowledge, identity and education. In fact education and schooling were major sites for the development of initiatives aimed at reviving Māori as a spoken language between the 1980s and the now. Two such initiatives are Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. Other attempts need to be acknowledged as well, for example the simple act of placing an advertisement in Māori language in a newspaper has not been easily done in the past. There have been attempts to increase the use of Māori in the court system, the media, training programmes and even on the floor of the House of Parliament. None of these attempts have been as successful as the models of Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori. That situation may change over time. For research and for health research however the principle of Te Reo Māori can be seen to be exercised in the development of better quality bilingual resources, consent forms and information sheets and the employment of researchers who are skilled in this area. A cautionary note however relates to the training of Māori researchers, as fluency in Māori language does not equate directly to fluency in research skills or indeed in the understanding of epistemological issues.

The Principle of Tikanga Māori

Notions of tikanga are embedded in the ways people often think and behave. It is an area in which young people or people with little understanding of their identity often get challenged. The politics associated with this are complex and often stressful for participants. It is an area in which Māori researchers need training because they often carry the 'kanohi kitea' or face to face side of research. Issues of tikanga are part of the dynamics of a living culture and should not be regarded as recipe or formula which can be learned at a single professional development course. Kaumātua still discuss and disagree on matters of tikanga.

The Principle of Rangatiratanga

This principle is interpreted in a number of ways:

(i) as partnership with the Crown
(ii) as self-determination
(iii) as Māori autonomy and control over resources (iv)as a symbol around which ideas are organised.

All of these interpretations have implications for research at a number of levels. For example many Māori willingly enter and participate in research with Pakeha in various forms of partnership. Other communities wish to undertake their own research completely independently of either an agency or an individual research consultant. 'Bicultural' models of research have been developed to encourage Māori to participate in research and clearly Māori people are developing their own models. A critical issue relates to the question as to the extent to which Māori are still the 'objects' of research or the subjects in a meaningful way. There is increasing concern by Māori for example that new forms of research enhanced by the powers of the GATT agreement will simply result in new forms of colonialism which will see the patenting of indigenous knowledge and life forms by overseas companies (Mead, 1993). Under these global agreements New Zealand is regarded by many informed Māori as having already sold out the 'rangatiratanga' of their Treaty of Waitangi partners.

The Principle of Mana Wahine:Mana Tane

This area is important on a number of grounds. At one level Māori women have been absent from the way research about Māori has been conducted, for example tribal histories. In other ways Māori women have been present but as a subtext to the major story, a good example is in the rewriting of stories such as the Maui story. Thirdly Māori women have been the target of research and of subsequent interventions. This has been particularly true in the health and education areas. A critical issue to consider here is the extent to which researchers are employed on hidden gender grounds because there is a perception that either a man or a woman will be able to do one thing or another simply because of their gender. This can over simplify a complex area of Māori social relationships.

Who Carries Out Kaupapa Māori Research?

From what I have said so far it should be fairly clear that the primary researchers are Māori. I have suggested elsewhere that the issues for Māori researchers can be very different from the research issues faced by Māori. I am not saying that one set is more or less difficult. However there is considerable international literature on cross-cultural issues for researchers in a number of disciplines. In New Zealand there has been some material on such topics as bicultural research and on culturally sensitive research. The assumption in these papers is that Māori are the silent research partner, having insider knowledge but lacking actual research skills. Graham Smith (1992) has provided some of the more helpful models of this kind of research. He posits three types: a Tiaki (mentor model) where authoritative Māori mentor a researcher; a whangai model where researchers are adopted by a whānau or community and a power-sharing model where the community takes greater charge over the research from its conception to its outcomes.

Principle	Nature of the struggle	Implications for Research
Whakapapa	in Te Ao Māori: (i)related to identity (ii)whānau, hapu, iwi in Te Ao Pakeha: (i)race classifications (ii) ethnicity	classification whānaungatanga micro/macro credibility of researcher
Te Reo	in Te Ao Māori: (i) identity (ii)education (iii)knowledge in Te Ao Pakeha: (i) rights (ii)protection (iii)national identity	kanohi ki te kanohi the researcher/s research process conceptual work
Tikanga	in Te Ao Māori: (i) authenticity (ii)mana (iii)marae (iv)representation (iv) accountability in Te Ao Pakeha (i) authenticity (ii)conformity (iii)access	research process research design place people interpretation representation accountabilities credibility
Rangatiratanga	in Te Ao Māori: (i) mana whenua (ii)mana tangata (iii)Treaty of Waitangi	research policy research activity research funding definition/design priorities

Evelyn Stokes 1985 paper 'Māori Research and Development' breaks new ground in this whole area with a systematic mapping of Māori attitudes to research and to knowledge. I have circulated a paper I wrote originally in 1985 which has subsequently been revised and was published again in 1991 raising similar questions about knowledge and asking critical questions about research activities. These papers signal a subtle but significant shift in the way Māori research was framed. The shift occurs at the level of knowledge rather than at the level of different methodologies. It is significant because ideas about the nature of knowledge and of science and the way we might pursue those ideas underpin all forms of western research. To carry out research is to seek knowledge, insight, clarification and understanding. It assumes a concept of knowing and is embedded with understandings about the ways in which we gain or come to know knowledge.

On the other hand however there is next to no research, no literature, no guidance on the issues which concern indigenous, minority group researchers carrying out research within their own communities. This was partly because we, as Māori for example, have usually been 'the researched' not 'the researcher'. It is partly because education has failed to produce Māori people with the right balance of Māori and research skills. It has also been and continues to be because not enough recognition is made of the benefits to be gained from having Māori research. For example the field of feminist research in the social sciences is acceptable across a wide range of disciplines. Feminist research theorists are seen as having advanced our understandings of the relationships between knowledge and power, and of the nature of science.

What Māori people have, as with other indigenous people is a distinct knowledge tradition which lies outside western views of knowledge. It is still located in a cultural framework and lived by real people. I certainly believe that coming from a Māori conceptual framework makes spaces for new ways of looking at and seeking understandings of some of the research issues we confront in our work. In other words understanding Māori knowledge is not just about getting access to more co-operative Māori. It is about enhancing our understandings and strengthening our knowledge base in ways which will help us and others.

Māori Knowledge and Issues for Māori Researchers

Within the realm of Māori knowledge there exists the notion of levels or phases of knowledge ie taumata which are helpful concepts for thinking about Kaupapa Māori research. The notions of mohiotanga, waananga and maramatanga for example indicate levels and processes by which we gain insight and deep clarification of what we are seeking. Matauranga ('ma' and 'tau') is said to be attained when it is held or comes to rest within us. These ideas are important because they provide a conceptual framework and signal standards of excellence to which Māori research must aspire. These ideas are contained within the language but are often manifested in the taken for granted behaviours of Māori people. For example;

(i) why do we seek out kaumatua?
(ii) Why do we value wānanga as a shared learning process?

(iii) Why do we stay up late at night to listen to kōrero?
(iv) Why do we have karakia?
(v) Why do some of us talk about 'holistic' views?
(vi) What is a wairua and what does a wairua do?
(vii) Why is tapu important and how is it linked to knowledge?
(viii) Why does a Māori researcher want to feed his/her visitors?
(vix) Why does a Māori researcher want to hold a hui or take an issue to the marae? (x)what does utu, koha, manaakitanga mean?

The answers to all these questions relate back to Māori views about knowledge. They are important because Māori researchers are assumed to know the answers to them, both by their employer agencies and by the community into which they enter? They are part of the research process and methodologies which many Māori researchers simply take for granted and incorporate into their practices. The danger is that these beliefs and values are often seen as idiosyncratic behaviours of an individual rather than as a cultural process which influences in a number of ways a piece of research. In other words they are linked to method and to the interpretation of data. They are a qualitative dynamic which is frequently overlooked and under-rated.
Linked to this is the question of access to knowledge and the assumption of western research paradigms that if well trained we will gain access to the knowledge we require, it is matter of skill, of being systematic and of being sensitive. For many Māori, other dynamics can cut across this ideal. These are tied up with age, whānau position, gender, the esteem with which other members in your whānau may be held and individual personalities. At one level simple 'being Māori' or 'being Ngati Porou', being a mokopuna for example does not neccesarily make you an 'insider' in terms of research. The multiple positions we hold and the different relationships which each of those positions binds us to make our own research encounters problematic, dynamic and rich.

Māori Cultural Ethics

Linked to the points raised above is the question of cultural ethics. These ethics relate not just to existing questions of informed consent and the rights of individuals. They also relate to the 'conduct' of a researcher and of a research project. I think we are finding that each discipline, each community of interest is being confronted with issues related to Ethics. This area needs further development in terms of how Māori researchers negotiate ethics, let alone other non-Māori researchers who work with Māori people.
At one level the insider networks that Māori researchers have are personal networks based on the concept of whānaungatanga. These are not necessarily close whakapapa relationships. The ethical issue is related to the extent that these networks are personal to the researcher or are professionally linked to the research. What are the rules, either explicit or implicit, for the feedback, support and contribution that these networks make?

The issue of power remains one with which researchers must always wrestle. Power in itself is always present in relationships and power is not necessarily a negative force. The ethical question for Māori people is related to the masking of power relationships through other devices. Most Māori communities do accept that researchers will publish their work, that they will often do this in complex and technical language but they get highly annoyed if they find that results disseminated overseas or in inaccessible journals say something counter to what was told to their faces by the researchers. There are a number of examples I could draw upon which highlight how easily and unthinkingly this occurs. It is important to discuss these forms of dissemination so that misunderstandings do not occur. What some researchers I know of failed to realise is that many Māori people live overseas, travel widely, have wide circles of acquaintances and often attend conferences. Furthermore many Māori are assertive and will challenge. Dialogue and feedback continually inform research as an activity and is part of the new ethics and social realities for researchers.

Working With Kaumatua

This is an interesting area of thought. My questions are simply these;

(i) Why do we need kaumatua?
(ii) If we need them for their knowledge how are we using that knowledge?
(iii) If we need them for legitimacy how are we using them?
(iv) If we need them for protection how are we using them?
(v) If we need them to take karakia do we understand what karakia is about?

I personally resent seeing my own kaumatua put at risk, spiritually as well as in terms of their credibility at home. This is because I have lots of memories of having seen my nannies and koro get up in the early hours of the morning, put on their best clothes, travel long hours, wait often in cold conditions for various things to happen and then get treated like they are of marginal consequence. This use to happen when they came to Wellington to do things on behalf of the whānau or hapu or iwi. I will not say more but rather leave the though there for you to consider. If you can answer the questions to your own satisfaction well and good, if you can't then perhaps more thought needs to go into the practice.

A Community of Māori Researchers

I know because of my own networks that there are a number of Māori engaged in research. This forum of Matawhanui would probably be the most significant organised group of Māori researchers. Not all of us carry out empirical research but in many ways our own teaching is constantly informed by research and the exploration of new ideas. Many of you are heavily committed to iwi based research especially around Waitangi Tribunal claims and many of you carry this burden on top of your own full-time work. This overload of research is not dis-connected from our roles. I would argue that it is an essential part of our roles. Furthermore as some of us move into the new area of working in Waananga and attempting to re-conceptualise what may count as the general field of Māori studies our research becomes integral to the development of and support for these new initiatives. An Algerian revolutionary writer in the 1960s, Frantz Fanon, referred to what he called 'native intellectuals' as lazy and alienated from the work they should be doing. I know we are not lazy but perhaps the one area of our work which has been most neglected is research and the dissemination of our research across community, scholarly and policy contexts. I think that is the challenge ahead.

In Summary

This paper has just raised the issues and some challenges related to Kaupapa Māori as an approach to research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori. It is not an absolute approach but the beginning of an exploration of what research means when the researcher and the researched are Māori. If we take other examples of Kaupapa Māori then we know that the potential is great, the struggle is difficult but the process is exciting. Hopefully, this paper will help to advance these ideas and encourage us to think openly about new possibilities for research.

References

Benton, R .(1988) *'Education, Language Decline and Language Revitalisation: The Case of Māori in New Zealand'*. Wellington: NZCER.

Craig, E.W.G (1964) *Man of the Mist*. In A.H. & A.W (Eds.), Wellington: Reed.

Grey, George (1853) *Nga Moteatea* and (1855) *Polynesian Mythology* manuscripts in Auckland Public Library.

Jackson, S .(1987). 'Mana Gobblers'. *METRO,* 190.

McClellan, J. (1985). *Science Reorganised: Scientific Societies in the Eighteenth Centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mead, A., 'Misappropriation of Indigenous Knowledge: The Next Wave of Colonisation', in Barbara Nicholas (ed), *Otago Bioethics Report,* 3, 1, (Dunedin, Bioethics Research Centre, 1994), pp. 4-7.

Mita, Merata (1989) oral source

Said, E.(1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Salmond, A. (1991). *Two Worlds*. Auckland: Viking Penguin.

Smith, G. (1992). 'Research Issues Related to Māori Education'. *The Issue of Research and Māori RUME*, monograph 9. University of Auckland.

Stokes, E. (1985). 'Māori Research and Development'. Paper presented at the National Research Advisory Council, Wellington. Republished in, *The Issue of Research and Māori, RUME monograph 9*. University of Auckland.

The Thing's Revelation: Some Thoughts on Māori Philosophical Research

Carl Te Hira Mika

The Thing's Revelation: Some Thoughts on Māori Philosophical Research

Carl Te Hira Mika

Preamble

In indigenous research projects, there is a strong emphasis on interviews and the analysis of the data that results. There is, however, another form of research that still calls to be fully acknowledged. Philosophical research shares some ground with empirical because it responds to a Maori history and experience of oppression. One clear area in which it may differ, though, is in how it attempts to acknowledge the presence of 'things', which we might call our 'whanaunga' (relations), even where these have been deemed by Western science to be inanimate. More importantly, philosophical research is risky because the thing continues to influence the researching self, despite the self's eventual disengagement from the research. Philosophical research – the kind that seeks an unobtainable ground of thought – is at once aware of and tentative towards the thing. It also acts within the influence of the thing: this phenomenon for the author can be best felt when the bizarre is encountered in everyday observations.

Introduction

In an era in which we are strongly encouraged to undertake a self-conscious inquiry in order to ultimately construct knowledge – one might call this 'researching for knowledge' or simply 'research' – it seems strange to see the process through without a determined method. Not to have a method suggests a lack of a rigorous question, an uncertainty about what data one should approach, whom one should talk to and so on.

Indeed, whether it would constitute 'research' or not is debatable, given that it threatens to hold the self out against the world in a way that places the self somehow at the mercy of things. Whilst those who are engaged with empirical research might claim that they, too, are in a state of uncertainty, it is my argument that, due to a lack of strong method in what I shall call 'conceptual' or 'philosophical' research, there is an even greater murkiness involved. One is led, as it were, primarily by feeling based on a perception of a thing, or of an association that the thing provides.

For Māori, the dilemma of whether there needs to be a method for philosophical research, quite apart from just 'thinking', is even more fraught, because of an ethics involved with things in the world that Western researchers do not tend to identify. For Māori, the thing in its most basic sense is like the self: it is immediately connected to everything else, so discussion about 'things' itself constitutes some sort of materiality that links to the thing and the self. Thus, there must be an ethical way to even comport oneself towards things so that they are discussed in a way that does not constrain them. Yet, the very nature of academic research asks for a distance between self and thing, both in intention and in practice. In this article, I identify both the advantages and drawbacks of a proposed method for a consciously philosophical mode of inquiry: the revelation of the thing. This deliberate way of inducing t ought has existed in various cultures for millennia. My purpose here is to describe the revelation of a thing as an impetus for thought, in a current context, in which colonisation, counter-colonialism, and a Māori metaphysics coalesce around a problem or concern.

It would be disingenous for me, in a Māori sense, not to declare my strong draw towards philosophical research and thus my vigorous advocacy for it. Indeed, I was probably always wanting to be there but was never aware that it existed. We might note here the German poet and philosopher Novalis' words that "Philosophy is really homesickness – the desire to be everywhere at home" (Wood, 2007, p. 155). He really means that orthodox philosophy exposes the desire to find the absolute ground of all truth or existence but in this present scenario I feel that conceptual or philosophical research, for me, was the desire to be finally comfortable within a particular mode of thinking. Novalis was actually stating this ironically; he was saying that any such ground to truth or knowledge, even the pursuit of such, was a delusion. This delusion, I shall describe later, is necessary for my own conceptual and philosophical Bildung or formation. The delusion, the pursuit of articulation whilst not being able to finally articulate, provides further provocation for thinking. It provides a schism between what is held out to be a real image of the thing and the inability to truly assert what that real image is. It thus opens up a chasm in the ground of certainty; it forces the ground out from under one's feet. This clearing, however, is not solely of my own making, although as I mentioned earlier, feeling and intellect do come to play on this generally dark ground of clarity. Thus, conceptual or philosophical research, drawing primarily on the faculty of 'whakaaro' for Māori, is like the withdrawn, quietly disturbing cousin that we see at family functions, brooding but nevertheless there. Its silence, I argue, merely underlies its importance for the expression of thought amongst things in the world.

Thinking from the Influence of Things: Beyond the Self

If considered in a Kantian context, 'whakaaro' may be thought of as relating more to that initial uptake of an object, its intuition, rather than its final conceptualisation. According to Smith (2000), whakaaro means "to cast attention to" (p.58) which he describes as an "activity of the stomach and the entrails". 'Whakaaro' in this case refers to a much more primordial response to something and engages with a process that is not a participant in thoroughgoing reason. Indeed, Smith mentions that it is not rational thought as such, but rather a "basis of action". Royal (2008) moreover notes the showing of the world to the self, evoking an emotional and spiritual response, allowing the participant to understand something. It is in this understanding, perhaps, that one is moved to act in both subtle and deliberate ways, but it is important that the presentation of the world in all its complexity is preserved in that description. It is here also that we encounter the problem of Kant, whose influence in the Western world – and therefore on us, as colonised indigenous peoples – was every bit as great as Plato's, Aristotle's or Descartes', and whom we must address to move away from a colonial belief that things are a pure moment of representation. Briefly put: Kant argued that there are two stages of cognition. The first, which is what I emphasise here, involved the intuition of a thing, given to us through space and time. This is a construction of the mind though our a priori intuition of space and time. We cannot see space and time. Things are presented in space and time: space and time are the most basic and abstract intuitions. We use them to come to understand that there is something there to begin with. Thus, according to Kant, space and time are thoroughly unavoidable and utterly constitutive through our own faculties (Janiak, 2012).

Whakaaro as both Royal and Smith describe it proposes something quite different for things in the world. To be sure, there is a process of the self in perception, but a huge difference lies in those writers' speculation that there are two other aspects at play: the interaction of all things; and the possibility that things that are imperceptible in that very first instance may still have an effect on the self. Perception for Māori is here the antithesis of pure presence; it is the absence that Derrida notes as constitutive of what is acted on or, indeed, perceived (Biesta, 2010). Whatever we perceive as Māori, therefore, is comprised of what is not immediately there. 'Whakaaro', if thought of abstractly, is a metaphor for acting on the distant – that which lies outside of perception – as much as on what lies before us in a Kantian sense. Furthermore, the initial representation of the world to us is an important one, not just the supporting actor for the lead role of knowledge, which is Kant's second step of conception. In that important primordial act, the thing is orientated towards the self to the extent that the self becomes aware of it.

A huge gulf, though, exists between what Kant thinks of as the intuitions of space and time on the one hand, and Māori constructions of them, which are primarily affective, on the other. Here we reach an impasse with Kant's proposal that whatever we perceive is presented to us within something a priori, because a possible Māori theory about space and time is that they have their own ability to present themselves as both substance and relation. Space and time in Māori are both referred to in the same word – 'wā' – and cannot be known, but this does not preclude them from 'coming to bear' on the self. Indeed, they possess some sort of self-arranging and impactful resonance. Returning to the term 'whakaaro': a reciprocity between thing and self is established such that the thing, whether abstract or concrete, shows itself in some form to the self,who can then construct an idea about it. Most important in that statement, and marking a distinct divergence from Kant's much more self-constructed representation of an object, is the role that the thing has in bringing the self to its attention. In a Māori worldview, things are not just passive entities awaiting construction by the self (Mika, 2014); they are instead animate and creative, having a much greater impact on the self than would be credited in dominant rational discourse.

Thus Māori may only have conceived of space and time to begin with because of those things' 'showing' of themselves. Space and time in that interpretation are both a priori faculties (à la Kant) and, most importantly, in some indigenous belief[1] are entities in their own right that even have some ability to construct us through their manifestation. Space and time in this vein can be seen as active, discriminating participants that transcend mere innate human faculties in the term 'whakawā'. 'Whakawā' has taken on the gloss of a judgement (the sort that takes place in a courtroom or by a public body) but there is also an original sense to the term of discernment or discrimination, through its much more connotative 'to become divided in light of space and time' 'Whaka' here refers to 'to become'; 'wā' can mean a division but always collaterally with space and time unified. We see here the possibility for 'wā' to point towards something beyond its usual static positing through much tighter dictionary definitions. 'Wā' moves here beyond the usual abstract notion of space and/or time and takes on aspects of a phenomenon that one aspires to (becomes). One has a measure of what space and time are in one's mind, and has thus incorporated them as ideas, but they are simultaneously outside the mind; they have become

concerning entities that provide those ideas. The self is less making a self-asserting judgement and is more attuned to the possibility that time and space are coalescing around one's cognitive faculty.

Kant's propositions about space and time are partially correct but the Māori notion of space and time is far more paradoxical than Kant allows for. A Kantian argument might therefore be levelled at my assertion above that 'wā' is not really space and time; it is something else that is presented to us within Kant's true intuitions. To be sure, a Māori worldview is that things arise not just from 'whakapapa' as it is constructed, but from whakapapa itself as a participant in Papatūānuku or "rock foundation beyond expanse" (Marsden, 2003, p. 22): perhaps in this term or entity, then, lies Kant's true definition of space and time. But again, 'whakapapa' cannot be divorced from 'wā' either. First, if conceived of as 'genealogy', then it draws on space (the gap between one generation and the next) and time quite necessarily. But even if we were to posit that whakapapa is somehow an a priori determining faculty, we soon discover to the detriment of that argument that whakapapa is immediately and inextricably enmeshed with the notion of 'earth mother' (Papa). This complicity – which is not really a complicity because whakapapa and papa are necessarily one and the same – draws the concept and all that participate in its primordial reach at once, meaning that space and time are collapsed and are thoroughly active.

Any apparently original and innate intuition that we posit as something merely cognitive, then, becomes simultaneously active thing that impacts on the self. For the researcher, this contradiction is especially important when we are made to consider the possibilities that a single thing holds for us when we are moving seamlessly forward in finding answers to a question. With a more thorough and mysterious concept of the thing in mind, let us now turn to the potential for Māori philosophical research to reflect an ethical response that things in the world demand.

The Provocation of a Thing

In line with an albeit modified version of Kant's intuitions, it is the initial effect of the thing, I have just argued, that makes the greatest demands on us as Māori researchers, for it is their disclosure of themselves that brings us to speculate in the first instance. Rather than comprising a passive template from which one may move towards a sense of the world, then, whatever is a priori is made something else altogether in the Māori world beyond sheer abstraction. Things are therefore capable of provocation; they can 'call forth' – the sense of 'provocare' – something in us through their own language or expression. They draw on the active nature of what we would call 'wana' or ongoing attunement and are not merely products of the mind. Kant's intuitions in this instance are turned into something affective, in that they are more indebted to a Romantic notion of 'the Absolute'[2] and are far less submissive to human agency.

It seems perhaps unusual to imagine that humanity can be provoked into thought by a thing, because this suggestion posits the self within the influence of things rather than the converse. Yet this is precisely where Māori thought surpasses what Foucault(1989) insisted was the Western ushering in of man. Māori have long insisted that humanity is dependent on things in the world for the most original actions – eventhose things that lie beyond the immediate senses. One's tribal saying, for instance, does not just state mountains, rivers, and other people as concepts because that replicates a detached view of those entities. Rather, there is a sense in these sayings that the self is only uttering those things' names to begin with because of their manifestation. Confusingly, they are not necessarily present, not precisely consumable on the basis of their immediacy. They do, however, reside in the very utterance because of the self's link with them. The self can be thought of as amongst those things whilst being constituted by them in some form beyond being the "present at hand" that Heidegger (1967a) warns against.

Thus, provocation for Māori may be both directly inciting and subtle. I shall turn to the sensory provocation soon and its implications for research, but let us continue with that more mysterious idea that what lies beyond the senses, for a Māori horizon of existence, has a say in how one shapes one's thinking and, thus, research. No less stimulating than, say, a more material object (for instance, a person or a term), things in the distance display their influence through their interdependence with other things. The poet and philosopher Novalis indeed noted that "[a]ll bodily operations are an inverse thinking. What is thinking sensing etc. here – is burning, fermenting, thrusting etc. yonder" (Wood, 2007, p. 24). It can be speculated here that one's thinking acts in direct conjunction with the interplay of things, to the extent that whatever is occurring with the mountain that one names in one's saying has an effect on the self. The ontological aspect of the utterance in this form is in a thorough state of flux, even if the words themselves do not appear to have changed. In 'casting attention to', thought is at the same time unmoored from its apparently fixed foundations, with Takirirangi Smith (2000) continuing that whakaaro is an "activity of the stomach and the entrails", where "the stomach is associated with the ira tangata aspect or earthly component of that which forms the basis of action" (p. 58). Alongside being an obviously emotional

process, thought is a response to an essential call that coalesces around the 'flaring up' of a thing, near or distant. An eternal, unchanging property that allows a person to think is less likely in this scenario; instead, something persists that the self is attuned to in some fashion. A thorough knowledge of this synchronicity is utterly elusive, but its continued draw to thinking is engaged with in Māori terminology and everyday practice.

The Term and the Bizarrely Unknowable: My Impetus for Speculation

This has special repercussions when one is thinking and writing about a philosophical concept. Often I have found it difficult to think about the term in its entirety because I encounter a limit of sorts. I suspect that this wall is actually the enormity of the term's ontological sense. It is then that I realise that I can only talk about a concept partially, because the reason that I am thinking about it then and there is due to its influence on me. In other words, I am amongst the term as I struggle to think about it, and I only have access to speculation. This 'withinness' is relatable to my earlier discussions about whakapapa, which ensures my active participation amidst the term with all its uncertainty and absence/presence. Perhaps articulating the rift that I mentioned earlier – the mismatch between what appears to be the real thing and our inability to articulate the concept of it to its fullest extent – constitutes a method of speculation.

In that case, we could begin, say, a thesis with a method chapter explaining that phenomenon fully, and then outlining how this takes concrete form in an inquiry towards a problem. However, I understand this as only a temporary measure. One could never be absolutely certain when this rift takes place at every point. Identifying the rift, as Novalis puts it, would be like trying to "square the circle" (Kneller, 2003, p.168). There is nothing mystical in this notion of thinking at all; it is an everyday occurrence. It simply signifies that we are not as completely self-originating in conceptual research (or other types of research, for that matter) as academia and its backbone, rationalism, would have us think we are. It means that not everything is available to us. The thinker is therefore not outside matter; he or she is instead *within* it. An example is appropriate here. Importantly, one's version of how a thing manifests is highly personal. In my own research, I tend to think in words and language. Mymost meaningful thinking happens when I am writing; normally if I am thinking when not writing, it is about unconnected things. Like many Māori, I live in the world of the ironic most of the time. In fact, maybe we could argue that we live in the world of the fantastically bizarre when writing or researching philosophically, because paradoxes and ironies are presented to us so intensely in those situations. As I see potential in words (mainly indo-European ones because of my inherent suspicion of them although if I think hard enough I see them in Māori terms as well) my attention is snapped to a word or term. This is a deeply personal response, and others may be moved by something else altogether. I then consider what the word means (starting perhaps with its strict meaning but not at all limited to that); how the word might jar or accord with its 'neighbours' if there are any; what the word draws to it in terms of other words. I then turn to theorise about what it doesn't so readily reveal through its dictionary definition and hence what the term carries with it regardless of its attributed meaning. Here, incidentally, is where I tend to differ in my (developing) view from the likes of Foucault, although remain to a certain extent aligned with the mainly German Romantic philosophers and, I believe, to a Māori ontology.

One term that I've been thinking about recently is the one currently under discussion: 'research'. I suspect that when I move through a term I move through its influence,and the influence of other things, to a certain extent. So I'm never sure what will emerge. In this instance, I have certain suspicions about the term 'research', but I shall keep those in abeyance. If we look at the etymology of the term, we see it comes from the french 're' which just means 'intensely', and 'cercher', which means to search (Onions, 1966). If we look at 'to search' we see that it has roots in the Latin 'circus' which means 'to circle'. This doesn't tell us much on its own, but it is clarified when we think about what it might proclaim within a worldview orworldviews. If I think about the term in light of 'to search intensely' then I would suspect that there is a metaphysics of selfhood at work, in which the self is projected as a certain ground of inquiry. There might be a topic of inquiry, to be sure, and I could say that this constitutes something that isn't the self, but the topic of inquiry isabsent from the etymology of the term. This strong selfhood in the term might even persist even in kaupapa Māori research because of the ontology of the term 'research'.

Admittedly we can only ever theorise about the nature of that ontology, and it is here that we might call this type of thinking 'research' if we wanted to. So if we return even earlier to the Latin we might get a sense of something less self-oriented if we wanted to. We simply see 'an intense circling around' of something. Again, my question would be: does the term allow the influence of other things in the world apart from the self? What I might theorise here is that one is circling because of the signposts of the external world – material, conceptual or non-cognitive. This construal could be a more palatable accord between the act of research in a Māori sense and the essence of

the term itself.

Joining with the jolt from a word, the external world in its strangeness helps this process of thought. What moves one along in this sort of venture is a sense and observation of the bizarre. To this extent, I emphasise Camus' (1964) suggestion that absurdity is the root of thought:

At any streetcorner the feeling of absurdity can strike any man in the face. As it is, in its distressing nudity, in its lightout without effulgence, it is elusive .... It is probably true that a man remains forever unknown to us and that there is in him something irreducible that escapes us (pp. 10-11).

I advocate drinking coffee and people watching whilst doing conceptual research. This openness to the unknowable galvanises me to write without me knowing how. My lack of knowing can be thought of, in relation to my earlier philosophising of the Māori terms, in the following sense: I am drawn towards the uncertainty that whakapapa asserts in its connection with primordial Being; I am acted on by the selfautonomy of other things and people in the sense of whakaaro; and I move towards those others with a particular concern that is constructed within those others' residence in 'wa'. As I am sitting here writing this paper, in a café on Davie Street, Vancouver, I look across the road.

There is a woman dressed in a fabulously outrageous outfit swinging around what look like two pieces of string with jandals attached to each. Meanwhile I am flitting between this paper and watching Victoria Wood's 'Acorn Antiques' on youtube. Quite what this does to contribute to my thinking I'm not sure, but it does something; I am immediately prompted again into theorising about what lies beneath the world of appearances. However, against the apparently mechanical nature of this process, Camus warns that "[t]he method defined here acknowledges the feeling that all true knowledge is impossible" (p. 12). Something steps forward for me: the surreal as a broad notion, and, thereafter, the capacity for one to disrupt the concept of the normal. Continuing with my current example: can the term 'research' act to disrupt the concept of 'normal' or is it complicit with it? I might then theorise the word in light of both its etymology and its more poststructural consequences. I might then write it up into an article or just allow it to percolate for a while. Here we have not just the guiding effect of the word: we have the guiding effect of the word alongside, for a moment at least, thorough surrealism.

Is Thinking in the Wake of Things a 'Method'

Who could ever predict and pre-arrange where the rift occurs and how it is to present itself? One other point to be raised here is that, when one is presented with the surreal, there is a falling of sorts into that abyss. Is the uncertainty of one's direction here related to the dark that is spoken of in our (Māori) metaphysics of creation? Quite possibly, especially when we consider that the Enlightenment – which we have certainly been colonised by – expects us to avoid the abyss at all costs. In terms of a method of certainty, Heidegger challenged Descartes on the basis of his assertion that a method is necessary to reveal very "first principles" (Newman, 1997, n.p.). Heidegger interprets this to mean that:

This rule does not intend the platitude that a science must also have its method, but it wants to say that the procedure, i.e., how in general we are to pursue things (methodos), decides in advance what truth we shall seek out in the things. Method is not one piece of equipment of science among others but the primary component out of which is first determined what can become object and how it becomes object. (Heidegger, 1993, p. 300)

The 'how in general' we are to pursue things is the clincher here for Heidegger, not whether a method is qualitative, conceptual, empirical or kaupapa Māori. In thinking there has to be a way of determining, we have from the outset determined how those things are to appear. However, the converse may be true: that the ground of the question or inquiry determines how things are to appear. Perhaps in asking the fundamental question to be researched we have already necessarily presupposed a method. That is, one couldn't have a question to be researched without already having anticipated that there will be a method attached. So perhaps it is not what comes first: maybe they coattend. What we can take from both method and inquiry is not merely a way of doing things (although this is what method has come to mean): it is the ontological, unconscious but very real expectation that objects will be determined in advance as ascertainable. Method and inquiry both open up a field of performance of both self and thing. Objects here may include ideas or intangible concepts, not just solid things.

There is quite possibly a problem here for Māori. Heidegger (1967b) noted that this predisposition towards things characterized an impoverishment in the West, beginning since Plato (whom we must thank for rationalism). The self was in a state of deprivation because it was denied an inquiry into Being, according to Heidegger. But unlike Māori, he didn't figure on the possible detriment that this predisposition would involve for things in the world. Some of his predecessors, I would add, certainly had. But to return to my earlier speculation: if we are always in amongst the world as Māori, through

the myriad of connections that we claim to have through various terms and descriptions, then there might be an effect on other things besides the self (but including the self) of a method. To be sure, I am entering outrageous and dangerous territory because I am suggesting that our orientation towards a thing has effects on that thing. This is particularly outrageous for a participant in academia to suggest, because philosophically it means that a number of phenomena occur that cannot be perceived. In the words of Kant, and the much later Carnap (Friedman, 2000), one can say nothing of this sort of metaphysics. Nor should one, according to the Academy. To do so is anti-empiricist. However, I am not the first to do this: if we, for instance, put the whare tapa wha model – a relatively empirical Māori framework of health - through some phenomenological paces, then we discover that how we intend a thing to exist has consequences for that thing, given the interconnectedness that the model expressly highlights.

Conclusion

The vast majority of Māori researchers appear to be undertaking interviews, a phenomenon that Cooper (2014) has noted rests on a presumption of what authentic research is meant to be. There are metaphysically ethical considerations in that specific research method that are pertinent for Māori, including the possibility that the free form of a thing is constrained by our preconfiguring of it; the regard of Māori speech from interviews as 'data', and so on. The darker research that I have called for in this article – the spaces of obscurity where 'whakaaro' is called by things to speculate but not necessarily penetrate into – is the diminished relative. It originates from the ability of the self to philosophise, but from the paradoxical position that one is in the first instance cognizant of a thing through that thing's choice. This draw towards the thing can be expressed through a number of Māori terms, including whakaaro, whakapapa, and wa, even if these terms have been overwhelmingly represented as not related to everyday events. In this sort of research there is the wonderful potential for a dual personal creativity and political liberation. The only data here may be one image, term or feeling, and even that 'fact byte' is thoroughly unknowable and crucially its own master. The provocative word, the man in the luridly coloured lavender wig, the self's reflection in a window: all have the potential in some form or other to coalesce around one's own speculative responses. This delight in the thing's mercuriality may, in turn, promise a counter-colonial answer, for it is in the lack of certainty in this kind of thinking that the colonizer might be, if not dealt with, at least put in some place of confusion themselves. This glee at the absurd – which is at the same time deadly serious – can best be summed up in the following quote of Hölderlin (2002), a German Romantic poet, who also saw the need to encounter a realm of shadows in his thinking:

[W]e delight in flinging ourselves into the night of the unknown, into the cold strangeness of any other world, and, if we could, we would leave the realm of the sun and rush headlong beyond the comet's track. (p. 10)

1 See for instance Maffie (n.d.) who argues that "[t]ime-space is concrete, quantitative, and qualitative" (n.p.).
2 For further discussions on the Romantic ideas about the Absolute/Being, see: Stone (2011); Frank (1997); Beiser (2003). The Absolute is both substance and absence that gives rise to impressions and ideas as much as to concrete phenomena

Reference list

Beiser, F. (2003). *The romantic imperative: The concept of early German romanticism.* Cambridge, England: Harvard University Press.

Biesta, G. (2010). *Witnessing deconstruction in education: Why quasitranscendentalism matters.* In C. Ruitenberg (Ed.), What do philosophers of education do? (And how do they do it?) (pp. 73-86). West Sussex, England: Blackwell Publishing.

Camus, A. (1964). *The myth of Sisyphus and other essays.* New York, NY: Alfred A Knopf.

Cooper, G. (2014). *Notes from the field.* Māori Association of Social Science: Kawerongo Hiko E-newsletter (32).

Foucault, M. (1989). *The order of things.* New York, NY: Tavistock Publications.

Frank, M. (1997). *Unendliche Annäherung: Die Anfänge der philosophischen Frühromantik.* Frankfurt am Main: Deutschland: Suhrkamp.

Friedman, M. (2000). *A parting of the ways: Carnap, Cassirer, and Heidegger.* Peru, IL: Open Court Publishing.

Heidegger, M. (1967a). *Being and time* (J. Macquarrie & E. Robinson, Trans.). Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Heidegger, M. (1967b). *Wegmarken.* Frankfurt am Main, Deutschland: Klostermann.

Heidegger, M. (1993). Modern science, metaphysics and mathematics. In D. Krell (Ed.), *Basic writings from 'being and time (1927) to 'the task of thinking'* (pp. 267-305). London, England: Routledge.

Hölderlin, F. (2002). *Hyperion and selected poems.* New York, NY: The Continuum Publishing Company.

Janiak, A. (2012). *Kant's views on space and time.* In E. Zalta (Ed.), The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy.

Kneller, J. (Ed.). (2003). *Novalis: Fichte studies.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Maffie, J. (n.d.). Aztec philosophy. In J. Fieser & B. Dowden (Eds.), *Internet encyclopedia of philosophy.*

Marsden, M. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden.* Otaki, New Zealand: Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Mika, C. (2014). *The enowning of thought and whakapapa: Heidegger's fourfold.* Review of Contemporary Philosophy, 13, 48-60.

Newman, L. (1997). *Descartes' epistemology.* In E. Zalta (Ed.), The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy.

Onions, C. (Ed.). (1966). *The Oxford dictionary of English etymology.* Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Royal, T. A. (2008). *Te ngākau.* Te Whanganui-a-Tara, New Zealand: Mauriora Ki Te Ao Living Universe Ltd.

Smith, T. (2000). *Nga tini ahuatanga o whakapapa korero.* Educational Philosophy and Theory, 32(1), 53-60.

Stone, A. (2011). *The romantic absolute.* British Journal for the History of Philosophy, 19(3), 497-517.

Wood, D. (Ed.). (2007). *Novalis: Notes for a romantic encyclopaedia.* Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

‘Closing the Gaps’: From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond

Nepia Mahuika

‘Closing the Gaps’: From Postcolonialism to Kaupapa Māori and Beyond[1]

Nepia Mahuika

I ARRIVED AT UNIVERSITY in an era when closing the gaps meant I had the most distance to travel. This expanse was not measured in kilometres or miles but in ‘cultural capital’, signposted in the particularly disparaging landscape of deficit theorizing, where Māori underachievement marked the low-lying outer reaches on a steep incline toward becoming upwardly mobile, the innovative Kiwi, or New Zealand citizen.[2] ‘Closing the gaps’ had also come to prominence as a Labour Party catchphrase in the 1999 election, and continued as the name of an official government policy that targeted underachieving groups such as Māori and Pacific Islanders. It was criticized by some as a program that encouraged ‘social apartheid’ and denounced as ‘the twenty-first century’s version of the “White Man’s Burden”’.[3] To Māori, it appeared helpful in that it identified us as a group whose current situation required special attention and care but was ultimately damaging, in that it perpetuated negative stereotypes that placed Māori on the margins and Pākehā standards of living as the benchmark in New Zealand society. These negative characterizations had long been embedded in historical scholarship but over time had taken on more contemporary markers of identity. By the time I began my history degree, the portrayal of Māori as uncivilized savages had been transformed to describe a group perceived to be typically better suited to labouring, and more likely to fail at school or commit crime. [4] The Hunn Report in 1960, a review of the Department of Māori Affairs, for instance, advocated a move from assimilation to integration, and offered a three-tiered Māori typology that noted the majority were somewhere in between either ‘a completely detribalized body of Māori with a vestigial culture’ and those ‘complacently living a backward life in primitive conditions’.[5] In 1991, Winston Peters, then Minister of Māori Affairs, commissioned the Ka Awatea report aimed at addressing low educational achievement, high representation in crime and imprisonment, and high state dependency amongst Māori.[6] Peters would later become a major critic of the ‘closing the gaps’ policy that in many respects was concerned with the same issues.

More recently, and in a far more provocative fashion, Michael Laws, the Mayor of Whanganui, has accused the Māori Party of being ‘apologists for the excesses of its ethnicity’, urging them to pay more attention to the Māori issues that really matter, such as ‘gang membership, child murder, the underclass, incest, [and] criminal offending’.[7] These publicly articulated depictions and stereotypes have not only positioned Māori as the problem group in need of change but have been aided by a dominant national history that in its privileged position has similarly left Māori stranded on the peripheries. Subsequently, in ‘closing the gaps’, it has been Māori who were and are expected to relocate, assimilate and adjust to the more ‘civilized’ political and social order. Today we are still expected to jump through hoops, to refrain from being ‘wreckers’ and ‘haters’, and to write our history on the margins of the New Zealand story.[8] When we resist, our self-determination is often misinterpreted as separatism, with our efforts to educate those around us frequently considered offensive and hostile because we refuse to conform in ways that make others feel nervous or — worse — guilty.

Speaking out against the mainstream view can often be an isolating experience for Māori, and frustrating when you constantly feel compelled to provide the ‘other’ perspective. It is often wearisome to feel like you are always on the alert, an indigenous watchdog constantly on guard against the evils of culturally insensitive research. But this is the reality of living within what some might call a ‘postcolonial’, or ‘Kaupapa Māori’, frame of reference.[9] To think of this situation as postcolonial draws on what some commentators have described as a resistance to further oppression at the hands of those in a position of colonial power by ‘writing back’ (speaking back) from the ‘margins’ in an effort to recover or reclaim one’s identity and even ‘humanity’.[10] In Aotearoa, it has evolved more recently to include a specifically indigenous vernacular embedded within a Kaupapa Māori frame which, as Graham Smith wrote, is ‘a shift away from an emphasis on reactive politics to an emphasis on being more proactive, a shift from negative motivation to positive motivation’.[11] Although both have relevance to the way in which Māori might respond to the injustices of colonial oppression, neither approach can be fully realized until it is reconfigured within the more specific and appropriate intellectual locations of the tangata whenua. Indeed, iwi and hapū may well describe their worlds in more local and familiar ways beyond a postcolonial, or archetypical ‘Māori’, world view. This distinctive outlook is vital because it informs a more refined and subjective response to incursions not only from the Pākehā world but from other iwi who do not share their particular aspirations or historical interpretations. It is a perspective we expect most Pākehā will not recognize, yet it is one that an increasing number of Māori are now striving to illuminate on our terms, couched in the various mātauranga-a-iwi that speak to our more personalized beliefs and ambitions.

It is disturbing that many New Zealand scholars still remain distanced from a Māori and iwi interpretation of history.

In many ways this absence could be considered unconscious, yet that would be a convenient excuse for those who remain deliberately removed, who carry on as if their work can safely avoid Māori concerns, and therefore need not be mindful of them. Often, it appears as if some tuck themselves away in a subfield of New Zealand history with a belief that empirical research alone will carry the day, and then denounce theory as an obstruction to good research, an inconvenience that essentially stifles the process.[12] Empirical practice, it should be stressed, is not an evil, yet a lack of appreciation of the growing theoretical work in historical scholarship can perpetuate misguided interpretations, maintain cultural power imbalances and contribute to further colonial oppression. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the continuation of historical narratives that refuse to accommodate the evolving theoretical and methodological advancements in Māori and iwi research simply widens the distance between tauiwi, Pākehā New Zealanders, and the tangata whenua. This article considers the need for New Zealand historians especially to close the gaps between themselves and the Māori communities they and their work affects. It explores the vital role that theory plays in this journey; whether an awakening from apathy and indifference, or the mapping of pertinent approaches to historical research. To this extent, the article is a think piece, and aims to provoke further thought rather than propose definitive solutions or provide ready-made models for historians working within the realms of Māori and iwi history. In exploring the new and old directions in theories such as postcolonialism and Kaupapa Māori, this article endeavours to locate how far we have come, and how much further we might yet need to travel. It notes the limits in postcolonial and Kaupapa Māori theory and practice, and argues for the need to move closer to iwi and hapū communities, interpretations and worldviews to truly close the distance between the colonized and the colonizers. Subsequently, this article draws on the 'inside' perspectives of my own iwi, Ngāti Porou, as one example of how postcolonial and Kaupapa Māori approaches might advance beyond their own boundaries to find firmer purchase in the worlds of this country's first peoples.

The 'Historian from Elsewhere'? Post colonialism and Kaupapa Māori

All migrants leave their past behind, although some try to pack it into hidden bundles and boxes.... It is the fate of migrants to be stripped of history, to stand naked amidst the scornof strangers. Salman Rushdie.[13]

Michael King has stressed that at one stage we were all migrants to these shores.[14] However, it was Māori who were first to inscribe their names and history on the land, with all those who followed 'fated', as Salman Rushdie noted, to be 'stripped of history' in order to acclimatize and belong in their new homeland. This, obviously, was not the intention of the first European colonizers, who quickly set about writing their history over the top of the indigenous landscape, renaming the whenua, and plotting a new course for the country's inhabitants. As they set about their colonial enterprise, the distance between their historical interpretations and Māori steadily widened and shifted away from that of the tangata whenua. Subsequently, in closing the gaps, a reconfiguring of the landscape is now vital to re-locating not only a potential destination but each individual's personal point of departure. The re-claiming, and re-mapping, of these spaces has been one of the major strengths of both postcolonial and Kaupapa Māori theory. Kaupapa Māori for instance, places mātauranga Māori at the centre, and challenges the place of Pākehā history and power, re-positioning them as historians from elsewhere whose cultural and intellectual frameworks are inadequate for interpreting the histories and worldviews of the indigenous peoples here in Aotearoa. The notion of disturbing the centre has also been a significant aspect of postcolonial theory, one in which writing back meant identifying first how the colonized were essentially a peripheral, depowered and marginalized subject in history.[15] Nevertheless, when I first encountered postcolonial theory, it was ironically defined by a Pākehā academic, a scholar from elsewhere, whose postcolonial perspective focused on the subversive literature of Rushdie and R.K. Narayan.[16] The postcolonialism this Pākehā academic described, though, bore little resemblance to my world, not because Rushdie and Narayan's depictions were so different but because of his inability to explain how Indian, or rather subaltern, perspectives relate to Māori colonial experience. Nevertheless, still intrigued by the writing of 'others', my fascination with postcolonialism, particularly its focus on the power relationships between the colonized and the colonizer, led me to the work of Edward Said, Frantz Fanon and Gayatri Spivak, whose words resonated with the history I knew.[17] In their highly theorized conceptualizations of the colonized and the other, were possibilities not only for me to engage with but to localize, not simply in relation to how I reclaimed my own historical narrative but how Māori might yet disturb those entrenched histories that had for so long marginalized our stories.[18]

This, in my initial introduction to it, was the strength of postcolonial literature and theory: an approach that sought to destabilize the 'centre' by writing back against the grain. This transformative potential, though, has not yet prevailed in Pākehā historical writing in Aotearoa, a symptom of not simply a rejection of theory but to some extent a limited understanding of why postcolonialism was important in the first place.

In finding ways to 'reclaim' our history, Māori scholars have been intriguedwith the merits, and failings, of postcolonial theory. On the one hand, it has provided a highly useful way of thinking about the problems within colonial encounter, while on the other it has been critiqued for its failure to accentuate the obvious continuation of colonialism within our contemporary context. Moana Jackson, for instance, asserts that 'we are not in a post-colonial or neo-colonial period. Instead we are in a new version of the same old song of the dispossession and denial of the rights of the indigenous peoples.'[19] Despite its potential to assist Māori history, postcolonialism has more often than not been carefully navigated by our scholars, if not by-passed altogether.[20] Linda Tuhiwai Smith has written of a sneaking suspicion amongst indigenous academics 'that the fashion of postcolonialism has become a strategy for reinscribing or reauthorizing the privileges of non-indigenous academics because the field of "postcolonial" discourse has been defined in ways which can still leave out indigenous peoples, our ways of knowing and our current concerns'.[21] In Aotearoa, Leonie Pihama has contended, the use of the notion postcolonial 'not only centres Pākehā definitions', but is also disturbing in its denial of the voices of Māori. She argued that 'the notion of postcolonialism is itself a contradiction' in a society where 'every aspect of our lives is touched and imposed upon by the colonisers'.[22] These concerns, among many others, have led indigenous scholars, and Māori in particular, to take what they can from postcolonialism and move on, or rather, move away from what Sheilagh Walker has described as its 'Pākehā centred theoretical framework'.[23]

In many ways this seems ironic for a theory that considered writing back to the centre an empowering act yet forgot that the centre itself was the problem. Instead of an examination of the intersecting trajectories shared between postmodern and postcolonial theories, then, 'past the last post' might have a certain meaning for Māori, who have sought to place their mātauranga at the core of their work.[24] The resulting theoretical approach has been termed by some 'Kaupapa Māori theory and practice', a theory of change, liberation and transformation, and even 'the philosophy and practice of being Māori'.[25] Kathie Irwin 'characterises it as research which is culturally safe, which involves the mentorship of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate while satisfying the rigour of research, and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not someone who happens to be Māori'.[26] This issue is not a new one in Māori and iwi history but certainly one fleshed out in the growing literature in Kaupapa Māori. In replying to the question, 'Can a non-indigenous researcher carry out Kaupapa Māori research?' Linda Tuhiwai Smith wrote that 'a non indigenous, non-Māori person can be involved, but not on their own, and if they were involved in such research, they would have ways of positioning themselves as a non-indigenous person'.[27] The expanding literature in Kaupapa Māori offers insights to the way we might better understand how to research and present Māori knowledge and history, and how we might improve our practice, and communicate with iwi and hapū. 'Its popularity', as Kathie Irwin noted, 'lies perhaps in its ability to both acknowledge and accommodate Māori ways of being within an approach that remains academically rigorous'.[28] 'It is not', as Graham Smith argued, 'a rejection of Pākehā knowledge and or culture', but 'advocates excellence within both cultures'.[29] This is a vital point, because it alludes to the ongoing role that Pākehā scholars have in preventing further colonial oppression, while suggesting the potential for them to truly find themselves and their history in the process. The underlying question remains though: is it really possible for Pākehā scholars to bridge the gap between their worldviews and ours? The answer from a Māori and iwi perspective is a resounding 'yes' — but as we have observed, albeit in vastly different circumstances, there is a considerable re-positioning of power that is part of the process.[30] Indeed, for a group so versed and capable in the world of our colonizers it seems bizarre to consider the idea that Pākehā people could not adapt to our worldviews when we have become past masters at functioning in theirs. Perhaps the real question is not whether it is possible to 'close the gaps' but whether Pākehā are conscious of or determined enough to relinquish their positions of power in order to learn, grow and adapt.[31]

But before this can happen, there is first required a reconsideration of some of the confining theoretical approaches that still hinder historical research in our country; approaches that have largely ignored the way Māori and iwi communities conduct research and interpret our histories. It means that many still have to move beyond the opinion espoused by one of our most celebrated colleagues, who wrote: 'it is not the role of the historian to be involved in this process, other than by saying: "Here is the evidence. This is what we know and do not know. Here is an historical context in which to

view that evidence. Draw your own conclusions."[32] This approach would deny a necessary self-reflective practice that has become central to understanding how to research Māori and iwi history, and would dismiss the obvious cultural, social and political realities of those for whom the work we do matters most. In this regard I would urge us to continue to reject the anti-theoretical stance adopted by historians and commentators such as Keith Windschuttle and Stuart C. Scott, whose denial appears to begin with the strained logic that somehow theory is murdering our discipline, and that we can simply carry on with an outdated empirical practice as if it was never problematic.[33] For Māori and iwi, the re-claiming of our world from the clutches of those who would consume it requires a pathway that has been partially signposted but is still evolving in theory and practice. In redefining our world, we assert the notion that as the indigenous people here we are not 'other', and resist those voices, discourses and frameworks that would either marginalize or subsume us.[34] To a large extent, this is what the nationalist focus within New Zealand history has done, and continues to do.[35] It was a concern many years ago for Māori scholars, who suggested that Pākehā were taking our knowledge without negotiation because they believed that it was essentially New Zealand culture.[36]

The nation, and 'NewZealand-ness', we realize has been so ingrained in our historical consciousness that it sometimes appears as if there is a clear distinction between New Zealand history and Māori and iwi history. In more recent times, Māori historians have contemplated what it will take 'for our history writing to become not only the nation's reading but also the nation's memory'.[37] This perception of the status quo tells us that there is indeed a difference in the way Māori see our history and would like it to be told, and the reality of the way it has been presented in New Zealand scholarship without our consent or consideration.[38] The underlying issue here — again not a new one — was touched on by Tipene O'Regan well over a decade ago, when he asserted that 'New Zealand's past belongs to all New Zealanders — but first it is ours!'39 Why is it that those sentiments were not picked up and understood by the majority of historians in this country way back then? 'Perhaps', as Frantz Fanon once wrote, 'we have not sufficiently demonstrated that colonialism is not simply content to impose its rule upon the present and the future of a dominated country'. Indeed, as he states, 'colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it.'[40]

The continual misinterpreting and disfiguring of our history reflects a failure by many researchers to place our mātauranga at the centre of their scholarship.[41] For Māori and iwi, it is a vital issue, and means, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith commented, 'that there is unfinished business [for Māori], that we are still being colonized (and know it), and that we are still searching for justice'.[42] Years ago, it led commentators, such as Keri Kaa, to opine: 'We have kept quiet for too long about how we truly feel about what is written about us by people from another culture. For years we have provided academic ethnic fodder for research and researchers. Perhaps it is time we set things straight by getting down to the enormous task of writing about ourselves.'[43]

This 'coming to know the past' on our terms, in Linda Tuhiwai Smith's words, 'has been part of the critical pedagogy of decolonization'. Indeed, as she has argued, 'to hold alternative histories is to hold alternative knowledges . . . . Transforming our colonized views of our own history (as written by the West), however, requires us to revisit, site by site, our history under Western eyes. This in turn requires a theory or approach which helps us engage with, understand and then act upon history.'[44] In producing and refining a theoretical approach that appropriately and legitimately informs and enables our methodologies and practices, Māori scholars have increasingly turned to our own mātauranga, the foundational building blocks of our cultural and political communities. These sites are always personalized, tribal and familial locations, in which the mātauranga of our iwi and hapū reside, and upon which our scholarship is subject to the scrutiny of our pakeke, tūpuna and descendants.

Ngāti Poroutanga: Beyond Postcolonialism and Kaupapa Māori[45]

Ehara toku maunga a Hikurangi i te maunga haere, engari he maunga tu tonu

My mountain Hikurangi never moves but rather it remains steadfast

Te Kani a Takirau

Despite its usefulness, Kaupapa Māori is not the only approach being used by Māori and iwi scholars, many of whom do not subscribe to it wholesale for a number of reasons.

More often iwi scholars now look to centre their research in their own tribal paradigms, kōrero tuku iho and tikanga, and thus, in the process, have moved beyond a Kaupapa model that homogenizes Māori identity, experiences and mātauranga.[46] The significance of specific tribal and hapū interpretive frames has been a subject commented on by numerous Māori scholars. John Rangihau, for instance, pointed out some time ago how 'being Māori' has been 'absolutely dependent' on his history as a Tuhoe person. On the topic of iwi history he elaborated, '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 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.'[47]

His views not only affirm tribal identity but also note a specific reluctance to speak on behalf of any other iwi. Operating within our own tribal boundaries — their intellectual parameters and structures — allows us to not only tell our own stories but to place our world at the centre of historical scholarship; a process that postcolonialism is incapable of realizing and will be until Pākehā scholars traverse the distance from their world to ours. Beyond a Kaupapa Māori approach, the more tribal-focused emphasis similarly places our mātauranga at the forefront, but it does so at a more intimate level, where being Māori is displaced by the more immediate realities of iwi.

This has been the challenge for Ngāti Porou, who have firmly resisted encroachments on our mana and self-determination by those who would subjugate us, would see us divided, or would disrupt and dispute our efforts to unite and to protect our history and identity.[48] Speaking on the topic of Ngāti Porou oral tradition, Apirana Mahuika has defined our history as specifically ours:

It is Ngāti Porou talking about Ngāti Porou. It is not anybody else talking about us. It is not about us writing about ourselves. It is about us talking about ourselves – that is oral tradition. It is about us singing about ourselves in terms of ngā mōteatea and so on because our mōteatea is part of our history. It is about us doing the haka about ourselves. It is not us being written about by other people.... In terms of this I don't expect a Ngā Puhi to come along and talk about Ngāti Porou, in the same way that he doesn't want me to go there and talk about Ngā Puhi.[49]

In defining Ngāti Porou history on our own terms, the role of kōrero tuku iho, whakapapa, our own tikanga and reo, are vital. They are treasures and invaluable components that weave together forming our foundational worldview. When this foundation is attacked and threatened, the response, as Whaimutu Dewes points out, is often swift and unrelenting: 'It's a typical Ngāti Porou thing ... like an overwhelming military response. You challenge their Ngāti Porouness, or anything about Ngāti Porou... it's like poking a wasp nest, they will come out and they will hose you down, and look out.'[50]

Defining our world on our own terms has long been a refrain in Ngāti Porou history. From Te Kani a Takirau's fierce statement of independence in refusing the position of Māori King, to Te Kapunga Dewes's assertion of Ngāti Porou dialect in the simple daily greetings of others, Ngāti Porou have consistently sought to protect ourselves from overbearing outside influences.[51] This defensive strategy has often been reiterated by our people, such as Keri Kaa, and more recently Turuhira Tatare, who in an interview in her home at Turanga nui a Kiwa declared:

'We have to learn to defend ourselves... I've seen my people being put down time and time again.... It's not going to happen to me, and I'm not going to let it happen to anybody else if I'm around. I'm proud of my people. But I don't trust [Pākehā].... They have an ulterior motive. And my people are not going to be put down by another culture. We're supposed to be partners in this country, and where's partnership gone?'[52]

Although Ngāti Porou have been cautious of Pākehā intrusions, many have equally been careful to ensure their perspectives remain intact despite the sometimes enticing views of others. Reminiscing on his time at university, Herewini Parata recalled how important it was to base his knowledge of te reo within the distinctive, and living, language of home.[53] The need to have access t'specialist people' with 'specialist knowledge', as he noted, enables us to validate our stories for ourselves, on our terms, and in ways that make sense to us.[54] Being Ngāti Porou has not meant a rejection of other identities but involves an explicit celebration of those whakapapa connections. Apirana Mahuika has argued that the primary role of whakapapa is to include and not exclude.[55] In Ngāti Porou this concept was emphasized by Ta Apirana Ngata, who in coining the phrase 'Te Wīwī Nāti' made reference to the notion that wīwi — close compacting growing rushes — symbolize a sense of unity and togetherness.[56] Ngāti Poroutanga, then, embraces the varying mātauranga of our own tūpuna, from Maui, Paikea, Porou Ariki, Uepohatu and Ruawaipu, to Hauiti, Te Rangitawaea, Uetuhiao, Ruataupare and Tuwhakair; ora, to name but a few.[57]

The colourful and vibrant complexities of who we are reflect a rich tapestry of whakapapa and history that is held in varying communities along the east coast. Kura Tibble noted how in her day: Every community had their own kapahaka group. Like Rangitukia ... and us, we were known as Hinerupe, and there was another crew known as Putaanga ... and of course the ones from Te Araroa ... very active the people here in those days, and we had competitions amongst ourselves. We used to go to Ruatorea, and compete with the ones over there like Hiruharama, and Ruatorea group, Hikurangi, they were known then. Everybody had their own [songs], that's when those composers were in their prime. Because Tuini was her then, and we had Henare Waitoa here.[58]

Understanding and interpreting this world requires a close association with each community, whose experts, composers, stories and songs tell parts of a broader narrative, one in which oral tradition celebrates Ngāti Porou diversity. One of the most well-rehearsed stories in Ngāti Porou history recounts the life and times of the revered warrior chief Tuwhakairiora. His achievements, committed to print by a number of authors such as the Rev. Mohi Turei, Waipaina Awarau and Bob McConnell are still a more vibrant and living history in oral tradition.[59] These histories, though, as Herewini Parata pointed out, even in print are never the same because they rely on local storytellers to reflect them as living accounts relative to the communities they reside in now:

My uncle Tamati had done this research and he had found this story about the Tuwhakairiora story written by Waipaina Awarau — Waipaina Awarau's thesis on Tuwhakairiora. So he thought he had found something totally new ... At that time uncle Tamati was teaching in Te Aroha, and so he went over to papa (Haanara 'Arnold' Reedy), to tell papa that he had found this great story about Tuwhakairiora. He had put it onto a tape. The tape had started and papa stopped the tape and said Kaati. That's not the story, this is the story. So papa started to talk the Tuwhakairiora story from his line, because Waipaina's was from an Iritekura perspective. Papa's was from a Paakanui perspective .... And then you'd probably get someone else from the Wharekahika perspective. It would be slightly different, but it's all the same story, but at the end of the day you are aligned to the stories that you've been told.[60]

The oral traditions and mātauranga that inform who we are, as Herewini highlights here, are complex and living realities for the various communities that retain them. Ngāti Poroutanga, then, is situated within a dynamic body of knowledge, which at once challenges and accepts the notion that siblings, mokopuna and descendents can lay claim to the same tūpuna, and rangatira, but remember them in their own distinctive ways. This again is affirmed by Apirana Mahuika, who noted that: 'When you get two people reporting on the same incident they will have different emphases, and different aspects of the story they will tell, and they forget other aspects of the story, not that those other aspects did not occur, but because of their particular interest in what they are observing.'[61] The transmission of this knowledge across the generations lies with those whose expertise surpasses others, those who are 'specialists', experts in not only the interpretations specific to their own areas but in the subtle nuances that alter them from one marae and hapū to the next.

A Ngāti Poroutanga approach, then, places our local knowledge and theories of the world at the heart of our scholarship. It takes for granted that our mātauranga forms the foundations upon which a narrative of our history should be produced, interpreted and understood. In this way, it highlights the significance of tīpuna such as Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga, whose importance as the lament 'Haere ra e hika' (farewell dear one) reminds us is commemorated in his now famous expedition aboard the waka Nukutaimemeha:

... te waka i hiia ai te whenua nui nei
... the vessel which fished up this great land

More than a song, this mōteatea serves as part of a broader historical narrative that grounds the actions and accounts of our tūpuna within our mātauranga. The history of Maui as a mischievous and adventurous protagonist is only one of the many exemplars of how our society operated then and now.[62] He, amongst other Ngāti Porou ancestors, provides not only the foundation stories of our history but templates for appropriate, and even inappropriate, conduct in research and representation. These kōrero tuku iho, in combination, form the essential components of a Ngāti Porou paradigm that is crucial to understanding and representing our history.

On the topic of tribal, and particularly Ngāti Porou, history, Monty Soutar has warned against the practice of 'trying to fit tribal history' within a Western model of how history should be written.[63] The developing of our own hapū and tribal perceptions of the past has been a central part of the work amongst generations of Ngāti Porou scholars. Te Pakaka Tawhai, for instance, noted how Sir Apirana Ngata's night schools were adapted to meet the needs and interpretaions of each hapū and local community: 'The school of whakapapa met weekly at the pavilion on Whakarua Park, and the culture school met at Rongomai-a-niwaniwa in Tikitiki. Later the schools would divide into smaller groups and disperse to other venues to study

there. The classes were held dept into the long nights of the winter of 1942.[64] Although these smaller clusters and whānau groups divided into their own localities, each remained connceted ot a broader tribal identity. IN reference to this unification Tawahi wrote: 'We Tairawhiti folk like the inference of strength that lies in the corporatneness implied in the word iwi. We therefore present ourselves to the members of other iwi and also to one another as Ngatī Porou when we wish to project a united front . . . . We encourage other iwi to think of us this way.'[65]

The landscape of Ngāti Poroutanga, then, although richly coloured in its own unique shades, draws on multiple interpretations within its mātauranga. It highlights those things that are peculiar to, and characteristic of, our worldviews, values, attitudes and theories. For example, writing on the subject of female leadership in Ngāti Porou, Apirana Mahuika has emphasized the equal role that our female ancestors shared with their male counterparts in directing and serving the people.[66] In addressing the failings of primogeniture as a way of describing leadership within Ngāti Porou his thesis highlights our own distinctive frames of reference by placing our interpretations at the forefront.

Presenting Māori and iwi histories within their own interpretive frames of reference has been an issue addressed by various Māori scholars. Danny Keenan, for instance, has suggested that historians might yet consider Māori and iwi history as it takes place from the paepae, and thus in the process enable a presenting of evidence that makes sense within Māori conventions and paradigms.[67] Drawing on our mātauranga as the templates for not only researching but representing the past requires a commitment to finding and grounding ourselves within those localities. These worldviews, enriched with our perspectives, are often relevant to varying historical contexts and situations as they are retold, and revisited, across generations. Perhaps one of the best examples of this in Ngāti Porou can be found in varying renditions of the haka Te Kiringutu. As Ngata wrote:

This composition has come down the generations and had its greatest revival with topical adaptions in 1888, when the Porourangi meeting house was formally opened. Led by the late Tuta Nihoniho, a noted chief of the Hikurangi subtribes, a section of Ngāti Porou registered their protest against the rating of their lands and the taxation of articles of every day consumption, specifying the 'pu tōriri' or the tobacco plant. It was revived again at the Waitangi celebrations in 1934 and was adopted by the men of the 9th and 10th Māori reinforcements as the 'piece de resistance' of the recent celebration of the opening of Tamatekapua at Rotorua. Its main theme is not outdated, the complementary, yet seemingly, contradictory features of civilisation with the still novel but bitter pill of taxation.[68]

Far removed from the 'loyalist' and 'Queenite' labels that have sometimes been attached to Ngāti Porou, Te Kiringutu tells a more accurate story, one that aligns with Te Kani a Takirau's assertion of independence. Indeed, in its own fierce and confronting prose, it reflects in poetic form a similar affirmation stressed by Monty Soutar in his biographical account of the life and leadership of Rapata Wahawaha: that this, an overarching concern to protect and assert what is in the best interest of Ngāti Porou.[69] In this regard the haka asserts:

A haha! Na te ngutu o te
Māori, pohara,
Kai kutu, na te werweri koe
i hōmai ki konei
E kāore iara, I haramai tonu
Koe
Ki te kai whenua

To remove the tattoo from Māori
lips, relieve his distress,
Stop him eating lice, and cleanse
him of dirt and disgust
Yea! But all that was a deep-lined
design, neath which to
devour our lands![70]

Although Ngāti Porou have been quick, and often eager, to embrace theories and practices from elsewhere, these lines stand as a reminder that at every point in the evolvement of our mātauranga we have carefully considered and negotiated their strengths and limitations. Subsequently, despite the seemingly intrusive and corrosive embedding of colonial discourses and ideologies, Ngāti Poroutanga has constantly been shaped from within, and remains the living and vibrant body of knowledge central to understanding our world.

Framing the past within these paradigms requires a movement beyond just a postcolonial or a Kaupapa Māori approach. It necessarily involves a relocating that places Ngāti Poroutanga at the centre, builds on our theories about the formation and naming of the land, accentuates our tikanga, narrative structures and historical perspectives, and invokes the nuances and peculiarities that exist within our language and people from one valley and bay to the next.

This is a people whose historical narrative affirms Maui not as some imaginary figure but as a vital protagonist in history whose now-famous fishing expedition anchors our relationship with the land.[71] To apply a foreign interpretive mode of analysis to this world would be akin to navigating our history using a compass from 'elsewhere', set in a latitude and longitude that simply has no bearing within the realities of Ngāti Porou. Such an undertaking would only serve to widen the distance between us, to perpetuate the mistakes of earlier researchers and historians, and to produce misguided and ill-informed descriptions of a history that belongs to the people it represents. Moving beyond postcolonial and Kaupapa Māori theory to embrace the epistemological and theoretical frameworks of iwi and hapū is a journey that requires a closing of the gaps. It reconfigures the positions of power that have for too long expected Māori to assimilate and align with Western views of history. Moreover, it allows Pākehā living and writing within the boundaries of Māori communities to truly belong as they immerse themselves in a culture, community and history that is a unique and ultimate expression of 'here'.[72]

'Oku Kaenga Waewae': Finding the way 'home'[73]

kia hora te marino, kia whakapapa pounamu te moana, kia tere te karohirohi i mua i to huarahi[74]

We share a history that has predominantly been represented by writers and researchers from elsewhere. The New Zealand histories that they write about, and explore, often remain removed from the narratives and perspectives of the tangata whenua, and will continue to do so until there is a more active effort to acclimatize and adjust to the Māori and iwi world they inhabit. Despite its usefulness, postcolonial theory in its various guises does little to narrow this expanse, and if anything maintains the illusion that ethical and culturally appropriate research might be done at a distance. Similarly, Kaupapa Māori, although a much more preferred and appropriate theoretical approach, is limited in its ability to bridge the gaps between those who are outsiders and insiders. Indeed, there are still many areas, as Tipene O'Regan has stated, into which 'the outsiders, the tauiwi, step at their own peril', yet whether most realize it or not, they have already been treading those pathways without a compass or map for some time.[75] This is because most seem to operate under the belief that New Zealand history and Māori and iwi history are not the same, and therefore suppose that 'the treacherous waters of Māori history' might safely be avoided in their research.[76]

New Zealand history is not simply Māori history but is built on the living and still breathing worlds of iwi and hapū. Beyond the postcolonial gaze, and even that of the Kaupapa Māori model, are particular tribal paradigms, such as that of Ngāti Porou, whose interpretive theories reside within our tikanga, reo and mātauranga. For New Zealand historians, the way is mapped clearly by these foundational markers, which signpost the most appropriate paths by which the distance might be bridged from their position to ours. The way forward has always been here, but the problem of unconsciousness and a lack of determination remain the real barriers to any movement from those already in power.[77] Becoming more fully aware of the ways in which colonial oppression is still ongoing in New Zealand historical scholarship is only a small step. Finding the determination and courage to do something about it requires a major shift in thinking and attitude. However, neither of these alone is enough to transform the current situation. It necessarily requires a 'giving up of power' to enable Māori to lead in a dialogue of change. Thus, closing the gaps requires change on multiple levels and layers, facilitated by the willingness in action of all manuhiri to embrace and empower the tangata whenua, and to essentially throw off the identity of settlers and colonizers, and be clothed again in the garments, language, identities and histories common to the home people.

In the meantime, Māori are still waiting while they toil away at navigating a future many Pākehā seem reluctant to share. The mātauranga-a-iwi that is steadily emerging in more and more Māori scholarship signals the future of both Kaupapa Māori and postcolonialism in New Zealand, and has a ready space available to non-Māori researchers should they be courageous and forward thinking enough to embrace it.[78] But it necessitates a bold revisioning of their world and not ours, which places our mātauranga at the centre and asks them to consider their reality as historians from elsewhere, submitting to a stripping of their history in order to more fully understand ours. The mātauranga-a-iwi approach applies as much to our own people as it does to tauiwi and Pākehā, because it provides a map home for those who suffered from the indignity of having their identities, language and history systematically taken away from them. Like postcolonialism and Kaupapa Māori, it too offers a theory of change and transformation, and a methodological artifice to assist liberation and self-determination. For this reason, it also offers a way forward for non-Māori, whose role and place within the future and past of these communities is viewed as vital to the emancipatory process. How this is articulated in each iwi and hapū, though, remains one of the peculiarities that highlights the nuances from one location to the next.

Closing the gaps, as I have suggested in this article, challenges those who are committed to belonging and finding their way 'home' in Aotearoa to first reassess their position in this historical landscape. Most Māori and iwi researchers traverse these highways and byways at every moment not only in their scholarship but in their daily lives, and they are constantly aware of their role in negotiating the divides that separate our past, present and future worlds. Some have now grown tired of waiting for our colleagues to reciprocate, are wearisome of the burden of reminding them at every second conference about their ethical obligations as Treaty partners or their vital place in the shaping of a world we can both satisfactorily inherit. The significance of postcolonial and Kaupapa Māori theory in not simply awakening scholars but assisting them in producing more appropriate and sound research is central to the process of closing the gaps. However, beyond these theories of resistance, reclamation, liberation and self determination are real communities within which those theories are refined, personalized and living. They provide the essential mātauranga that give local meaning to how these theories work in practice. Without these foundations in place — at the heart of historical scholarship here in Aotearoa — there will always be a gaping chasm between Māori, iwi and tauiwi interpretations of the past. Kaupapa Māori and postcolonialism can only take us so far. Their usefulness is inextricably dependent on how they materialize within the work of those who have sought to ground themselves in the language, tikanga, and mātauranga of the iwi kaenga.[79] Only then can one truly belong.

NOTES

1 I would like to acknowledge all those who have read drafts and suggested amendments to this article. 'Closing the gaps', as it is envisioned here, was inspired from a number of conversations with Peter Gibbons, whose re-envisioning of this concept prompted my own desire to explore the idea further in these pages. Ngā mihi aroha hoki ki ōku iwi, Apirana Mahuika, Herewini Parata, Turuhira Tatare, Kura Tibble me Whaimutu Dewes, mo ō ratou manaakitanga.

2 P. Bourdieu refers to the concept of cultural or social capital as 'the aggregate of actual or potential resources linked to a group'. See P. Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in J.G. Richardson, ed., Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education, New York, 1986, pp.241–58. In contrast, those 'who do not have the appropriate cultural capital are considered "other" by virtue of their ethnicity, language and class' and are therefore in a position of disadvantage. See Russell Bishop and Ted Glynn, eds, Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education, Palmerston North, 1999, pp.139, 151. 'Deficit theorizing' has become a phrase associated with the pathologizing of particular groups as inferior. For further reading here see Carolyn M. Shields, Russell Bishop and André Elias Mazawi, eds, Pathologizing Practices: The Impact of Deficit Thinking on Education, New York, 2005.

3 See Winston Peters, 'Treaty Lunacy and Treaty People', Speech delivered to Clevedon Electorate Public Meeting, Beachlands Community Hall, 49 Wakelin Road, Beachlands, Auckland, 28 May 2002.

4 The 'native', 'savage' and 'rebel' were well-rehearsed identifiers of Māori well into the twentieth century. See Angela Ballara, Proud to be White? A Survey of Pakeha Prejudice in New Zealand, Auckland, 1986; W. Hugh Ross, for instance, refers repeatedly to Te Kooti as the 'arch-rebel'. See W. Hugh Ross, Te Kooti Rikirangi: General and Prophet, Auckland, 1966. Māori education, for some time, favoured a 'natural' pathway to labouring work. See Judith Simon, ed., Ngā Kura Māori: The Native Schools System, 1867–1969, Auckland, 1998.

5 J. K. Hunn, Report on Department of Māori Affairs with Statistical Supplement, Wellington, 24 August 1960, pp.15–16.

6 The Ka Awatea Report, commissioned under a National-led government, noted low educational achievement, poor health, high levels of unemployment, high state dependency and high representations in crime and imprisonment as key issues facing Māori development. The Ministry of Māori Development, Ka Awatea, a Report of the Ministerial Planning Group, Wellington, March 1991, p.9.

7 Michael Laws, 'Māori Party Apologist for excesses of its people', Sunday Star Times, 29 March 2009, http://www.stuff.co.nz/sunday-star-times/opinion/2298978/Michael-Laws-Māori-Partyapologist-for-excesses-of-its-people (accessed 17 January 2011).

8 Former Labour Party leader Helen Clark offered these comments following the 2004 Foreshore and Seabed hikoi: 'What it is, is the same old faces. The Ken Mairs, the Harawira family, the Annette Sykes, the haters and wreckers, the people who destroy Waitangi every year, now wanting to do a Waitangi in every town in New Zealand on the way to Wellington where they will do a Waitangi on the steps of Parliament. Is this not what New Zealand has got absolutely sick and tired of?' Interview for TVNZ One News, 4 May 2004.

9 Although Kaupapa Māori draws on some postcolonial literature, its primary points of difference lie in (a) its focus on an emancipatory solution, and (b) its centring on Māori frames of knowledge. There is also a much more specific exploration of the role of the insider and outsider in Kaupapa Māori literature.

10 See Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples, Dunedin, London and New York, 1999, p.23.

11 Graham Hingangaroa Smith, 'Kaupapa Māori Theory: theorizing indigenous transformation of education and schooling', paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint Conference, Kaupapa Māori Symposium, Auckland, December, 2003, p.2.

12 The importance of theory is not a new issue in historical scholarship. For many, a better understanding of theory will enable a deeper appreciation of the ways in which history is created, interpreted and represented. The narrow empirical practice of objective history, for instance, has been critiqued by a number of scholars. Perhaps one of the most notable, Peter Novick, argues against an unachievable objective position inherent within the discipline. See Peter Novick, 'Nailing Jelly to the Wall', in That Noble Dream: the "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession, Cambridge, 1988.

13 Salman Rushdie, Shame, London, 1984, pp.63–64. This subtitle adopts Rushdie's concept of the 'Writer From Elsewhere', and accompanies a short quote from his acclaimed novel, Shame, in which the migrant or historian from elsewhere's journey involves a leaving behind of their past as they seek to belong in a new world. In the context of this article it refers to the starting point from which some historians might yet move beyond their entrenched views to an understanding of how Māori perceive and represent history. See also Stefano Manferlotti 'Writers from Elsewhere', in Iain Chambers, and Lidia Curti, eds, Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons, London, 1996, pp.189–95.

14 Michael King, Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native, Auckland, 1999, p.235.

15 For further reading on postcolonial theory see, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, eds, The Post-colonial Studies Reader, London, 1995.

16 Rushdie and R.K. Narayan have both written extensively on the postcolonial condition in India. Rushdie's Midnight's Children and The Satanic Verses are perhaps the two best examples of his flair for historical fiction and magical realism. He is a highly provocative and subversive novelist who has earned both acclaim and infamy. Narayan is also a prolific author. His work, although not as confrontational as Rushdie's, is also well versed in postcolonial literature. See Salman Rushdie, Midnight's Children, London, 1981; The Satanic Verses, London, 2006; R. K. Narayan, The Vendor of Sweets, Harmondsworth, 1983.

17 I deliberately do not seek to define postcolonialism in this article, but rather note that its invention and perpetuation as a theory and practice related to colonial struggles is multifaceted and complex. Thus, it has certain meanings for those in various colonial contexts, including India, Australia and the United States, which do not necessarily reflect the realities of Māori.

18 Edward Said, Orientalism, London, 1978; Gayatri Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in Cary Nelson and Larry Grossberg, eds, Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Chicago, 1988, pp.271–313; Frantz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, London, 1965; Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, Harmondsworth, 1972.

19 Moana Jackson, 'Research and Colonisation of Māori Knowledge', He Pukenga Kōrero, 4, 1 (1998), p.71.

20 Leonie Pihama maintains that 'few Māori people use the term to describe or locate their work, rather, Māori works tend to be labelled as 'postcolonial' by Pākehā. This then raises issues about who defines Māori writing'. See Leonie Pihama, 'Ko Taranaki te Maunga: Challenging Post-colonial Disturbances and Post-modern Fragmentation', He Pukenga Kōrero, 2, 2 (1997), p.11.

21 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, p.24.

22 Pihama, p.9.

23 Cited in ibid., p.9

24 'Past the last post' is a phrase used by a number of postcolonial scholars. Adam and Tiffin's edited collection of essays focused on the often competing discourses at work in post-modernism and postcolonial scholarship, examining the terminology and theoretical strains, ironies and tropes that have accentuated the creation of meaning through 'text', the 'lived' experience, and other formal and political contemporary contexts. See Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin, eds, Past the Last Post: Theorizing Post-Colonialism and Post-Modernism, Calgary, 1990; and more recently in the New Zealand context Giselle Byrnes, 'Past the Last Post? Time, Causation, and Treaty Claims History', Law Text Culture, 7 (2003), pp.251–76.

25 A Kaupapa Māori approach is inextricably connected to the local mātauranga, which is unable to be deciphered or articulated within a postcolonial frame built on non-Māori intellectual frameworks. See Graham H. Smith, 'Tane-nui-a-rangi's legacy: Propping up the sky. Kaupapa Māori as resistance and intervention'. Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint Conference, Deakin University Australia, published in Creating Space in Institutional Settings for Māori, Auckland, 1992, p.1; Graham Smith,
'Whakaoho Whanau: New formations of whanau as an intervention into Māori cultural and educational crises', He Pukenga Kōrero, 1, 1 (1995), pp.18–36.

26 Cited in Linda Tuhiwai Smith, p.184.

27 ibid.

28 Cited in Rangimarie Mahuika, 'Kaupapa Māori Theory is Critical and Anti-Colonial', Mai Review, (2008), p.2.

29 Graham Smith, 'Kaupapa Māori: Educational resistance and intervention in Aotearoa (New Zealand)', in G. Smith, ed., Higher Education for Indigenous Peoples, Auckland, 1993, p.5.

30 It should be noted that never at any time have Māori maintained the dominant power position in adapting to and negotiating their way in the Pākehā world. For Pākehā, the process of closing the gaps is simply not the same, but nevertheless requires them to relinquish their power. On this topic, the Hawaiian historian Huanani-Kay Trask has written that 'if it is truly our history Western historians desire to know, they must put down their books and take up our practices.... They must come... not in the Western way, but in the indigenous way' (emphasis added). See Huanani-Kay Trask, 'From a Native Daughter', in Calvin Martin, ed., The American Indian and the Problem of History, New York, 1987, p.178.

31 In regard to the role of the colonizer Paulo Freire has argued that 'the oppressor... is unable to lead this struggle', but in 'discovering himself to be an oppressor' must necessarily seek 'true solidarity with the oppressed' by 'fighting at their side to transform the objective reality', pp.29; 31.

32 King, Being Pakeha Now, p.207.

33 See both Keith Windschuttle, The Killing of History, Sydney, 1996, and Stuart C. Scott, The Travesty of Waitangi: Towards Anarchy, Christchurch, 1995. It should be pointed out that Windschuttle's belief that traditional history has suffered from the rise of literary and social theories has largely been rejected by New Zealand historians. Similarly non-academic historians such as Stuart C. Scott and other 'anti-Treatyists' have been critiqued for their resistance 'rather than addressing of modern scholarly developments'. See Richard Hill, 'Anti-Treatyism and Anti-Scholarship: An Analysis of Anti-Treatyist Writings', Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit: Occasional Papers Series, no. 8, Wellington, 2002, p.11.

34 I draw here on some of the words and phrasing of Leonie Pihama, p.14.

35 Kerry Howe writes that New Zealand's historiography is determined by an underlying 'national focus'. See Kerry Howe, 'Two Worlds', New Zealand Journal of History (NZJH), 37, 1 (2003), p.50.

36 Hirini Moko Mead made this observation some time ago, 'Māoritanga, Should It Be Shared?', Listener, 10 December 1977, p.56.

37 Aroha Harris, 'Theorize This: We Are What We Write', Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People, 3 (2009), p.89.

38 A recent example of this is Paul Moon's disappointing history of Māori cannibalism, in which little consideration was given to mātauranga Māori and virtually no kōrero or hui with Māori scholars or communities were held to seek their views, advice or support in regard to the way our people are depicted in the book. Paul Moon, This Horrid Practice: The Myth and Reality of Traditional Māori Cannibalism, Auckland, 2008. See further Rawiri Te Maire Tau, 'Review of Paul Moon, This Horrid Practice', Te Pouhere Korero, Māori History, Māori People, 3 (2009), pp.123–4. Moon's book is, however, a rather extreme example of history writing in New Zealand that is not located within a Māori or iwi framework. Most New Zealand histories tend to relegate Māori to the peripheries as they assert and re-assert their overarching narratives. For further comment on this see Nēpia Mahuika, 'Migration and the Nation: Revitalizing te-ika-a-Maui', NZJH, 43, 2, (2009), pp.133–49.

39 Tipene O'Regan, 'Who Owns the Past? Change in Māori Perceptions of the Past', in John Wilson, ed., From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Māori, Auckland, 1987, p.145.

40 Frantz Fanon, 'On National Culture', in Guarav Desai and Supriya Nair, eds, Post-Colonialisms: An Anthology of Cultural Theory and Criticism, Piscataway, N.J., 2005, p.200.

41 For instance, see Vincent Ward's feature film Rain of the Children, South Melbourne, Victoria, 2008. Ward's film has been criticized by Taiarihia Black, who argued that its 'mono-cultural' frame reflected a skewed perspective that effectively 'displaced' and 'exiled' the colonized by allowing a 'ghost story' based on a warped interpretation of 'mākutu' to take centre stage. See Taiarihia Black, 'That's My Nan!' Review of the Film-Documentary Rain of the Children directed by Vincent Ward. Ngā Oho Whakaari: Māori in Film and Television Inc (2008). See http://www.ngaahowhakaari.co.nz/wp-ccontent/uploads/2009/12/naw_thats_my_nan.pdf (accessed 17 January 2011).

42 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, p.34.

43 Cited in King, Being Pakeha Now, p.184.

44 Linda Tuhiwai Smith, p.34.

45 Ngāti Poroutanga encaptulates the mātauranga, the tikanga, history, songs, life and language of the descendents of Porourangi, whose traditional boundaries lie between Potikirua and Te Toka-a-Taiau on the east coast of the North Island. For a more sustained discussion on the Ngāti Porou perspective see Apirana Mahuika, 'A Ngāti Porou Perspective', in Malcolm Mulholland and Veronica Tawhai, eds, Weeping Waters: The Treaty of Waitangi and Constitutional Change, Wellington, 2010, pp.145–63.

46 Two published examples of this are Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, eds, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History, Wellington, 2008, and Mere Whaanga, A Carved Cloak for Tahu, Auckland, 2004. There are older examples, too, such as Ruka Broughton's unpublished masters thesis, 'Ko nga Paiaka o Nga Rauru Kiitahi', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1979, and Monty Soutar, 'A History of Te Aitanga-a-Mate', MA thesis, Massey University, 1998.

47 John Rangihau, 'Being Māori', in Michael King, ed., Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Māoritanga, Auckland, 1992, p.190.

48 These challenges to our identity, history and mātauranga have not only come from the outside world but more recently from within, and have been fuelled by a claims process that enables the contestation and distorting of the past as a perceived means of discerning legitimate tribal representation. The contestation of tribal identity remains an issue on the east coast. However, this article positions itself in the life experience and history of the author, and those who maintain a definitive identity as Ngāti Porou. In 2001, the Ngāti Porou population reached 61,701, the second largest iwi group in the country. See Statistics New Zealand, 2001 Census: Iwi, 1, p.11.

49 Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, Interviewed by Nēpia Mahuika (NM), Gisborne, 2009.

50 Whaimutu Dewes, Life Narrative recorded by NM, Rotorua, 2007, 1.05.30–1.06.02.

51 See Te Kani a Takirau's whakatauakī (proverb) at the beginning of this section. Here he refers to the steadfastness of Hikurangi as an anecdotal affirmation of his resolve to remain king in his own territory. This is at once a parochial declaration of Ngāti Porou independence, as well as a reminder that our future and aspirations will remain grounded in our world on our terms. During a hui at Hinerupe marae in 1995 Te Kapunga Dewes responded to a visitor's greeting, 'kei te pehea koe? (how are you), by declaring 'Eta, you're in "kei te aha country" now' – a distinctive greeting within Ngāti Porou.

52 Turuhira Tatare, Life Narrative recorded by NM, Gisborne, 2008, 22.53–23.54.

53 Herewini Parata, Life Narrative recorded by NM, Gisborne, 2008, 1.42.25–1.42.57.

54 Parata, 1.37.21–1.37.32; 1.44.05–1.44.36.

55 He made these comments at a marae graduation ceremony at Waikato University in 2004. On the topic of whakapapa he also emphasized that our strength lies in our diversity as much as the close relationships we share.

56 See Tamati Reedy, 'Ngāti Porou', in Māori Peoples of New Zealand, Auckland, 2006, p.168.

57 Tamati Reedy notes that the tribe has taken Porourangi's name for two reasons. First, because of his status as an individual from whom descended the major lines of Polynesia, including Toi and Whatonga, and, secondly, because his descendants 'produced warriors whose conquests in battle, along with strategic marriage alliances, subdued many of the competing forces in the Gisborne and East Coast regions'. Reedy, p.164.

58 Kura Tibble, Life Narrative recorded by NM, Tikitiki, 2007, 21.21–22.34.

59 Mohi Turei, 'Tuwhakairiora', Journal of the Polynesian Society, 20, 1 (1911), pp.17–34; Te Waipaina Awarau, 'Tuwhakairiora', MA thesis, University of Canterbury, 1972; Bob McConnell, Te Araroa, Gisborne, 1993.

60 Parata, 1.22.45–1.25.13.

61 Mahuika, 4.01–4.17.

62 The models for behaviour exhibited within the stories of Maui and others are the subject of Ranginui Walker’s essay, ‘The Relevance of Māori Myth and Tradition’, in Michael King, ed., Te Ao Hurihuri, pp.170–82. These models are highly relevant to understanding the paradigms at work within each tribal history. Ranginui Walker, Ka Whāwhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End, rev ed, Auckland, 1994.

63 Monty Soutar, ‘A Framework for Analyzing Written Iwi Histories’, He Pukenga Kōrero, 2, 1 (1996), p.44.

64 Te Pakaka Tawhai, ‘He Tipuna Wharenui o te Rohe o Uepohatu’, MA thesis, Massey University, 1978, p.45.

65 ibid., p.92.

66 Apirana Tuahae Mahuika, ‘Ngā Wahine Kaihatu o Ngāti Porou/ Female Leaders of Ngāti Porou’, MA thesis, University of Sydney, 1974.

67 Danny Keenan, ‘The Past from the Paepae: Uses of the Past in Māori Oral History’, Oral History in New Zealand, 12/13 (2000–1), pp.33–38.

68 Te Kapunga Dewes, ed., Māori Literature, He Haka Taparahi: Men’s Ceremonial Dance poetry, na Te Hāmana Mahuika, Arnold Reedy, Rev. Tipi Kaa, Mārū Karaka, Moni Taunaunu, Sir. Apirana Ngata, Wellington, 1972, p.13.

69 Monty Soutar, ‘Ngāti Porou leadership: Rapata Wahawaha and the Politics of Conflict “kei te ora nei hoki tātou, me tō tātou whenua”’, PhD thesis, Massey University, 2000.

70 Dewes, p.13.

71 Nēpia Mahuika, pp.133–49.

72 ‘Here’ is an expression of the country we share together. This belonging, though, is dependent on the iwi kaenga, and particularly their process in enabling those from outside to share in their world.

73 The proverb ‘oku kaenga waewae’ here denotes the significance of traversing on foot the landscape that one might call home, and through the familiarity of that journey, coming to associate with the whenua and history of that space. It is vital to the notion of closing the gaps; that is, the treading of a pathway that allows one to understand through experience and time the world within which they might one day call home.

74 An invocation for those who might undertake a journey: ‘May peace be widespread, may the sea glisten like greenstone, and may the shimmer of light guide you on your way’. I use it here to encourage the beginning of a departure from ‘elsewhere’ to here.

75 O’Regan, p.145.

76 Angela Ballara has asked ‘should European scholars even attempt to enter the treacherous waters of ‘Māori history’? Angela Ballara, ‘“I riro i te Hoko”: Problems in Cross-Cultural Historical Scholarship’, NZJH, 34, 1 (2000), p.21. Compare her remarks with those of Te Maire Tau, ‘Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology’, in Andrew Sharp and Paul McHugh, eds, Histories, Power and Loss: Uses of the Past—A New Zealand Commentary, Wellington, 2001, p.73.

77 Graham Smith wrote that ‘Conscientisation develops out of critique which is informed by both theoretical understandings and practical experiences’. He noted further that ‘Critique must not only indulge in forming a critical de-construction of “what is wrong”, it must also be provocatively generating positive and proactive intervention ideas, and strategies and transformative pathways’. As I have argued here, when iwi lead this process, Pākehā are then able to action these ‘ideas’ in a form of ‘praxis’ that shifts closer to iwi aspirations. Graham Hingangaroa Smith, ‘The Development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis’, PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, 1997, p.484.

78 Some short examples can be found in the following: Rawinia Higgins, ‘Kei ngā Ngutu o ōku Kuia: It is tattoed on the lips of my Kuia’, Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People, 4 (2010), pp.61–71; Ngarino Ellis, ‘The PhD Monologues: Navigating the Conventions of Māori Art History’, Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People, 4 (2010), pp.6–14; Hirini Kaa, ‘PhD Monologues: Navigating Conventions in Māori History’, Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People, 4 (2010), pp.72–78; Melissa Williams, ‘When It Comes To Your Own: Stories of Post-War Māori Migration’, Te Pouhere Kōrero, Māori History, Māori People, 4 (2010), pp.14–23. All these writers draw on their own iwi mātauranga to frame and discuss their topics. These are only a few examples of the growing array of work being produced by Māori historians.

79 The ‘iwi kaenga’ are the ‘home people’, those who have the right and responsibility to welcome and whakatau (seat), feed and house the manuhiri (visitors), who maintain the tikanga (protocols), and whose responsibility as kaitiaki (guardians) place them in an immediate position of accountability in retaining the tribes’ local practices, histories, knowledge and identity. They fulfil a vital role for the people, and are the ahi kaa.

Understanding and Doing Research A Māori Position

Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai

Understanding and Doing Research - A Māori Position

Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai[1]

Introduction

Prior to beginning study for the thesis, I had been working as a researcher based at the University of Waikato. Contracted by the tribal authority being examined in the thesis, I was involved in areas of Māori and tribal education. Before then, I had spent seven years completing two degrees that should have been completed in five. The question why do Māori students succeed was derived partly from my own experiences as a university student. My undergraduate experience was fraught with failed papers, missed assignments and poor subject choices. At one stage I almost pulled out, five papers short of finishing. Yet I managed to get through – how? Was my experience similar to those of other Māori students studying at university? Is the climate at university conducive to learning for a Māori person, incorporating and encouraging Māori culture and identity? What support mechanisms are in place to stop students from dropping out? What influences students to stay on and complete?

These questions were further developed through the work I was doing for the Tainui Māori Trust Board. Specifically, I was involved with the activities of the Education Committee, assisting with the administration and processing of tribal scholarships. I had also completed an analysis on the status (socio-economic, education, age) of tribal groups within the University of Waikato catchment area. My exposure to this line of work helped formulate more ideas for the study. In particular, I became interested in how effective tribal scholarships were in ensuring that Māori students graduated from university. Was money the only way that tribal authorities could assist their tribal members to succeed? What use was an education to tribal communities? In particular, what role did education play in determining the future development of the Waikato tribe?

As a university employee, contracted by the Tainui Māori Trust Board, I also became familiar with the ways in which the University of Waikato operated. For example, the University of Waikato was not required (by the Ministry of Education) to collect information on tribal affiliations despite having a group, Te Roopu Manukura, which represented the interests of some 19 tribal groups that fell within its catchment area. Therefore, information about tribal members enrolled at the University of Waikato was not available. This, to me, was a perplexing situation, particularly since the University had the largest Māori student population of all universities in New Zealand.

How was an institution like the University of Waikato supposed to cater for the needs of the different tribal groups represented? Did it cater for Māori/tribal needs at all? This led to the question of how much policy had been developed since the University's establishment that reflected the needs and aspirations of Māori. Furthermore, I also wanted to know how effective such policies (if any) were in ensuring Māori students completed their university education. In short, how responsive was the University of Waikato in recognising and helping realise Māori/tribal aspirations or tino rangatiratanga?

In order to try and answer these questions, the focus of this thesis seeks to identify how the University of Waikato and the Tainui Māori Trust Board have attempted to develop policy to implement change that addresses Māori aspirations; and what a group of Tainui graduates made of these attempts.

My limited experience working for a tribal institution enveloped me within the intricate networks of the tribe itself. As a tribal member I was also connected to the outcomes of any research I was involved in, thus I was engaged in what Linda Smith (1999:137) describes as "insider/outsider research." Indeed, L. Smith (1999:5) identifies this as a problematic location in that:

there are a number of ethical, cultural, political and personal issues that can present special difficulties for indigenous researchers who, in their own communities, work partially as insiders, and are often employed for this purpose, and partially as outsiders, because of their Western education or because they may work across clan, tribe, linguistic, age and gender boundaries.

Therefore, contrary to western, positivistic research notions that assume objectivity, my positioning within this research assumes a number of subjective roles – researcher, employee, student, and tribal member. In this sense, I am therefore part of the weaving process that comprises kaupapa Māori practice, as L. Smith (1999:190-191) has identified.

In this chapter, I use this notion of weaving to draw together the methodological and theoretical frameworks on which the study is based. Furthermore, I identify the methods used within these frameworks to investigate the various aspects of the study, as outlined above. I examine the notion of re/presenting the research, in particular, examining the location of power in research, and the struggles indigenous and minority researchers face in acknowledging and managing power in their relationships with their research communities (Bishop 1996, 1998b; Bishop & Glynn 1999a; G. Smith 1992; L. Smith 1999; Tearikі & Spoonley 1992; Te Awekotuku 1991; Te Hennepe 1993; Lomawaima 2000).

1 This paper is adapted from Chapter Three of Dr Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai's PhD thesis, "Māori participation in higher education Tainui graduates from the University of Waikato, 1992 to 1997' (2001).

From this examination of how research is re/presented, my positioning as an insider researcher becomes clearer. I describe my position as an insider researcher within the context of this study, highlight some of the problems associated with such a position and how I have addressed these problems throughout the course of the study. I also examine the positioning of the study within the kaupapa Māori paradigm, and specifically examine the relationship between kaupapa Māori and tribal research, which, in my opinion have very distinct but connected aspirations and objectives. From this, I examine the notion of power and how it relates not only to the researcher/researched position, but also how it relates to knowledge (after Foucault 1980). In particular, I question the positioning by some Māori, who purport to locate kaupapa Māori and Māori research from within a selective paradigm that appears based on notions of power and what 'counts' as knowledge – notions that place me outside the context of kaupapa Māori research. As a result of this examination on power/knowledge and what counts as knowledge, a tribal position or construct of success emerges. This positioning locates the research from within a tribal, and specifically Tainui paradigm – a paradigm that has been based on notions of resistance and liberation, and from which strategies for success can be developed.

Re/presenting Research

I have been told by kaumatua (tribal elders), that in order to understand where one wants to go, one must first understand where one has come from. In the context of academic research, the literature on 'how to do' research assumes certain knowledge forms thus influencing how we choose to conduct our research. Generally, the 'how to do' research approach falls into two distinct camps: quantitative and qualitative. Duverger (1964) states that adopting a quantitative analytical approach gives the advantage of being objective, through the elimination of subjective elements, and thus arriving at an independent interpretation. Accordingly, positivistic inquiry contrasts with value based inquiry, because it is primarily concerned with the "study of what is, not of what ought to be" (Duverger 1964:33). Glesne & Peshkin (1992:5-6) define quantitative analysis as being supported by the positivist/scientific paradigm where the world is made up of measurable and observable facts. Primarily, the positivist paradigm assumes there is no bias, maintains an adherence to only one truth (through a systematic process of elimination), and that findings can be regarded as universally applicable (McPhillips 1992). From this traditional perspective, authority for the research ultimately lies with the researcher. In turn, this locates power over issues of representation and legitimation with the researcher (Bishop & Glynn 1999a).

Qualitative research, on the other hand, "seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings" (Berg 1995:7), emphasises subjectivity, and places the researcher in the position of "main research instrument" (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:7). Speaking from an interpretivist paradigm, the worldview is assumed to be complex, lacks any form of standardisation, and is "evolutionary in nature" (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:6). However, despite attempts to address the power imbalances inherent in quantitative methods, many qualitative approaches similarly maintain power in the hands of the researcher (Bishop 1996). This is because many qualitative approaches prescribe to dominant ways of knowing, whereby such 'knowing' has ensured the continued subordination of indigenous and minority cultures and knowledge codes. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:106) describe this approach as "paradigm-shifting," where, despite replacing one type of research practice (such as quantitative) with another (such as qualitative), researcher domination is perpetuated "through maintaining control of agenda-setting within the domain of the researcher."

The patriarchal characteristics of dominance over acceptance of prescribed knowledge codes still exist and the debate between legitimacy of qualitative versus quantitative research methods occurs within this dominant world, because 'other' ways of knowing have yet to find a way into mainstream thoughts and practices. More specifically, the western research community still perceives the 'other' as an object of study, where the 'other' is located on the periphery of what 'counts' as research, as described by Lomawaima (2000:6):

For many years researchers have had the distinct advantage of representing the more powerful society, of having the authority...behind them...[R]esearchers could set their own research agendas, devise their own questions, develop whatever methodology suited their agenda, and do as they pleased without having to consult with or defer to tribal polities. Research has always been deeply implicated in the colonial political context, and educational research is no exception.

L. Smith (1999:2) agrees with this positioning:

it is surely difficult to discuss research methodology and indigenous peoples together, in the same breath,...without understanding the complex ways in which the pursuit of knowledge is deeply embedded in the multiple layers of imperial and colonial practices.

Bishop & Glynn (1999b:169) question the dominance of such practices, based on the experiences of Māori knowledge being misrepresented and located within terms "acceptable to the epistemological framework of Western located paradigms." Scheurich & Young (1997) label this type of domination as 'epistemological racism.' They believe that "we..live...think, and act within a particular social history, within a particular social construction," where this particular way of knowing becomes 'normal' (Scheurich & Young 1997:8). The problem, especially for indigenous and minority researchers is that "all of the epistemologies currently legitimated in education arise exclusively out of the social history of the dominant White race," and this form of epistemological racism means that indigenous peoples continue to be 'othered' by those of the dominant discourse (Scheurich & Young 1997:8). One form of 'othering' is the construction of power imbalances within research relationships by the researcher maintaining control over what constitutes legitimate knowledge. McLaren (1994:120) also speaks of the dominance of western 'norms,' where discourses of power and privilege have "epistemically mutated into a new and terrifying form of xenophobic nationalism in which the white male Euro-American becomes the universal subject of history." From this epistemical mutation, power is maintained and the indigenous and minority 'others' continue to be subordinated.

Indigenous researchers are becoming increasingly resistant to the hegemonic practices of western research. Resistance has come in the form of developing counter-strategies that are more reflective, appropriate and applicable to the indigenous research agenda. These counter-strategies, or counter-hegemonies, have enabled indigenous researchers to reposition, "to tell an alternative story: the history of Western research through the eyes of the colonised" (L. Smith 1999:2).1 Graham Smith (1992:2) sees this counter-hegemonic approach as being "a shift from the marginal position of the constructed 'other' to the more central position of 'inclusion'." In this way, the 'alternative' stories begin to emerge and slowly find their way into dominant discourses.

Peters & Lankshear's (1996:2) postmodernist examination of "counternarratives" seeks to "counter not merely (or even necessarily) the grand narratives, but also (or instead) the "official" and "hegemonic" narratives of everyday life."From this position, Peters & Lankshear (1996:3) argue that western culture has become more differentiated, particularly since World War Two, and as a result is no longer able to sustain the "liberal myth of a common culture...which functioned to assimilate difference and otherness." As a result, "the game rules for the discourse of legitimation have been altered" (Peters & Lankshear 1996:9).

The battle for legitimation and of 'finding a space' from which to resist the dominant constructs of what 'counts' as knowledge has been ongoing for indigenous and minority researchers. L. Smith (1997b:3) notes that the indigenous research agenda is:

strategic in its purpose and activities. It is relentless in its pursuit for social justice. It is critical in its approach to all that has been said and claimed by the non-indigenous world of indigenous peoples...It draws on multidisciplinary approaches selectively. It is informed by analyses of imperialism and colonialism and about what it has meant to be colonised. It is concerned with change and with emancipatory outcomes for indigenous people.

Changing the rules for legitimation, as described by Peters & Lankshear, therefore requires an understanding of what it has meant to indigenous and minority peoples to exist on the margins. Understanding this positioning on the margins - as a result of the historical and cultural context "shapes researcher preconceptions" and means that an examination of the relationship between researcher and the researched is also required (Glesne & Peshkin 1992:11). This type of examination acknowledges the "participatory connectedness with the other research participants" (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:103). Indigenous research has sought to move beyond the power relationships inherent in researcher/researched relationships, and has tried to relocate the focus on the connected relationship between all those involved with the research. From this positioning, legitimation comes not from the academic institutions and bodies that validate research activities, but, more importantly to indigenous and minority peoples, from the communities that are involved with the research. Further, this approach takes the emphasis of a power relationship away from the researcher's imposed agenda, concerns and interests, which has traditionally not empowered those communities being researched (Bishop 1998a; Johnston 1998). This approach is, essentially for indigenous communities, about taking back control (L. Smith 1999).

1 A good example of this concerns the history of the Waikato tribe, particularly during the Land Wars of the 1860s. The confiscation of Waikato tribal lands was justified because Waikato resistance was branded as the actions of rebels (Smith 1988:141). The 1927 Sim Commission report indicated that the confiscations were illegal and immoral, however, history had already assumed and labelled Waikato's defiance as rebellious. In 1995, Queen Elizabeth II signed the legislation for the Deed of Settlement, which was negotiated between Waikato and the New Zealand government. Contained within the legislation is an apology, acknowledging the wrongful actions of the colonial troops and recording that Waikato were not rebels. Kaumatua have stated that this apology was the most significant part of the settlement process.

Insider Research

The dominance of the western positivistic notion, with its emphasis on "notions of objectivity and neutrality," and based on the assumption that "the researcher is an outsider able to observe without being implicated in the scene" is problematic for insider researchers, particularly indigenous researchers who seek empowerment of the communities involved in the research projects (L. Smith 1999:137). This is because the insider research approach ensures that the meanings and interpretations of social situations cannot be objective in the positivistic sense that traditional western research prescribes.

Wagner (1993) describes insider research as participant research. Ambiguities are created as a result of this description, which simultaneously create problems and opportunities. These ambiguities relate to opportunities for establishing rapport and trust, and problems in establishing credibility, both as a researcher and as part of a research project. Smyth & Holian (1999:2) suggest that the position of the insider researcher:

forces us to ground our work in everyday issues as those involved experience them, it confronts us and others with our assumptions, perceptions and their impact, it enables us to learn, reflect and act and it insists that we engage with what and who we are curious about.

Wolcott (1999:137) uses the terms "emic" and "etic" to differentiate between "insider" and "outsider" points of view, although he stresses that there are multiple views where "every view as a way of seeing, not the way." The advantage of the emic/insider approach is its attempts to define what Wolcott (1999:137) describes as the "heart of the matter." In contrast, in the traditional ethnographic approach, someone else's story is always told, as described by Bishop (1996:26):

the general trend of research into indigenous people's lives in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been for the 'research story' teller to be an outsider who gathered the stories of 'others,' collated them and generalised as to the patterns and commonalities.

However, empowerment for those involved in research is becoming an increasing priority for indigenous researchers. This empowerment is based on an implicit understanding that traditional research methods have not acknowledged the contribution of research communities to the research project, nor has it acknowledged the impact such research can have on the communities concerned. As mentioned above, indigenous researchers are becoming increasingly resistant to the prescriptions of traditional western research methods, which place control and power in the hands of the researcher. From an indigenous research position, power is repositioned away from the researcher and located back amongst those who are involved in the research process. A dilemma arises, however, when the researcher is also located amongst those being researched. How then, is the issue of power/knowledge and researcher/researched resolved?

L. Smith (1999:137) acknowledges the problematic location of indigenous researchers as insider researchers "because there are multiple ways of both being insider and outsider in indigenous contexts." As described earlier in the chapter, an indigenous researcher can be an insider researcher by virtue of their tribal affiliation and a member of the community being researched. However, indigenous researchers' western educational background may also place them in an outsider position, which could be compounded by issues of gender, age, cultural knowledge and linguistic ability. The problem of being an indigenous researcher working within their own community is further complicated by "a deeply held view that indigenous people will never be good enough, or that indigenous researchers may divulge confidences within their own community, or that the researcher may have some hidden agenda" (L. Smith 1999:10). Further, L. Smith (1999:107) acknowledges that because of the "burden of history," the positioning of an indigenous person as a researcher can be "highly problematic." However, the development of indigenous research and indigenous research agendas "privileges indigenous concerns," whereby indigenous practices and participation as researchers and researched become 'normal' practices (L. Smith 1999:107).

Smyth & Holian's (1999:1) view of insider research suggests that the "researcher who researches their own organisation can offer a unique perspective because of their knowledge of the culture, history and actors involved." For indigenous researchers, however, the dilemma lies in being able to offer such a unique perspective, whilst negotiating the suspicions of their own communities. Part of this negotiation must require an acknowledgment on the part of the indigenous insider researcher that perhaps their western education has the potential to influence the types of research methodologies they use, methodologies founded within the discourses of neo-colonialism and methodologies which perpetuate the hegemony of the 'master narratives.' Indeed, while indigenous researchers attempt to ensure against "exploitative research" (L. Smith 1999:9), they can still be influenced by researcher imposition and reinforce notions of power during the research process (Bishop 1996).

Understanding and Doing Research - A Māori Position

Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai

From my own position, the dynamics of working for a tribal institution, being a tribal member represented by this tribal institution, and attempting to conduct research that examines some key concepts within tribal objectives are part of the complexities that make up indigenous research and my position as an insider within this research project.

The complexities of being a researcher located within the research is described by Bishop (1996) in his discussion on a kaupapa Māori research strategy, where he was located within a complex matrix of relationships. In this setting Bishop (1996:213) sought to:

examine a way of knowing that reflects what meanings I can construct from my position. This matrix consists of my being a participant in a research group with an agreed-to agenda, [and] of my being a participant within the projects considered in the narratives...This...is an attempt to reflect on what I learned from my position within this matrix in order to identify a way of constructing meanings about such experiences and to investigate a methodological and theoretical framework for a Kaupapa Māori approach to research.

Using Bishop's example as a basis for my own examination, my matrix was shaped and guided by a number of experiences, which centred on establishing credibility as a researcher working within a tribal context, and how I understood, interpreted and represented tribal knowledge and beliefs. For me, this aspect of establishing credibility posed particular problems. As L. Smith (1999:10) suggests, one of the dilemmas of insider research is being judged on "insider criteria; family, status, politics, age, gender, religion as well as...perceived technical ability." I received a scholarship from the Tainui Māori Trust Board, which allowed me to pursue my own doctoral studies. Recipients of these scholarships were chosen for their "emphasis on research which is relevant to tribal development," with the intention being to "develop an increasing pool of highly educated and well qualified tribal members with expertise in a wide range of fields, who will contribute to the future development of the tribe" (Tainui Māori Trust Board 1998:21).

My position as a scholarship recipient aided in increasing the educational base of the tribe, however, as the first recipient of a doctoral scholarship (post-1995) it also placed very high expectations upon me. Would my research project measure up to tribal expectations? What were the expectations? As a young woman, I also felt that my age was certainly another factor that impacted upon my credibility as a researcher. Māori culture reveres the knowledge that elders possess, knowledge that is gained over time and through experience. Therefore, the acquisition, possession and dissemination of knowledge is deemed precious and valuable. My age deems me to be considered a rangatahi (youth), and in the presence of elders, high levels of 'western' education have little relevance at times, particularly in tribal contexts. Furthermore, my 'western' education, compounded by my age, can potentially place me in relationships of power/knowledge. These relationships, in my opinion, have the potential, if not correctly addressed, to upset cultural 'norms,' whereby I place myself in a position that acquires, possesses and disseminates knowledge that I have no right to possess.

Tribal experiences of participating in research projects has resulted in the development of a number of processes that seeks to protect these cultural norms, as well as test the research candidate's ability to 'do the job.' While the tribe does not have explicit research protocols (such as those described by Tsianina Lomawaima, 2000), it has its own implicit set of rules or guidelines that enables it to determine the value of the research being undertaken and the impact it might have on the tribe. These rules or guidelines were used by tribal elders, and were similar to L. Smith's (1999) criteria for insider researchers working in indigenous contexts. As a result, I was required to give presentations about core tribal concepts (such as the Kingitanga and the history of the tribe) at which tribal elders have often been present. I have also been expected to find my own way through the labyrinth of decision-making processes, and to ensure that the appropriate people have been considered, approached, informed, consulted with and listened to. These processes, I believe, test the worthiness of my western education in Māori contexts, and more importantly, determines from their perspective, to what extent I have become ensnared within the western construct of knowledge/power, and whether this has been at the expense of my knowing the complexities of tribal ways of knowing. Throughout these processes, I have been gently, and at times not so gently, reminded of my mistakes, my oversights and my shortcomings, with the express intention that I learn from them and not repeat them again. In essence then, tribal elders guided me through another educative process, with its own series of tests and examinations. This whole process examined my robustness as a candidate for tribal research; a process that I believe was endorsed when I received a tribal scholarship, but a process that is ongoing through practices of constant reflection and examination.

Because insider researchers have a personal stake in their research, by their location within the research and their relationship to the research participants, they have to "live with the consequences of their processes on a day-to-day basis for ever more," as do their "families and communities" (L. Smith 1999:139). The role of tribal elders, as guides, critics and mentors - as I have described above - thus becomes critical to the researcher in the research process. For the insider researcher, this consequence also ensures that they examine how the research is represented, and the impact research findings may have on the communities involved. For example, Lomawaima (2000:11) recognises that:

outsiders' evaluations of risk and anonymity may not correspond to a community's internal definitions. Tribal definitions or understandings of the boundaries between "private" and "public" activities may also differ significantly from the understandings of non-community researchers.

Te Hennepe (1993:222) acknowledges these concerns, experiencing what she described a "crisis in representation" when she was attempting to analyse data from her research with indigenous peoples in Canada. Specifically, her concern arose when she tried to provide an accurate representation of the material shared by First Nations students, where "all phases of the research encounter...are governed by economies of truth" (Te Hennepe 1993:197). In this respect, Te Hennepe acknowledges that her interpretation necessarily influenced what she had been told and how she chose to present the data. From Scheurich & Young's (1997:8) perspective this is because "no epistemology is context-free." In essence, all researchers are influenced by their own experiences, their own knowledgebackground, and their own 'slant' on the research topic, regardless of how 'objective' research is purported to be. This poses a challenge for the researcher. How does one represent correctly and respectfully the diversities that characterise research participants' experiences, without being unduly influenced by the epistemological constraints (or contexts) that they describe? Te Hennepe (1993:234) resolved this dilemma by submitting that:

we are all constructing tales based on our truth as we know it in order to relate what we have to say to others. In many cases we want to teach others something about the way we see the world.

Carol Barnhardt (1994:68-69) consciously attempted to "do no harm" to the participants in her study, based on an acute awareness of the "very real potential for misunderstanding, miscommunication, and abuse of power." In my own study, as I was intimately connected with the research participants and the two institutions examined in this study – as tribal member and employee – it was important that I not interpret what was happening in terms of some 'outsider' process. As my connectedness positioned me within the research so too did my connectedness mean that my research should be understandable and use the sensemaking processes of the participants themselves. Of more importance, however, was the need to ensure that my connectedness, or my responsibility as an insider researcher ensured that the research I was involved in made a difference (Smyth & Holian 1999).

As a researcher, I have become increasingly aware of the lack of research concerning Māori participation in higher education, and Māori success. My own experiences as a Māori student at university have helped shape an 'insider' perspective that has informed the development of this research project. Similarly, my insider status as a tribal member and employee of the two organisations being examined for this thesis ensures that the 'little stories' get told, influenced by tribal concepts of resistance and tino rangatiratanga, and by the inclusiveness of Kingitanga and, to a lesser extent, kaupapa Māori. In this respect, by adopting an insider research approach, I am able to represent the stories of the marginalised (successful Māori graduates, the Tainui Māori Trust Board) as well as putting forward a tribal position that seeks distinction from both western and kaupapa Māori research approaches.

Developing a Research Methodology

Bishop & Glynn (1999a:106) have found that "paradigm-shifting" (for example replacing quantitative with qualitative research practices) "may still perpetuate researcher domination through maintaining control of agenda-setting within the domain of the researcher." They propose a qualitative research approach that seeks to address the issue of researcher imposition or dominance, an approach they have termed collaborative storytelling. McPhillips (1992:18) defines collaboration as a process that shares in the "creation of knowledge among the participants of a research group which includes a researcher and those being researched...so that all members have the opportunity to be active in the research." In this way, all members of the research process become involved and take ownership of what is being researched and how issues pertaining to the research can be defined, prioritised and actioned.

Bishop & Glynn (1999a:107) state that the interview "can be a strategy, controlled by the researcher, and repressive of the position of the informant/participant." In essence, this approach identifies the issues of power, which according to Limerick et al (1996:450), "lies in the recognition that the relationship between researcher and researched is a political and social relationship." Essentially, then, researchers adopting an interview approach must bear in mind the power/knowledge relationship. As Limerick et al (1996:459) state "understanding the politics of the interview relationship is fundamental to the quality of analysis, interpretation, and presentation of the text that lies at the heart of interview-based research."

I chose to include interviews as a research approach, because I wanted to ensure that the voices of the graduates – in terms of how they have experienced the attempts of the two institutions to improve their own education advancement - would be heard within the research. In trying to ascertain what made these Māori students succeed at university, I wanted the graduates' thoughts and understandings about the two institutions examined at the forefront of the analysis. In essence, I wanted them to be positioned as the "politically powerful" in the debate about Māori academic achievement (Morrow & Hensel 1992). In my opinion, they were in positions of power, because having been subject to institutional practices and policies the graduates were in the best position to comment on how they, and their efforts to succeed, were affected. This is contrary to the positioning of research subjects in traditional western research, where what they say is processed by the researcher to make sense of or add to an agenda established by the researcher. However, this positioning conveys the counter hegemonic shift that is kaupapa Māori research, which seeks to locate the narrative from within Māori codes, assumptions and conventions.

The process by which I arrived at positioning the graduates as the politically powerful was aided by a number of conversations I had with different people when I first began to think about doing the research project. At the beginning of this chapter, I described my own experiences at university and some of the concerns I had about Māori participation at university. Applying for a tribal scholarship forced me to focus my thoughts into how the research project might make a difference, based on the experiences of Tainui graduates, to the way in which the Tainui Māori Trust Board and the University of Waikato approached Māori educational advancement and success. I talked with a number of people – graduates, fellow scholarship holders, colleagues and tribal elders and members – to try and formulate what I thought might be a positive approach to Māori educational advancement. In essence, these conversations generated an initiation process into the research project, guiding, shaping and at one point seemingly influencing how I was going to approach the research.

Another aspect, which influenced my decision to focus on the experiences of Tainui graduates, was the lack of information available on the experiences of Māori graduates. The historical context, described in Chapter One and reinforced in this chapter, has sought to exclude the voices of those on the periphery. Māori university students are rare in the tertiary education sector, Māori university graduates even more so. Thus, I pictured the research project as being a very small step in relocating their voices away from the periphery, and towards a more central position of inclusion (G. Smith 1992).

As a result of the conversations I had, I began to develop more concrete ideas about how the research project might proceed, and in what direction it might take. From this positioning, I developed a series of questions, grouped in themes that were suggested in some of the earlier conversations I had had and which covered the main areas I intended to examine in the thesis. These themes included family background, early education experiences, opinions of the University of Waikato and knowledge about initiatives offered for Māori, opinions on the Tainui Māori Trust Board scholarship process and knowledge about other education initiatives developed, and views on success. I tested the questions and interview approach and style on several colleagues, making minor changes before finalising the interview questions used with the graduates. Rather than forming rigid questions as the basis for the interviews, I instead adopted what Bishop (1996) and Bishop & Glynn (1999a) have described as in-depth, semi-structured interviews. This approach was identified as being most suitable for the purposes of the thesis because it allowed the interviews to flow. Berg (1995:33) describes this type of interview as one that combines predetermined question formats with the ability to "digress," to "probe far beyond" what the predetermined questions might have revealed. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:109) believe that these types of interviews "promote free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion between research participants through the use of open-ended questions rather than closed questions."

Problematic issues related to the use of interviews as a research method focus on two areas: interpretation of results (or bias), and issues of privacy.

According to Limerick et al (1996:457), "the point at which the researcher's power is unrivalled by those being researched is on the analysis phase." Bishop & Glynn (1999a) agree. Data has the potential to be interpreted according to the focus of the research topic, as well as being reinterpreted according to researcher agendas. Therefore, "how those data are interpreted and used is usually implicitly, if not explicitly, out of the hands of the research participants" (Bishop & Glynn 1999a:111). In attempting to ensure that the interpretation of data highlighted the voices of the graduates, I decided to group their responses according to the main themes that arose as a result of the interviews. Bishop & Glynn (1999a:112) caution against this approach, in that "data can be selected to fit the preconceptions of the author and data can also be selected to construct theories." I was very aware of this possibility, given the subjective nature of the research topic. How was I to protect the voices of the graduates? I reverted to the commitment notion attached to the whakawhanaungatanga concept illustrated by Bishop & Glynn to ensure that I would "do no harm" (Barnhardt 1994). I also involved the graduates throughout the research process, although this proved difficult in that I lost touch with some of graduates over the course of the research project (some five years). However, I did feel that I had the confidence of the graduates that I would respect what they had shared with me, and that I would not abuse or misconstrue what they had told me, which gave me a greater sense of belief in the research project itself.

In order to get to this point of confidence, and to develop a comfortable level of interaction, it is acknowledged that there must be some rapport between the researcher and the researched. Freeman & Sherwood (1970:91) likened this rapport to the development of an interpersonal relationship. Ensuring a comfortable environment between researcher and researched affects both the outcomes and quality of the material. Because I had known some of the graduates prior to the start of the interviews, a rapport (in varying degrees) was already in place. I had also spoken with some of the graduates about the topic of my thesis, and the subjects that would be covered in the interviews. In many ways, these conversations helped me to form the basis of the thesis itself, and to add some validity as a topic worthy of study. I came to know the other graduates through the course of the thesis, and through interactions at tribal occasions and events. Indeed, these pre-interview sessions were vital to the process of interviewing that was to follow, as well as being part of the very process of joint collaborative agenda setting that is fundamental to kaupapa Māori approaches to research.

Prior to each interview, I discussed with the graduates the aims and intentions of the research project, outlined expectations of the interview (which was to determine the effectiveness of the University of Waikato and the Tainui Māori Trust Board in assisting their academic success), and discussed issues of privacy and use of the information. The responses contained within the thesis have been given back to the graduates concerned for validation, to ensure that my interpretation of their responses has been correct, and to ensure their views have been correctly and appropriately represented. The graduates appeared comfortable with my approach, and I have maintained contact with several of them through the whole research process, discussing the outcomes and findings with them on an ongoing basis. In a sense, I have developed a process of seeking endorsement and validation for the work to ensure that it is still essentially their 'voice.' It is through this process that I feel I have addressed issues concerning the "crisis of representation," described earlier by Te Hennepe (1993:222), by co-constructing with the research participants – a collaborative narrative of their experiences as Tainui scholarship recipients and graduates from the University of Waikato.

My rapport with the graduates was also reinforced through the Māori cultural concept of whakawhanaungatanga (Bishop & Glynn 1999a). This concept, as explained by Bishop & Glynn (1999a:121) asserts the fundamental requirement to establish and maintain relationships in such a way that those commitments and obligations that are fundamental to the whanau relationship are also fundamental to the research relationship. At another level, the concept whanau (family) indicates a much deeper, more intimate relationship than the more formal construct of researcher/researched. In this case, I shared with the graduates a whanau link – tribal membership. Therefore, I became connected with, or committed to the research process itself.

The whanau link becomes a critical component of the methodological process in the thesis, especially in relation to my interconnectedness, or 'insiderness.' Whereas an etic positioned researcher is more likely to ask questions of their interests and of their concerns, my position as an emic researcher required the interview questions be inclusive of the community's interests and concerns, insisting engagement (Smyth & Holian 1999).

As mentioned above, I had discussed the ideas and concepts of the thesis with some of the graduates prior to the start of the research project, so I had some idea of their concerns. Similarly, I discussed some of the research concepts that form the basis of the thesis with other colleagues and academic mentors, who were able to guide me in shaping the research as a whole project. Most importantly, I have been guided by tribal mentors, who have questioned my work, who have tested my understanding of tribal issues, and who have examined my commitment to the research project, beyond the life expectancy of the research project itself. All of the advice and guidance I have received prior to beginning the research project has ensured that my approach to the research has been examined and evaluated by members of the tribal community, by academic peers and mentors, and by participants within the research itself. In a sense, all of this advice envelops me as a researcher, similar to that of a korowai (cloak). The korowai incorporates the advice, wisdom and experience of the different groups who have assisted, advised, cajoled and queried the research project, from its infancy to its completion. The korowai image also ensures the validity of the research project, and the expectations that the research project's outcomes will have on the community. The korowai, therefore, is my connectedness as researcher, to the community being researched.

Criticism of insider researchers is that the emic positioning (within which I have been positioned) removes critical reasoning. On the contrary, I would argue that the emic position that I have just described ensures that critical reasoning becomes a core component of the thesis itself, because it requires constant reflection and revision of all aspects of the research process. Receiving a tribal scholarship in order to conduct this research in effect validates the commitment of the researcher (me) to the researched (the tribal community), and adds to the weight of the korowai. However, there is also an expectation, because of the awarding of the tribal scholarship, that the research process is as robust as any other western academic endeavour, and that any findings (positive or otherwise) are duly reported. The difference being that the expectation is that the research must not just be research for the sake of research. The tribal philosophy, encapsulated in the mission statement for the University of Waikato's Centre for Māori Studies and Research, is "there is to be no research without development, and no development without research." It is from this premise that emic research can be an effective methodological tool, because I am working within a context where there is a very clear expectation that such research will aid the development of the tribe. In many ways, this expectation also helped to define the thesis just as much as did the initial conversations with the scholarship recipients.

One aspect related to the concept of whakawhanaungatanga that I did not incorporate in the thesis method, were interviews of key people involved in the various committees and reports discussed in the thesis. I was asked to consider interviewing these key people, but I declined this approach, which may appear contrary to the notion of inclusiveness and empowering for those involved in the research – to be able to put their story across. This was a deliberate approach from my perspective, and from which I hoped would ensure the continued prime positioning of the graduates within the research. Specifically, I decided against interviewing these people for two reasons. Firstly, the documents examined in the thesis speak to issues of policy. While there are discrepancies between policy documents, statements and their intentions, I decided that interviewing the people involved in developing these documents was not going to assist in identifying the impact of the actual policies. In my opinion, the two institutions were already in positions of power because they had developed these policies, and often, policy is developed without careful planning and consideration (M. Durie 1998). Furthermore, policy often does not reflect the experiences of those it impacts upon. Secondly, it was important to me that those affected by the policies (the graduates) be given 'voice'. It is rare that the recipients of policy are able to have their voices heard. Policies and initiatives have often been created with little or no thought as to the effect on the intended parties. Therefore, I decided that the institutions would have an opportunity to 'hear' what the graduates have had to say through the research. I envisaged that this was an opportunity in which the graduates would become empowered by being able to share their experiences - as tribal members, and as university students - and how the processes and policies of these two institutions affected them during their time at university. In my opinion, that allows the process of education to become more liberating and empowering, as well as providing an aid to policy makers to reflect on their own contributions to the policy process.

Further to the use of interviews, I also relied on a number of other methods for gathering together the information required for the diverse research settings. One of these settings included Māori university education participation and academic achievement, which I examined through documentary evidence drawn from western and non-western sources (Chapter Two, Seven, Eight). Another included the Tainui Māori Trust Board, which I examined primarily from information taken from the Tainui Māori Trust Board Minute Book, and publicly available annual reports and documents (Chapter Five). A third setting was the University of Waikato, which I examined from information taken from public reports and documents (Chapter Four).

The information obtained from these research settings served two main purposes: provision of historical information, and analysis of specific documents. Primarily, the historical component was limited to providing an account of the establishment and development of the two institutions, and their aspirations, policies and procedures in relation to Māori. These accounts also tracked the progress of university education in New Zealand, as well as providing a chronological timeframe in which key events in the history of the Waikato tribe occurred. Specific documents have been used in the thesis to analyse the effectiveness of the two institutions in ensuring effective Māori participation at university (Chapter Four and Five). I also used government, university and tribal data to describe the status of Māori participation within higher education (Chapter One). These data provide the context for the research topic.

Throughout my journey as an insider researcher, defined by kaupapa Māori and tribal research practices, I have tried to gain a better understanding of how the dominant western paradigm has excluded indigenous knowledge through the maintenance of power codes and determinants of what 'counts' as knowledge. Indigenous and minority researchers, in their resistance to these dominant prescriptions, have developed research methods that are more reflective of indigenous and minority aspirations. For Māori, this journey requires the researcher to become more reflective of their practices, and to engage in methods of collaboration, informed by concepts of whanaungatanga, responsibility (to the research participants) and respect. Above all, this approach seeks to validate the research from the participants' position, giving 'voice' and thus using the research process as a means of empowerment.

Theoretical Considerations – Understanding the Thought Processes

Theoretical moments...are also shaped inside your head, through reflection and reflexivity...It may begin as an ever so slight hesitation, a pause for thought, a moment of critical self-reflection, a question that is asked, a statement that pulls you up short or an idea which forms somewhere inside you, but leads you on an intellectual journey. The journey takes you deeper into the ideas and ways of thinking which intrigue you and which lead you into new theoretical spaces (L. Smith 1996:17-18).

Contrary to L. Smith's statement, theory has traditionally been seen as a part of a system of controls, which determines what counts as knowledge, and thus determines the shape and direction of the intellectual journey. As a result, Thomas (1997:85) claims that theory is harmful because "theory structures – and thus constrains thought." Popkewitz (1995:xiii) asserts that theory "posits a historical amnesia to the power relations inscribed in disciplinary knowledge." Such amnesia highlights "theory's acquired potency for bestowing academic legitimacy," which "means that particular kinds of endeavour in educational inquiry are reinforced and promulgated, while the legitimacy of atheoretical kinds is questioned or belittled" (Thomas 1997:76). Bishop & Glynn (1999b:168) agree, asserting that "such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power-sharing processes, and the legitimation of diversity of cultural epistemologies and cosmologies."

The introductory chapter of this thesis described the problematic notions attached to academic legitimacy in the New Zealand setting, where Māori underachievement has been a direct result of Māori knowledge and ways of living being questioned and belittled. Theory and its application in a New Zealand education context, therefore, has been based primarily on western dominant constructs of what counts as knowledge (Bishop 1998b; Bishop & Glynn 1999a, 1999b; Irwin 1992b; McCarthy 1997; G. Smith 1995; L. Smith 1999; Stewart 1997).

My academic background in Māori Studies ensured that I had some understanding of the "form of historical and critical analysis of the role of research in the indigenous world" (L. Smith 1999:5). However, I struggled to understand the extent to which Māori Studies prepared me for the rigours of doctoral research. More problematic was the perception that because my topic concerned issues related to education, I had an automatic understanding of the concept of kaupapa Māori, and of education as a process of liberation and transformation (G. Smith 1992). Indeed, at an early seminar I gave on my research for the thesis, I was challenged about my approach to the research, and whether I was intending to follow the kaupapa Māori 'way.' Initially I had struggled against aligning my research to the kaupapa Māori way of knowing, doing, and thinking. Graham Smith (1992:1) defined kaupapa Māori as "the philosophy and practice of 'being Māori'," which was a "common sense, taken for granted assumption." I assumed therefore, that kaupapa Māori theory and practice required a total commitment to Māori ways of knowing and analysing, to the exclusion of all others.

However, Linda Smith's (1999:191) definition of kaupapa Māori allowed me to see that, in fact, kaupapa Māori was much more: "it weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs."

In effect, I found that kaupapa Māori was more about having the confidence to move between traditions without losing one's identity and grounding than being aligned to any specific academic tradition. For me, the ability to weave in and amongst different traditions, western and indigenous frameworks, allowed me to move beyond what I initially thought were quite restrictive boundaries associated with kaupapa Māori. This more collective notion of kaupapa Māori, with its weaving together of different academic traditions was more aligned to the tribal notions of unity and working with and amongst races (as espoused by the Kingitanga through the words of Potatau and Tawhiao), and I found a more comfortable space (hooks 1994) from which to position myself within the research project.

Problems Associated with Kaupapa Māori Research

Part of my initial struggle with aligning the research with kaupapa Māori was that, as I mentioned, I was uncomfortable with the notion that kaupapa Māori was based on 'being Māori,' the philosophy and practice of which was a 'taken for granted assumption.' This definition of 'being Māori' was a vague, almost arrogant assumption, particularly given my position as an insider researcher 'doing' research on and about the tribal community to which I was affiliated. Indeed, who was I to 'assume' what 'being Māori' was?

This definition of kaupapa Māori is further complicated by the differences between being Māori, as Graham Smith describes, and operating from a position that acknowledges that Māori are not homogenous, which Graham Smith (1995) also describes. In my mind, the research I was conducting was not located from a kaupapa Māori perspective that practiced and philosophised in a 'Māori way.' Rather, it was shaped by my association with the tribe – as a member and as a researcher, in effect, as an insider/outsider. Further, as a result of my association with the tribe, and as a tribal member myself, I was also influenced by the practices and philosophies of the tribe, which were, in turn, based around and drew cultural and spiritual sustenance from the Kingitanga movement. Indeed, the guidance I received from tribal elders, who tested my suitability for the research project and for taking a greater part in tribal activities (as described earlier), were very specific in their construction of what it meant to be a member of the tribe and what it meant to be aligned to the Kingitanga. In order to 'be' Māori, I first had to 'be' Tainui.

According to Johnston (1998:356), my difficulty in aligning the research with kaupapa Māori is perhaps because the "notion of Kaupapa is not that easily defined." Specifically, Johnston argues that, as such, kaupapa are specific to the circumstances in which the kaupapa exist or are located, and are thus influenced by such circumstances and situations. As a result, the "implementation of Kaupapa Māori in any given context will result in practices relevant (and often unique) to that particular context" (Johnston 1998:356). Indeed, as I have discussed, the circumstances of this research project insist on a kaupapa that is aligned to tribal notions of advancement and success. Because of this alignment, the research project is thus located within a specific context, guided and shaped by these tribal notions and the philosophies of the Kingitanga. Therefore, the Kingitanga, which was founded as a structure of resistance and which seeks liberation and empowerment for tribal members through the process of education, forms the theoretical basis for the research project.

Another aspect that has also caused difficulties in my perceptions of kaupapa Māori arises from my academic background, from which most of my theory and research practice has been drawn to date. While I have already acknowledged in this chapter the difficulties I have had in determining whether the Māori Studies discipline has readied me for doctoral research, I cannot deny its existence within my own particular learning context. However, its existence within my learning context, and as an influence on this research project raises issues about its validity as a knowledge construct – given its location within the university setting, a setting that has failed to acknowledge Māori knowledge as a valid way of knowing because of its insistence on maintaining western traditions of superiority, power and control.

According to Royal (1998:1), the "theory of matauranga Māori presents a view concerning the paradigm of traditional Māori culture, and therefore the paradigm of traditional matauranga Māori." Positioning knowledge within a set, specific paradigm, Royal (1998:6) discounts Māori Studies as a knowledge discipline because of its location within a western institution, and because it "grew out of political agitation appropriate for the time" rather than being reflective of the "needs, aspirations and perceptions of a knowledge discipline itself." However, political agitation, of the type described by Royal, spawned in America the Black, ethnic and women's studies disciplines. This political agitation, through the civil rights movement, "fuelled the demand for a knowledge and history of 'our own'" (Mohanty 1994:149). In essence, then, the development of Māori Studies has mirrored this demand, reflecting the "wider transitionary struggles of Māori" and thus while originating within western paradigms, seeks, through its evolution towards a more "philosophical articulation of kaupapa Māori itself," transformation from its racist origins (Macpherson 1997:12).

Walker (1999:187) agrees, describing the emergence and existence of Māori Studies in universities as being "testimony to the resilience of indigenous people who were subjected to the dehumanising project of European expansionism into the New World." Further, Walker (1991:195) argues, "it is not the business of Māori Studies to teach students how to be Māori." In his opinion, that falls within the paradigm of traditional matauranga Māori, and the role of Whare Wananga.

The problem with Royal's definition of matauranga Māori is descriptive of those who construct theories and methodologies in ways "that make it a critical terrain which only a few can enter" (hooks 1994:68). McLaren (1994:135) adds further to this discussion, where, from his postmodernist position, he suggests, "critical educators must assume a transformative role." Specifically, McLaren believes that:

the site of translation is always an arena of struggle. The translation of other cultures must resist the authoritative representation of the other through a decentering process that challenges dialogues which have become institutionalised through the semantic authority of state power.

In essence, Royal's positioning of matauranga Māori against Māori Studies assumes such an authoritative representation, where Māori Studies is viewed from his perspective as the 'other.' Mohanty (1994:147) sees this type of positioning as the academy locating itself as a political and cultural site representing "accommodations and contestations over knowledge by differently empowered social constituencies." For someone like me, placed within what has been described as essentially a western paradigm, it serves to locate me - as a Māori Studies researcher - on the periphery, marginalising my experiences not only as a Māori researcher, but also as a Tainui researcher. Furthermore, Royal's stance denies Māori Studies, from the political and cultural site of the university, an analytical space from which transformation and change can occur. From my position, as an inexperienced researcher, but having addressed what I thought were critical theoretical and methodological concerns of the thesis – such as tribal endorsement, responsibility to the tribe and being reflective of tribal needs and aspirations – Royal's stance initially proved alienating and intimidating.

The debate of knowledge/power, in the context of Royal's positioning of matauranga Māori and Māori Studies, raises concerns about validation of knowledge and the role of knowledge/education as a process of empowerment. Specifically, Māori and indigenous research has fought to 'take back' knowledge from the colonisers/oppressors, in order to empower communities who are often at the other end of research projects, as objects/subjects to study, analyse and comment on. Indeed, Walker (1991:197) believes that because of its need to be "dynamic and flexible enough to respond to the contemporary and the evolving needs of Māori people," Māori Studies as an "emancipatory project" becomes an "uncomfortable science because it creates tensions with the institution in which it is embedded by seeking to transform power relations of domination and subordination." In essence, therefore, Walker acknowledges the uncomfortable positioning of Māori Studies within universities, but suggests that because of such positioning Māori Studies is a tool from which transformative learning and empowerment can be achieved – similar to the goals expressed in Royal's positioning of matauranga Māori. The main difference is that Walker has chosen to locate the battle of knowledge/power between western and Māori sources, rather than Royal's notion of what counts as Māori knowledge.

Kaupapa Māori and the decolonisation process, according to L. Smith (1999:39), has not meant "a total rejection of all theory or research or Western knowledge," but it has meant a 'taking back' or a 'reclaiming' of indigenous knowledge and indigenous ways of representing knowledge. Early colonial observations of Māori life and culture effectively appropriated Māori knowledge in what Smith (1999:157) describes as the naming and claiming phenomenon. Citing Paulo Freire's famous aphorism: "name the word, name the world," L. Smith (1999:157) asserts that this phenomenon is also about retaining control over meanings. In thecontext of Māori research, this control has redefined intrinsic Māori cultural concepts, effectively 're-renaming' and 're-reclaiming' in attempts to validate Māori knowledge in the context of academic writing and research.

Freire's philosophy argues for the "deconstruction of the category of 'the oppressed' and the acknowledgement of diversity" (McLaren & Leonard 1993:3). Essentially, by asserting certain ways of knowing and categorising, despite expressing sentiments of the paradigm of decolonisation, it becomes "impossible to speak an identity from a different location" (hooks 1992:45), where the essentialist construct does "not allow for difference" or acknowledge diversity. It also refocuses the attention away from the inclusive notions of what Linda Smith (1999) believes kaupapa Māori espouses, into notions where Māori research is being framed from positions where "the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism, into an alienated and alienating 'blah'" (Freire 1996:68). Therefore, it is suggested that the notions of Māori knowledge, or matauranga Māori as described by Royal, have not embraced the diverse process of deconstruction/decolonisation because of their inability to acknowledge the diversity that Freire and hooks believe is an essential component of education as liberation and transformation.

L. Smith (1999) acknowledges the multi-faceted nature of Māori research. Māori knowledge is even more so, where interpretations depend on tribal, hapu and whanau experiences, highlighting the divergent nature of Māori as a people/s (which I discuss further below). The main point in this thesis seeks to discount the notion that Māori knowledge can only be viewed in particular ways, and from particular constructs, determined and shaped in ways that, in my opinion, are essentially non-Māori.

In essence, then, my struggles against a kaupapa Māori definition as described by Graham Smith (1992) and Royal (1998), forced me to really think about the context in which the research project was based. This process of critical reflection then highlighted for me what was important about 'being Māori,' which in turn highlighted the philosophical underpinnings of the research project, that being, what it meant to 'be Tainui,' which in turn meant aligning the research alongside the Kingitanga and ensuring the research was reflective of Kingitanga beliefs and practices. From this position, I was able to 'reclaim' kaupapa Māori, find a space within this paradigm which was comfortable for me, and which reflected what I considered the important and defining aspects of the research project, that being, the tribe and the Kingitanga. It is from this background that I have found a 'space' that recognises who I am, that legitimates my experiences as a tribal member, and more importantly, that is respectful to the community that the research is attempting to represent.

Recognising/Legitimising Diversity: Tribal Constructs of Success

Lomawaima (2000:1) states that moves by First Nations/ Native American tribal groups to develop their own research protocols and guidelines have come about as "reasoned and reasonable responses to changes in the balance of power in Indian country." Discussing the power relationship between government agencies (such as government departments and universities) and tribal, minority peoples, Tsianina Lomawaima asserts that tribal peoples are becoming more proactive and taking a more active stance about why, for who, and how research on Native communities is able to be conducted. Based on issues of legal, ethical and procedural concern, minority peoples worldwide are now engaged in "taking back" control of their culture, language and knowledge forms (L. Smith 1999). The development of kaupapa Māori theory is an example of how Māori are 'taking back' this control, by seeking to challenge conformity through the introduction of new epistemologies that are more reflective of Māori aspirations (L. Smith 1996).

L. Smith's (1999:128-129) discussion on the role of tribal research notes that theoretical considerations within this context are influenced not only by notions of what counts as knowledge, but also by reaffirming notions of traditional, tribal culture and how they might be reconceptualised in the fight for liberation, as stated by Tsianina Lomawaima at the beginning of this section. The Tainui Māori Trust Board has long recognised the role research plays within indigenous and minority communities, and have 'taken back' control of their tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) through processes of education and research. Specifically for the tribe, research that it has developed, structured and defined has led to the production of reports that retell the story of colonisation and its impact – from a tribal perspective (Centre for Māori Studies and Research 1986; Egan & Mahuta 1983; Florin & Tainui Health Task Force 1990). This body of research acknowledges the power imbalances and resulting subordination of Māori as a result of the colonisation process. Further, this body tells of the specific impact suffered by the tribe as a result of Pakeha insistence on maintaining power and control, through the illegal confiscations of over 1.2 million acres of tribal lands during the Land Wars of the 1860s.

In its efforts to reconstruct itself as a tribe and to reclaim its culture, language and history, the Tainui Māori Trust Board has used the power of research, of knowledge, but reconstructed it in a way that challenges the dominant construct of power and that challenges the dominant, 'master' narratives. It has done this based on the notion of tino rangatiratanga. Lomawaima's discussion on sovereignty and the First Nations experiences on the struggle for sovereignty mirror that of Māori, and also that of the Tainui tribe's desire for tino rangatiratanga. In particular, Lomawaima (2000:3) notes, "sovereignty is the bedrock upon which any and every discussion of Indian reality today must be built." From the tribe's position, particularly in relation to education, tino rangatiratanga encapsulates "the development of equity and self-reliance by all Tainui descendants in educational, social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of life" (Tainui Māori Trust Board 1991:4). In this way, the tribe has redefined its future development in terms of what is relevant for its own people, based on tribal histories, tribal experiences and tribal philosophies.

Weaving through these tribal concepts, particularly for the Tainui tribe, has been its association as kaitiaki (guardians) of the Kingitanga. As a result, the link between the tribe and the Kingitanga is seen as fundamental to the identity of the tribe, which shapes and influences how the tribe seeks and strives for tino rangatiratanga, and which is reflected in a saying from Potatau Te Wherowhero, the first Māori King:

Kotahi te kohao o te ngira e kuhuna ai te miro ma, te miro pango, te miro whero.
There is only one eye to the needle through which the white, black and red threads must pass (Turongo House 2000:42).

Chapter One introduced the historical position of Tainui who, being the guardians of the Kingitanga, were subjected to being branded rebels and had their lands confiscated for European settlement. The devastation was immense, effectively making Tainui landless, and thus homeless. However, the Kingitanga philosophy called for unity between tribes, as a resistance mechanism against the powerful forces of the colonial armies; and it called for unity amongst the tribes to resist in the continued subordination and marginalisation of Māori through the selling of Māori land to Pakeha. The resistance of the Kingitanga can be viewed as a philosophical victory, because the people maintained their cultural identity and integrity and resisted against the might of the colonial armies. Since that time, successive Māori kings have sought restitution, and despite being landless and homeless, maintained their strength as a tribal people, clinging to their cultural identity and integrity, as espoused by their tribal leaders. It was from this grounding, initiated by the establishment of the Kingitanga in 1858 that tino rangatiratanga, or self-determination, emerged.

From this a picture of resistance by a particular group of Māori to western domination is formed. This resistance has been characterised by the long search for restitution, which has shaped and guided tribal philosophies and approaches for more than 100 years. As a result, tribal elders reflect this philosophy in their approach to life, and in the advice they give to younger tribal members like myself. Tribal meetings are conducted under the auspices of the Kingitanga and tribal organisations, like the Tainui Māori Trust Board, seek to incorporate these philosophies as emancipatory mechanisms for tribal development, and for tino rangatiratanga. If one looks at the words of Potatau, together with the experiences of the Waikato tribe, through the establishment of the Kingitanga and subsequent land confiscations, one could say that this is an example of liberatory practice and transformation. The words of Potatau Te Wherowhero and his son, the second Māori King, Tawhiao, have sustained Kingitanga supporters and tribal members through oppression and then, symbolically with the signing of the Raupatu settlement in 1995 (which acknowledged the subordination of the tribe through processes of annihilation, suppression and exclusion from their own lands), through liberation. I draw on another saying to highlight my point:

Maku ano e hanga i toku nei whare. Ko nga pou o roto he mahoe, he patate. Ko te tahuhu he hinau.
I will build again my own house. The supporting posts shall be of mahoe and patate. The ridgepole of the procreative hinau (Tainui Māori Trust Board 1997).

Tawhiao, the second Māori King, talked about the confiscation of Waikato lands, and the retreat into Maniapoto territory. Not deterred by their poverty, Tawhiao talks of rebuilding, using lesser-known trees as sustenance and for support. In a modern context, I have heard this saying used in an educational setting to infer that the rebuilding was to be in the minds of tribal members, who would access education as a means of liberation and transformation. I suggest that in this context, research theories can be constructed through tribal experiences (historical and contemporary). In particular, the tribe has reconstructed the words of Potatau and Tawhiao as indicators from which tino rangatiratanga can be defined and achieved.

What this tribal experience has highlighted is the need for tribal knowledge and constructs to be legitimated, not only in relation to the battle for power with dominant constructs, but also in relation to the battle for power with what other Māori researchers believe is kaupapa Māori. The tribe's experience of being subordinated and alienated by the dominant power, and its subsequent resistance to this subordination has resulted in the creation and development of tribal theories based on notions of liberation and, through the process of education, transformation. I argue that from this context, the tribe has rewritten what kaupapa Māori means, reclaiming its tribal knowledge and redefining this knowledge to ensure that researchers working within this tribal context are aware of the expectations of the tribe as it seeks tino rangatiratanga and of researchers' responsibility, through the work they do, of helping the tribe to achieve tino rangatiratanga. In this sense, then, kaupapa Māori becomes a derivative of tribal knowledge, which in this setting, is defined by the tribe's commitment to the Kingitanga.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the methodological and theoretical frameworks on which the study is based. I have suggested that quantitative and qualitative research methods are primarily patriarchal constructions of dominant prescriptions as to what counts as a research process. In order to move beyond these limitations, the need to develop counter-strategies/hegemonies has been identified by L. Smith (1999), while Peters & Lankshear (1996) identify the use of counter-narratives as a way of resisting against dominant constructions.

The use of these methods enables the voices of the indigenous 'other' to be heard in contexts determined by them. In this way, I was able to examine the notion of re/presenting the research, in particular, the location of power in research, and the struggles indigenous and minority researchers face in acknowledging and managing power in their relationships with their research communities.

The chapter then examined the role of the insider researcher. I described my position as an insider researcher within the context of this study, highlighted some of the problems associated with such a position and how I have addressed these problems throughout the course of the study.

The selection and use of semi-structured interviews was described in the chapter in order to locate the graduates in powerful positions within the research context. This deliberate positioning ensured that the graduates' voices could be heard. The use of interviews also identified the concept of whakawhanaungatanga, in terms of establishing rapport with the graduates interviewed. This concept was also in keeping with the interconnectedness theme of the research process and served to highlight further the responsibility of the researcher, and the relationship of the researcher to the research project and research community.

The chapter also examined the positioning of the study within the kaupapa Māori paradigm, and specifically examined the relationship between kaupapa Māori and tribal research. From this examination, the notion of power and how it relates not only to the researcher/researched position, but also how it relates to knowledge and constructs of knowledge was discussed. The chapter then examined the development of an alternative paradigm - a tribal position or construct – based on notions of tino rangatiratanga or self-determination. Drawing from notions of education for freedom, education as liberatory and transformative practice, and based on reclaiming traditional knowledge as a way of seeking liberation and transformation, the theoretical framework was reconstructed from a tribal position, guided, defined and developed by tribal histories, knowledge and philosophies.

From this examination, the theoretical base for the thesis has been set. Located from a tribal position, of which kaupapa Māori becomes a connected derivative, the thesis is able to analyse the extent to which the two institutions examined reflect tribal and Māori aspirations for success in higher education. The following chapters describe the two institutions, outlining their attempts to cater for the needs of Māori participating in university education. The examination of the graduates in Chapter Six, and subsequent analysis in Chapter Seven, will determine the extent to which kaupapa Māori and tribal constructs of success, through resistance, transformation and liberation, have been formulated and proved, or whether the process of assimilation has permeated through the graduates' perceptions and approaches to university education.

References

Barnhardt, C. (1994). *Life on the other side: Alaska Native teacher education students and the University of Alaska Fairbanks.* Ph.D. Thesis, University of British Columbia.

Berg, B.L. (1995). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences.* 2nd edition. Boston: Allyn and Bacon

Bishop, R. & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative research stories: Whakawhanaungatanga.* Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press.

Bishop, R. (1998a). *Examples of culturally specific research practices: A response to Tillman and Lopez.* In International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11 (3): 419-434.

Bishop, R. (1998b). Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: A Maori approach to creating knowledge. In *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11 (2): 199-219.

Centre for Maori Studies and Research. (1986). *A Tainui education strategy. 1987-1997. Report to Tainui-Maori Trust Board.* Hamilton: Centre for Maori Studies and Research, University of Waikato.

Durie, M. (1998). Te Oru Rangahau – Concluding remarks. In Te Pumanawa Hauora, (Ed.). *Te oru Rangahau: Maori research and development conference, 7-9 July 1998. Proceedings.* (pp. 417-425). Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi, School of Maori Studies, Massey University.

Duverger, M. (1964). *Introduction to the social sciences.* (translated by M. Anderson). London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Egan, K. & Mahuta, R. (1983). *The Tainui report.* Hamilton: Centre for Maori Studies and Research, University of Waikato.

Florin, P. & Tainui Health Task Force. (1990). *The Tainui health plan.* Ngaruawahia: Tainui Maori Trust Board.

Freeman, H. & Sherwood, C. (1970). *Social research and social policy.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Freire, P. (1996). [1970] *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* (translated by M. Bergman Ramos). Middlesex: Penguin Books

Glesne, C. & Peshkin, A. (Eds.). (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction.* New York: Longman.

Hooks, B. (1992). *Black looks: Race and representation.* Boston: South End Press.

Irwin, K. (1992a). Becoming an academic: Contradictions and dilemmas of a Maori feminist. In Middleton, S. & Jones, A. (Eds.). *Women and Education in Aotearoa 2.* (pp. 52-67). Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.

Johnston, P. (1998). This is not just another story: A journey to discover what counts as research. In Te Pumanawa Hauora, (Ed.). *Te Oru Rangahau. Maori Research and Development Conference 7-9 July 1998.* Proceedings. (pp. 354-363). Palmerston North: Te Putahi-a-Toi, School of Maori Studies, Massey University.

Limerick, B., Burgess-Limerick, T. & Garce, M. (1996). The politics of interviewing: Power relations and accepting the gift. *In International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education,* 9 (4): 449-460.

Lomawaima, T. K. (2000). Tribal sovereigns: Reframing research in American education. In *Harvard Educational Review*, 70 (1): 1-20.

Macpherson, R. (1997). Educative leadership research in New Zealand: Looking backwards into the indigenous future. In *New Zealand Educational Administration Society.* Research Conference.

N.T., Howse, J.H. & McLeod, L.S. (Eds.). *New directions in educational leadership: The indigenous future. Edited Proceedings.* (unpaged). Auckland: NZEAS, Auckland Institute of Technology.

McCarthy, M.B. (1995). *He hinaki tukutuku: Rangatiratanga, whare wānanga, and the state.* Wellington: He Parekereke, Department of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

McLaren, P. & Leonard, P. (Eds.). (1993). *Paulo Freire: A critical encounter.* New York: Routledge.

McLaren, P. (1994). Liberatory politics and higher education: A Freirean perspective. In Giroux, H. & McLaren, P. (Eds.). *Between Borders. Pedagogy and the Politics of Cultural Studies.* (pp. 117-148). New York: Routledge.

McPhillips, K. (1992). *"Doing it differently." Women of European descent in traditional heterosexual relationships.* MA Thesis, University of Auckland.

Mohanty, C. (1994). On race and voice: Challenges for liberal education in the 1990s. In Giroux, H. & McLaren, P. (Eds.). *Between borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies.* (pp. 145-166). New York: Routledge.

Morrow, P. & Hensel, C. (1992). Hidden dissensions: Minority-majority relationships and the use of contested terminology. In *Arctic Anthropology,* 29 (1): 38-53.

Peters, M. & Lankshear, C. (1996). Postmodern counternarratives. In Giroux, H., Lankshear, C., McLaren, P. & Peters, M. Counter narratives. *Cultural studies and critical pedagogies in postmodern spaces.* (pp. 1-39). New York: Routledge.

Popkewitz, T. (1995). Foreword. In McLaren, P. & Giarelli, J. (Eds.). *Critical theory and educational research.* (pp. xi-xxii). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Royal, C. (1998). Te ao marama: A research paradigm. In *He Pukenga Korero. A Journal of Maori Studies,* 4 (1): 1-8.

Scheurich, J. & Young, M. (1997). Colouring epistemologies: Are our research epistemologies racially biased? In *Educational Researcher,* 26 (4): 4-16.

Smith, G.H. (1992). *Tane-nui-a-Rangi's legacy...Propping up the sky. (Kaupapa Maori as resistance and intervention).* Paper presented at NZARE/AARE Joint Conference.

Smith, G.H. (1995). Whakaoho whanau: New formations of whanau as an innovative intervention into Maori cultural and educational crises. In *He Pukenga Korero. A Journal of Maori Studies,* 1 (1): 18-36.

Smith, L. (1997). Organising an indigenous research agenda: A case study example. In New Zealand Educational Administration Society. Research Conference. Curtis, N.T., Howse, J.H. & McLeod, L.S. (Eds.). *New directions in educational leadership: The indigenous future. Edited Proceedings.* (unpaged). Auckland: NZEAS, Auckland Institute of Technology.

Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples.* New York: Zed Books.

Smyth, A. & Holian, R. (1999). *The credibility of the researcher who does research in their own organisation: The perils of participant observation.* Paper presented at the Association of Qualitative Research Conference, Melbourne, July 6-10. Electronic document, accessed June 5, 1999.

Stewart, T. (1997). Historical interfaces between Maori and Psychology. In Te Whaiti, P., McCarthy, M. & Durie, A. (Eds.). *Mai i rangiatea: Maori wellbeing and development.* (pp. 75-95). Auckland: Auckland University Press with Bridget Williams Books.

Tainui Maori Trust Board. (1997). *Annual report.* Ngaruawahia: Tainui Maori Trust Board.

Tainui Maori Trust Board. (1998). *Annual report.* Ngaruawaahia: Tainui Maori Trust Board.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *He tikanga whakaaro. Research Ethics in the Maori Community.* Wellington: Manatu Maori.

Te Hennepe, S. (1993). *Issues of respect: Reflections of First Nations Students' experiences in postsecondary anthropology classrooms.* In Canadian Journal of Native Education, 20 (2): 192-260.

Teariki, C. & Spoonley, P. (1992). *Te Whakapakari te mana tangata. The Politics and Process of Research for Maori.* Palmerston North: Massey University, Department of Sociology.

Thomas, G. (1997). *What's the use of theory?* In Harvard Educational Review, 67 (1): 75-104.

Turongo House, (2000). *Tawhiao: King or prophet.* Huntly: MAI Systems Ltd.

Wagner, J. (1993). *Educational research as a full participant: Challenges and opportunities for generating new knowledge.* In International Journal of Qualitative Education, 6 (1): 3-18.

Walker, R. (1991). *Liberating Maori from educational subjection.* Monograph 6. Auckland: Research Unit for Maori Education, University of Auckland

Walker, R. (1999). The development of Maori studies in tertiary education in Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Peters, M. (Ed.). *After the Disciplines. The Emergence of Culture Studies.* (pp. 187-198). Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey.

Wolcott, H. (1999). *Ethnography: A way of seeing.* Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press.

Decolonising Māori Narratives: Pūrakau as Method

Jenny Lee

Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method

Jenny Lee

Preamble

This paper is drawn from the methodological journey chartered in my doctoral thesis and was originally presented at the Mai Doctoral Conference, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi. Pūrākau, a term usually used to refer to Māori myths and legends, was deliberately designated as a methodological tool to investigate the topic of my study - the stories of Māori teachers. However, to make methodological space for pūrākau as a narrative inquiry method was not a straightforward shift. This paper sets out the way pūrākau as methodology was developed and describes the engagement with decolonizing methodologies and kaupapa Māori as the work of the Indigenous bricoleur.

Introduction

Pūrākau is a term not usually associated with academic writing or research methodology; rather, pūrākau is most commonly used to refer to Māori 'myths and legends'. Pūrākau, however, should not be relegated to the category of fiction and fable of the past. Pūrākau, a traditional form of Māori narrative, contains philosophical thought, epistemological constructs, cultural codes, and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori. Pūrākau are a collection of traditional oral narratives that should not only be protected, but also understood as a pedagogical-based anthology of literature that are still relevant today. Furthermore, pūrākau can continue to be constructed in various forms, contexts and media to better understand the experiences of our lives as Māori - including the research context.

The potential of pūrākau to represent stories of ako (Māori pedagogy) was a methodological discovery during my doctoral study of Māori teachers work in secondary schools (see Lee, 2008). However, pūrākau as methodology did not emerge in a linear way from Māori tradition to research. Encouraged by broader Indigenous developments of decolonising methodologies and the local expansion of kaupapa Māori theory, pūrākau was reconceptualised as a culturally responsive construct for narrative inquiry into Māori teachers work. Pūrākau as methodology also draws from and responds to the wider historical, social and political research contexts, in particular the early New Zealand research context that recorded pūrākau as myths and legends. Further, given the current preference for evidence-based educational research, this paper sets out the way pūrākau as methodology developed and describes the work of the Indigenous qualitative researcher as the Indigenous bricoleur.

Decolonising Methodologies

Decolonising methodologies, as coined by L. T. Smith (1999), describes a research approach that recognises the exclusive nature of the knowledge that has emerged from western scientific research codified within ideologies such as imperialism and colonialism. Decolonising methodologies responds to traditional positivist approaches by attempting to re-cover, re-cognise, re-create, and research back by utilising our own Indigenous ontological and epistemological constructs. Given the diversity of Indigenous experience and varied attempts to resist colonization, such an approach cannot be reduced to a singular, one-dimensional solution, theory, or methodology. Within each Indigenous group there are multiple sites from which to intervene that require a range of research projects that are ethical, respectful and meaningful for, by and with Indigenous people themselves. L. T. Smith (1999) identifies 25 different research projects undertaken by Indigenous communities (some of which are a mix of existing conventional research methods and Indigenous practices) that all centre on "the survival of peoples, cultures and languages; the struggle to become self-determining, the need to take back control of our destinies" (p. 142). One of these research projects is storytelling.

Storytelling has always been one of the key ways knowledge was sustained and protected within Indigenous communities. Reclaiming story-telling and retelling our traditional stories is to engage in one form of decolonization. Sami researcher, Koukkanen (2000) concurs:

Contemporary Indigenous peoples narrative knowledge has to be part of the decolonisation process which is taking place within all Indigenous peoples societies. Throughout history oral traditions have been and remain the memory of a people encompassing all aspects of life regarded as important within a culture. A common view of Indigenous people is that stories tell who "we" are. This includes stories of origin and of ancestors, world view, values and knowledge for everyday survival (p. 421).

Indigenous researchers have not only re-employed popular qualitative storytelling approaches such as a life-history method to ensure contemporary lives and realities are heard, but are also reviving traditional modes of storytelling in contemporary ways.

Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method

Jenny Lee

Jo-ann Archibald's (1997) PhD thesis, 'Coyote learns to make a storybasket: The place of First Nations stories in education', provides inspiration to record and retell our stories in culturally consistent ways. From the Sto:lo Nation, British Columbia, Archibald uses the Coyote as a traditional trickster character to explore, investigate, and reflect on the pedagogical value of First Nation story-telling traditions, or what Archibald refers to as storywork. Archibald not only incorporates the Coyote in her thesis but also develops theoretical principles for making sense, meaning and learning from the stories. She argues that it is important to draw on First Nation theories to understand the stories, rather than western theories that don't fit ; to do otherwise engages in "new acts of colonisation"(p. 21). She writes:

The issues and the way that we want to deal with the issues – the types of conversations and talks – must be given space for us to fill. This does not mean that non-Native people should forever be excluded from the conversations. I am suggesting that we, First Nations, need some space to talk: to share our stories in our own way, to create our culturally based discourse, develop our ways to validate our discourse, then open the conversations for others to join (Archibald, 1997, p. 26).

Her study of First Nation's orality also directly tackles the tension between western scholarly writing traditions of explicit analysis and Indigenous implicitness and subtlety in the narratives (spoken in their native language) to meet the demands of academic rigour and retain cultural integrity.

Other writers whose work is informed by their own cultural narratives include Peter Cole (2006) from the Douglas (Xa xta) First Nation of British Columbia. He writes back in a creative style that challenges conventional academic writing to illustrate the ways that language has been used to limit, control and define, in particular, Indigenous people. In his article, 'Language as Technology in Indigenous Cultures', (2006) his precise, rhythmic and poetic style encourages an exploration of language, style and textual layout. Marlene Atleo (2003) a First Nation's woman from the Nuu-chah-nulth people and rural community in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia, employs the traditional metaphor of qu uuc (a large Nuu-chah-nulth burden basket) to explore meaning in narratives, in particular their own learning and teaching theories. Another First Nation woman from the Nlakapamux people, British Columbia, Shirley Sterling (2002) uses the traditional genre of spilaxam (personal narrative) of grandmothers to explore models for transmitting their culture and teaching their children. In a similar way these Indigenous researchers have re-employed their traditional narratives to inform their research and express their stories and my research too looked to pūrākau to re-present contemporary stories of ako by Māori teachers.

Re-presenting Pūrākau

Drawing on traditional Māori narratives to express our experiences as Māori is not new. As soon as Māori became literate in the skills of reading and writing the experimentation with encrypting oral narratives in the written word began. For instance, Reedy (1993) points out that since the 1830s and 1840s, Māori have produced a voluminous literature that include newspapers, letters, reports, essays, histories, stories and songs. According to Reedy (1997), much of these early written narratives though, remain unpublished and still in manuscript form, in private individual or whānau collections or in Māori language periodicals of the nineteenth century – of which only a small amount has been translated into English. Māori also engaged the technology of written literacy to record pūrākau, and were unafraid to adapt pūrākau to fit the occasion or purpose.

Pūrākau shared in the Native Land Courts, which were designed to individualise Māori land titles and hasten the purchase of Māori land, is one such example. Histories preserved in pūrākau were told to make the case of a particular whānau, hapū or iwi connection to the land within specific boundaries. There are various examples of uninterrupted pūrākau narratives with detail and explanations of tribal events, stories of building alliances through marriage, reciprocity, family feuds and so on. However, conscious of the court s function, Māori narrators purposefully changed the emphasis of the pūrākau. Whereas, traditional pūrākau centred on relationships, Māori retold these narratives to focus issues of occupation and land rights in ways that Pākehā would understand (Parsonson, 2001). Māori adapted the style of their pūrākau appropriately, and deliberately left other information out. Acutely aware of context, pūrākau were crafted by Māori in new ways to satisfy the audience and context, in this case the judicial process of court.

Another example of Māori experimentation with traditional forms of knowledge is by Māori writers and artists. The establishment of the Māori Artists and Writers Society in 1973, marked the intention of practitioners in their respective fields to creatively pioneer ways of using traditional forms in contemporary settings. In Māori artists of the South Pacific (Mataira, 1984), Ford remarks:

Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method

Jenny Lee

Old images were broken down and reformed, new materials replaced the traditional ones and the content looked both backward into the past and forward into the future. The exact copying of previous designs was not seen as the only means of conserving the old. Instead, the ancient custom of treasurable uniqueness became the justification and motivation for the new symbols and shapes to express each new venture (p. 9).

Each person profiled in this book, including Māori writer Patricia Grace and poet Hone Tuwhare, refuse to be copycats and retain only the templates of the past. Instead they attempt to incorporate Māori tradition to express and explain contemporary Māori lives and issues.

'Ruahine: Mythic Women', by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (2003) is a Māori writer re-presenting traditional pūrākau in a new form. Te Awekotuku tells her own version of some well-known pūrākau that feature powerful women. These pūrākau are a significant departure from most other written pūrākau that either provide direct translations of Māori pūrākau (Biggs, 1997; Jones & Biggs, 1995; Reedy, 1993), children s stories (Sullivan, 2002; Taiaroa-Smithies & Taiaroa, 2006; Te Kanawa, 1997), or interpretations of pūrākau written by non-Māori (Grace, 2003; Orbell, 1992; Reed, 2004). Despite being written in the English language, Te Awekotuku maintains the characteristics of traditional pūrākau. They are rich in detail, subtle in their teachings, yet forthright and unabashed. Her version of events reaffirms the power, strength, and position of Māori women in traditional Māori society. Her telling of pūrākau is enchanting, seductive, riveting and thought provoking.

Pūrākau has also been progressed in other media beyond the written to text digital media, as well as performance such as theatre (see Grace-Smith, 1997). Māori filmmaker Merita Mita and others have used video imaging to continue telling our stories . According to Mita (2000) visual media offers a more fluid movement between time and space than the confines of literary structures on the page. Intent on preserving our history as well as producing pūrākau that explore our contemporary culture, Mita reinforces the purpose of pūrākau as an exploration and exposition of culture and identity. She asserts:

We must not overlook the fact, that each of us is born with story, and each of us has responsibility to pass those stories on. To fortify our children and grandchildren, and help them cope with an increasingly material and technological world, we have to tell them the stories which re-enforce their identity, build their self worth and self-esteem, and empower them with knowledge (p. 8).

Māori have continued to explore pūrākau in new arenas – changing, adapting, adding and recreating pūrākau to suit modern-day settings. The research context is not to be excluded.

Pūrākau as a kaupapa Māori methodological process is already being used in therapeutic clinical settings when working with Māori tangata whaiora (mental health clients) and their whānau. Clinical practitioner Diana Rangihuna refers to the process in which she utilises pūrākau as 'mahi ā ngā atua' (the deeds of the gods) (Cherrington, 2003). Rangihuna shares traditional pūrākau (that feature ngā atua) with the tangata whaiora and their whānau, which is followed by wānanga that includes discussion and debate about the knowledge, meanings, and messages embedded in the pūrākau. In particular, the participants explore the trials and tribulations, and identify the strengths and weaknesses of ngā atua and tangata whaiora themselves. According to Cherrington (2003), the most significant part of the pūrākau as therapy is the opportunity for each tangata whaiora and their whānau to retell, recreate and creatively represent the pūrākau (which may include waiata, haka, poetry, drama, sculpting, painting, drawing, storytelling, and/or writing) in ways that connect to their own understandings and experiences. Pūrākau, Cherrington (2003) argues, is a powerful medium that pre-existed for Māori long before any western-based treatment and continues to offer tangata whaiora a culturally specific and valid therapeutic process.

An article entitled 'Interview with a Tree', by L. T. Smith (1998) is an example of a pūrākau-type portrayal in the academic arena. Presented in a simple interview style, the pūrākau unfolds to demonstrate some of the cross-cultural issues facing Māori in the judicial process. Issues of identity based on whakapapa, the effects of urbanisation, and the complexities of representation are covered in this pūrākau. Māori (or the tree s) worldviews are juxtaposed with the values, beliefs, culture and power of the dominant group in the context of the court. The following short excerpt illustrates the way in which these issues are brought to the fore as well as the style of the portrayal:

Interviewer: Right now I am standing outside the High Court in Auckland as the participants and spectators leave the court at the close of the day s session. One participant in the court proceedings has been hanging around the court for a very long time.

Decolonising Māori narratives: Pūrākau as a method

Jenny Lee

Non-human entity, I understand that you claim to be among other things a Christmas tree, a pan-tree, an urban tree, a native tree, a Pohutukawa tree, a descendant of a God who created human beings and insects, a relation of Sir Mahuta and other famous people ... Tree: You missed out that I am a seed from Rangiatea Interviewer: Let me get this right, you claim to be a tree and seed at the same time? (Smith, 1998, p. 75).

The often-comical conversation between the tree and mono-cultural interviewer serves to engage the reader in the complexities of the legal definitions of Māori, a topic often reserved for the Māori elite in the courtroom. The light-hearted and engaging style makes some of the key issues accessible to an audience beyond Māori leaders and the legal profession. The pūrākau is also powerful because the tree not only represents Māori, but the pohutukawa tree has a direct relationship with Māori people through whakapapa as a descendant of Tane Mahuta. Therefore, while the pūrākau may be regarded as entertaining, at another level, talking with a tree or the deity Tane Mahuta is possible and acceptable.

Pūrākau provide a conceptual framework of representation that is relevant to research. The innovative methodological work of international Indigenous scholars as well as local Māori writers and academics provides inspiration to look beyond conventional research methods and academic styles of documentation and re-turn to our own narratives, to experiment with literary techniques to research, and disseminate knowledge in ways that are culturally relevant and accessible. Pūrākau offer a kaupapa Māori approach to qualitative narrative inquiry; critical to this approach is the decolonizing process.

Decolonising Pūrākau

Kaupapa Māori originally referred to a body of knowledge that has always been integral to the development of Māori epistemological and ontological constructions of the world (Nepe, 1991). More recently, kaupapa Māori has become a popular term in research circles referring to Māori-centred philosophies, frameworks and practices, and is underpinned in a political context by the notion of tino rangatiratanga (absolute self-determination) and the Treaty of Waitangi (Nepe, 1991; Bishop, 1994; Smith, 1997). Kaupapa Māori is also used by academics to refer to Māori theoretical positioning (G. H. Smith, 1997; Jenkins, 2000; Pihama, 2001), a social project (Smith, 2006) and research philosophy (Bishop, 2005; Mead, 1997; Pihama, Cram, & Walker, 2002; Smith, 2005). While adherents to kaupapa Māori have begun to develop different aspects of this theoretical framework in a range of disciplines, including health (Barnes, 2000; Pihama, Jenkins & Middleton, 2003) and accounting (McNicholas & Barret, 2003), the political dimension of kaupapa Māori theory is central in order to intervene in the hegemonic discourses that surround Māori. Cheryl Waerea-i-te-rangi Smith (2002) foregrounds the political nature of kaupapa Māori when she says, "Kaupapa Māori theory emerges out of practice, out of struggle, out of experience of Māori who engage struggle, who reject, who fight back, and who claim space for the legitimacy of Māori knowledge" (p. 13). In this regard, kaupapa Māori can be viewed as a Māori expression of a decolonizing methodology and central in reclaiming pūrākau as a narrative inquiry that is not only appropriate, but is a legitimate way to represent and research our stories today.

It is well known that alongside other colonizing devices, research was used to define, destroy and deter the valuing of Indigenous knowledge, philosophies and practices (Mikaere, 1995; Smith, 1999; Battiste, 2000). The early documentation of Māori narratives by Eurocentric anthropologists and ethnographers was part of this research endeavour in Aotearoa. Ani Mikaere (1995) describes the outcomes of this research (or rather the inaccurate recordings and imaginary portrayals of our narratives) as dangerous because it created epistemological disarray, destabilised religious beliefs and upset the balance of social structures. Furthermore, pūrākau were rendered as mere fantasy.

It was not uncommon for these early researchers to take great liberties in translating, editing and embellishing the original pūrākau for their own purposes, many writers deliberately melded pūrākau to create one totalising, complete story. For example, A. W. Reed (a well-know collector and publisher of Māori language and culture) readily admitted to regularly changing pūrākau with the intention of improving the overall readability of the story. In the preface to the 1963 edition of the Reed Book of Māori Mythology, Reed (2004) states:

The purpose of the book is to put into simple, connected narrative form, and in a logical sequence of categories, the major legends and beliefs with their more important variants, and thus to provide a volume of straightforward reading and easy reference (p. xx).

Conscious that common pūrākau often varied between tribal groups and sometimes amongst the same tribe, Reed was in the business of combining different tribal versions to make a satisfying composite picture (Calman, 2004, p. xiii) - 'hybrid stories' (Calman, 2004) that did not belong to any one tribe. Bishop and Glynn (1999) argue that the simplification of the narratives "commodified Māori knowledge for consumption" (p. 17), and reflected the inadequacy of Pākehā to understand and accept the complex nature of a tribal system that supported a diversity of histories and narratives, including pūrākau.

Reed wasn't alone in the re-shaping of pūrākau; it was an accepted research practice by New Zealand anthropologists and ethnographers of the day to produce this type of synthesis (Calman, 2004). The 'Great Fleet' story, developed by Best (1974), is a prime example of the way fragments of different tribal narratives were combined to create the theory that after Kupe in 950 AD and Toi in 1150 AD, a Great Fleet of canoes followed. Later Pākehā ethnologist Simmons (1976), challenged Best's 'Great Fleet' claim by comparing tribal genealogies and Pūrākau. He found that the ancestral waka (canoe) of tribal groups arrived sometimes 12 generations apart, making the concept of a unified fleet a sham. Walker (2004) holds Percy Smith responsible for the truncating of tribal genealogies into this notion of a unified arrival of a fleet of canoes. He describes the 'Great Fleet' as "just another example of the expropriation and transformation of knowledge by the coloniser" (Walker, 2004, p. 39). The tampering with tribal migration pūrākau to present a tidy synthesis became the basis of the Māori myths and legends taught at schools for decades, and as Bishop and Glynn (1999) note, continues to be used by some teachers, politicians and educationalists today.

Christianity (alongside key civilising practices such as schooling) also contributed towards the denigration of Māori knowledge, beliefs, values, social structures and pedagogies, including pūrākau. Mikaere (1995) points out that social and spiritual disorder was created, in part, by the promotion of one set of beliefs, values and knowledge (or evidence) as more valid than another, which covertly worked to destroy traditional Māori belief systems. Māori gradually incorporated various aspects of Christian teachings into their own worldview and they constructed their own "blend of religious beliefs" (Mikaere, 1995, p. 71). Mikaere (1995) identifies Christianity as the main cause for this change. She says, "it was through their [missionaries] influence that the very heart of Māori religion and cosmogony, was colonised" (p. 71). In relation to pūrākau, there was a subtle, but significant shift towards stories that reflected Pākehā worldviews; some pūrākau had a striking resemblance to Christian stories.

The way the beliefs, values and worldviews of early Pākehā researchers were inscribed in the pūrākau they reproduced were also evident in the purging of pūrākau of any references to female and male genitals, including sexual liaisons. Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (cited in Mikaere, 1995) describes these writers as "inevitably eurocentric, and quite openly and tritely colonial" (p. 72). In discussing Reeds perspective to re-presenting Māori myths and legends, Calman (2004) acknowledges that Reed wrote "within a Victorian sensibility of European racial superiority, the bias of Christianity, prudishness and, in many cases, simple lack of knowledge of te reo and tīkanga Māori" (p. xiv). For example, while a South Island version of the pūrākau of Rona tells of Hoka's testicles being torn off, Reed corrupts the pūrākau by referring instead to a part of Hoka (Calman, 2004, p. xiv). Many of the pūrākau popularised as Māori myths and legends were reshaped from a male, Pākehā, Christian perspective, and sanitised to be acceptable for public consumption.

Identifying the colonial influences on our cultural traditions is an important part of the reclamation process of pūrākau as methodology. However, analysing the way pūrākau have been mistreated in the past, and charting the development of pūrākau in contemporary settings is only part of proposing pūrākau as methodology. As well as distinguishing the traditional characteristics of pūrākau to inform pūrākau research (see Lee, 2008), it is also necessary to 'negotiate' and position pūrākau in the current methodological context. I have described this as the work of an Indigenous bricoleur.

The Indigenous Bricoleur

To borrow Lévi-Strauss (1966) concept of the bricoleur to describe the qualitative researcher and the research they produce as the bricolage, the Indigenous bricoleur is a useful way to think about how decolonizing methodologies, kaupapa Māori theory and other qualitative narrative inquiry methods influenced the development of pūrākau methodology. In brief, Lévi-Strauss (1966) refers to the bricoleur as a "professional do-it-yourself person" (p. 17) whose task is to weave together sets of practices as possible solutions to a specific problem. In order to create the bricolage, the bricoleur must have broad knowledge of a range of methods that may adapt and evolve during this process as they seek to utilize the most useful tools to find the solutions to that particular situation. For the bricoleur, the scope (including the questions) of the research and the methods are determined by the context itself. Subsequently, a multi-method approach may be utilised or methods created anew.

To create a successful bricolage, the researcher needs an overarching knowledge of interpretive paradigms, and may cautiously move between them. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) explain, "The research-as-bricoleur-theorist works between and within competing and overlapping perspectives and paradigms" (p. 4). The knowledge of philosophical systems a researcher should possess includes an understanding of the way gender, ethnicity, social class and power-relation constructs inform and shape research; furthermore, that all research is value-laden. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) advocate that such a multidisciplinary approach requires "a new level of research consciousness" (p. 316) where the researcher is not only familiar with multiple methods but is also cognisant of how the bricolage is influenced by his or her perspective, social location and personal history. Hence, the bricolage (or research product) can be viewed as "a complex, dense, reflexive, collage-like creation that represents the researcher's images, understandings and interpretations of the world or phenomenon under analysis" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 4). A bricolage recognises and reflects the complexities and realities of lived experience of not only the participants, but also the researchers themselves.

The work of a researcher as bricoleur can more specifically be described as a methodological bricoleur, a theoretical bricoleur, an interpretive bricoleur, a political bricoleur, a gendered bricoleur, a narrative bricoleur (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) and a critical researcher-as-bricoleur (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). I advance that there is also the Indigenous bricoleur. The development of Indigenous scholarship and projects based on decolonising methodologies (Smith, 1999) can be viewed as a bricoleur approach already used by Indigenous academics and researchers. In response to the history of research that has often demeaned Indigenous knowledge, history and experiences, to participate in the research academy not only requires a return to our own epistemological frameworks, but the reworking of existing conventional research practices.

A pūrākau approach does not exclude autobiographical, testimonio, oral history, case-study type research methods, nor does it assume these methods have nothing to offer. Pūrākau as methodology has undoubtedly been influenced by narrative-based inquiry research, a broad research spectrum that provides a multiplicity of research methods. Life history (Goodson & Sikes, 2001) and portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1983) are the two key narrative inquiry research practices that influenced the development of pūrākau as methodology in my doctoral study. Both narrative methods offered appropriate and innovative ways to research, record and represent Māori teacher's stories, however, both methods also had their limitations in the investigation and expression of ako that pūrākau was able to bridge (see Lee, 2008). In an effort to create a bricolage of our experience and engage with the audience in culturally relevant ways, portrayals of a pūrākau may create what Aldama (2001) refers to as a "hybridization of literary or writing practices" or "crosscultural literary genres" (p. 77). As an Indigenous bricoleur I tinkered with research methods in the process of actively seeking the most appropriate way to engage the topic of Māori teachers use of ako.

Another important aspect of the bricoleur's approach to determining the methodological practices for a particular research study is to engage with the current socio-political research context. Kincheloe and McLaren (2005) describe this aspect of the bricoleur's work as a "methodological negotiator" (p. 317). They state:

A [bricoleur's] consciousness refuses the passive acceptance of externally imposed research methods that tacitly certify modes justifying knowledges that are decontextualized, reductionistic, and inscribed by dominant modes of power (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 318).

Part of negotiating the methodological landscape and selecting pūrākau as my chosen research methodology was in response to the current evidence-based education context. Considered proper scientific research, evidence-based research in England and the United States emphasises large, randomised controlled trials. Although evidence-based research is also preferred in New Zealand, the definition of best evidence in the Ministry of Education's Best Evidence Series (BES) is awarded a much wider definition (see Alton-Lee, 2003). However qualitative narrative-inquiry, of which pūrākau research is a part, still struggles to find acceptance in this evidence-based discourse because it cannot be easily measured, fixed or defined. Selecting the topic of Māori teachers stories as a topic and pūrākau as methodology was a deliberate act in a research climate that is inclined to overlook the wisdom and experience of teachers, in particular, Māori teachers. Pūrākau also offers an opportunity to investigate ako in relation to Māori teachers pedagogy – cultural qualities that are often made peripheral in a system that is focused on outcomes . Pūrākau as methodology has developed in an effort to portray the culture of, as well as the culture generated by Māori teachers.

An Indigenous bricoleur not only attempts to reclaim cultural traditions such as pūrākau, but simultaneously articulates these traditions in new forms. In doing so, we strive to create knowledge outside the production and control of the powerful and elite, a different sort of narrative that aims to contribute to the social transformation of Indigenous groups.

Conclusion

The need to advance pūrākau as methodology was more than a desire to tell traditional stories, recount tribal anecdotes or create cultural vignettes. To make methodological space for a culturally responsive narrative approach was fuelled by the knowledge that our own cultural narratives also offer legitimate ways of talking, researching and representing our stories. Furthermore, a key task of the Indigenous bricoleur required an analysis of the way colonisation has impacted on Māori narratives. Such an approach sought to recognise the ways the mythologising of pūrākau has had devastating and far-reaching consequences for Māori society, which serves to remind us of the ways research is closely linked to issues of power, culture and identity.

Encouraged by other Indigenous scholarship and research activities that share a commitment to engage in decolonizing methodologies to ensure that the appropriate research practices meet the needs of our communities, pūrākau emerged as a relevant narrative inquiry solution to the exploration of ako. While conventional methods of narrative inquiry offer useful and creative approaches to the documentation of lived experiences, the Indigenous bricoleur draws on traditional protocols and practices of pūrākau to provide guidelines for Māori researchers to progress pūrākau in innovative and creative ways. Indigenous peoples have already begun to create „spaces in the academic arena to story-talk, pūrākau is one way for Māori to narrate our own renditions within our own cultural and research frameworks.

References

Aldama, A. J. (2001). *Disrupting savagism: Intersecting Chicana/o Mexican immigrant and Native American struggles for self-representation.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Alton-Lee, A. (2003). *Quality teaching for diverse students in schooling: Best evidence synthesis.* Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Education.

Archibald, J. (1997). *Coyote learns to make a storybasket: The place of First Nation stories in education.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, Canada.

Atleo, M. (2003, April). *The work of diversity: Identifying Native American learning through the storywork of Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations elders.* Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Conference, Chicago.

Barnes, H. M. (2000). *Kaupapa Māori: Explaining the ordinary.* Auckland, New Zealand: The University of Auckland.

Battiste, M. (2000). Introduction: Unfolding the lessons of colonization. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (pp. xvi-xxx). Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

Best, E. (1974). *The Māori as he was: A brief account of Māori life as it was in pre-European days.* Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer.

Biggs, B. (Ed.). (1997). *He whiriwhiringa: Selected readings in Māori.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Bishop, R. (1994). *Initiating empowering research?* New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 29(1), 175-188.

Bishop, R. (2005). *Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research: A kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge.* In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 109-138). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). *Culture counts: Changing power relations in education.* Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Calman, R. (2004). Introduction. In A. W. Reed, *Reed book of Māori mythology* (pp. xiii-xvii). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Chase, S. E. (2005). Narrative inquiry: Multiple lenses, approaches, voices. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 651-680). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Cherrington, L. (2003). The use of Māori mythology in clinical settings: Training issues and needs. In L. Nikora, M. Levy, M. Waitoki, B. Masters, N. Te Awekotuku & R. Etheredge (Eds.), *Proceedings of the National Māori Graduates of Psychology Symposium, 2002: Making a difference* (pp. 117-120). Hamilton, New Zealand: Māori & Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato.

Cole, P. (2006). *Language as a technology in indigenous cultures.* Alternative, 1, 152-167.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). Introduction: Entering the field of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials* (pp. 1-34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed., pp. 1-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Goodson, I. F., & Sikes, P. (2001). *Life history research in educational settings: Learning from lives.* Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Grace, A. (2003). *Folktales of the Māori.* Surrey, England: Senate.

Grace-Smith, B. (1997). *Ngā pou wāhine: A play.* Wellington, New Zealand:

Huia. Jenkins, K. (2000). *Haere tahi tāua: An account of aitanga in Māori struggle for schooling.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Jones, P. T. H., & Biggs, B. (1995). *Nga iwi o Tainui: The traditional history of the Tainui people: Nga koorero tuku iho a nga tuupun*a. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Kincheloe, J. L., & McLaren, P. (2005). Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 303-342). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Koukkanen, R. (2000). *Towards an "indigenous paradigm" from a Sami perspective.* Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 20(2), 411-436.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S. (1983). *The good high school: Portraits of character and culture.* New York: Basic Books.

Lawrence-Lightfoot, S., & Davis, J. H. (1997). *The art and science of portraiture.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lee, J. B. J. (2008). *Ako: Pūrākau of Māori secondary school teachers' work in secondary schools.* Unpublished EdD, The University of Auckland, Auckland, NZ.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1966). *The savage mind.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Mataira, K. (1984). *Māori artists of the South Pacific.* Raglan, New Zealand: New Zealand Māori Artists and Writers Society.

McNicholas, P., & Barret, M. (2003). *Answering the emancipatory call: An emerging research approach on the margins of accounting.* Critical Perspectives on Accounting, 16(4), 391-414.

Mead, L. T. T. R. (1997). *Nga aho o te kakahu matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Mikaere, A. (1995). *The balance destroyed: The consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori.* Unpublished master's thesis, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Mita, M. (2000). Storytelling: A process of decolonisation. In L. Pihama (Ed.), *The Journal of Puawaitanga. Special Issue: Indigenous Women and Representation* (pp. 7-9). Auckland, New Zealand: Te Whare Wānanga o Tāmaki Makaurau.

Nepe, T. M. (1991). *Te toi huarewa tipuna: Kaupapa Māori, an educational intervention system.* Unpublished master's thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Orbell, M. (1992). *Traditional Māori stories.* Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Parsonson, A. (2001). Stories for land: Oral narratives in the Māori Land Court. In B. Attwood & F. Magowan (Eds.), *Telling stories: Indigenous history and memory in Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 21-40). Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.

Pihama, L. (2001). *Tīhei mauri ora: Honouring our voices: Mana wahine as kaupapa Māori theoretical framework.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Pihama, L., Cram, F., & Walker, S. (2002). *Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research.* Canadian Journal of Native Education, 26(1), 30-43.

Pihama, L., Jenkins, K., & Middleton, A. (2003). *'Te rito' action area 13 literature review: Family violence prevention for Māori research report.* Auckland, New Zealand: The University of Auckland.

Reed, A. W. (2004). *Reed book of Māori mythology.* Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Reedy, A. (Ed.). (1993). *Ngā kōrero a Mohi Ruatapu: Tohunga rongonui o Ngāti Porou: The writings of Mohi Ruatapu.* Christchurch, New Zealand: Canterbury University Press.

Simmons, D. R. (1976). *The great New Zealand myth: A study of the discovery and origin traditions of the Māori.* Wellington, New Zealand: A. H. & A. W. Reed.

Smith, C. W. (2002). *He pou herenga ki te nui: Māori knowledge and the university.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and praxis.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Smith, L. T. (1998). Interview with a tree. In L. Pihama & C. W. Smith (Eds.), *Fisheries & commodifying iwi: Economics, politics & colonisation* (pp. 73-76). Auckland, New Zealand: IRI/Moko Productions.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* New York: Zed Books.

Smith, L. T. (2005). *On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty.* In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), The Sage handbook of qualitative research (3rd ed., pp. 85-107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Smith, L. T. (2006). Fourteen lessons of resistance to exclusion: Learning from the Māori experience in New Zealand over the last two decades of neo-liberal reform. In M. Mulholland (Ed.), *State of the Māori nation: Twenty-first-century issues in Aotearoa* (pp. 247-260). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Sterling, S. (2002). Yetko and Sophie: Nlakapamux cultural professors. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 26(1), 4-10.

Sullivan, R. (2002). *Weaving earth and sky: Myths & legends of Aotearoa.* Auckland, New Zealand: Random House.

Taiaroa-Smithies, K., & Taiaroa, M. (2006). *The legends of Ngatoro-i-rangi.* Auckland, New Zealand: Reed.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2003). *Ruahine: Mythic women.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.

Te Kanawa, K. (1997). Land of the Long White Cloud: Māori myths, tales and legends. Auckland, New Zealand: Viking.

Walker, R. (2004). Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Struggle without end (Rev. ed.). Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin

* Jenny Bol Jun Lee (Ngāti Mahuta and Waikato) is a post-doctoral fellow at Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi, Whakatane.

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri Moko! Mouri Wahine! Mouri Ora! Protective Power: Women, Skin, Carving and Life Force

Mera Penehira

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

Preamble

'Mana Kaitiakitanga' is an Indigenous framework of health and wellbeing centred firmly in Māori conceptualisations and understandings of our relationships to each other and to our environment. Drawing on doctoral research (Penehira, 2011), it is argued that "Mana Kaitiakitanga" provides the context in which ta moko (Māori traditional skin carving) fits naturally as a healing intervention. I share the stories of Māori women who have applied ta moko (and other forms of tattoo) in their journeys to wellness. Ta moko is an indigenous narrative that enables us to return to ancient knowledge and ways of understanding ourselves and our world. It is a process that penetrates the flesh and marks the skin; it is a process that involves both blood and pain, which may seem incongruous with healing. It is argued however that through pain comes understanding; through pain comes a RE-membering of strength; through pain comes joy; and finally through marking comes identity of who we are and how 'well' we have been in the past, and can be again. This work explores the intersections of identity, marginalisation, gender, education, health and wellbeing. Raising the voices of wahine Māori is critical at this time of reclamation of Māori and other Indigenous knowledges, where for too long colonisation has seen this voice silenced.

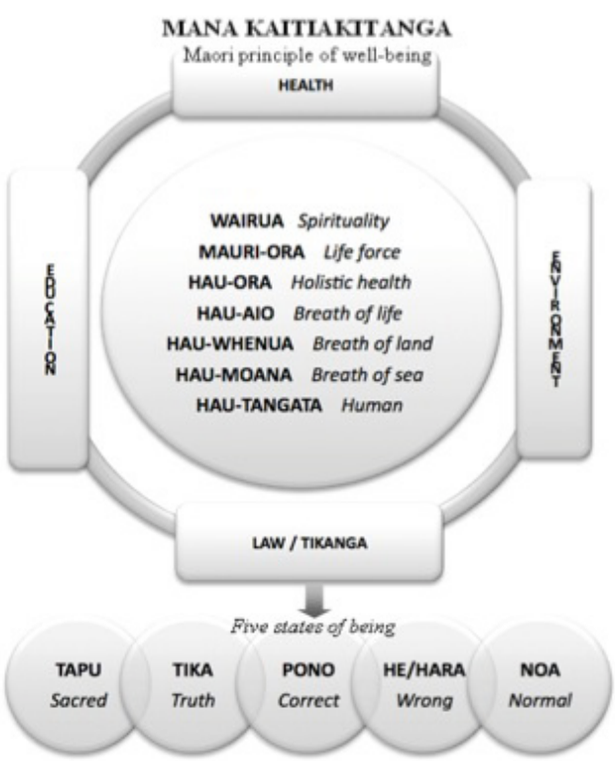
Mana Kaitiakitanga – Māori Principle of Wellbeing

The Mana Kaitiakitanga framework (Figure 1), developed in 1997 by Dr Huirangi Waikerepuru, myself and a student collective, includes Mouri as one of seven key elements of Māori wellbeing, the other six all referring to various aspects of Hau. Mouri and Hau are viewed here as the 'carriers' or 'indicators' of areas in our lives and in our being that are essential to our wellbeing, which in the context of the Māori principle of wellbeing, includes physical, spiritual and emotional states of being. Māori Marsden (1988) describes the relationship between Mouri and Hau, positing that Hau-ora, or the breath of life, is the source from and by which Mouri emanates. Whilst saying that in particular contexts Hau is used as a synonym for Mouri, Marsden also differentiates between the concepts, advising that Hau is a term only applied to animate life, whereas Mouri can be applied to both animate and inanimate things. He states:

"Mauri was a force or energy mediated by Hauora – the Breath of the Spirit of Life. Mauri Ora was the life-force (mauri) transformed into life-principle by the infusion of life itself." (p. 21)

As shown in the framework below, seven elements that make up the Māori principle of wellbeing are framed by four further institutions or concepts: Education, health, environment, law/tikanga. In so doing, it is suggested that these institutions engage directly with one's wellbeing and vice versa. That is, the state of health and the environment, the way we operate within the laws and indeed lores of our communities, and our knowledge and practice of tikanga, all impact on our wellbeing. In contrast, our state of wellbeing, or otherwise, impacts on our ability to operate in healthy ways with and within the environment, and to conduct ourselves in law/loreful ways, by knowing and practicing tikanga Māori. The base of the framework includes: tapu, tika, pono, hē/hara, noa. These are concepts which allude to the states of being that we move through and between in everyday life and events. They are significant contributors to the framework, in that these states, or rather our ability to understand what state is necessary for what purpose, and our ability to move between states, is critical to our wellbeing. Whilst a full explanation of these concepts is not essential to achieving the purpose of conveying a sense of understanding of Mouri, the following provides an overview of how these concepts, and the 7 central elements, were discussed in terms of the framework development:

Figure 1. Mana Kaitiakitanga: a comprehensive framework of Māori concepts, elements, and principles of wellbeing



[1]Dr Mera Penehira, Lecturer/Director Postgraduate, Te Puna Wananga, Māori Education, University of Auckland, m.penehira@auckland.ac.nz

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

Tapu: *(Sacred)* A necessary state of being in order to enable certain things to be achieved or events to be conducted. To gain in-depth understanding of karakia and other forms of traditional knowledge, or to participate in events such as tangihanga, one enters into a state and space of sacredness.

Tika: *(Correct)* It is necessary to be able to conduct oneself correctly according to whatever situation, event, or level of thought one is engaged in. This requires an understanding of what is correct in the first instance. In terms of children developing into adults with a healthy sense of wellbeing, it is important that they develop a knowledge and understanding of what is correct. This may be whānau, hapū and iwi specific.

Pono: *(Truth)* To operate in a truthful sense enables one to be open to new learning. The relationship between truth and new knowledge is significant, in that our belief is that if one does not engage truthfully in a learning situation or wānanga, they will not reap the benefits of that situation – they are not in a state to receive, nor understand new knowledge. When one operates from a space other than the truth, it impacts negatively on their wellbeing.

Hē/hara: *(Wrong)* In learning, in living and in being well, mistakes are made. This concept recognises that, and its place in the framework reminds us that it is a state that we will all be in from time to time. Whilst in that state, it generally detracts from our wellbeing. However, it is significant to understanding the Māori principle of wellbeing, that we take new knowledge and understanding from our mistakes; from our time in the state of 'hē'.

Noa: *(Normal)* This is the state in which we operate for much of our daily lives, activities and events. It is well known to us. It is perceived to be the opposite to tapu and provides the basis from which we can enter into other ways of being.

Wairua: *(Spirituality)* 'Ngā wai e rua' (the two waters) is discussed by Dr Waikerepuru (2009) as one interpretation of the concept of 'wairua'. In doing so, he speaks of the spiritual essence emerging from the two fluid sources present at the conception of a child. This can relate also to that which is created when Ranginui and Papatūānuku merged. In terms of how wairua influences the Māori principle of wellbeing, it is essential that one has a connectedness with Indigenously Māori spirituality. That includes knowledge, understanding and practical application of karakia, pure (specific incantation), and waiata.

Mouri Ora: *(Life force)* Refers to the innate life force within each of us. In terms of our wellbeing it asks us to give consideration to the wellness of our energy, of the force/s that activate us to do things and to operate and interact with our world. This explanation relates to the discussions in development of the Mana Kaitiakitanga framework, and as the focus of this chapter this concept is discussed more fully further on.

Hau Ora: *(Holistic health)* Māori conceptualisation of health is holistic, including reference to physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Hau ora literally may be translated to be breath of life.

Hau Āio: *(Breath of Life)* Refers to 'te hau ā Io' or the breath of Io who is recognised by Māori as the supreme being from whom creation is derived.

Hau Whenua: *(Breath of Land)* The wellbeing of humans relating to the wellbeing of the land. Hau Whenua also refers to the relationship between people and the land. If each of these are well (the people and the land), and the relationship between them is active and well, this has a significant positive contribution to Hau Ora. This element also facilitates the notion of 'tangata whenua', which recognises Māori as people of the land.

Hau Moana: *(Breath of Sea)* Similarly to Hau Whenua, the wellbeing of humans relating to the wellbeing of the ocean environment. The relationship between people and the ocean is referenced here. The independent wellness of each (the people and the ocean environment) is important, as is the wellness of the interactions between them.

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

Hau Tangata: *(The breath of humanity)* Refers to the unique human spirit within each of us. It speaks of both the individual and the collective wellbeing of humanity. Just as Hau Whenua and Hau Moana are about people and their relationship to the land and ocean environments, Hau Tangata is about people and their relationships to and with each other. Our wellness as individuals impacts on our ability to relate to and engage with others, either enabling us to contribute to or detract from the wellness of others and the collective.

Mouri Moko: Mouri Ora

This section examines the mouri evident in the process of moko and in moko itself, and ultimately, the relationship that has with the mouri or the moko recipient. Does mouri moko exist and in what ways is that evidenced? For Māori, moko carries with it the mauri of our tūpuna, of whakapapa, and of our identity. It is its own narrative, telling its own stories using the language of Māori visual art and spirituality. As Ngahuia Te Awekotuku and Linda Waimarie Nikora (2007) explain, moko symbolises an ideal which includes "bloodlines and life lines, about being Māori. And being more." (p. 158)

Life-essence is one of the most common ways of describing mouri, and so it is a very natural assumption that because the notions and practice of moko include bloodlines, life lines, and are to do with whakapapa and identity (amongst other things), that there is indeed evidence of 'mouri moko', and that this mouri both enhances and provides another expression of the individual wearer's existing mouri.

Given this, many potential wearers of moko choose very carefully the placement of their moko. Most agree that facial moko are particularly significant and matters of their own personal identity, their view of themselves, and how they value themselves, are all factors in determining whether or not they select facial moko. In my view, this indicates a processing of alignment of mouri that the potential moko recipient enters into, albeit consciously or sub-consciously. That is, the recipient is determining how the relationship will be between their own mouri and that of the moko, in order perhaps, to ensure the potential for a natural and effortless forging of the two. Indeed for some however, the moko is something that already exists within themselves or within their whakapapa. As such, many would view it simply as an enhancing of their mouri through this outward expression that moko provides. Others, however, view moko as quite a new addition to themselves that requires in some way a relationship building with their existing mouri. In simple terms, the wearer thinks about how they want to represent themselves, their identity (and all that is included in that), in the moko to be carved and which they will wear permanently in their skin. Te Awekotuku and Nikora (2007) state, that of the participants in their study: "Many were also sensitive about whether they 'deserved' it, and learned a lot more as they questioned this." (p.176). They further state:

"For us, it is more than skin deep; neither pumped in, nor painted on, it is a resonance through the blood that rises to the surface, it stains the needle and blends with the ink, it marks the chisel; it moves with heart rhythm and breath.... For the wāhine mau kauae, tāne rangi paruhi, Māori mau moko, it is about life." (p. 209)

What further evidence of mouri moko would one desire than the descriptor above? Clearly moko is a multi-layered journey, and it carries with it a multiplicity of meaning for both the 'creator' and the recipient:

"Moko has many meanings to those who carry it. Moko is about identity; about being Māori in a Māori place, being Māori in a foreign place, being Māori in one's own land and times, being Māori on Māori terms. It is about survival and resilience. It reflects Māori relationships with others; how they see Māori, and more importantly, how Māori want to be seen." (pp. 208-209)

Linking the physical and metaphysical relationships that exist amongst us and in the moko journeys themselves, helps us to better understand the relationship generally between physicality and spirituality. Te Awekotuku and Nikora (ibid) explain:

"Wearers become experts in communication, exponents of the art of explaining symbol and significance, because the outsider needs to be reminded that Māori are different. Different from them, and different from one another, and in this difference there is celebration, on a metaphysical as well as physical level." (p. 209)

Given that 'health' is one of four cornerstones of the Māori principle of wellbeing (Mana Kaitiakitanga) above, which encircle mouri and the other elements of the framework, it could be further suggested that when one's health is poor, so is one's mouri, as noted by Linda Smith (2000).

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

Re-claiming and Re-membering Indigenous Knowledges

Recognising the importance of Indigenous Knowledge and our responsibilities as Indigenous peoples to reclaim, protect and advance it, the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues made the following declaration in 2007:

"We, the undersigned Indigenous peoples and organisations, having convened during the Sixth Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, from May 14-25, 2007, upon the traditional territory of the Onondaga Nation present the following declaration regarding our rights to genetic resources and Indigenous knowledge: Reaffirming our spiritual and cultural relationship with all life forms existing in our traditional territories; Reaffirming our fundamental role and responsibility as the guardians of our territories, lands and natural resources; Recognising that we are the guardians of the Indigenous knowledge passed down from our ancestors from generation to generation and we reaffirm our responsibility to protect and perpetuate this knowledge for the benefit of our peoples and our future generations; Strongly reaffirming our right to self-determination, which is fundamental to our ability to carry out our responsibilities in accordance with our cultural values and our customary laws. Strongly reaffirming our commitment to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as adopted by the Human Rights Council, including, Article 31, which establishes that:

1. Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions." (IPCB, 2007, pp. 1-2)

This declaration, which sits alongside the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007), provides an important focus on the particular protection of Indigenous Knowledges. In so doing, it defines what constitutes Indigenous Knowledge and the responsibilities of Indigenous Peoples to that. In terms of the present study, it challenges us as Māori to consider the ways in which we revitalise, and re-engage in the moko process, and what protective factors need to be considered for this part of our traditional knowledge. Te Awekotuku and Nikora (2007) posit 'trust' or manaakitanga as a significant factor to the broader protection of moko stating:

"For everyone about to undergo the moko process, trust is an important issue, even if it is not talked about by the artist and the client at the time. Beneath the work remains the guiding principle, he aha te mea nui i te ao? He tangata!" (p. 139)

This trust needs to be evident in the relationship between the potential moko recipient and carver or artist, as well as the extended whānau or people and elements present in the process. That is, the carver needs to trust the wearer, the wearer trust the carver, and all others involved trust in the integrity of that relationship, because through that relationship and the broader relationship that they have with the other elements of the recipient's whakapapa (e.g. land, sea, mountain, people and ancestors), the integrity of the moko is maintained. Through this, the integrity of the knowledge and practice is maintained. Charles Royal (2005) addresses the issue of integrity and evolution of traditional and Indigenous knowledge saying:

"Genuine grievance and injustices must be addressed in a genuine manner. I also acknowledge that the traditional knowledge bases of Indigenous peoples is properly the 'business' of those peoples. However, I would suggest that although traditional Indigenous knowledge arose and arises within particular cultural, social and environmental settings and conditions, lying at the heart of traditional Indigenous knowledge are responses to ubiquitous human questions, issues and experiences. I would like to offer an alternative view of Indigenous and indigeneity that makes great use of the traditional knowledge and worldviews of 'Indigenous' peoples. This is so that we may find an alternative and creative avenue for our intellectual and spiritual energies, and traditional knowledge and that these precious resources may not be spent on 'resisting' alone." (p. 4)

It is particularly significant to note the reference here to our ongoing development being something that occurs for more than reasons of 'resistance'. My position is that whilst that would be an ideal, as tangata whenua living in a colonised land, we often have little choice but to be active resistors. I would suggest however that there is space in both the arts and in academia for us to be creative as well as active resistors.

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

Māori Women's Views and Experiences of Moko

"Tā Moko—taking Moko—is a serious commitment. It inscribes your soul, it uplifts your senses, and it changes you forever. It is the ultimate engagement of oneself with one's body, because it cannot be removed." (Te Awekotuku, 2006, p. 135)

In contemporary times moko is viewed as part of our political resistance. Many of my friends carry moko as a direct sign of resistance, it is something we consider an act of our own Māori sovereignty. Contemporary singer songwriter Moana Maniapoto (2002) encapsulates simply the power of moko resurgence in the lyrics to her song 'moko':

"I wear my pride upon my skin. My pride has always been within. I wear my strength upon my face. Comes from another time and place. Bet you didn't know that every line has a message for me. Did you know that"
(http://www.digitalus.co.nz/ mokomokai/moana.html)

As with other political statements, this does not come without negative reaction:

"In contemporary Aotearoa/New Zealand, Māori continue to encounter unfavourable opinions and hostile attitudes based on preformed and unsubstantiated judgements ... prejudice towards Māori and the tattooed face is not a new phenomenon and it continues today." (Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 11)

Our experiences are not limited to outside spaces; indeed, we often face the harshest criticism from within our own homes and families:

"Within families, and Māori communities, moko confronts how Māori think about ourselves, histories, continuities and change. It is a mark of critical reflection and conscious choice, and signals an ongoing engagement with the decolonisation project." (Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2007, p. 488)

As moko wearers we choose to carry the taonga for our own reasons, and always, these reasons relate to identity. The moko has its own integrity as described below:

"In this world, today, wāhine mau kauae, tangata mau moko, pūkanohi - wearers - are speaking for themselves, about themselves, and commenting on how others view them. Unanimously, they insist the decision to take the marking is about continuity, affirmation, identity, and commitment. It is also about wearing those ancestors, carrying them into the future; as their moko become a companion, a salient being with its own life force, its own integrity and power, beyond the face." (Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekotuku, 2003, p. 14)

Māori women wearers and carvers of moko participated in case studies as part of doctoral research centred on moko as a healing intervention (Penehira, 2011). This article privileges the voice of one participant, chosen for her articulation and emphasis of moko in relation to healing, gender, health, education, wellbeing and marginalisation. She is known in this context by her chosen sudonym of 'Ripeka'.

"I grew up in Porirua and it wasn't cool back then in the 50's and 60's to be Māori ... I think I used to spend most of my time pretending not to be Māori ... it was a pretty rough place to grow up but it taught me how to be tough and stand up to things ... It was hard but now I have a great life, I'm the manager of a successful business and I have been here for a long time. It's what I love, working with Māori and rangatahi. I've been involved in lots of political movements over the years, again back before it was cool. We got a hard time back then but we learnt a lot. I was one of the first to get an armband (tattoo) and then lots of others followed. Being Māori is really important to me now and my moko have been a big part of that identity really" (Ripeka)

Ripeka's story represents someone who is now a successful Māori businesswoman and one who has contributed significantly to Kaupapa Māori education for around 25 years. Moko is described by Ripeka as a purposeful political action.

Spiritual elements surrounding moko, were included and indeed highlighted in conversations with Ripeka:

"I'm just keen to carry on with the tā moko ... that was a real experience ... I really felt changed after that. I found it quite a spiritual experience ... it was a very special moment for me as well."

The 'specialness' surrounding the process of moko is apparent, and the desire to experience that again speaks to the power of the process in uplifting the participant. In my view, this is evidence of but one way of the person accessing a spiritual connection that might not otherwise be available to many Māori today. Having spiritual connectedness is clearly identified as beneficial to the recipient.

Mana Kaitiakitanga: Mouri moko! Mouri wahine! Mouri ora! (Protective power: Women, skin carving and life force!)

Mera Penehira

"It gives me kaha, it makes me feel strong ... it's a representation of who I am ... it represents what is in my life and I haven't finished, I still want to do more ..."

The spiritual origins of tā moko, the spiritual experience enjoyed by the recipient is evidenced as being closely linked to identity, which is further viewed as a source of strength. The moko for this participant represents both who she is, and where she has come from, in that they tell the story of her life's journey. Each one indicating what is in her life already, and she alludes to the fact that her moko journey, as with her life journey, is ongoing. Thus, there is an acknowledgement of the ongoing nature of the spiritual connections that have been bound in the moko she has received to date. The relationship between moko and the recipient's spirituality, has been made explicit, and because of the permanency of moko, and because moko is now a part of her identity, there is an implicit permanency in the spiritual awareness and relationships that now exist for Ripeka. Consequently, there is a permanency of strength that abounds, and that she is reminded of in a very visual way each time she views her carved skin. Spiritual strength is evidenced here as having a significant role in the identity of the participant. Furthermore, the dialogue has also demonstrated the existence of marginalisation experienced by the participant. This marginalisation is to some extent mediated by the spiritual strength encompassed in the process and wearing of moko.

Ripeka's development as a Māori woman, and as a moko recipient, was ensconced in Māori women's political movements of the time. She wears multiple moko, all of which are positioned to enable her to choose when she exposes or covers her taonga. As with all moko recipients each experience of further adornment is unique - the moko she wears tell the account of her identity as a Māori woman that developed during the political years of the 80's and 90's, and now into the new millennium.

"My moko are very political in a sense – they are political statements and they are about who I am."

Political awareness largely shaped Ripeka's view of herself and other Māori women, as something to be proud of, and the moko that represent this part of her life journey are a visual record and visual reminder of that pride. The aesthetic beauty of her moko adds to that pride and to her sense of wellbeing:

"They give me strength and make me feel strong ... I look down at my moko and remember what I have been through, and know that I can do more."

Thus, in terms of mouri-ora, the moko have a mouri of their own, which stems from the mouri of the experiences that helped shape them, which in turn, influence the shape of what is to come. The strength or mouri-moko that Ripeka refers to is a part of her own strength and mouri now, which she carries with her in the journey of life.

It is clear that carving moko both signifies another part of life's journey, as well as reflecting and indeed influencing Ripeka's wellbeing. The representations of tinana (body), wairua (spirit), and hinengaro (mind), further portray Ripeka's own view of wellbeing and give us an example of the significant relationship between moko and hau ora, the holistic view of Māori wellbeing.

"My arms were my own designs ... interestingly they have red in them ... I didn't talk to anyone about it, I went in and said I wanted the red in it as well ... and then after it was on my arm I think a kaumātua [elder] said to me one day that I only had half the fish on there ... he saw it as one of our stories that I had on wrong and that the red represents rangatira ... it wasn't something that was being done then, no-one had arm bands, I didn't know about traditional moko at that time, I had no knowledge apart from reading a few moko books."

In this dialogue it is evident that Ripeka's moko experiences have varied, and that as in this case, access to traditional knowledge and moko artists influences the process and the experience. At the time Ripeka had her early moko work done, as she says, it was not commonplace. Indeed, she was one of the first Māori women of this generation to carve the tūhono or arm band which has since become a common moko adornment. So whilst she is aware that in traditional terms, her design may be deemed by some as incorrect, she has a clear analysis of the place these early moko have in the journey of moko more generally speaking. Those who took on moko in the 80's did not have a range of Māori artists to choose from as we do today. Designs depicting traditional Māori imagery were scarce, and so with little access to either the information or people, Ripeka took matters into her own hands and designed her own. In my view, this 'moko action' is evidence of someone creating and accessing her own healing. It is an example of Māori women's strength, initiative, and creativity. At the same time, I believe we need to be aware that not all Māori women are in a position or have the ability to follow this lead. More recently, Ripeka has undertaken the traditional moko of the buttocks, known as 'rape', or 'pakipaki'.

"My 'rape' ... that was different because that was the tā moko artist's design and that was deliberate – I wanted traditional, though it's not completely traditional. Placing the red in there was aesthetic – to match my others. I knew about the artist through my friend's introduction – I wanted to experience a woman artist and see a female doing it. It's only her I'll go back to now – I noticed a lot more caring, very different to how men approach the work."

Ripeka's desire for more traditional work within her moko journey reflects both the availability and access to tradition, as much as the progression of herself as a Māori woman. The rape was described as an enormous undertaking, during which time much pain was experienced.

"It was like nothing before in terms of the pain ... the length of time too."

Ripeka spoke also of the strength gained in looking back on that process.

"I know now what I can handle and it just makes me feel stronger."

It is significant that when one has endured the pain, determination, and sense of achievement encompassed in this type of moko process, that the recipient then carries with them the knowledge that they can apply that endurance and determination into other challenges they may face in their lives. In conversations about Ripeka's moko journey, we discussed her move from contemporary to more traditional moko, as described earlier in this chapter when referring to the 'rape' (buttock moko) she attained. Ripeka has considered further traditional work and shared the following:

"In terms of kauwae [female chin moko], I don't think I ever will – the reason being, I think the women who wear kauwae are very strong women. Strong in themselves because clearly everyone is looking – and for me, I don't know if I would want to be looked at all the time. So that's what I'm saying about the kauwae for me – but maybe I'll do it at 70 ... it's not something I feel I would be comfortable doing at this time though, for those reasons. I must say, that I am extremely proud of all my moko, but I have to admit there are times when I'm glad that I can put on a long-sleeved shirt and not have to have them seen. Sometimes I would rather keep them to myself, and in my work, it's not always a good thing."

So kauwae is not a closed door for Ripeka, but not something she would currently feel comfortable with. Clearly, she has considered the extra attention that moko potentially attract, she knows that it is not all positive, and in my view this is a valid consideration. However, without question moko is an identity marker:

"I just feel proud of who I am and being Māori ... two of my moko, my arm band and one on the other arm were my own designs ... the arm band came from my first march to Waitangi ... in fact, it was the first march to Waitangi and so after that I wanted something that represented that journey at that time for me, and being proud of what I was doing and being a part of it all ..."

Identity is a key factor in decisions surrounding both attainment and placement of moko. Ripeka referred above to her reluctance to undertake facial moko, and here she reminds us of its relationship to societal acceptance (or otherwise!), which in turn relates to the position of tangata whenua in Aotearoa.

"You know it's not something I could do (have moko kauwae) ... I admire people like you who do it, I think you are incredibly brave. I know it can be lonely when there are only a few of you out there and the kinds of reactions, mixed, that you get – all I can say is you have to be very, very strong to manage that every single day. For me, if I don't feel up to it, I can cover up and be the businesswoman that I'm expected to be. I couldn't handle that constant looking either – mentally and emotionally exhausting and with it on your face you just couldn't choose to have a 'no-show' day if you didn't think you could handle it that day."

Summary

The conversations with Ripeka give honour and integrity to this work. In telling her story of illness, healing and wellness, of which a selected portion is shared in this article, the rationale for continued and sustained re-claimation of our cultural practices and traditional knowledges is further evidenced. Māori women offer unique and significant insights to this discourse, which for too long have been marginalised in the processes of colonisation. Moko journeys and experiences have enriched the lives of many Māori. The special relationships developed in the process of moko, have proven to be an important part of wellbeing and healing to those who engage in the practice. The power of moko as a healing tool is evident in the re-creation and uplifting of mouri experienced by Ripeka and many others. The Indigenous framework 'Mana Kaitiakitanga' provides a way of conceptualising health and wellbeing in a specifically Māori way. It enables us to engage with concepts such as mouri that are inherent in conversations of illness, wellness, healing and wellbeing. Finally it has been argued that "Mana Kaitiakitanga" provides the context in which ta moko (Māori traditional skin carving) fits naturally as a healing intervention.

References

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture.* Revised 1996. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Best, E. (1934). *The Māori as he was: A brief account of Māori life as it was in pre-European days.* Wellington: Dominion Museum.

Durie, M. H. (1998). *Whaiora: Māori health development.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

General Assembly of NZ. (1907). *Acts Affecting Native Lands, Etc. Passed by the General Assembly, Session 1907. No. 13. — An Act to suppress Tohungas.* Retrieved 6 May 09, from: http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Gov1907Acts-t1-g1-t12.html

IPCB. (2007). *Declaration on Indigenous Peoples' Rights to Genetic Resources and Indigenous Knowledge.* Convened at the Sixth Session of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. May 14-25, 2007, New York. Retrieved 15 Dec 09, from: http://www.ipcb.org/resolutions/htmls/Decl_GR&IK.html

Maniapoto, M. (2002). *'Moko' Mokomokai: the documentary. Recorded by Moana and the Moa Hunters from the CD "RUA".* Retrieved 30 Dec 2010, from: http://www.digitalus.co.nz/ mokomokai/moana.html

Marsden, M. (1988). *The natural world and natural resources: Māori value systems and perspectives.* Wellington, New Zealand, Ministry for the Environment.

Mikaere, A. (2003). *The balance destroyed: Consequences for Māori women of the colonisation of tikanga Māori.* Auckland: The International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education.

Nikora, L.W., Rua, M. & Te Awekotuku, N. (2003). *In your face: Wearing moko – Māori facial marking in today's world.* Paper presented at: Tatau/tattoo: Embodied art and cultural exchange conference. Victoria University, Wellington.

Nikora, L.W., Rua, M. & Te Awekotuku, N. (2007). *Renewal and resistance: Moko in contemporary New Zealand.* Journal of Community and Applied Psychology, 17, 477-489.

Reinfeld, M., & Pihama, L. (2008). *Matarākau: Ngā kōrero mo ngā rongoā o Taranaki.* Report submitted to HRC.

Royal, C. (2005). *Exploring Indigenous Knowledge.* Retrieved 13 Jan 10, from: http://www.charles-royal.com/assets/exploringIndigenousknowledge.pdf

Sharples, P. (1995). *Cultural justice.* In F. Mc Elrea (Ed.), Re-thinking criminal justice (Vol. 1): Justice in the community. Auckland: Legal Research Foundation.

Smith, L. T. (1997). *Ngā aho o te kakahu mātauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education.* Unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Auckland.

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples.* London & New York: Zed Books Ltd; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Smith, L. T. (2007). *The native and the neoliberal downunder: Neoliberalism and "endangered authenticities".* In, M. de la Cadena and O. Starn (Eds.) Indigenous experience today, 333-352. Oxford: Berg.

Stephens, M. (2001). *A return to the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907.* Victoria University of Wellington Law Review, 437-462. Retrieved 28 Nov 09, from: http://www.austlii.edu.au/nz/journals/VUWLRev/2001/17.html

Te Awekotuku, N., & Nikora, W. (2007). *Mau moko: The world of Māori tattoo.* New Zealand: Penguin.

Te Awekotuku, N. (2006). Mata Ora: Chiseling the living face - dimensions of Māori tattoo. In E. Edwards, C. Gosden, and R. B. Phillips (Eds.) *Sensible objects: Colonialism, museums, and material culture* (English ed., pp. cm.). New York: Berg.

United Nations. (2007). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Retrieved 5 Jan 08, from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/drip.html

Waikerepuru, H. (1990). *Personal Communication during wānanga reo.* New Plymouth, Taranaki.

Waikerepuru, H. (2009). *Personal Communication during interview.* Parihaka, Taranaki.

Kia mau ki te aka matua: Researching Māori Development and Learning

Margie Hohepa

Kia mau ki te aka matua: Researching Māori Development and Learning

Margie Hohepa

Kei hopu tōu ringa ki te aka taepa, engari kia mau ki te aka matua.
(Do not grasp the vine that hangs loose, but hold tight to the parent vine, anchored firmly below to Papa the earth and above to Rangi the sky.) (H M Mead, 1996; 54)

Introduction

The article involves a search for what might be useful, relevant and appropriate research framework for Māori for the study of Māori development and learning. It is also an attempt to articulate psychological approaches that will validate indigenous cultural epistemologies that support indigenous movements towards self-determination and that also provide useful tools for examining development and learning.

In seeking to articulate research as well as theoretical approaches that can be validly used in the study of Māori development and learning, the advice above given to Tāwhaki by his kuia, Whaitiri, to guide his ascent to the heavens in search of particular forms of knowledge is pertinent. There are many theoretical approaches, methodologies and methods that might be used in studying development and learning. How does one know when one is climbing the safe, viable, appropriate vines, those rooted firmly in Papatūānuku and secured above to Ranginui? When buffeted by alternative theoretical winds, how does one identify those that will support the development of theory and research that will be of positive use to Māori and that will sit comfortably within a Kaupapa Māori framework?

A Kaupapa Māori framework being proposed for the study of Māori development and learning takes cognisance of movements towards the 'indigenisation' of psychology, and incorporates critical psychological and sociocultural theorising. It enables a multi-levelled focus spanning sociocultural, political, historical and social contexts. I have a leaning towards sociocultural theory because it has been greatly responsible for revealing 'culture' and 'development' as inextricably entwined. Sociocultural or co-constructivist approaches to development and learning are in congruence with a Kaupapa Māori framework, to the extent that they seek to understand, affirm and validate social practices in all their shapes and hues, across cultures. As a component of this 'comprehensive' framework, critical psychology provides a lens through which to understand, critique and search for ways of overcoming the role 'Psychology' has in maintaining inequitable and unjust conditions as the status quo (Prilleltensky & Fox, 1997). Discussions around indigenous psychology also help to shape ideas around how relationships between Māori and non-Māori approaches to development and learning might be conceived, and enacted.

Taku Tūranga Ake

I have a history of study and research that has Developmental Psychology as a base. In somewhat of a paradox (given the discussion below!) at one level I am quite comfortable with this. Our development, behaviour and learning are what interest me. Much of my formalised 'study' of humans has occurred from within the so-called ivory towers of academia. While I had initially chosen to study 'pure' Psychology I soon focused on the developmental area that at the time was, and generally still is, primarily concerned with children. I think that if one wants to find out about our psychological development one should at least concentrate on humans, which probably explains why as an undergraduate I had found it hard to understand the relevance of studying the behaviour of rats and pigeons, not to mention the physiology of a sheep's brain. I also believe that we develop, learn and behave in relationships with others. Understandings of development and learning are located in understandings of relationships of humans with humans, not in the sensations individuals get from skin pricking instruments.

As a researcher I have found myself travelling up many and varied aka, psychological or otherwise. Critiques of so-called western academic and intellectual fields by historically disempowered groups - indigenous, colonised, women - beg the question, is it possible to use and to develop knowledge in empowering ways in fields that themselves have played fundamental roles in disempowerment? In particular, can psychological approaches to development provide ways and means of studying and understanding development of an indigenous, colonised people?

In its relatively brief existence as a field of study and research, western 'Developmental Psychology' has been premised around notions of the 'natural order' of development, and optimal conditions for ensuring this natural order. This natural order, located in the norms, values, beliefs and practices of the 'powerful' in western society, has been broadcast world-wide in the form of developmental templates. The cultural underpinnings of developmental descriptions coming out of the 'west' have been largely unrecognised or ignored. Such globalisation of developmental psychology has had significant side-effects for non-(dominant) western cultures, including Māori (Burman, 1994).

In Māori Education at the University of Auckland we have often joked about my position, which for many years appeared that of a somewhat lone psychological voice in a more sociological chorus of history, feminism, difference, policy, and so on.

Across institutions in Aotearoa-New Zealand however, Māori academics are pursuing Māori ways of understanding, interpreting (and creating) Māori psychological development as an area of study in which they have chosen to work.

Enriquez, (1989; 69) writing about the development of indigenous psychology notes that;

[t]he development and utilization of indigenous viewpoints can no doubt be approached in a number of ways. More importantly, it occurs at many levels and cuts across many disciplines. What appears to be an isolated development in a particular discipline in a particular country usually proves to be part of an over-all pattern.

For indigenous people working in arguably western academic arenas, who are 'employed' (fiscally or otherwise) in making space for our views, our cultural knowledge and ourselves, there is much work to do.

To place this article within its historical context, it was written about the time I, along with two other Māori women, was conferred a Doctorate of Philosophy. It was written at a time that might be described as a golden period in terms of Māori completing PhDs, particularly within Education. Hopefully this time becomes representative of a new 'status quo', that of Māori aspiring to and achieving in higher echelons of academic study. An almost cultural characteristic of many theses completed by Māori during the time is that writers identify where they have come from and to whom they belong. By this I do not mean identifying themselves in terms of Māori whakapapa (although this almost invariably does occur), but in terms of how their personal histories relate to the academic and research enterprises represented in their thesis.

'Insider', 'Participant,' 'Researcher', 'Kura kaupapa Māori parent', Māori woman with Ngā Puhi and Pākehā genealogical connections (to name but a few) are not hats that I put on and take off. They are not different coloured spectacles, one of which I may choose to look through at any given time. I do not see these as multiple positionings. Rather, these are some of the facets or dimensions that make me who I am. One or another dimension might come to the foreground or go into the background, depending on the circumstance. But they are also facets of me as 'researcher'.

I openly declare that I am part of and am totally committed to particular Māori educational, political and cultural movements. This does not represent a problem or a research-related dilemma, it just is. I believe recognising and openly acknowledging where one belongs, what one belongs to as part of your research whakapapa so to speak is fundamental to a Kaupapa Māori approach, irrespective of the discipline area or field one wishes to align oneself with.

Sociocultural Approaches to Research

To date, much of my research work has drawn heavily on what are variously described as sociocultural or co-constructivist perspectives of development. A key axiom of such theoretical perspectives is that development and learning need to be understood in relation to the social contexts in which they occur. By contexts I include the political, historical and societal, as well as the social and cultural, that influence (and arguably, are influenced by) development and learning. Greenfield & Cocking describe researchers who have written from similar positions as having "managed to combine data from historical, sociological, cultural, and psychological sources to explore multiple levels of causality of developmental phenomena" (1994; xv).

I have a leaning towards sociocultural theory because it has been greatly responsible for revealing 'culture' and 'development' as inextricably entwined. Sociocultural method, in particular its facility in variously fore-grounding and backgrounding features of 'the big picture' on which one is focused, is also greatly appreciated (eg. Rogoff, 1995). The comprehensive (as opposed to eclectic) nature of such 'theory' being incorporated in the framework may be conceived of as providing a set of lenses that can be attached to a 'research camera' in various combinations. As a sociocultural approach enables one to keep the 'big picture' in view at all times, whilst focusing on selected smaller parts of it. Much like using modern cameras that allow you to decide what kind and which part of a view you want fore-grounded in the lens while ensuring that the rest does not end up all out of focus, or left out of the shot entirely (Rogoff, 1995). For example, the context as 'historical' as well as the context as 'social and cultural' can be kept in the research frame.

However, in general sociocultural perspectives do not explicitly recognise the political context. That is, ways that dimensions of power intersect with the psychology of 'development and learning' are not commonly acknowledged. As well as acknowledging that whatever developmental phenomena is focused on is inseparable from a greater sociocultural whole, including issues of power, I want a methodological and theoretical framework that appreciates I am present in 'the big picture'. In a sense rather than being behind the camera, I am in the camera-shot itself.

I have also endeavoured to locate Kaupapa Māori at the base of research. It is argued that what such an approach requires is more than a 'taking for granted' of the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language and worldviews. It involves recognition of bias and subjectivity as inherent to this as much as to any other approach. However, unlike many conventional theoretical and research approaches, it treats such bias and subjectivity not simply as an obstacle to be minimised or overcome but rather as what needs to be openly acknowledged and demonstrated. By openly acknowledging the values and experiences that affect our work as researchers and writers, "we expose our work to a kind of scrutiny that more mainstream work avoids" (Fox & Pilleltensky, 1997; 15).

In order to develop Kaupapa Māori research and theory in relation to the study of development that are Māori-useful and safe, a critical sense of how social sciences such as Psychology have impacted on our history and our culture is called for. We need to identify aspects that have potential to act as dangerous and dis-empowering frameworks. Conversely we also need to identify whether there are theory and research approaches contained within such a field that may be used as tools in positive and empowering ways.

Critical Psychological Perspectives

'Critical psychology' as a generic label for developments occurring across a range of psychological fields, has emerged out of internal disenchantment and external criticism of psychology, some of which has been outlined above. Many contemporary theoretical movements, such as anti-colonialism, feminism and post-modernism have influenced the development of critical psychology. Critical psychology approaches in the field conventionally known as developmental psychology, as well as critical approaches being used in other disciplines to address issues of colonisation and de-colonisation, are uncovering theoretical and conceptual ways of working which are potentially very useful in studying and understanding Māori development and learning.

A fundamental concern shared by 'critical psychologists' working across the range of psychological areas is the evaluation of "theories and practices of psychology in terms of how they maintain an unjust and unsatisfying status quo." (Prilleltensky & Fox, 1997;3). Critical psychology generally draws on 'critical theory' that has its roots in the Frankfurt school and shares common elements underlying 'critical theory' approaches. These elements reflect emancipatory agendas, commitment to change and desire to address injustices and inequalities (Gibson, 1986). Critical theory approaches have also contributed significantly to articulation of Kaupapa Māori theory.

Prilleltensky and Fox (1997) describe values that critical psychologists generally identify as of key importance. These include; social justice, self-determination and participation, human wellbeing and diversity. They also outline a number of central concerns that critical psychology aims to address, including;

1) Conventional psychology's pre-occupation with individualism;
2) Psychology's role in the identification and privileging of values and norms of the 'powerful', and 'dominant' groups;
3) Power disparities and our own roles as 'psychologists' in oppression.

A requisite for critical psychological research or applied practice is an explicit recognition of 'subjectivity'. That is, the practice of critical psychology involves identification of the subjective nature of one's efforts. Working as a critical psychologist requires acknowledging the degree to which moral values, political allegiances, and personal and professional experience affect choices made and positions taken. This extends to ensuring work one engages in should be morally defensible (Prilleltensky & Fox, 1997).

From a critical psychological view, 'subjectivity' and 'intersubjectivity' have significance as psychological terms that extend way beyond notions around the perceiving self and around psychological interaction. Black England-based academic Amina Mama (1995; 1) describes her use of the concept of subjectivity "instead of the psychological terms 'identity' and 'self'" to indicate her rejection "of the dualistic notion of psychological and social spheres as essentially separate territories: one internal and one external to the person.".

'Subjectivity' has been used to look at how relative positions of power and powerlessness that a group may hold within society affects the way individuals perceive their personal societal positions. In this sense, there is overlap with more sociological approaches in 'critical theory' (Gibson, 1986; Giroux, 1983). This is unsurprising, given the previously mentioned over-lapping genealogy of German critical psychology and critical theory - their shared geographical, intellectual and cultural origins. I think the relevance of subjectivity as conceptualised in terms of power is in its potential usefulness for trying to understand the wide variations in responses of indigenous, colonised peoples to the positioning of their cultures in contemporary societies.

This is illustrated for example in varied reactions to indigenous-driven interventions, including the range of Māori responses to the emergence of Kura Kaupapa Māori.

The notion of metasubjectivity in critical psychological methodology (e.g. Mama, 1995) overlaps with discussions and approaches to Kaupapa Māori research in the field of Māori education (e.g. Bishop, 1996; L. Mead, 1996; L. Smith, 1991). In summary, these relate to questions about relationships between the 'researcher', the 'researched' and the research itself. These relate to issues about who defines, designs and controls research. In criticalpsychological research, shared metasubjectivity between the 'researcher' and 'researched' is a necessary element.

Metasubjectivity has implications for generalisation of research findings or outcomes. Rather than generalisation being seen as a closed system of concrete-abstract, generalisation is located within knowledge sharing between research participants. It is premised on the assumption that results will not be simply developing knowledge about the researched for general(ised) dissemination and discussion, but will develop knowledge for the researched. Generalisation occurs when communication between 'researchers' and 'researched' is made possible through the researched appropriating necessary theoretical structures. This also entails that any 'problem' being investigated needs to be a problem for the researched, not about the researched. This doesn't necessarily mean that the researched initially or explicitly identify the research problem, but that they too understand it as a problem, and that in understanding the problem, working to identify solutions is in their interests.

From this position, any form of deception is not considered an appropriate characteristic of research that involves 'subjects' as co-investigators, although of course there is still the possibility of co-investigators deceiving the primary researchers! However in this kind of research, 'subjects' have a vital and personal interest in learning about problems or issues of interest. Part of the research task involves working to increase knowledge and understandings of 'subjects' about a particular issue or problem. It also involves working to increase the likelihood of productive actions and change, thus incentives for deception are minimised.

It has been observed that in conventional or mainstream psychology attempts to intervene in social inequities and injustices, energy tends to be focused on trying to 'fix' individual problems, rather than on tackling structural, institutional and societal ones (e.g. Fox & Prilleltensky, 1997). Psychological endeavour aimed at making change often involves supporting minor reforms, rather than radical change. As an alternative across the range of psychological fields, 'critical psychology' approaches are not easy approaches, given the fundamental mission to facilitate change; not only in the field of psychology but also in society.

According to Tolman (1994; 144) psychology needs to be about producing;

the kind of knowledge that individual human beings need in order to expand their real possibilities for meaningful participation in the collective regulation of the conditions covering their own lives. Only in this way can psychology become genuinely critical.

In Search for a Psychology that Reflects Māori Realities and Answers the Needs of Māori Society

(modified from Enriquez, 1989; 105)

To continue addressing the challenge described initially, to what extent can psychological theory and method be Māori-useful in the study of Māori development and learning? To misquote Tolman (1994), how do we ensure that developmental psychology in Aotearoa-New Zealand does not remain yet another discipline about us, but rather operates as a discipline for us?

Across a range of disciplines, growing numbers of Māori researchers are engaged in a process of developing 'Māori centred' as opposed to 'Māori friendly' theory and praxis. In a discussion around schooling and notions of difference, Patricia Johnston defines 'Māori friendly' as that which focuses predominantly upon "sensitising environments to the cultural needs of Māori students" and aims at improving "the life chances of Māori students through the sensitising process" (1998; 179). 'Māori centred' schooling places "Māori at the centre; it recognises structural (as well as cultural) dynamics and locates them as pivotal to addressing Māori educational under-achievement (1998; 174). The stance of Köhanga Reo as a whānau education provision and Kura Kaupapa Māori as a compulsory schooling provision is that Māori knowledge and cultural values and practices are their core.

Kaupapa Māori theorising has arisen out of such 'Māori centred' approaches to education and to other institutionalised systems in contemporary Aotearoa-New Zealand. Kaupapa Māori theory continues to develop out of flax roots initiatives that have emerged in response to Māori cultural, linguistic and educational aspirations. As 'theory' and 'transformative praxis', kaupapa Māori exists as much as cultural practice, as it does as theory and as structural intervention that makes space for cultural practice (G. Smith, 1997).

Taina Pohatu (1996) argues that kaupapa Māori praxis should not be limited to the revitalisation of language, knowledge and culture within contexts of formal schooling, but needs to be extended into the socialisation of these within so-called informal contexts such as home and whānau (see also G. Smith, 1997; 98).

Thus Kaupapa Māori doesn't function simply as a theoretical framework, although it provides theoretical direction and underpins research agenda (L. Mead, 1996). It is lived philosophy within many Māori homes, whānau, education and other Māori contexts. It certainly imbues many sociocultural contexts in which I live and of which I am a part. This article also explores to what extent psychological theory and research methods can be integrated with theory that has an essential element which is simultaneously Māori, transformative and lived. The rise of Kaupapa Māori theory has implications in efforts occurring world-wide to develop indigenous theoretical frameworks for the understanding and discussion of learning and development that often cut across a range of traditional western disciplines and fields (e.g. Cajete, 1994, Enriquez, 1989, Pere, 1994).

Is one of the paths ahead the formation of 'Kaupapa Māori Developmental Psychology' as another related field of study and research? When met with charges of academic imperialism, and challenges to make their respective fields less dangerous and more relevant for Māori, some academics within psychological fields have shrugged them off on the grounds that there "is no such thing as Māori psychology". What they generally mean is that there is nothing presented as 'Māori psychology' in forms that they accept as 'legitimate' and 'valid' academic knowledge. A substantial written body of psychological literature about Māori, for Māori, and through the medium of Māori language has yet to be developed. However,

[a] strict adherence to the union-card criterion of a psychologist would of course exclude not only a sizeable number of eminent thinkers in the Western tradition and scholars who obtained their degrees in history or anthropology in the specialized West, but also the unwritten but no less real psychologies of peoples who may not even have a tradition of publishing journal articles in psychology to speak of. The validity of unwritten psychologies does not depend on the extent and manner of their articulation.

Contemporary western society holds the written word in high regard. This reverence contributes to ignorance and dismissal of the knowledge of cultures for which oratory may be held in similar high regard, for which literatures exist in non-written forms or for whom print literacy in their language is a recent practice. The dearth of written literature does not mean that Māori psychological models and concepts do not exist and are not valid and relevant.

However there are examples of Māori language being used in the identification and discussion of Māori psychological and developmental concepts. Many of these examples are authored by non-Māori or sourced to historical descriptions of traditional Māori, also written by non-Māori (e.g. Best, 1929; Sadchev, 1990; Smith, J. 1981). Linda Smith (L. Mead 1996) again provides an in-depth analysis of such examples. However writers such as Makareti, (1938), Tuki Nepe (1991) and Rose Pere (1982) provide insider discussions of Māori concepts linked to socialisation, development and learning, although for the most part through the medium of English.

Herein lies one dilemma. The dangers of researching, synthesising and communicating culturally valued knowledge and theoretical constructs through a high-status colonial language cannot be overstated. Issues relating to the development of written literature in te reo Māori, (e.g. Garlick, 1998) are as relevant when discussing an academic literature for psychology as they are when discussing literature for Māori children. Furthermore, many Māori audiences for writings on 'Māori psychology' understand and are literate in English. However, growing numbers of us are developing deeper understandings in te reo Māori and if we 'don't use it we are in danger of losing it'. The need to reach an audience, contrasted with the need to validate and utilise the language, is being acknowledged in some Māöri academic writing (e.g. Melbourne, 1991; Rei, 1998). Personally, while the desire and ideal is to present articles such as this in te reo Māori, I do not always feel capable or confident about writing in my first language of literacy, English, let alone my native but second language, Māori.

Many Māori students and educators with whom I have worked have commented that the developmental psychology they were expected to learn as part of their academic apprenticeship failed to acknowledge and account for development of spiritual domains. This is one site where theorising is limited, or where the primary focus is on religious, church and faith-related aspects of spirituality (e.g. Myers, 1997). The spiritual domain is viewed as critical for optimal Māori development (Nepe, 1991; Pere, 1994, 1997). Its significance is referred to explicitly in the philosophy of Kura Kaupapa Māori, 'Te Aho Matua'.

One of the difficulties identified in Serge Moscovici's foreword to Paul Heelas and Andrew Lock's (1981; ix)

Kia mau ki te aka matua: Researching Māori Development and Learning

Margie Hohepa

'Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropology of the Self' is "how to ascertain the domain of the psychological". "Psychology is bounded by culture and evolves with history, so varying from societies in which the individual is the psychological to those in which psychology is taken away from the human self". They argue that the psychologies of some cultures (societies or civilisations) are constructed within a ternary framework that includes the internal world of the individual, the external world and the spiritual, psychic world. Western psychological theories are essentially conceived in a binary cultural framework of exterior and interior worlds.

On the surface, the study of indigenous psychologies looked as if it could be effectively drawn on to describe and theorise about Māori development and significant Māori psychological aspects, such as wairua, mauri, hinengaro. However in Heelas and Lock's book discussions of such aspects fall under the label of Māori as an 'exotic culture'. Furthermore, studies of various cultures' psychologies in this vein have drawn heavily on anthropology. As an area of study described as 'falling between the disciplines of anthropology and psychology', there is a very real possibility of it being an 'aka taepa'. Māori theorists such as Linda Smith (L. Mead; 1996) and Tereki Stewart (1995) have critically discussed problems that anthropology and psychology have posed to Māori. Stewart proposed that the biggest challenge facing various approaches to the study of indigenous psychologies is that they "predominantly represent attempts by non-indigenous authors to capture what it means to be 'indigenous' and as a consequence they have contributed to the prescribing of 'indigenous' identities by voices external to the group being studied" (1995; 58).

Enriquez' book on indigenous psychology (as opposed to psychologies) represents an alternative approach under the label 'Indigenous Psychologies'. Rather than setting out to describe the Phillipine psyche as a particular indigenous psychological type, he details the development of psychology as an academic discipline in the Philippines. His discussion involves the examination of its colonial roots, tracing these to northern America, Germany, Spain and Belgium, back into the Philippines and through to the development of "Sikolohiyang Pilipino", Philippine Psychology. Enriquez' work signals an alternative approach to indigenous psychology - one by indigenous people themselves who are committed to political, economic and cultural development of their communities (Stewart, 1995).

Enriquez (1989) describes the development of psychological thought in the Philippines as a movement involving three primary areas of protest. Firstly, protest against a psychology that maintained the colonial status of the Filipino mind. This is seen as a move towards the decolonisation of the Filipino psyche and a stage of the development of national consciousness. Secondly, a move against the imposition of psychologies developed in and appropriate to other countries and societies, and finally against a psychology employed in exploiting the masses. The move to develop a liberating psychology resulted in the strategic use of Filipino language as a medium for researching and describing Philippine realities in order to develop a psychological literature of the Filipino people and to identify and rediscover indigenous concepts.

Tereki Stewart's (1995) theoretical model of research and knowledge production for 'indigenous psychology' proposes the use of other-culture theories/methods/concepts as part of a process that remains under the control of indigenous groups themselves. This model identifies the importance of recognising "sociopolitical considerations through critical analysis".

Indigenous people endeavouring to create proactive and emancipatory psychologies in support of their goals and aspirations have taken issue with the relevance and appropriateness of western academic approaches to psychology. The existence of differential power relations contained within the discipline is also identified as being at least of equivalent concern.

I am searching for ways that 'developmental psychology' might be used effectively in the support of particular Māori aspirations to which I also adhere. At the same time I take a kaupapa Māori position, that includes not only viewing 'Māori knowledge, beliefs and practices' as valid and legitimate and fundamental to optimal Māori development and wellbeing, but also as open to informed, sensitive examination and debate. Rather than working from a perspective that sees non-western, colonised cultures such as Māori as 'recipients or targets of culture flow' (Enriquez, 1989; 71), it is one of seeing Māori culture as dynamic, active and selective. This dynamism and selectivity extends to our engagements with theories, practices and concepts of a range of social sciences, including those grouped under the term psychology.

Focusing on development and learning, the figure below attempts to illustrate this perspective of Māori engagement with developmental psychology. The relationship is not visualised as a linear one, where non-Māori psychological theory and technology impacts on Māori attempts to study, theorise and optimise development and learning at a specific, staged point in a sequenced process. Rather, the relationship is seen as

one in which there is potential for reciprocal engagement and impact at many given points. Four possible points are illustrated.

What the model is attempting to show is that it is a relationship that involves multi-directional seepage, an exchanging and interchanging. Indigenous approaches beyond being culturally appropriate, can contribute to the revision of western theories (Gulerce, in Gergen, Gulerce, Lock & Misra, 1996). The model represents a multi-dimensional interrelationship that involves interaction within, without and between any given points in the process.

For any particular research agenda, each dimension provides mechanisms or benchmarks for checking and seeking resolutions for tensions that may arise. Such tensions include identifying processes of accountability to Māori as well as by Māori as researchers. The interrelationships the model portrays are played out within a socio-political context that historically has positioned 'Māori', including Māori development and learning, in destructive and dis-empowering ways. As a result, while it is being argued that Māori approaches to development and learning have been of influence at least in Aotearoa-New Zealand, if not internationally, the direction of influence has been severely skewed in favour of 'psychology'. The reasons for this rest not only in our history of colonial experience, but also in the history of the discipline itself.

He Korero Whakamutunga

A Kaupapa Māori framework for the study of Māori development and learning involves at least the following:

(i) identifying, critically examining and validating Māori knowledge and conceptualisations of development and learning;
(ii) describing and explaining Māori development, learning and behaviour in ways that legitimate and 'normalise' Māori;
(iii) optimising or improving development and learning in areas that Māori identify as critical or essential;
11
(iv) identifying and challenging the role 'developmental psychology' along with other psychologies and social sciences, have had in negatively positioning and portraying Māori development and learning;
(v) interrogating research processes and methods from a Kaupapa Māori position.

It necessitates developing a notion of psychology as a tool, not a tool for psychology's sake, but rather for use in efforts to facilitate the achievement of Māori visions and directions. Existing tools of mainstream or conventional psychology can be used in attempting to develop a Māori approach to developmental psychology. Psychological theory, methods and analyses can be used. But the research and theoretical 'culture' into which they are co-opted is arguably different. Likewise, the purposes to which they are put are located in Māori envisioning of alternative futures, in the process of being realised.

References

Best, E. (1929). *The Whare Kōhanga and its lore.* Wellington: Government Printer.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative research stories.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Burman, E. (1994). *Deconstructing developmental psychology.* London: Routledge.

Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of indigenous education.* Colorado: Kivaki Press.

Enriquez, V. G. (1989) . *Indigenous psychology and national consciousness.* Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Fox, D. & Prilleltensky, I. (1997). *Critical psychology: An introduction.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Garlick, J. (1998). *Māori language publishing: some issues.* Wellington: Huia Publishers, 1998.

Gergen, K., Gulerce, A., Lock, A. & Misra, G. (1996) .*Psychological science in cultural context.* American Psychologist, 51,5, 496-503.

Gibson, R. (1986). *Critical theory and education.* London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Giroux, H. A. (1983). *Critical theory and educational practice.* Vic.: Deakin University Press.

Greenfield, P. & Cocking, R. (1994). (Eds) *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development.* Lawrence Erlbaum Associates: Hillsdale, New Jersey.

Heelas, P. & Lock, A. (Eds) (1981). *Indigenous psychologies: The anthropology of the self.* London: Academic Press Inc.

Johnston, P. M. G. (1998). *Te Ao Rereke - Education policy and Māori under-achievement: Mechanisms of power and difference.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Auckland.

Makereti. (1938). *Old-time Māori.* Victor Gollancz Ltd., London.

Mama, A. (1995). *Beyond the masks: Race, gender and subjectivity.* London and New York: Routledge.

Mead, L.T.T.R. (1996). *Nga aho o te kākahu matauranga: The multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Auckland.

Mead, H. M. (1996). *Ko Tawhaki nui-a-Hema : ana mahi whakahirahira.* Auckland: Reed.

Myers, B. K. (1997). *Young children and spirituality*. London: Routledge.

Nepe, T. (1991). *E hao nei e tënei reanga: Te Toi Huarewa Tipuna.* Unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Auckland.

Pere, R. (1982). *Ako: Concepts of learning in the Māori tradition.* Published as a Monograph by the Te Köhanga Reo National Trust Board, May 1994.

Pere, R. (1997). *Te Wheke: A celebration of infinite wisdom.* Ao Ako Global Learning New Zealand Ltd.

Pohatu, T. W. (1996). *I tipu ai tātau i ngā turi o o tātau mātua tïpuna: Transmission and acquisition processes within kāwai whakapapa.* Unpublished Master of Education Thesis, University of Auckland.

Prilleltensky, I. & Fox, D. (1997). Introducing critical psychology: Values, assumptions and the status quo. In D. Fox & I. Prilleltensky, (Eds,) *Critical psychology: An introduction.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Rogoff, B. (1995). *Observing sociocultural activity on three planes: Participatory appropriation, guided participation, and apprenticeship.* In J. V. Wertsch, P. del

Rio, & A. Alvarez, (Eds) *Sociocultural studies of mind.* Cambridge Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 139-164.

Sadchev, P. S. (1987). Personality development in traditional Māori society and the impact of modernization, *Psychiatry,* 53, 3, 85-111.

Smith, G. H. (1997). *The development of Kaupapa Māori: Theory and Praxis.* Unpublished PhD Thesis, Education, University of Auckland.

Smith, J. Self and experience in Māori culture. In P. Heelas and A. Lock, (eds) *Indigenous Psychologies: The Anthropolgy of the Self.* London: Academic Press, 1981.

Smith, L. T. (1991). Te rapunga i te ao marama: Māori perspectives on research in education. In J. R. Morss & T. J. Linzey (Eds.) *The politics of human learning development and educational research.* Auckland: Longman Paul.

Stewart, T. (1995). *Ka pü te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi: Contributions to 'Indigenous Psychology' in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* Unpublished Master of Arts Thesis, University of Auckland.

Tolman, C. W. (1994). *Psychology, society, and subjectivity: An introduction to German critical psychologists.* London: Routledge.

Kaupapa Māori Epidemiology

Shirley Simmonds, Bridgette Robson,
Fiona Cram and Gordon Purdie

Kaupapa Māori epidemiology

Shirley Simmonds, Bridget Robson, Fiona Cram and Gordon Purdie

Epidemiology has a powerful role in determining the health futures of individuals and populations within a country. Epidemiological methods are used to generate data that informs policy and planning, monitors progress, determines resource allocation and identifies priorities within the health system. These tools can sometimes inadvertently better serve the interests of the numerically dominant populations rather than those of indigenous peoples.

Kaupapa Māori theory centralises the needs and aspirations of Māori in research and provides a theoretical basis that is Māori initiated, defined and controlled. A Kaupapa Māori epidemiology would be responsive to the demographic circumstances of the Māori population and challenge currently used statistical methods in order to better serve the interests of indigenous peoples.

This paper takes a rights-based approach in exploring the interface between Kaupapa Māori theory and epidemiology. It will draw on research in this area, in particular a critique of a commonly used statistical tool, age standardisation.

Introduction

Māori have the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health.[1,2] As the indigenous population of Aotearoa,* Māori have the right to experience, without discrimination, the continual improvement of their economic and social conditions.[3] Furthermore, the Treaty of Waitangi, with its guarantee of equity, places additional emphasis on governmental obligations to ensure that the rights of Māori are upheld.[4,5] Poor health status of Māori can be considered a breach of the Treaty.[6] These collective rights confer upon the indigenous population of Aotearoa the authority to monitor the Crown and the impact of government policy on Māori and non-Māori Health.[7,8]

The pursuit of equity is an explicit goal of the New Zealand health system today.[9,10] Statistical information on disparities in mortality, morbidity, health service receipt, utilisation and quality is used to monitor ethnic inequities in Aotearoa.

Epidemiological data guides strategic direction in health at local and national levels, and is used to prioritise planning, purchasing and funding of health services. Accurate statistics are vital for revealing ethnic disparities and evaluating progress towards equity.[11,12] Indigenous populations have the right to information as accurate and valid as possible.[8] Unfortunately, methods that generate health statistics are often utilised without consideration of potential unequal impacts on different ethnic groups.

Epidemiology is largely a quantitative science where statistical power increases with a greater sample size. This can automatically disadvantage indigenous populations that usually comprise a smaller proportion of a country's population. The concept of 'equal explanatory power' was developed following this realisation.[13] Although Māori constitute approximately 15% of the total population of Aotearoa,[14] health surveys should be designed to have sufficient statistical power to analyse Māori data to the same degree of differentiation as non-Māori data.[13,15]

Crucial to producing health disparities data, the accurate and consistent measurement of ethnicity has been difficult to achieve in Aotearoa. The importance of self-definition for generating accurate statistics[16-21] and the right to self-definition[23,24] is recognised nationally and internationally in indigenous research. In previous research, we have advocated the right to selfdefinition, seeking to improve ethnicity data collection for use in statistics.[6,22]

Māori have the right to live in a world where their own protocols, beliefs and practices are the norm. A retrospective cohort study has demonstrated how research outcomes can be enhanced by continuing to uphold Māori values and processes throughout the course of the study.[25]

hThese studies critique epidemiological methods that serve to marginalise Māori and risk reinforcing colonial power. Applying an indigenous lens to these methods can provide an analytical perspective necessary to determine whether an epidemiological methodology sufficiently meets the rights of Māori, or whether indigenous realities are being subsumed by those of the total population.

Kaupapa Māori epidemiology

Shirley Simmonds, Bridget Robson, Fiona Cram and Gordon Purdie

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori theory centralises the needs and aspirations of Māori in research and provides a theoretical basis that is Māori initiated, defined and controlled. It denotes a theoretical positioning that incorporates the historical, social, cultural and political context of Māori, and critiques how Māori are represented in research.[26]

Persisting health inequities[7,27] indicate that the health system and medical research is failing to meet the needs of Māori . Kaupapa Māori research has therefore extended into epidemiology through the recognition of a need for new methodologies that prioritise Māori needs and aspirations.[12,28]

Firmly grounded in the Māori world,[29] Kaupapa Māori theory is concerned with the pursuit of indigenous autonomy.[30] Applying this theory in health research empowers Māori to operationalise self-determination and exercise the right to monitor the effects of government policies which impact on health. The Kaupapa Māori paradigm reflects a Māori world view[31] and acknowledges indigenous realities in a modern context.

Kaupapa Māori epidemiology therefore recognises the demographic situation of the Māori population. Even a cursory glance at the population pyramids displayed in Figure 1 reveals the difference in age structures between Māori and non-Māori. The Māori population is very youthful, with more than half under 25 years of age.[32] Conversely, the non-Māori population, which consists largely of Pākehā,† displays a much older age distribution. Figure 1b shows that a large proportion is aged 20–45 years, with fewer children and more elderly than Māori.

Age Standardisation

In order to avoid misinterpretation of data, such differences in population age structures must be accounted for when comparing health outcomes.[33,34] Direct age standardisation is one technique often used when monitoring ethnic disparities in Aotearoa.

In direct age standardisation, the age-specific rates of mortality or morbidity from the study populations are multiplied by a weighting factor for the corresponding age group in a standard population. The expected number of cases are then summed to obtain the overall standardised rate for each population.[35] Comparisons can therefore be drawn between populations with differing age structures. The resulting summary measures are artificial and have application only when making comparisons.

Segi's world population was devised in the late 1950s.[36,37] In 2000, the World Health Organization (WHO) proposed another world standard,[38] which is also now in common use. Figure 1 shows that both Segi's and WHO populations are 'older' than the Māori population. Segi's is a much 'younger' population than WHO and more similar in structure to the Māori population, whereas WHO is more comparable to the non-Māori population.

In general, standardising health data to a younger standard population will place more weight on events such as childhood deaths and disease, youth suicide and vehicle accidents which occur more frequently in younger age groups.[34] Similarly, applying an 'older' standard population will give greater weight to events more common in older ages, such as deaths from cancer or cardiovascular disease.[35,38] This was demonstrated recently when the US changed to an older population standard, giving the misleading appearance that coronary disease 'more than doubled' in a two-year period.[39]

This marked difference in age structures, the recent introduction of the WHO world standard in 2000 and the effects of changing the standard used within a country has generated specific research questions. What difference does it make standardising health data to different standard populations? Is there a differential impact on representation of Māori health data? Is it feasible to develop an indigenous standard population?

To study these questions our research group compared the performance of a Māori population standard with Segi's and WHO by standardising Māori and non-Māori mortality data to the three standard populations. We found that the choice of standard affects the magnitude of mortality rates, rate ratios and rate differences, the relative ranking of causes of death and the relative width of confidence intervals.[34] Standardising to the WHO population, and to a lesser degree Segi's, more closely reflected non-Māori rates, thus giving more weight to the non-Māori population experience.

The potential for an indigenous standard to be applied to other ethnic groups was explored in a case study using health data for the Pacific population‡ in Aotearoa. The Pacific age structure is very similar to the Māori population, with slightly more children and less elderly (Figure 1e). Both mortality and morbidity data was standardised using either Segi's, WHO or the Māori population standard. We found that use of either Segi's or WHO gives less weight to health events that occur in the younger Pacific age group, and use of the Māori standard more closely reflects the importance of these diseases for Pacific health.[40]

† New Zealand European

‡ The Pacific population are New Zealand residents who self identify with any of the following groups: Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island, Niuean, Fijian or any other island in the South Pacific apart from Aotearoa.

In short, the choice of a standard population makes a difference. While it would be premature to implement an indigenous standard without further testing, this research indicates a frequently used methodology that favours the non-Māori demographic situation, and could potentially contribute to policy decisions with unintended consequences for Māori and Pacific peoples.

Conclusion

Epidemiological tools require closer scrutiny to assess their appropriation to indigenous populations. Kaupapa Māori epidemiology extends the current boundaries of Kaupapa Māori research into the realm of epidemiology where it also has quantitative application.

The indigenous right to self-determination and self-definition provides the moral imperative for the development of robust epidemiological practices and for critiquing currently used methods that serve to marginalise Māori and privilege the numerically dominant population in Aotearoa.

Through Kaupapa Māori epidemiology, indigenous peoples are further empowered to facilitate positive change and realise their right to a brighter and more equitable health future.

† New Zealand European

‡ The Pacific population are New Zealand residents who self identify with any of the following groups: Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island, Niuean, Fijian or any other island in the South Pacific apart from Aotearoa.

Figure 1: Population age pyramids for Māori, non-Māori, non-Pacific, Segi's, WHO world and Pacific populations

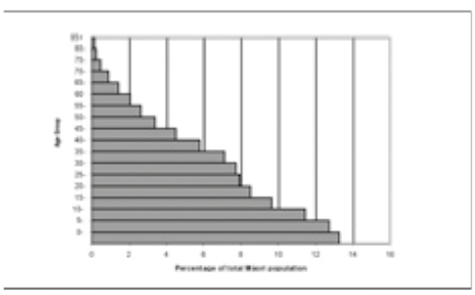


Figure 1a: Māori population age pyramid 1996–2001 Census average

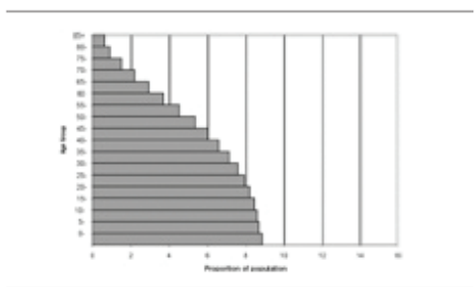


Figure 1d: WHO world population age pyramid

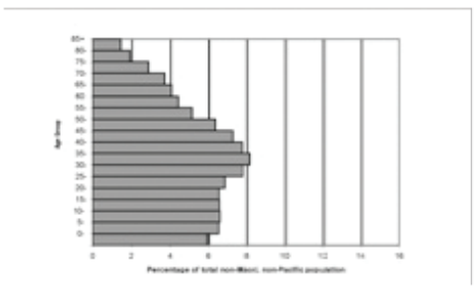


Figure 1b: Non-Māori, non-Pacific population age pyramid 1996–2001 Census average

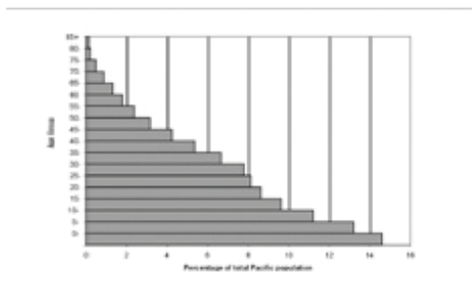


Figure 1c: Pacific population age pyramid 1996–2001 Census average

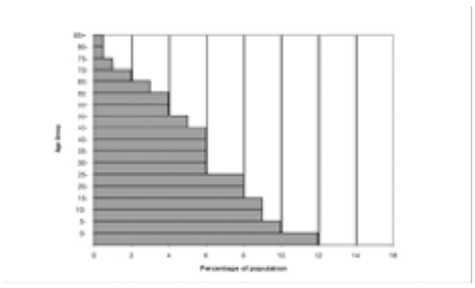


Figure 1e: Segi's population age pyramid

References

1. Hunt P. The human right to the highest attainable standard of health: New opportunities and challenges. Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, 2006;100:603-607.

2. United Nations. Implementation of General Assembly Resolution 60/251 of 15 March 2006 Entitled "Human Rights Council". Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right of everyone to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, Paul Hunt. Geneva: United Nations, 2007.

3. United Nations. United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Geneva, 2007.

4. CERD. Consideration of reports submitted by States Parties under Article 9. Consideration of reports submitted by States Parties under Article 9 of the Convention - Concluding observations of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Vol. 2008. Geneva: United Nations, 2007.

5. Durie M. Whaiora: M-aori Health Development. Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1994.

6. Robson B, Reid P. Ethnicity matters: review of the measurement of ethnicity in official statistics. Māori perspectives paper for consultation. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand, 2001. www.stats.govt.nz/analytical-reports/review-measurement-ethnicity/Māori-perspective

7. Reid P, Robson B. Understanding health inequities. In: Robson B, Harris R, eds. Hauora: Māori Standards of Health IV. A study of the years 2000-2005. Wellington: Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 2007;3-10.

8. Robson B. Meeting the statistical rights of Indigenous Peoples. IAOS Satellite Meeting. Wellington: Eru Pōmare Māori Health Research Centre, 2005.

9. King A. The New Zealand Health Strategy. Ministry of Health 2000.

10. Ministry of Health. Reducing inequalities in health. Wellington: Ministry of Health, 2002.

11. McPherson K M, Harwood M, K MH. Ethnicity, equity and quality: lessons from New Zealand (Nga Mātawaka, nga āhua tika me nga painga: nga ākoranga no Aotearoa). British Medical Journal 2003;23(327):443-444.

12. Statistics New Zealand. Towards a Māori statistics framework: a discussion document. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand, 2002.

13. Robson B. Mana whakamārama. Equal explanatory power. Wellington: Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 2002. www.hauora.Māori.nz

14. Cormack D. The Māori population. In: Robson B, Harris R, eds. Hauora: Māori Standards of Health IV. Wellington: Te RōpuRangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 2007;11-20.

15. Ministry of Health. The New Zealand Health Monitor: A ten-year cycle of health-related surveys. Public Health Intelligence, Occasional Bulletin. Wellington: Ministry of Health 2002.

16. Anderson M, Anderson I, Smylie J, Crengle S, Ratima M. Measuring the health of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island Peoples. A background paper for the project "Action oriented indicators of health and health systems development for indigenous peoples in Australia, Canada and New Zealand", 2006.

17. Anderson M, Smylie J, Anderson I, Sinclair R, Crengle S. First Nations, Metis and Inuit health indicators in Canada. A background paper prepared for the project: "Action oriented indicators of health and health systems development for indigenous peoples in Australia, Canada and New Zealand" University of Saskatchewan 2006.

18. Gerrish K. Researching ethnic diversity in the British NHS: Methodological and practical concerns. Journal of Advanced Nursing 2000;31(4):918-925.

19. Nazroo J. Patterns of identity among ethnic minority people: Diversity and commonality. Ethnic and Racial Studies 2003;26(5).

20. Bartlett J, Madariaga-Vignudo L, O'Neill J, Kuhnlein HV. Identifying indigenous peoples for health research in a global context: a review of perspectives and challenges. International Journal of Circumpolar Health 2007;66(4):287-307.

21. Taylor J. Indigenous people and indicators of wellbeing: An Australian perspective. Aboriginal Policy Research Conference. Meeting on indigenous peoples and indicators of well-being. Ottawa, Canada: United Nations, 2006.

22. Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare. Counting for nothing: understanding the issues in monitoring disparities in health. Social Policy Journal of New Zealand 2000;14:1-16. www.msd.govt.nz/publications/journal/14-July-2000

23. Dodson M. The end in the beginning: re(de)finding Aboriginality. In: Grossman M, ed. Blacklines: Contemporary critical writing by Indigenous Australians. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press;25-42.

24. United Nations. United Nations Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Vol. E/CN.4/SUB.2/1994/2/Add.1 (1994) United Nations, 1994.

25. Keefe V, Ormsby C, Robson B. Kaupapa Māori meets retrospective cohort. He Pukenga Kōrero 1995;5:12-17.

26. Smith LT. Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples. London & New York: Zed Books, 1999.

27. Ajwani S, Blakely T, Robson B, Tobias M, Bonne M. Decades of disparity: Ethnic mortality trends in New Zealand 1980-1999. Wellington: Ministry of Health and University of Otago, 2003. www.moh.govt.nz/moh.nsf/pagesmh/2355?Open

28. Smith L. Kaupapa Māori Health Research. Hui Whakapiripiri: A hui to discuss strategic directions for Māori health research Wellington School of Medicine: Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, 1996.

29. Smith L. Kaupapa Māori methodology: Our power to define ourselves. British Columbia: University of British Columbia, 1999. www.hauora.com/research

† New Zealand European
‡ The Pacific population are New Zealand residents who self identify with any of the following groups: Samoan, Tongan, Cook Island, Niuean, Fijian or any other island in the South Pacific apart from Aotearoa.

30. Smith G. Research issues related to Māori Education. Paper presented to NZARE Special Interest Conference, Massey University. The issue of research and Māori. Auckland: Research unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland, 1990.

31. Pihama L, Cram F, Walker S. Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Māori research. Canadian Journal of Native Education 2002;26:30-43.

32. Statistics New Zealand. Māori. 2001 Census of population and dwellings. Wellington: Statistics New Zealand, 2002.

33. Borman B. Standardising rates of disease. Wellington: Public Health Commission and Ministry of Health, 1996.

34. Robson B, Cram F, Purdie G, Simmonds S. Age standardisation – an indigenous standard? Emerging themes in Epidemiology 2007;4(3):1-11.

35. Bhopal R. Concepts of epidemiology: an integrated introduction to the ideas, theories, principles and methods of epidemiology. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

36. Segi M. Cancer mortality for selected sites in 24 countries (1950–1957). Sendai: Department of Public Health, Tohoku University of Medicine, 1960.

37. Waterhouse J, Muir C, Sharmugaratnam K, Powell J, eds. Cancer incidence in five continents IV. Vol. 42. Lyon: IARC Scientific Publications, 1982.

38. Ahmad O, Boschi-Pinto C, Lopez A, Murray C, Lozano R, Inoue M. Age standardization of rates: a new WHO standard. GPE Discussion Paper Series: no.31 World Health Organization, 2000.

39. Anderson A, Rosenberg H. Age standardization of death rates: implementation of the Year 2000 Standard. National Vital Statistics Reports 1998;47(3):1-16, 20.

40. Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare. Implications of an indigenous standard population for Pacific health data in Aotearoa. Wellington: Te Rōpu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare, Wellington School of Medicine, 2006.

Postcolonial Profiling of Indigenous Populations: Limitations and Responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

Preamble

A contradiction exists in the social construction of Indigenous populations in that the categories and contexts of postcolonial demography inevitably reflect social and economic institutions that frame the lives of the majority populations. Because such categories are rarely inclusive of Indigenous ways of being, key aspects of Indigenous sociality are either missing or misrepresented in official statistics. This paper examines the limitations of official statistics for social profiling of Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand. Using case studies, it describes ways in which Indigenous polities are themselves responding to these limitations by generating their own demographic profiles and social indicators as a form of community governance. Attention is also given to the ways in which official statistics might be 'indigenized' in order to better meet the needs of Indigenous communities and organisations.

Introduction

Despite chequered histories linking official statistics, demography and Indigenous policy, governments in the settler states of Australasia and North America continue to invest substantial time and resources in monitoring the wellbeing outcomes of Indigenous peoples. In recent decades governments in New Zealand and Australia have amassed a wealth of statistical data on Indigenous Māori and Aboriginal populations, and both peoples are a significant focus of population research and policy in their respective countries. However, a contradiction exists in the social construction of Indigenous populations in that the categories and contexts employed in this form of postcolonial demography inevitably reflect social and economic institutions that frame the lives of the majority populations. Because such categories are rarely inclusive of Indigenous ways of being, key aspects of Indigenous sociality are either missing or misrepresented in official statistics and the analyses derived from them.

In this paper we identify and critique the limitations of official statistics, and related demographic practices, for social profiling of Indigenous peoples in Australia and New Zealand. Using case studies from both countries, we illustrate some of the ways in which Indigenous polities are themselves responding to limitations by generating their own demographic profiles and social indicators as a form of community governance. Such an examination is timely. Within the discipline of demography, there is a growing awareness of the need to move beyond the well-worn paradigm of demographic transition theory, to embrace a "comprehensive demography" which explicitly addresses questions of causality at the intersection of population and development (Charbit & Petit, 2011). The emergence of a critical Indigenous demography, involving both Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers, has highlighted the epistemological and methodological shortcomings of applied demographic research on Indigenous peoples, and generated calls for more innovative approaches (Altman, 2009; Andersen, 2008; Axelsson et al., 2011; Kukutai, 2011b; Mako, 1998; Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009; Prout, 2011; Taylor, 2008, 2009, 2011; Walter, 2010; Wereta & Bishop, 2006). Indigenous communities and advocacy organisations have also expressed growing dissatisfaction with the ways in which they are constructed as populations within their settler states, as well as how their wellbeing is prioritised and reported on (United Nations, 2004, 2006; Wereta, 2002; Wereta & Bishop, 2006; Yu, 2011).

These appraisals, emanating from different sources, provide an opportune moment to critique the demography-policy nexus in two specific Indigenous contexts and to reflect on how Indigenous demography might be undertaken differently. To that end the case studies presented here – the Yawuru Knowing our Community survey in Broome, Western Australia, and the Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau in Auckland, New Zealand – illustrate the ways in which official statistics and the practice of demography might be fruitfully 'indigenized' to better meet the needs of Indigenous communities and organisations. More importantly, we argue, these projects offer compelling examples of how the historically fraught relationship between demography and Indigenous development can be productively reforged when Indigenous peoples are placed at the centre, rather than on the periphery, of the research process.

Constructing and Classifying Indigenous Populations

Critical perspectives on state practices of ethnic counting and classification are indispensible for understanding the context within which postcolonial demography operates. Such practices are important because they effectively determine how Indigenous populations are statistically constructed and subsequently reported on. Nowhere is this more evident than in the national population census. Although the counting of human populations has its roots in antiquity, the national census is a modern construct, emerging in the United States in 1790, and extending to much of the New World, including New Zealand and Australia, by the late 19th century.

Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

Today, the majority of the world's countries engage in some form of census-taking, its 'scientized' form discursively positioned as a universal and efficient mode of objective inquiry across countries with divergent histories and social conditions. Among social scientists, however, State practices of counting and classifying are more often understood as political acts that reflect and maintain inequalities in institutional power arrangements. Census-taking technologies and population statistics have thus been linked to bureaucratic control and surveillance; state-facilitated interventions upon the national citizenry; and elite goals of nation-building (Foucault, 1991; Hindess, 1973; Kertzer & Arel, 2002).

Within these critical perspectives, ethnic schemas are seen to play an important symbolic role in maintaining group hierarchies by portraying a particular vision of social reality congruent with the discourses and concerns of those in power. Such discourses include what an ideal society ought to look like; how it ought to function; and who should be included within the bounds of nationhood and citizenship (Andersen, 2008; Kertzer & Arel, 2002). One need not look far to find examples of how population data were utilised in efforts to civilise, assimilate and integrate Indigenous peoples. In New Zealand, for example, the statistical interest in Māori-European 'half-castes'[1] was clearly linked to colonial polices of racial amalgamation (Kukutai, 2011a). With time and effort it was anticipated that Māori would eventually lose their separate identity and become absorbed into what one government minister described as a "...white race with a slight dash of the finest coloured race in the world" (cited in Belich, 2001, p. 190).

The relative proportion of half-castes to Māori full-bloods was seen as an important indicator of the rate of amalgamation. As the Under Secretary of Native Affairs observed in the 1906 Census report (cited in Kukutai, 2011a, p. 37):

It is an idea of many people that the ultimate fate of the Māori race is to become absorbed in the European. Whether any tendency is shown in this direction must be gathered from the increase or decrease in the number of half-castes.

Likewise, in Australia, as recently as the 1930s it was expected by the State that indigenous people would disappear as a distinct population. This was to occur as a consequence of inexorable and excess mortality amongst so-called 'full-blood' indigenous people, as well as via the social reclassification of those considered 'half-caste' under a deliberate policy of cultural assimilation into mainstream society up until the 1960s (Smith, 1980).
Though egregious labels such as 'half-caste' may now be a thing of the past, the relationship between the presumed rational, scientific nature of official statistics and the socially constructed nature of the categories underpinning those enquiries continues to produce a particular set of challenges for postcolonial demography.

Like all disciplines, demography has its own peculiar view of what constitutes meaningful and valid research. As Caldwell (1996) observed in his seminal paper on demography and social science, demographers are interested in the central tendencies of groups; in minimizing sources of error; and in the production of "social facts" carefully assembled from quantitative data. There is a deep aversion to engaging in practices considered to be non-scientific (Caldwell, 1996). Perhaps because of this, demographers have generally been reluctant to admit to the subjective and social biases in their work – that is, to recognise that their social facts are built on categories that are politically informed and socially constructed. This tension is hardly new. As Hindess (1973, p. 47) argued forty years ago, the evaluation of social statistics for scientific purposes is always and necessarily a theoretical exercise, such that "... different theoretical problematics must produce different and sometimes contradictory evaluations of any given set of statistics." His dismissal of "true" categories as a "figment of the empiricist imagination" (p.40) served as a cautionary warning not to conflate statistical categories with the underlying social reality (see also Caldwell, 1996), but remains a challenge for postcolonial demography. A key point to note here is that, despite the move towards the adoption of self-identification of Indigenous status in the national censuses of most settler states, the State still controls the available demographic categories and, therefore, the prism through which indigenous sociality is statistically constructed. This control is the essence of postcolonial demography – a point elaborated further below.

[1]Prior to 1986, the census and other official data collections in New Zealand used the concept of blood quantum to capture group membership. With some exceptions, only those reported as 'half or more' Māori were statistically counted as part of the Māori population (for more, see Kukutai, 2011a; Pool, 1991).

Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

Postcolonial Demography in Australia and New Zealand

As distinct from postcolonial theories, which engage with and contest colonialism's discourses, power structures, and social hierarchies, postcolonial demographic profiling refers to the forms of applied demography that have emerged, mostly in the last 30 years, in support of attempts by the State to quantify indigenous peoples as a separately identified homogeneous population, and to respond to their perceived needs. The dilemma for appropriate measurement – an issue that demographers care deeply about - is that this form of liberal multiculturalism arises from a view of Indigenous particularity as a simple opposition to the dominant society (Kowal, 2010, p. 189-92). This, in turn, requires a mechanism for establishing difference in order to respond to it and the official device instituted for this purpose is the broad population binary Indigenous/non-Indigenous. Statistically, postcolonial logic requires that the official representation of Indigenous sociality is necessarily relational. The aim is not to give expression and substance to Indigenous difference, but simply to compare those aspects of it that the State feels it wants to influence. Along the way, much that is uniquely Indigenous in terms of economy, society and worldview is rendered invisible (Altman, 2009; Walter, 2010).

In both Australia and New Zealand, this binary has found impetus in recent times by first of all generating, and then sustaining, a policy discourse around 'Closing the Gaps' where the object of government policy towards Indigenous peoples is reduced to ensuring convergence across a range of key social indicators (Australian Government, 2009; Te Puni Kokiri, 1998, 2000). In this environment, the focus is on information that defines the 'other' based on a legal/analytical definition of Indigenous peoples and their attributes, as opposed to self-definitions that are more culturally-based. As Niezen (2003, p. 19) points out, this produces frustration for Indigenous peoples because of their historical and social diversity, and because the question of official definition now sets analysis against identity. Critics have thus argued that Gaps policies have little to do with enabling or empowering Indigenous peoples to live the sorts of lives that they want and value, but rather represent a continuation of historical policies of assimilation towards the European norm (Altman, 2009; Humpage & Fleras, 2001). While few dispute the importance of addressing Indigenous disadvantage, the problem with Gaps-type approaches is that contemporary forms of inequality are decoupled from the unequal institutional arrangements that structure the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the State, itself a legacy of colonialism. The solution thus becomes one of changing individual Indigenous behaviours and orientations (e.g., to lead healthier lifestyles, develop greater labour market attachments, and so forth), rather than addressing the fundamental power inequalities that continue to designate many Indigenous peoples as second class citizens in their own homelands.

In Australia, it is only relatively recently that Indigenous peoples have been made visible in official statistics. The constitutional referendum of 1967 that repealed a clause excluding Indigenous peoples on the basis of racial identification from the count of the Australian population opened the way for their separate enumeration. This coincided at the time with the wishes of Indigenous people to continue to be identified in the census but without 'distinctions of descent' (Rowse & Smith, 2010). The result was a self-identified race question in the 1971 census that (with slight modification) has formed the basis for constructing a consistent population binary ever since. The capacity to statistically identify Māori as a distinct population has been available since 1874, though the definition of who counts as Māori has been subject to much change (Kukutai, 2011a). To the extent that the enumeration of Indigenes in New Zealand and Australia is deemed 'successful' (i.e., is carried out in a manner consistent with scientific standards), the product of postcolonial demography is well-suited to the targeted provision of citizen entitlements. Crucially, though, it fails to provide for Indigenous peoples' interests in their inherent and proprietary rights expressed through customary forms of social and political organisation.

In Australia, these rights are increasingly manifest in the many forms of native title settlement and agreement-making that exist for incorporated land-holding groups (Tehan et al., 2006) as well as in widespread and associated configurations of post-classical Indigenous social organization that Sutton (2003) refers to as "families of polity" involving cognatic descent groups. These he describes as the most visible customary organisational structures of contemporary indigenous society enabling larger groupings into tribal units or language groups. Importantly, they are the sort of groupings that constitute the major structural element of public life in contemporary Australian indigenous society as manifest via widespread applications for native title determination. As such, they provide the means by which indigenous peoples express collective identities and seek to negotiate for their needs and aspirations including fundamental issues of recognition, inclusion and economic opportunity (Tehan et al., 2006, p. 3).

Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

In New Zealand, pre-European Indigenous forms of social and political organisation were likewise based on cognatic kinship groups. For Māori the most important of these were hapū (clans) which, from time to time, joined with others to form broader tribal groupings known as iwi[2]. The impacts of colonization, the large-scale alienation of collectively owned hapū land, and the intense rural-urban migration of Māori that occurred after World War II meant that by the 1960s "the tribe was largely an abstract concept" (Metge, 1964, p. 58). However, since the late 1980s, iwi (and to a lesser extent, hapū) have re-emerged as major economic and political institutions, driven largely by government policy and financial settlements relating to breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi[3] , and the historical alienation of Māori land and resources (Webster, 2002). The tribal renaissance – manifest in political power, economic influence, and increasing popularity through identification in statistical forums such as the census – means iwi are now a force to be reckoned with, even as Māori, as a people, continue to be disproportionately over-represented in all the negative social statistics (Walling, Small-Rodriguez & Kukutai, 2009; Webster, 2002).

In both countries, the shift to a post-settlement context has amplified the need for robust statistical data for kinship groups, as well as for urban and pan-tribal Indigenous associations. However, a significant irony is emerging in that, at a time when we see an unprecedented volume and range of data on something called 'the Indigenous population', mostly as a consequence of efforts by national statistics agencies, there remains a dearth of information on the various socio/cultural entities that make up those populations (Kukutai, 2011b; Taylor 2009, 2011; Walling, Small-Rodriguez & Kukutai, 2009; Wereta, 2002). As a consequence, in matters that are crucial to the interests of variously constituted Indigenous polities, we are increasingly information rich but invariably knowledge poor. The limited capacity of official data to capture the socially situated meanings of demographic events in Indigenous communities is well illustrated by ethnographic research on ageing and population mobility in Australia, briefly described below.

Chronological Versus Social Age

Age is the classic control variable of demography. Use of chronological age provides life-stage categories such as infants, school-age, school-to-work transition age, prime working age, and old or retirement age and these are routinely linked to demographic events because of the shifts in biology and social expectations that they imply. But as Taylor (2009) has shown, in many Indigenous societies in Australia, especially in remote areas, age is just as likely to be a social category constructed around age grades, age sets and generation sets whose cultural meaning reflects social status and responsibilities and indicates whether a person is married or unmarried, initiated or uninitiated, or has a particular degree of prestige and so on. Consequently, uniquely Indigenous life stages exist that carry with them particular obligations, expectations, behaviors, and statuses but these are invariably unrecorded. For example, the age range from around 9 to18 years in which western education expects full-time attendance at school is also the one in which Indigenous boys progress in stages to manhood with potentially quite different priorities and expectations (Ivory, 2008). Similarly, many young women will already have assumed marriage and motherhood roles according to customary expectation. The implications of these social practices for fertility and labour force participation are largely unknown due to lack of measurement, but it would be a mistake to assume that chronological age alone provides a sufficient framework for the analysis of demographic events.

Population Mobility

Similar observations regarding the inability of mainstream instruments to capture key aspects of Indigenous sociality have been made in respect of population mobility. A recurring theme in the Australian ethnographic literature is the recognition of frequent circular movement of Indigenous peoples between places that combine to form functional regions based on the location of significant kin or on a need to access services (Morphy, 2010; Memmott et al., 2006; Taylor & Bell, 2004). However, conventional fixed-period census questions are not designed to capture such movements and they therefore go unrecorded despite being a prominent feature of Indigenous social and economic life (Taylor, 2011). Part of the problem here is identified by Morphy (2010, p. 377) as a failure to take into account "units of sociality that are larger than the individual, household or nuclear family"- a view of the region and wider domestic moral economy in which individuals are embedded by relatedness.

2Māori are somewhat unusual among Indigneous peoples in that there is a single language, Te Reo Māori, that can be readily understood across tribal boundaries

3The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 between Māori tribes and the Crown, has been described as the Māori "magna carta". The Māori version of the Treaty guaranteed Māori protection of their lands and resources, tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), and the rights and privileges of British subjects. In return they ceded their governorship to the Crown. The Crown's failure to honor the terms of the Treaty has long been the focus of Māori grievances relating to loss of land and political marginalization, although the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal has made significant headway in addressing Treaty-related concerns.

Postcolonial profiling of Indigenous populations: Limitations and responses in Australia and New Zealand

Tahu Kukutai and John Taylor

This echoes calls more widely in the social sciences for ethnographic and biographical accounts of population mobility so as to interpret population movement as culturally-situated in social fields and individual and group lifecourses (Halfacree & Boyle, 1993; Lawson, 2000; McHugh, 2000).

Indigenizing Demography from the Ground Up

One of the legacies of being counted, classified and monitored by the State is that Indigenous communities and organisations have, understandably, been sceptical of efforts to quantify them, particularly when the production of so-called social facts has been carried out with little apparent benefit for the communities involved and, at times, has explicitly worked against their interests (Walter, 2010; Wereta, 2002). However, as Indigenous entities have shifted from challenging the State to focusing on the development of internal capabilities, attitudes have begun to change. In part this reflects an acknowledgement that demography, whatever its shortcomings, provides useful tools for generating critical information with which to pursue Indigenous self-determining projects. It also reflects a pragmatic recognition of the extent to which population research continues to provide the evidence base for government policy approaches to Indigenous development. As one Indigenous demographer argues, "'... if Indigenous researchers are not the framers of the discourse that flows from the data then it is non-Indigenous researchers who set research agendas, prioritise research questions and frame analysis and interpretation that usually cast us as the 'problem' to be researched" (Moreton-Robinson & Walter, 2009, p. 11). In recent years the authors have been involved in two separate projects, both driven by and for Indigenous communities, which embody the foregoing challenge of peoples doing it for themselves. In the following case studies we describe how two very different Indigenous communities in Australia and New Zealand have strategically incorporated demographic methods and practices as a means of realising their own aspirations for improving their collective wellbeing.

Native Title and Population Statistics in Broome, Western Australia

In 1992, the High Court of Australia upheld a claim that the continent was not 'terra nullius' or land belonging to no-one when European settlement occurred. In a decision referred to as the 'Mabo decision' after the main claimant, the court found that native title rights survived settlement, though subject to the sovereignty of the Crown. The government's legislative response to this decision was the Native Title Act 1993 which established a regime to ascertain where native title exists and who holds it. Since that time, there have been a total of 134 determinations of native title on behalf of indigenous land-holding groups amounting to 1.2 million sq. kms or approximately 15 per cent of the Australian land mass. One such determination has been in respect of the Yawuru people whose land is now occupied by the rapidly growing town of Broome in the north west of Western Australia (Fig. 1). In 2010, the Yawuru Area Global Agreement was registered as a formal resolution to issues arising from an 18 year process of native title claim preparation, mediation, bitter litigation and successful negotiation by Yawuru native title holders. This settlement of Yawuru native title lands involved a $200 million land and financial package, thus securing Yawuru as a prime equity partner in Broome's economy and in its conservation management and social development.

As the Indigenous rights agenda gradually shifts in such situations from the pursuit of restitution to the management and implementation of benefits, those with inherent and proprietary rights are finding it increasingly necessary to build internal capacity for community planning including in the area of information retrieval and application. In launching the Yawuru 'Knowing our Community' (YKC) survey of indigenous households in Broome in 2011, the Yawuru set a precedent in Australia in the acquisition of statistical information as an act of self-determination and essential community governance by insisting that this be to serve their internal purposes as well as to to enable representation of their own priorities and circumstances to the outside world (Taylor et al., 2012). This survey was unique in many ways. It was not the first survey of Indigenous households ever to be conducted in an urban centre in Australia, not least in Broome. It was, however, the first to be knowingly comprehensive in coverage based on the prior local identification of Indigenous households, and the first to be developed, managed, conducted and controlled entirely by local Indigenous organisations and local Indigenous residents for the primary purpose of informing their own local planning needs. The exercise can be described as the first truly Indigenous social survey in Australia on a whole-of-population scale.

This action was deemed necessary because of a perception by Yawuru that official data from the national census had in the past significantly under-represented the Indigenous population of Broome and, as a state-administered process, it had no capacity to represent the cultural diversity of the Indigenous population that lives on, or visits, Yawuru Country. The case is well articulated by a senior Yawuru leader:

The view I have about data is a long way from the current paradigm where data is collected on Indigenous society by governments for their purposes, not to support the objectives that Indigenous people want to determine. I share a pervasive Indigenous aversion to the way data is collected by governments, academics or professional researchers on or about Aboriginal people. ...despite the wealth of empirical data dished up by countless inquiries, Royal Commissions and research projects over many decades about the social and economic condition of Aboriginal society, little practical benefit seems to come from all this data. Th[e] categories are constructed in the imagination of the Australian nation state. They are not geographic, social or cultural spaces that have relevance to Aboriginal people (Yu, 2011).

The message conveyed is that new governance arrangements in the post-native title determination era should inevitably be informed by locally-controlled and customised information. Yawuru leaders are acutely aware of the importance and power of this: it provides them with a customised evidence base for decision-making; it assists a dialogue between different native title groups in the region who are affected by an expanding mineral resources sector; it provides a baseline to measure impacts of economic and social change on indigenous society; it provides a basis for informed dialogue with government and industry; and, it provides a basis of accountability for public policy and investment for indigenous development in the region (Yu, 2011, p. 7).

The results of the YKC survey highlight the benefits of having local control over information-gathering and the ability to apply a methodology that more effectively identifies, engages with, and elicits a response from the indigenous community. Basically, the YKC count of usual Indigenous residents of Broome was 48 per cent higher than the most recent official census count (in 2006) and the survey identified 44 per cent more Indigenous households (Taylor et al., 2012). It also recorded, for the first time, that Yawuru had become a minority group on its own land, accounting for less than one-third of around 3,600 Indigenous residents, but was the largest single grouping among more than 50 other Indigenous language affiliations. All, of course, were outnumbered by an influx of non-indigenous residents. Importantly, the Yawuru corporate group now has a geocoded unit record population database at its disposal from which to generate statistical outputs for population groupings and to use as a reliable sampling frame for cost-efficient surveys on issues of concern such as housing affordability, school to work transition, and aged care. Incorporation of these data into a Geographic Information System also provides for spatial inquiries—already it has been deployed to demonstrate that a simple re-routing of the town's only public transport network would increase reasonable access to a bus stop from 19 per cent of the town's indigenous population to 57 per cent (Taylor et al., 2012: 25-28), a significant improvement for a population with relatively low vehicle ownership.

Conceptually, the collection of demographic, social and economic information related to the Indigenous peoples of Broome was designed to establish an evidence base that would enable Yawuru to embark on a logical sequence of social and economic planning. This emphasis on evidence-based planning underlined an urgent need for accurate demographic data, not least because there are no official data available for the Yawuru population group/social collective. This was a significant shortcoming for meaningful community planning because whatever the detail of local plans might be, it is crucial that they are based on reliable estimates for the target population. In terms of programs, it requires reliable breakdown into infants, mothers, school-age children, youth, young adults, middle-aged, and older people. Ideally, it also requires that statistical events in the population (such as employment numbers, school enrolments, housing conditions, hospital separations etc.) are drawn from the same population universe—such that numerators are drawn from matched denominators in the calculation of rates. Unfortunately, in official statistics on Indigenous populations generally, this concordance is not always certain.

Monitoring Māori Wellbeing in Auckland, New Zealand

The second case study of demography as a form of indigenous community governance is located in Auckland, in the upper north of New Zealand's North Island (Fig. 1). With a population of 1.5 million, Auckland is home to one third of the New Zealand's total population; a level of concentration unusual by OECD standards, and which will only intensify with 60 per cent of the country's projected population growth over the two decades expected to occur in Auckland (Statistics New Zealand, 2010). As the preferred location for corporate headquarters, Auckland is the country's business hub and contributes more than one third of the country's GDP (Auckland Council, 2012).

It is also New Zealand's only 'super city', the result of a recent process of local government reform, and is governed by an influential and politically prominent body, the Auckland Council. The Council features regularly in the national media and recently embarked on an ambitious long-term plan to elevate Auckland to the status of 'world's most liveable city' (it currently ranks 10th in a popular list of the world's most liveable cities list, see Economist Intelligence Unit, 2012).

Of the nearly half million Māori counted in the 2006 census, one in four lived in Auckland, making Auckland-resident Māori an important part of the overall Māori population. Since the early 1990s Auckland has undergone rapid ethnic diversification and this, combined with historic patterns of European settlement, means that the demographic visibility of Māori in Auckland is low relative to many other parts of the North Island. In 2006, 11 per cent of the Auckland population identified as Māori – significantly below their national share of 16 per cent. Despite the tendency to homogenise Māori as a monolith ethnic group, they, like other settler state indigenes, are internally diverse with respect to socio-economic status and ties to Māori identity, culture and traditions (Kukutai, 2011b). This is especially so for Auckland's Māori population, the legacy of the intense Māori rural-urban migration that occurred after World War II, and high rates of intermarriage with Europeans and, to a lesser extent, with Pacific peoples.

One of the consequences of local government reform in Auckland has been the drawing of sharper distinctions between two groups of Māori known as mana whenua and mātaawaka. The former refers to Māori descended from any of the 19 iwi and hapū whose customary homelands fall wholly or partly within the super city boundaries. The latter refers to Māori who live in Auckland but who lack a kinship connection to any of the customary tribes[4]. In 2006, mana whenua comprised a relatively small share of all Auckland Māori, at around 15 per cent. Since 2010, mana whenua and mātaawaka have been represented, at a local government level, by a unique political entity known as the Independent Māori Statutory Board (IMSB). The IMSB was borne amidst lengthy, and often heated, debates about the issue of mandatory Māori representation in local government, a measure which many Māori view as a Treaty right and necessary mechanism for addressing their low visibility in local government, but which has been vigorously resisted by non-Māori, and especially white New Zealanders (Hawyard, 2011). While central government rejected a recommendation to instigate mandatory Māori seats on the newly formed Auckland Council, it provided for the formation of an independent Māori statutory board to ensure a voice for Māori within the Auckland governance process. This was a landmark decision, given the importance of local government as resource managers with wide decision-making powers affecting Māori ancestral lands, waterways, sacred sites, and places of special significance (Hayward, 2011). Among its key statutory responsibilities, the IMSB was tasked with promoting cultural, economic, environmental and social issues that are significant to Māori in Auckland, and ensuring that the Council complies with its statutory provisions that refer to the Treaty of Waitangi.

A year into its term, the IMSB established a number of foundational projects, the timing of which was given impetus by the development of The Auckland Plan setting out the Council's strategic vision through to 2040. Keen to ensure that the Council took account of the Māori aspirations when planning the city's long-term future, the IMSB decided to develop its own dedicated plan for Māori in Auckland, including a multi-level statistical framework for measuring and monitoring their wellbeing. To the extent that it engages with statistical time-series monitoring, and is explicitly informed by Māori values, aspirations and priorities, 'The Māori Plan for Tāmaki Makaurau' is a groundbreaking initiative. As distinct from general western frameworks of wellbeing which are either domain-driven (e.g, social, cultural etc.), or focus on a specific concept (e.g., quality of life), the Māori Plan framework is underpinned by five core Māori values, identified from extensive consultations with mana whenua and matawaaka communities. These principles identify relatedness (whanaungatanga), autonomy and leadership (rangatiratanga), the capacity to care for others as well as the natural environment (manaakitanga), spirituality and identity (wairuatanga), and guardianship (kaitiakitanga) as central to Māori conceptions of wellbeing.

4The Local Government (Auckland Council) Act 2009 defines mana whenua group as an iwi or hapu that (a) exercises historical and continuing mana whenua in an area wholly or partly located in Auckland; and (b) is either a mandated iwi organisation under the Māori Fisheries Act 2004; a body that has been the subject of a settlement of Treaty of Waitangi claims; or a body that has been confirmed by the Crown as holding a mandate for the purposes of negotiating a Treaty claim. By contrast, mātaawaka are Māori who (a) live in Auckland; and (b) are not in a mana whenua group.

5Tāmaki Makaurau is the traditional Māori name for Auckland. The plan can be retrieved from: http://www.imsb.Māori.nz/English/The+M257ori+Plan.html

In developing the framework, it was agreed that the selected indicators ought to meet the standards typically expected of high-quality monitoring frameworks – to be drawn from a representative sample, be valid and reliable, grounded in research, and so forth - so that they could be used as an evidence base in engagements with the Council and central government agencies, as well as for general advocacy. Many of the 100-plus indicators populating the framework were thus identified from existing official data sets, including the national census, as well as administrative data and large-scale surveys. Not surprisingly, given the issues raised in the earlier sections of this paper, the exercise also revealed substantial gaps in the availability of Māori-specific indicators, particularly in the cultural and environmental domains. A critical component of the plan was thus to identify areas where new data could be collected, both through supporting local communities to collect their own data, and through negotiating with the Council to take responsibility for collecting culturally-specific data as part of their usual data monitoring and evaluation activities. While some of the wellbeing indicators only pertained to mana whenua, such as those relating to customary relationships to land and resources, the majority were applicable to all Auckland Māori. This reflected the high degree of overlap between mana whenua and mātaawaka notions of wellbeing elicited in the consultation informing the plan's design. In terms of its usefulness, it is envisaged that the Māori Plan will serve multiple purposes, for both the IMSB and Auckland Māori communities, from providing an evidence base with which to evaluate the evolving 'state' of collective Māori wellbeing, to supporting local activities aimed at improving wellbeing outcomes. Like Broome, the Auckland project illustrates a transformation of sorts in the ways Indigenous peoples are engaging with demography and official statistics on their own terms, and in ways consistent with their own self-determining agendas.

Indigenizing the Official Statistics System: From the Local to the Global

Since its formation in 2000, one of the major concerns of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) has been to establish appropriate statistical profiles of the world's Indigenous peoples. Following a UNPFII workshop convened in 2004 to focus on data collection and disaggregation for Indigenous peoples, the view was expressed that international human development indices, such as those associated with the Millennium Development Goals, did not capture many of the criteria considered essential for their wellbeing. In particular, what was lacking was a series of rights-based indicators related to issues such as control over land and resources, equal participation in decision-making, and control over development processes (United Nations, 2004, 2006).

While our case studies show how Indigenous agency is being exercised to productively engage with demography on local terms, they also underscore the ongoing importance of official statistics as repositories of data used to frame and understand the lives of Indigenous peoples. Given the considerable time and resources required to plan and execute whole-of-community surveys and monitoring projects, it is inevitable that, for the forseeable future at least, Indigenous polities will continue to be heavily reliant on official statistics for quantitative demographic data about themselves. Indigenizing demography thus requires more than Indigenous-driven change from the 'ground up'; it also requires transformation from within the official statistics system.

In New Zealand, the signs are somewhat promising. Outwardly at least Statistics New Zealand has been proactive than its North American and Australian counterparts in acknowledging and trying to address the statistical needs of its Indigenous population. The idea that indicators relevant to the interests of Indigenous peoples can be collected within a coherent framework is demonstrated by the Māori Statistics Framework developed progressively since 1995 by Statistics New Zealand (Wereta & Bishop, 2006). This framework officially acknowledges that the statistical needs of Māori differ at times from those of the rest of the population and provides a basis for meeting these needs either through official collections or via Māori community-based organisations. Aside from providing data of relevance, a key outcome sought is an enhanced statistical capacity within the Māori community, with the official statistical agency assuming a supportive facilitating role. There is a Māori Statistics Advisory Committee to the Government Statistician that meets three to four times a year to advise on policy and other issues that are likely to affect Māori statistical priorities.

The agency's Effectiveness for Māori Strategy also recognizes the need to address internal systemic barriers to the production of statistics for Māori, and makes reference to enabling effective Māori participation in planning and decision-making, though it offers no concrete guidance for what enabling structures might be put in place, nor how effective participation might be monitored.

While this level of accommodation for Indigenous perspectives is absent in Australia, from 1990 to 2004, there were some formal Indigenous checks and balances on government activity in the area of Indigenous data collection. This was provided by the existence of representative indigenous regional councils who had a statutory role (under s.7 of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act 1989) in vetting and influencing the indigenous data collection and analysis activities of the ABS and other government agencies. Amendment to this Act in 2005 effectively abolished these councils thereby extinguishing an important representative validating environment for statistical data collection and dissemination. With this now gone, the question arises as to who governments should/could legitimately engage with in order to ensure Indigenous input and imprimatur for its activities in this area.

These experiences in Australia and New Zealand raise interesting questions about the proper role of State machinery in gathering statistics on Indigenous populations. Whereas in the past, governments have been content to generate social binaries as essential input to public policy, the legal and moral framework for such singular attribution of complex indigenous social organisation has been and is shifting such that individual groupings of indigenous peoples are reasserting identity through statistical means in the ways we have demonstrated. Against this background it is instructive to reflect on the intent of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2008). The UN Declaration is a non-binding text that sets out the individual and collective rights of Indigenous peoples, as peoples. It emphasizes the rights of such peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions and to pursue their development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations. It also prohibits discrimination against Indigenous peoples and promotes their full and effective participation in all matters that concern them. It affirms their right to remain distinct and to pursue their own visions of economic and social development. Given this wide-ranging acknowledgment of inherent rights, it is not surprising that Indigenous peoples and signatory governments around the world have started to contemplate what exactly an endorsement of the Declaration might mean for the usual practice of government business in relation to Indigenous peoples. This questioning arises from Article 42, which requires interested parties, including States, to comply with the provisions of the Declaration and promote its effectiveness. Discussion around this Article continues to focus around a so-called 'implementation gap', where even good intentions by States in the form of legislative and administrative changes might fail to deliver the benefits that Indigenous peoples seek.

The parts of the Declaration that would seem to be most relevant for the collection of statistical information are contained in Articles 18, 19 and 23, while the overall focus on the rights of Indigenous 'peoples' as opposed to 'populations' adds a further dimension. The foregoing Articles refer to rights to participate in decision-making through Indigenous institutional structures on matters affecting Indigenous peoples; they demand of States good-faith consultation based on the principle of free, prior and informed consent; and they insist on Indigenous priority setting in regard to what constitutes development.

It is worth noting, therefore, that the strengthening of engagements and partnerships between government and Indigenous peoples is a clearly stated aim of Australian governments and their agencies as indicated in the COAG National Indigenous Reform Agreement (Council of Australian Governments, 2008, p. A-31). However, it remains unclear as to how performance on engagements and partnerships is to be measured. Certainly, the United Nations Declaration demands more nuance than is currently practise. The demography of Indigenous populations may be well suited to the provision of citizen rights, but does not provide for the expression of Indigenous interests in inherent and proprietary rights. Whilst not denying a continuing and proper role for centralized data collection, what Indigenous peoples are also seeking from State agencies is a mechanism to support capability building to collect and utilize their own data as a means of promoting their full and effective participation in governance and development planning.

References

Altman, J. (2009). *Beyond Closing the Gap: Valuing diversity in Indigenous Australia*. Working Paper 54/2009. Canberra, Australia: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, The Australian National University.

Andersen, C. (2008). From nation to population: The racialisation of Métis in the Canadian census. Nations and Nationalism, 14(2), 347-368.

Auckland Council (2012). *Gross Domestric Product (GDP) and annual average change.* Retrieved from: http://monitorauckland.arc.govt.nz/MonitorAuckland/index.cfm?242A576B-1279-D5EC-EDD1-A4B81624B46D

Australian Government (2009). *Closing the gap on indigenous disadvantage: The challenge for Australia.* Canberra, Australia: Australian Government.

Axelsson, P., Sköld, P., Ziker, J. & Anderson, D. G. (2011). From indigenous demographics to an indigenous demography. In P. Axelsson & P. Skold (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples and demography: The complex relation between identity and statistics* (pp. 295 – 305). Oxford: Berghan.

Belich, J. (2001). *Paradise reforged: A history of the New Zealanders, from the 1880s to the year 2000.* Auckland, N.Z.: Penguin.

Caldwell, J. (1996). Demography and social science. *Population Studies: A Journal of Demography*, 50(3), 305-333.

Charbit, Y. & Petit, V. (2011). *Towards a comprehensive demography: Rethinking the research agenda on change and response.* Population and Development Review, 37(2), 219-239.

Council of Australian Governments (2008). *National Indigenous Reform Agreement.* Retrieved from: http://www.federalfinancialrelations.gov.au/content/national_agreements.aspx

Economist Intelligence Unit (2012). *A summary of the liveability ranking and overview: August 2012*. London, U.K.: Economist Intelligence Unit.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87 – 104). London, U.K.: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Halfacree, K., & Boyle, P. (1993). The challenge facing migration research: the case for a biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography*, 17(3), 333-348.

Hayward, J. (2011). Mandatory Māori wards in local government: Active Crown protection of Māori treaty rights. *Political Science*, 63(2), 186-204.

Hindess, B. (1973). *The use of official statistics in Sociology: A critique of positivism and ethnomethodology*. London, U.K.: Macmillan.

Humpage, L. & Fleras, A. (2001). Intersecting discourses: Closing the gaps, social justice and the Treaty of Waitangi. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand,* 16, 37-53.

Ivory, B. (2008). Indigenous leaders and leadership: agents of networked governance. In J. Hunt, D. Smith, S. W. Garling, & W. Sanders (Eds.), Contested governance: Culture, power and institutions in indigenous Australia (pp. 233-65). Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press.

Kertzer, D. & and Arel, D. (2002). Censuses, identity formation, and the struggle for political power. In D. Kertzer & D. Arel (Eds.), *Census and identity: The politics of race, ethnicity and language in national censuses* (pp. 1-42). Cambridge, U.K.: University of Cambridge.

Kowal. E. (2010). Is culture the problem or the solution? Outstation health and the politics of remoteness. In J.C. Altman & M. Hinkson (Eds.), *Culture crisis: Anthropology and politics in Aboriginal Australia* (pp. 179-195). Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press.

Kukutai, T. (2011a). Building brown boundaries: Defining the Māori population in New Zealand. In P. Sköld & P. Axelsson (Eds.), *Indigenous peoples and demography: The complex relation between identity and statistics* (pp. 33-54). Oxford, U.K.: Berghan Books.

_____. (2011b). Contemporary issues in Māori demography. In T. McIntosh and M. Mullholland (Eds.), *Māori and Social Issues* (pp. 11-48). Wellington, N.Z.: Huia.

Mako, C. (1998). Some Statistical Issues for Māori – Definitions and Applications, *He Pukenga Kōrero*,4(1), 33-41.

McHugh K. E. (2000). 'Inside, outside, upside down, backward, forward, round and round: A case for ethnographic studies in migration. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(1), 71-89.

Memmott P., Long S., & Thomson, L. (2006). *Indigenous mobility in rural and remote Australia. Brisbane*, Australia: Australian Housing and Urban Research Institute, University of Queensland.

Metge, J. (1964). *A new Māori migration.* London, U.K.: Athlone Press.

Moreton-Robinson, A. & Walter, M. (2009). Indigenous methodologies in social research. In M. Walter (Ed.), *Social research methods: An Australian perspective*, 2nd ed. (1-18). Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.

Morphy, F. (2010). (Im)mobility: regional population structures in Aboriginal Australia. *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, 45(3), 363–393.

Niezen, R. (2003). *The origins of indigenism: Human rights and the politics of identity.* Berkeley, USA: University of California Press.

Pool, I. (1991). *Te Iwi Māori.* Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.

Prout, S. (2011). Indigneous wellbeing frameworks in Australia and the quest for quantification. *Social Indicators Research.* Doi 10.1007/s11205-011-9905-7

Rowse, T. & Smith, L. (2010). *The limits of 'elimination' in the politics of population.* Australian Historical Studies, 41(1), 90–106.

Smith, L.R. (1980). *The Aboriginal population of Australia.* Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press.

Statistics New Zealand. (2010). *Subnational population projections: 2006 (base) - 2031 update.* Wellington, N.Z.: Statistics New Zealand.

Sutton, P. (2003). *Native title in Australia: An ethnographic perspective.* Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, J, 2011. *Postcolonial transformation of the Australian Indigenous population.* Geographical Research, 49(3), 286-300.

_____. (2009). Indigenous demography and public policy in Australia: Population or peoples? *Journal of Population Research*, 26, 115-130.

_____. (2008). Indigenous peoples and indicators of well-being: Australian perspectives on United Nations global frameworks. *Social Indicators Research*, 87, 111–126.

Taylor J. & Bell, M. (2004). Continuity and change in indigenous Australian population mobility. In J. Taylor & M. Bell (Eds.), *Population mobility and indigenous peoples in Australasia and North America*. London and New York: Routledge.

Taylor, J., Doran, B., Parriman, M., & Yu, E. (2012). *Statistics for community governance: the Yawuru Indigenous Population Survey of Broome.* CAEPR Working Paper No. 82, Canberra, Australia: Centre for Aboriginal Economic Policy Research, The Australian National University.

Tehan, M., Palmer, L., Langton, M., & Mazel, O. (2006). Sharing land and resources: modern agreements and treaties with indigenous people in settler states. In M. Langton, O. Mazel, L. Palmer, L, K. Shain, & M. Tehan (Eds.), *Settling with Indigenous people* (pp. 1-19). Sydney, Australia: The Federation Press.

Te Puni Kokiri. (2000). *Progress towards closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori: A report to the Minister of Māori Affairs.* Wellington, N.Z.: Te Puni Kokiri.

_____. (1998). *Progress towards closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori: A report to the Minister of Māori Affairs.* Wellington, N.Z.: Te Puni Kokiri.

United Nations (2008). *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.* Retrieved from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf

_____. (2006). *Report of the meeting on Indigenous Peoples and Indicators of Well-Being,* United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/C.19/2006/CRP.3. New York, United States: United Nations Economic and Social Council.

_____. (2004). *Report of the workshop on data collection and disaggregation for indigenous peoples.* United Nations Economic and Social Council, E/C.19/2004/2. New York: United States: United Nations Economic and Social Council.

Walling, J., Small-Rodriguez, D., & Kukutai, T. (2009). Tallying tribes: Waikato-Tainui in the census and tribal register. *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand*, 36, 2-15.

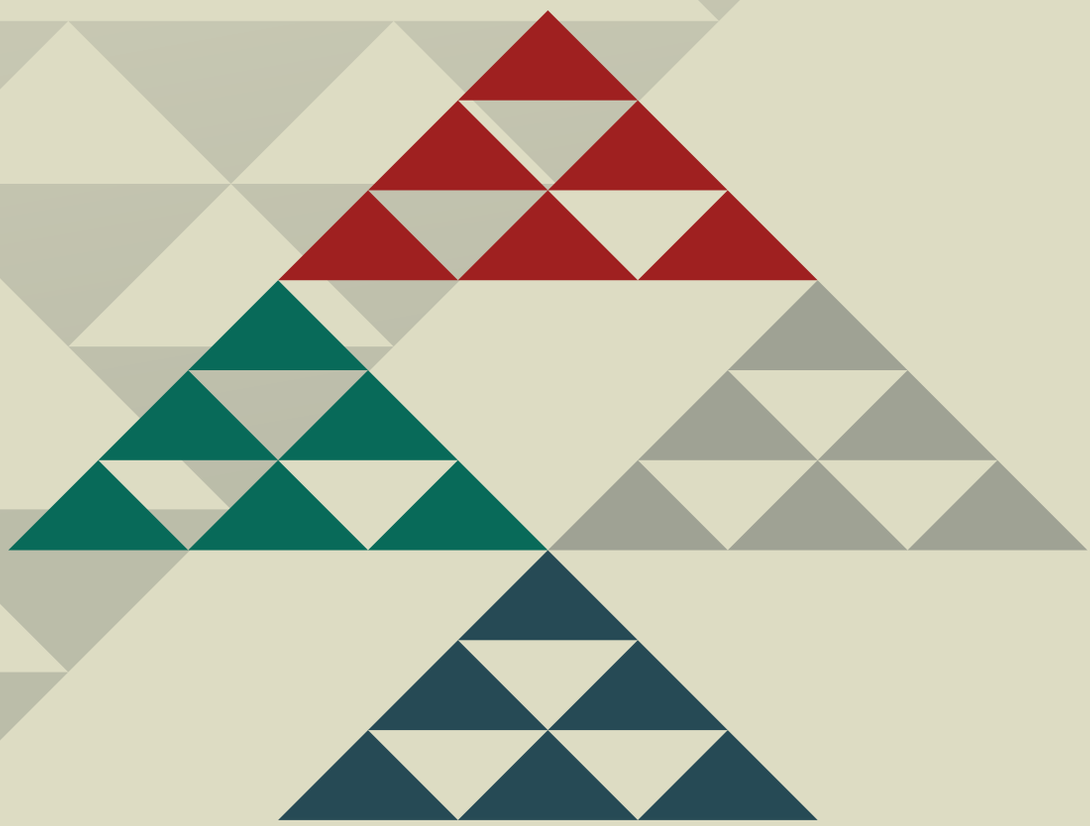
Walter, M. (2010). The politics of the data: How the Australian statistical indigene is constructed, *International Journal of Critical Indigenous Studies*, 3(2): 45-54.

Webster, S. (2002). Māori retribalization and treaty rights to the New Zealand fisheries. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 14(2), 341-376.

Wereta, W. (2002). *Representing Māori realities in official statistics: The challenge for Statistics New Zealand. Paper presented at the International* Symposium on Culture Statistics, October 21 – 23, Montréal, Canada.

Wereta, W., & Bishop, D. (2006). Towards a Māori statistics framework. In J. P. White, S. Wingert, D. Beavon, & P. Maxim (Eds.), *Aboriginal policy research: Moving forward making a difference* (pp. 263-28). Toronto, Canada: Thompson Educational Publishing.

Yu, P. (2011). *The power of data in Aboriginal hands.* Paper presented at the Conference Social Science Perspectives on the 2008 National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Survey, April 12, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.



WAIKATO-TAINUI
COLLEGE FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Te Kotahi
Research Institute
THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO

NGĀ PAE O TE
MĀRAMATANGA