Mahi Toi Skills in Contemporary Education, Training and Māori Development

"kia mau ki nga taonga tuku iho o ngā tūpuna"

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Abstract

Since the 1980's, national investment in human capital and skill formation policy in education has been promoted as key to economic success and social inclusion. Social inclusion, however, is often expressed as helping citizens to become employable. Although employability is a key focus of skills formation and education policy, the context of the western ideologies that it derives from and caters to perpetuates the exclusion of mahi toi (arts and crafts) skills in education. Using a kaupapa Māori approach, two key informants who specialise and teach mahi toi skills, either rāranga (weaving) or pounamu (jade/greenstone), were interviewed. The aim was to get a better understanding of how these skills can contribute to personal, professional and Māori development in the 21st century, and to provide information indicating where and how these skills can be learnt, either through private training enterprises (PTE) or public tertiary educational institutions (TEI), thereby highlighting the value of teaching and learning rāranga and pounamu skills. Findings from analysing their pūrākau indicate that learning rāranga or pounamu skills can provide a foundation for believing in your potential, contribute to cultural identity, improve confidence and communication skills, help an individual be bestowed or acquire mana, offer a type of therapy, enhance career progression and professional identity, provide financial rewards and stability, and help with the revitalisation and transfer of cultural knowledge. Ultimately, it is concluded that mahi toi skills such as rāranga and pounamu can contribute to the development of an individual's personal and professional lives, but also has benefits for the organisation where they become employed as well as extended whānau, hapū and iwi.

Acknowledgements

"Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini"
Success is not the work of one, but the work of many

First and foremost I must acknowledge my tūpuna for their spiritual guidance and protection whilst I have been on this research journey. You have gone from my eyes but never my heart. I know you are there and we are never apart.

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Glossary

This glossary has been developed through korero with the researcher's whānau, as well as consulting the online Te Aka, Māori - English, English - Māori Dictionary (2011), the Reed Concise Māori Dictionary 6th ed. (2001) and the Raupo Concise Māori Dictionary 7th ed. (2012).

Aho	flax fibre string/cord
Aku hoa	friends
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Atua	gods
Awhi rito	parents
Hapū	subtribe
Harakeke	Flax
Hei matau	fish hook
Hei tiki	human embryo
Hine-ahu-one	first human form
Hine-te-iwa-iwa	goddess of the house of weaving
Inanga	whitebait
Iwi	tribes
Kai	food
Kaiako	teacher
Kaitiaki	guardians
Kākahu	garment/clothes
Kakaporia	bird ring necklace or ear pendant
Kapa haka	traditional Māori dance
Karakia	Māori incantations
Kaumātua	elders
Kaupapa	concept/purpose/platform
Kete	traditional Māori basket
Koha	gift
Kōnae ako	learning modules

Kōrero	talk
Koroua	grandfather
Korowai	traditional Māori cloak
Koru	depicts new beginings growth and harmony
Kotahitanga	unity
Mahi ā rehia	leisurely activities
Māra kai	growing food from the ground
Mahi pounamu	working with jade/greenstone
Mahi Rāranga	working with flax/weaving
Mahi toi	arts and crafts
Mahi	work
Mana	prestige
Manaia	spiritual guardian
Manaakitanga	hospitality
Māori	indigenous people of Aotearoa
Marae	Māori communal space
Māramatanga	understanding and enlightenment
Mātauranga Māori	traditional Māori knowledge
Maunga	mountain
Mauri	life force
Mere	stone weapon
Mōhiotanga	acquiring knowledge/sense of knowing
Mokopuna	grandchildren
Muka	flax fibre
Muka kete	flax fibre Māori basket
Ngāhere	forest
Noho	stay/sit/sleep over
Oriori	lullaby
Pākehā	Europeans
Pakoti	one of Tane's wives
Papatūānuku	earth mother
Patupaiarehe	fairy like person/s

Pekapeka	necklance depicting two bats
Pitopito Kōrero	personal blurb
Piupiu	traditional Māori flax fibre garment
Pounamu	jade/greenstone
Poutini	name of a fish
Pūkenga hōia	military skills
Pūkenga ahuwhenua	agricultural skills
Pūkenga hokohoko	bartering skills
Pūkenga kāinga	domestic skills
Pūkenga whakatere waka	navigational skills
Pūrākau	narratives/storytelling
Rākau	tree/bark
Rangahau	research
Ranginui	sky father
Rāranga	weaving
Rito	child of the harakeke plant
Rongoā	traditional Māori medicine
Rōpū	groups
Tā moko	tattoo
Tamariki	children
Tāne Mahuta	god of the forest
Tangaroa	god of the sea
Tangata	people
Tangata whenua	local indigenous people
Taonga	treasures
Taonga tuku iho	treasures and mātauranga for future generations
Tapu	sacred
Tauira	student
Tāwhirimātea	god of the winds
Te ao Māori	Māori world view
Te pā harakeke	flax plant or bush
Te reo	Māori language

Te Whare Pora	the house of weaving
Teina	younger person/student
Tikanga	customs, protocols
Tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
Tohunga	expert practitioner
Toki	adze
Totoweka	New Zealand native bird
Tuakana	older person/expert
Tukutuku panels	traditional decorative wall panels
Tūmatauenga	god of war
Tūpuna	ancestors
Wahakura	flax bassinet
Wahine	women
Wai	water
Waiata	song/singing
Wairua	spiritual connections
Wairuatanga	spirituality
Waka	boats
Whakaaro	thoughts/opinion
Whakairo rākau	wood carving
Whakapapa	genealogy, relationships with people, places, gods
Whakataukī	proverb
Whakawhanaungatanga	relationships
Whānau	family
Whare	house
Wharekura	Māori schools
Wharenui	traditional Māori meeting house
Whāriki	traditional Māori mats
Whenu	flax strand
Whenua	land

Abbreviations

Industry Training Federation	ITF
Industry Training Organisations	ITO
Māori Woman's Welfare League	MMWL
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa	TWOA
Tertiary Education Commission	TEC
United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation	UNESCO

Karakia

ko hauru tai e	in this karakia evoking the sound
ko au teitei e	and the visual image of a raging sea,
Tangaroa ripiripia	Tangaroa is exhorted to 'slice open
Tangaroa haehae	and split apart the jade boulder.
Tangaroa wawahia	

Whakatauki

Kia mau ki nga taonga tuku iho o ngā tūpuna
Hold fast to the knowledge and skills of our ancestors

Ehara taku toa i te toa takitahi, engari he toa takitini
Success is not the work of one, but the work of many

Pakea te hau taringa
Let the breath of you brush across my ear

Pitopito Kōrero

The following narrative provides the reader with a personal account of my motivation for conducting this research project.

Ngaturu Paparahi provided me with the inspiration to conduct this Master's research project, which is titled:

Mahi Toi Skills in Contemporary Education, Training and Māori Development
"kia mau ki nga taonga tuku iho o ngā tūpuna"

I was in Te Kuiti with a whānau (family) member when I overheard her having a conversation with Ngaturu on the telephone. Ngaturu shared that her position as a rāranga kaiako (teacher) at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) was going to be disestablished at the end of the year. This led me to consider possible explanations to justify why her position might be discontinued. Could it be due to the lack of resources available, or low student enrolment? Maybe there was no kaiako to deliver the class, or there was no venue available for the programme. From further listening to the conversation, it was my understanding of the situation that the programme would not be delivered the following year due to a reduction in the funding that TWOA was going to receive. This lack of funding was disappointing and emotionally upsetting, as I had learnt from a labour studies paper at the University of Waikato that education policy, which leads to the prioritisation of funding, is based around supply, demand, delivery and deployment. Even though TWOA had access to the required natural resources to offer rāranga, their student enrolment was at capacity, they had a kaiako to teach the class, and there was a venue and institution already available to deploy the programme, the organisation was not going to be adequately funded the following year, and therefore the rāranga programme would not continue.

I wondered if the lack of funding was due to restructuring of programmes or of staff within the external education context or within the institution. I also considered that the government, or people who create education policies, might perceive these skills as being merely arts and crafts or hobbies, which should be

conducted during spare time and were not worthy of investment. Perhaps skills like rāranga are not considered a priority compared to other skills, as there is perceived to be no economic return on public investment.

It was due to this experience that I became inspired and motivated to position myself as a researcher and conduct this project on the kaupapa (concept/purpose/platform) of mahi toi (arts and crafts) skills in education. My intention was to illustrate how mahi toi skills, such as mahi rāranga (working with flax/weaving), can be valued as more than the aesthetically pleasing art and craft form that it is often perceived to be by society. I also sought to challenge the notion that these skills are only conducted as a leisurely activity.

Concurrently with this research, I enrolled in the Kāwai Raupapa Level four rāranga programme at TWOA in 2017, as I believed it was essential to experience learning the practical skills that I was researching, and not rely solely on literature and the experience of others.

I anticipated that this research would be of benefit to my whānau, future generations and the wider community, and hope that this comes to fruition.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Chapter one provides an overview of different types of Māori skills and describes how they contributed to the social, political, economic and cultural foundations, and everyday lives of Māori communities. Through my analysis of the literature I will refer to the invasion of Pākehā, which saw the introduction of contemporary western knowledge and the decline of traditional Māori skills. The negative physical, psychological, social and cultural impacts experienced by Māori as a result of colonisation and the historical trauma caused by loss of skills, land, language and culture will also be discussed, with an emphasis on the ongoing damaging repercussions for Māori and their communities. This overview provides a foundation for understanding how Māori skills have come to be marginalised and why they are under-acknowledged and under-resourced in formal education and training.

This chapter will also describe the establishment of British institutions, such as the New Zealand government, and the shift in authoritative power from Māori to Pākehā, which evoked an ideological change that prioritised employment and economic gains, over people's wellbeing and whenua (land). The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi participation, protection and partnership outline the New Zealand government's obligations to Māori. Rights afforded by opportunities to learn their cultural knowledge and skills are guaranteed to Māori through the Treaty of Waitangi. Claims processed through the Waitangi Tribunal convey the challenges Māori have faced trying to revitalise the traditional Māori skills on which their lives were once based. The role of successive governmental priorities, which have influenced the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) and Industry Training Federation (ITF), has been evaluated in order to provide examples of how government agencies perpetuate the exclusion of mahi toi skills from formal education and training. The status of Māori skills in education is summarised, and an introduction into hard and soft skills is provided for the purpose of exploring the impact of the government's emphasis on the training of hard skills in terms of gaining employment, and contributing to productivity and economic gains.

Lastly, a review of literature pertaining to two specific mahi toi skills, mahi rāranga (working with flax/weaving) and mahi pounamu (working with jade/greenstone) is given. Through the course of my introduction I highlight through my literature search the negative lens placed upon Māori mahi toi, which have resulted in the absence of training and employment opportunities. Two areas are used as examples that show how traditional Māori skills can contribute to personal and Māori cultural development in the 21st century.

Māori Skills

A skill is generally understood as the ability to acquire expertise and knowledge, and perform or complete a certain task or procedure. Skills can involve physical proficiencies, mental abilities or a combination of both and they can be learned through formal instruction or through the apprenticeship system, working under the supervision of somebody who already has them (Black, Hashimzade & Myles, 2013). The process with which skills are created, endorsed, deployed and delivered is based on the ideology of those who have authority and power, such as individuals or groups who lead and govern a country, and thereby influence institutions and education. French philosopher Foucault argued that "knowledge is produced by 'discourse', and that to understand knowledge it is necessary to examine the institutions that produce it" (Cowton & Dopson, 2002, p. 193). The philosophies and beliefs of dominant people and their institutions thus affect the formation and transmission of skills. Understandably, then the contextual nature of discourses about the relevance and importance of skills will differ within and between nations (Loyd & Payne, 2002; Powell, 2005; Thelen, 2004).

The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) acknowledge the importance of skills in the everyday lives of indigenous people; "for rural and indigenous peoples, local knowledge informs decision-making about fundamental aspects of day to day life" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 1). For Māori, the skills that were sought after and acquired arose as a consequence of traditional Māori lifestyles. These skills were developed in the context of "long histories of interaction with their natural surroundings" (UNESCO, 2017, p. 1) and their connection and responsibility to protect the

whenua (land). Prior to the invasion of Pākehā, Māori held power and were the rightful kaitiaki (guardians) of Aotearoa. Chiefs and other people in authoritative positions controlled the discourse and determined which knowledge and skills would be handed down to their people, and who would safeguard this knowledge for the betterment of present and future generations (Petrie, 2006).

The breadth of skills and knowledge included, but was not limited to: pūkenga kāinga (domestic skills), such as cooking, cleaning and nurturing children; māra kai (growing food from the ground); pūkenga ahuwhenua (agricultural skills), such as hunting, fishing, farming and growing crops to feed the community; pūkenga hōia (military skills), such as weaponry knowledge and physical combat abilities for political and security purposes; pūkenga whakatere waka (navigational skills), which enabled the reading of the night sky; and pūkenga hokohoko (bartering skills) for economic reciprocity and community development. Additionally, the skills of pūrākau (narratives/storytelling) and mahi toi were also valued for the maintenance and transmission of cultural knowledge; mahi ā rehia (leisurely activities) games, song and dance skills contributed to social development and entertainment; and language skills enabled communication between individuals, whānau, hapū (subtribe) and other iwi (tribes).

Māori skills were favourably considered because of their importance to the Māori world view and to their way of life. The pūkenga kāinga, māra kai, pūkenga ahuwhenua, pūkenga hōia, pūkenga whakatere waka, pūkenga hokohoko, mahi ā rehia, pūrākau, mahi toi and te reo (Māori language) skills contributed to the social, cultural, political and economic foundations of Māori communities. For example, Cruthers, Carr and Laing (2009) describe how trade in harakeke (flax) and rāranga flourished within Aotearoa. Harakeke was therefore important as Māori used it domestically to make ropes, baskets, fishing nets and for medicinal purposes (Scheele & Orchiston, 1994), they therefore valued mahi rāranga because it enhanced trading and economic opportunities with other communities.

The skills that were utilised in Māori societies were considered both practical and very effective, as they aided in the functioning of day to day

activities, as well as assisting in the holistic health and wellbeing of Māori and their culture. Written records from Captain James Cook's first voyaging partners also emphasised how Māori were well established and thriving in highly organised societies. These records provide evidence that Māori were not only trading internationally, but that they also had a well-developed agricultural base, practiced oral traditions and were capable of engaging in warfare (Smith, 2000). Similarly, Toki (2014) describes how "Māori had effective legal, social and political structures, premised on tikanga (customs/protocols) Māori" (p. 32). Māori skills were thus highly valued and appreciated amongst their people, and were primarily conducted for the greater good of their communities, and for the environment that they protected, were affiliated to, and to which they belonged. The priority of many Māori chiefs who held power and authority was therefore to care for the people and, to uphold their responsibility to protect the whenua (Petrie, 2006). Unfortunately, due to the inundation of colonialists in the 17th and 18th centuries, there was a shift in power, a noticeable reduction in the Māori knowledge, and a decline in the skills upon which Māori lives were once based.

Colonisation

With the social domination of Māori by Pākehā, and the introduction of new technologies, many of the skills and resources that were once utilised by Māori became substituted by other materials, processes and procedures. As waves of Pākehā swept through Aotearoa, their western world-view and Eurocentric frameworks and models were imposed upon Māori. Māori were exposed to the lifestyles of Pākehā, and found themselves living in a society which judged the knowledge, skills and abilities of the colonisers to be more practical and appealing.

According to Ballantyne (2011), "in the wake of Cook's arrival, indigenous communities' encountered new skills (reading and writing), new ways of presenting knowledge (books and maps), and new institutions through which they could access knowledge (mission stations and school)" (p. 236). Consequently, over many decades, māra kai skills slowly declined as new food

sources were introduced, and products began to be shipped to Aotearoa from other countries. Traditional pūkenga hōia and physical combat skills were substituted by the use of metal weaponry, including guns and machettes, which reduced the physical demand required to inflict injury. Māori pūkenga whakatere waka, which had previously been utilised to read the stars in the night sky, were also displaced as the promotion of the magnetic compass and the use of physical maps came to be regarded as easier and more efficient ways to give directions and obtain the fastest route possible. Pūrakau and oratory skills also became increasingly compromised, with the introduction of formal schooling and the use of pen and paper to record and share stories. Similarly, mahi toi skills, such as whakairo rākau (wood carving) decreased as waka (boats) began to be made offshore using more advanced equipment and other resources to reduce time constraints. Likewise, harakeke (flax) and rāranga skills were no longer needed, as they were replaced by introduced fibres and synthetic materials.

Colonisation also brought with it a devastating decline in the population of Māori. On arrival of the first Pākehā to Aotearoa the Māori population was around 90,000, but by 1896 the population had fallen to about 39,000 (New Zealand Wars, 2018). This decrease in population can be attributed to the introduction of new viral diseases and casualties of the Land Wars between Pākehā and Māori (Pool & Kukutai, 2011). Western medicine began to displace rongoā (traditional Māori medicine) Māori, but traditional forms of knowledge and skills were, and continue to be, important to Māori health because they ensure health is considered in context of wider cultural, social, political and economic environments we are emersed within (Durie, 1994; Lyons & Chamberlain, 2006).

Perhaps one of the greatest casualties of colonisation, however, was loss of language. According to Albury (2015) “Te Reo was severely jeopardised through the course and consequences of British colonisation” (p. 303). Pākehā brought with them the English language, and as English became the language of social interaction and trade, a rapid decline in the use of te reo Māori was evident, such that:

> At the beginning of the 19th century it [te reo Māori] was the predominant language spoken in Aotearoa/New Zealand [but as] more English speakers arrived in New Zealand, the Māori language was increasingly confined to Māori communities. By the mid-20th century there were concerns that the language was dying out. (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2017, p. 2)

This decline was exacerbated by formal schooling, where Māori were punished and tortured if they were caught speaking te reo (Samuels, 2015).

The impacts of colonistion were widely felt, as Māori communities that were well established and flourishing prior to their systemic domination by Pākehā culture and values were quickly undermined. According to the State Services Commission (2005) "parliamentary supporters were well aware that European contact had led to the collapse of some indigenous societies in America and southern Africa, and were near extinction of some peoples" (p. 6), but these prior experiences did not stop Pākehā from dominating the tangata whenua (local indigenous people) of Aotearoa. As Māori were forced to assimilate and accept the reality of another culture and other ways of living their lives, traditional skills were lost and new skills acquired. The invasion and oppression of the dominating Pākehā thus caused a dramatic deterioration of Māori skills and identities, which affected Māori individuals and their communities.

According to Reid, Varona, Fisher and Smith (2016) "colonisation significantly disrupts indigenous peoples' ways of life and their long established relationship with their lands" (p. 32). Māori skills prior to colonisation were based on everyday activities, and their connection and responsibility to maintain the whenua. The decline of Māori skills, population, language, and land meant that Māori were disconnected from their traditional ways of being on a daily basis, which negatively impacted on their physical and psychological health and wellbeing. "In recent decades, health researchers and practitioners have come to realise that mass traumatic events, such as displacement and land loss from colonisation, generate chronic, as well as acute, collective psychological suffering for Indigenous peoples" (Reid et al., 2016, p. 32).

Ultimately the combination of negative impacts from the effects of colonisation has resulted in the decline of traditional Māori cultural knowledge and skills. “To make a long story short, the history of European settlement correlates with a history of the colonization and assimilation of Māori language, knowledge, culture and values” (Smith, 2000, p. 59). This deep trauma felt be Māori has been characterised by Bell (2006) as creating a “loss of wairuatanga [spirituality], kotahitanga [unity] and manakitanga [hospitality]… and affected their ability to lead their own positive development and wellbeing” (p. 3). The negative impacts of European settlement and colonisation on Māori remain immense and ongoing, and the effects of colonisation and historical trauma are still being felt many years later. This is evident in comparative rates of participation and engagement in employment, ongoing mental health issues and the struggle to keep the Māori culture alive. The role of the government in perpetuating or ameliorating the negative impacts of colonisation should therefore be explored.

New Zealand Government

Since its inception, the focus of the European settlers’ provincial government was to implement British institutions and western ideologies with the intention of forming a self-governing British colony (Orange, 2011). The societal shift in power from Māori to Pākehā governance meant that for Māori the focus on maintaining their culture and the priority placed on caring for the people and the whenua was perceived to have less importance, as it was not recognised by Pākehā institutions. The western context, from which Pākeha values derive, positions authoritative figures within the government and leaders in the wider educational community as influential in perpetuating cultural dominance and subordination, thereby eliminating and excluding indigenous skills in education. Freire and Bordieu, who are two well known educators and philosophers, both “agree that formal education only reproduces domination and oppression” (Burawoy, 2011, p. 6). When seen in this light, the government and people with educational influence, power and control can be seen to have failed to provide

adequate funding and support for the maintainence and acquisition of traditional Māori skills.

The Māori perception that their values have been marginalised has persisted over time, as successive governments have come to prioritise employment and obtaining economic and financial gains in order to remain competitive in a global market, but not placed similar value on traditional Māori social and cultural skills. This may reflect a belief that Māori skills have fewer direct benefits for employment, implying a more limited economic return on the investment of public funding. As a consequence of the emphasis on employment and economic growth, Māori have encountered many challenges, and significant resistance from governmental agencies when trying to establish Māori tertiary educational institutions to revitalise and deliver the Māori skills that were once essential to their way of life.

Obligations to Māori entailed by the Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is an official legal agreement, which was first signed on February 6, 1840 by a representative of the British Crown and Māori chiefs from some (but not all) iwi. According to Orange (2011, p. 12), "the Treaty of Waitangi laid the basis for this amalgamation" whereby Māori would retain their rights to their lands, fisheries and other taonga, while receiving the same privileges as British subjects.

While the Treaty was not honoured for much of the 19th and early 20th centuries, more recently there has been some recognition by the Government of historical and contemporary Māori grievances. According to the State Services Commission (2005) "current references to the treaty in statute seek to bridge the differences [in interpretation] by referring to the 'principles' of the Treaty [partnership, participation and protection], these being the core concepts that underpin both texts" (p. 16). The principle of active protection "encompasses the crown's obligation to take positive steps to ensure that Māori interests are protected" (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001, p. 93); this principle can be seen to extend to the cultural knowledge involved in the context of taonga and learning Māori knowledge and skills. The principles of partnership and participation also mean

the Government must acknowledge its obligation to work with and engage with whānau, hapū and iwi. However, although the Treaty principles recognise that Māori have the right to learn and access their cultural knowledge, the Government continues to breach its Treaty obligations to Māori through excluding traditional Māori skills from tertiary education policy and funding priorities.

The Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 in recognition of the longstanding need to address Māori grievances and reconcile "outstanding issues between Māori and Pākehā" (Hayward, 2004, p. 13). According to Bishop (2017) its primary purpose was "to address treaty breaches" (p. 56). Claims made to the Waitangi Tribunal highlight the importance of traditional cultural practices as taonga (treasures). These claims emphasised the role that the ideologies of people within the government and the educational policies they have introduced have played in undermining the value and influence of skills that are important to Māori and which are guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Two claims particularly highlight the lack of support Māori educational institutions have received in the tertiary education context. In the mid 1990's Te Tau Ihu o Ngā Wānanga Association lodged a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. This collective comprised three distinct Māori tertiary education providers: Te Wānanga O Raukawa, Te Whare Wānanga O Awanuiārangi and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. Each of these Wānanga operate, based on Māori values and provide programmes to teach Māori skills and knowledge, which differentiated them from other government-funded tertiary institutions. The WAI718 claim was made on the grounds of prejudice regarding capital establishment funding (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999), as other tertiary institutions, such as Otago, Canterbury, Auckland and Waikato universities had received capital funding when they were established in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Alcorn, 2014). When these three separate Wānanga each made applications to access the same capital grants, the government disestablished that funding, thus denying those Wānanga equal access. The Waitangi tribunal judged in favour of the Association, however the Association did not receive any funding until 2004

(Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). As a result of having to wait for funding the separate Wānanga were unable to deliver all of the intended Māori skills programmes.

Lack of investment in capital coupled with excessive demands imposed by compliance with external funding criteria designed around the needs of universities, polytechnics and institutes of technology meant that Māori found it difficult to obtain funding to establish their own tertiary institutions. This inequity of state investment created a perception that Maori training providers were of poorer quality and lower status in the tertiary sector, perpetuating negative associations with Māori skills. In addition, the Tertiary Education Commission attempted to restrict eligibility for funded places to learn Māori skills, as well as the level of qualification that could be attained (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). Māori skills were thus positioned as both unsuitable for non-Māori and less credible as academic pursuits. This de-valuing continues to be reflected throughout the wider education system.

In 2005, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa lodged another grievance against the Crown (WAI1298) concerning a dispute over what could be taught and to whom. The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) continued to maintain that practical cultural skills should only be taught to a certificate level, and were only appropriate for Māori students (Waitangi Tribunal, 2005). The restrictions placed on Wānanga programmes strengthened the negative perception that people in society had towards Māori skills. The lesser credentials given to Wānanga courses maintained the perception that they were of lesser value and by maintaining funding structures that undervalued Māori skills (by restricting them to certificate level), and claiming Māori cultural knowledge was irrelevant to non-Māori, the TEC positioned Māori skills as having limited relevance to contemporary life in Aotearoa New Zealand. Smith (2000) has argued that this kind of structural inequality meant "Māori culture, language and values become regarded as not simply different but inferior" (p. 59).

The actions of the TEC are influenced by the priorities of those in the government with responsibility and authority over education. However, while the Waitangi Tribunal found in favour of the institutions rather than the Crown,

little has changed, and government funding and policy structures continue to perpetuate a lack of recognition and appreciation for Māori skills.

Tertiary Education Commision (TEC)

Despite censure by the Waitangi Tribunal, the TEC continues to prefer to provide funding for training programmes and organisations that deliver and deploy the skills believed to be necessary to enhance social inclusion and participation in terms of employment. Charged with this responsibility, the TEC seeks to ensure there are measureable economic gains from its educational investment:

> Our annual investment of $2.8 billion in tertiary education is influenced by the priorities in the Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) 2014-2019… [and] delivery skills for industry is priority 1 of the Tertiary Education Strategy. It aims to ensure the skills people develop through tertiary education are well matched to labour market needs. (TEC, 2016, p. 1)

The TEC's position reflects the government's focus on labour market demand, employability and economic gains; these priorities are filtered down through the TEC to education providers, influencing the programmes and skills they choose to offer in order to gain funding. It funds "traditional" trades skills and apprenticeships for construction services, such as carpentry; service sector skills in tourism and hospitality; primary industries, including horticulture, agriculture, forestry and fisheries; social services, such as nursing; and other technical skills. However, the TEC does not promote or adequately fund training for many traditional Māori skills, such as māra kai, pūkenga ahuwhenua, pūkenga hōia, pūkenga whakatere waka, pūkenga hokohoko, mahi ā rehia and mahi toi.

Among the institutions that the TEC funds are training providers governed by the Industry Training Federation (ITF), which is:

> the national body for New Zealand's eleven Industry Training Organisations (ITOs)… They arrange workplace training within their industries, and work with tertiary education providers to develop and deliver the skills that benefit trainees, employers and the New Zealand economy. (Industry Training Federation, 2018, para. 1)

The ITOs providers consist of Service IQ, Mito, Competenz, Skills, Primary ITO, HITO, Career Force, Skills Active Aotearoa, NZ Marine & Composites, CONNEXIS, and BCITO. An analysis of these organisations revealed that only one of these institutions provides training for the development of any Māori skills; this was Skills Active Aotearoa, which offers Mahi ā Rehia. In contrast, the 11 industry training organisations combined offered 97 trades, apprenticeships or training opportunities, meaning traditional Māori skills constitute just 1 percent of the available training offered. Whilst Skills Active Aotearoa did not stipulate what the mahi ā rehia training involved, it is probable that it was associated with the concept of physical fitness, as mahi ā rehia was categorised with other fitness, recreational and outdoor activities. This reinforces societal perceptions about Māori skills, suggesting mahi ā rehia and mahi toi are merely leisurely activities, arts and crafts, or hobbies.

The lack of inclusion and recognition of the value of traditional Māori skills within ITOs also re-emphasises the devaluing of Māori education. It is evident from the priorities of organisations like the ITF that they would only value Māori skills if there were a tangible benefit for employers, or a direct contribution to economic growth. This reflects the continued failure of government policy to recognise and address the ongoing impacts of the historical trauma experienced by Māori as a result of colonisation, as the TEC's funding practices hinder the effectiveness of tertiary institutions that wish to provide training in skills that are valued by Māori. Funding is provided to organisations that offer courses meeting the TECs funding criteria, such as those in the ITF, but Māori providers may be considered to fail to conform to its employability agenda.

Summary of the Status of Māori Skills Education

Some Māori skills have been replaced by the introduction of new technologies, resources, processes or procedures, yet despite replacement with more advanced equipment, mahi toi continues to be valued within Māori communities. Wilson (2017) states "mahi-toi, arts and the production of art, is where a concept takes physical form, and is brought into the physical realm by mahi-ā-ringa" (p. 116). This means mahi toi skills, which include tā moko (tattoo), whakairo rākau,

mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu continue to be of value to Māori, and hence fall under the Treaty principles, which protect and guarantee Māori taonga. The implementation of Māori skills through tertiary institutions like Te Wānanga o Aotearoa can be perceived to assist in the revitalisation of Māori skills through the formal education system. It is an example of an institution that demonstrates "indigenous cultural agency and self determining efforts to reclaim some of what had been lost through colonization" (George, 2012, p. 444).

Despite the value of Māori skills to Māori, the government and its agencies continue to undervalue Māori skills and restrict public funding for the facilitation and teaching of these skills. As a consequence, Māori training providers and institutions have difficulty accessing government allocated resources to deploy and deliver Māori skills education. Lack of public funding is exacerbated by limited access to revenue from student fees, due to low socio-economic status among many Māori; this is a direct consequence of colonisation and the theft of whenua and resources. This means not only is public funding less attainable for Māori, but private funding is even harder to achieve.

Although Māori could benefit from skills that would improve employability, Māori also have their own priorities, which include obligations regarding mātauranga Māori (traditional Māori knowledge) and traditional skills. The government has a responsibility to recognise and maintain Māori rights and autonomy under the Treaty of Waitangi. However, while its current tertiary funding approaches continue to prioritise hard skills with a direct connection to employability, it not only fails to recognise the social and cultural value of Māori skills, but also the value of soft skills, which are important for personal and professional development.

Hard and Soft Skills

Hard skills comprise the practical expertise required to perform a job. They include skills like writing, maths, typing, information communication technology (ICT), trades skills, and the skills recognised in formal qualifications. According to Rao (2012) "hard skills are technical competencies and domain knowledge" (p. 50), while soft skills are a combination of interpersonal and intrapersonal skills.

Interpersonal skills reflect how we communicate and how we engage in relationships with others, whereas intrapersonal skills refer to the internal processes that go on within oneself and include an individual's ability to recognise their own emotions and those of others, in order to regulate those emotions in an appropriate manner.

Intrapersonal skills are associated with positive psychological capital (PsyCap), which refers to the "individual's positive psychological state of development..." (Hendarman & Tjakraatmadja, 2012, p. 37). PsycCap includes psychological dispositions, such as self-efficacy, hope, happiness and resiliance, which are associated with optimism, positivity and motivation (Lorenz, Beer, Pütz, & Heinitz, 2016).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, hard skills were thought to be the only skills employers looked for among applicants when recruiting new employees, as they were considered for many years to be the basis for entry level employment (Robles, 2012). More recently, individuals who possess a large number of hard skills or formal qualifications have come to be perceived as having a high level of human capital, which is considered to have value for both employers and society. While it is clear that traditionally hard skills were favoured over soft skills by potential employers, "we may be seeing the beginning of a paradigm shift" (Jones, Baldi, Phillips & Waikar, 2016, p. 426). Despite this shift, the priority placed on providing formal education and training for the development of hard skills continues today, and is reflected in the government's current educational approach, which provides funding to develop specific hard skills that are seen to be in demand. This is evident in the course offerings of the ITF's 11 organisations, which provide training programmes across the country that consist primarily of traditional trades and apprenticeships.

One reason government policy may favour the development of hard skills over soft skills is that they are more quantifiable, so it is easier to calculate return-on-investment (ROI). Soft skills "have more to do with who we are not what we know" (Robles, 2012, p. 458); they "are much less tangible than hard skills, [creating] a challenging task in estimating the economic returns of soft skills" (Fan, Wei, & Zhang, 2017, p. 1032). Formal assessments, such as "quizzes

or exams cannot accurately measure interpersonal… skills" (Zhang, 2012, p. 158), creating challenges in the education context. Because it is often easier to calculate the benefits of education and training in hard skills, in terms of gaining employment and contributing to economic development, the government has been able to justify how public education funding is currently distributed. However, whilst education authorities favour the development of hard skills to enhance employability, many businesses have realised the negative impacts that can occur as a result of having a workforce where employees have a shortage of soft skills.

According to Hendarman and Tjakraatmadja (2012) "the knowledge economy of the twenty first century demands a set of new competencies, which not only includes ICT skills but also soft skills..." (p. 36). People who have soft skills, such as interpersonal and intrapersonal skills are becoming highly sought by organisations, particularly in industries "where complexity and uncertainty have become the hallmarks of businesses" (Rao, 2012, p. 51). Findings from a recent study demonstrate that recruiters in a range of industries "are seeking potential employees with soft skills and that this trend is reflected in preferences of recruiters from both Fortune 500 and non-Fortune 500 companies" (Jones et al., 2016, p. 426). Robles (2012) argues that "soft skills are critical in today's workplace and should be viewed as an investment" (p. 463). "In fact soft skills are so important that they are ranked as number one and extremely important for potential job hires in many occupations and industries" (Sutton, 2002, as cited in Robles, 2012, p. 459).

The negative consequences that can arise from people who lack soft skills have been recognised by many businesses. When employees lack interpersonal skills like communication, problems within the workplace can arise. Conflict between and amongst peers and groups is more likely to occur, customer service can suffer, mistakes can become more frequent, and an employee's productivity and performance can also decline (Tulgan, 2015) affecting an organisation's financial outcomes (Robles, 2012). According to Tulgan (2016) "the evidence is clear: there is an ever-widening 'soft skills gap' in the workforce, especially among the newest young workforce" (p. 26). This is a concern for employers, as

many young people who are looking to enter the workforce do not yet possess the soft skills required to improve their employability prospects and become successful within an organisation.

Intrapersonal skills such as PsyCap have been correlated with job satisfaction and commitment, leading to reduced turnover and absenteeism (Lorenz et al., 2016). This highlights the importance of understanding the role of PsyCap and soft skills, as well as hard skills, when considering a person's potential for employment. However, PsyCap and other interpersonal skills are not only useful in employment, as they can be transferred to other aspects of an individual's life, such as when engaging and communicating with people at home and in the wider community. Its application is therefore "not limited to one's profession" (Robles, 2012, p. 457) despite having clear benefits in the workplace.

Whilst it may be considered valuable to obtain hard skills to improve employability, employers also value individuals who have soft skills and positive PsyCap. According to Rao (2012), "what is needed is a combination of soft and hard skills to ensure quick growth in one's career" (p. 51), as "it is rightly said that people rise in organisations because of their hard skills and fall due to a dearth of soft skills" (Rao, 2012, p. 50). In this employment environment, it would therefore be prudent to train and develop one's soft skills and PsyCap in order to improve employability. However, despite recognition from employers about the value of soft skills and PsyCap, the government continues to prioritise funding for training programmes that teach hard skills, as these are able to be measured effectively, meaning the justification for public spending is self-evident. The inability to quantify soft skills in the same way inhibits their perceived value, affecting funding and delivery in formal education. With regard to the analysis of mahi toi, it is important to ascertain whether the skills acquired are considered hard or soft skills (or both) and to identify the benefits of investing in their development.

Literature Review of Mahi Toi Skills

The framework of the Waikahika Maniapoto Education Strategy 2011-2021 (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2012) identifies the aspirations of Maniapoto,

which are: “to be confident in Maniapoto history and knowledge; to have Maniapoto whānau engaging in appropriate and meaningful education; [and] to advocate for a transformational and empowering education system fit for Maniapoto” (p. 12). Its vision and also highlight the importance of “educational success as Maniapoto” (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2012, p. 12). Formulating research priorities that are of direct benefit to participants and that contribute to whānau, hapū and iwi development are therefore consistent with these aspirations. A wider investigation of mahi toi skills was beyond the scope of this thesis, so because mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu are more relevant to the researcher’s hapū and whānau, these skills were selected as the focus of this study. It is consistent with the Education Strategy’s mission, which acknowledges the need to “advocate for an education system that acknowledges and implements Maniapoto past, present and future developments, built by Maniapoto for Maniapoto” (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2012, p. 12). This also reflects the objectives of kaupapa Māori approach to research, which seeks to ensure Māori directly benefit from research in which they participate, and that they are included and involved in determining research priorities.

Similarly, in organisational psychology, research should have tangible benefits for the development of the organisations being studied, which in this case includes the workplace of the key informants, as well as their whānau, hapū and their iwi. Given these priorities, a literature review based on the mahi toi skills of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu was conducted to ascertain what information is available about these types of skills and their relevance to Māori.

Harakeke/Rāranga

Before mahi rāranga can be further explored it is important to become familiar with the origins of Harakeke in order to appreciate its whakapapa, ancestors, and from where this taonga has derived. Whakapapa is translated as genealogy, which reflects the genetics or biological makeup of the human body. However, whakapapa in te ao Māori (Māori world view) also incorporates other concepts or ideals. A project at Massey University affirmed that “the idea of whakapapa is used to refer both to biological ancestry and to the relationships between people

and other species, places, events, things and to the gods" (Evans, 2012, p. 183). According to Best (1898) "Whakapapa lies in the heart of all things Māori; connecting the spiritual and physical realms, ancestors and descendants, human kind and the natural world" (as cited in Taituha, 2014, p.12).

Whakapapa of Harakeke

"Whakapapa speaks to more than our relationships with each other; it links us with the land, the sea, the environment, our world and our universe" (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2017, p. 1). Māori believe that just as human beings are descendants of atua (gods), so too are the natural, physical elements around us, such as the animals, forests and the plants. Māori pūrākau, legends or creation stories not only help us as human beings to identify our own existence, whakapapa or genealogy, they also help us understand and explain the ontology of the environment of which we are a part. Many people are familiar with the Māori legend and creation story of Ranginui (sky father) and Papatūānuku (earth mother):

> Before there was light there was darkness. Ranginui and Papatūānuku were bound together. So tight was their embrace that their children birthed between them were in complete darkness. Ranginui and Papatūānuku's children's curiosity and anger from being kept in a dark confined space forced them to devise a plan for how they could separate their parents. After many suggestions and failed attempts to push their parents apart, Tane the youngest child lay down on his mother Papatūānuku. Placing his feet firmly on his father Ranginui he began to chant ancient karakia (Māori incantations). From Tane's karakia he was bestowed with an almighty strength that enabled him to force his parents apart, and from that separation of Ranginui and Papatūānuku there became light. Ranginui and Papatūānuku's children became Māori gods and were responsible for the existence of humanity and the origin of the world to which we all belong today. Even though Ranginui and Papatūānuku had many children, some are referred to in the literature more than others. For example, Tāne mahuta, god of the forest,

Tāwhirimātea god of the wind, Tangaroa god of the sea and Tūmatauenga, god of war. Before the procreation of the first human form Hine-ahu-one, Tāne mahuta created a union with another deity Pakoti and together they procreated Harakeke.

Terminology

Harakeke is a plant that has long stiff sword-like blades or leaves that curl over, and tall stalks with reddish flowers that are situated in the middle of the plant. The harakeke plant has been cultivated over many years and on the arrival of the European settlers' harakeke was renamed flax or phormuim tenax (scientific name) in the 17th century by two naturalists, Johann and Georg Forster, who sailed with Captain James Cook. "Phormium is derived from the Greek word for basket, while 'tenax' is Latin for strong" (Te Ara, 2016, p. 3).

Location and different types of harakeke

Harakeke is found all throughout Aotearoa (New Zealand) and depending on the surrounding environment the plant will develop certain properties that will be harvested for different purposes. There are two species of New Zealand flax. Phormium tenax, also known as harakeke or swamp flax, and Phormium cookianum, also known whaririki or mountain flax (Swarbick, 2007).

Figure 1. Taken near Ohinemutu's Point, Owhata Marae, Rotorua, New Zealand (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph, 2017)

Arawa flax (as shown above in Figure 1) is one type of Phormium tenax that can be found in the Bay of Plenty Region, situated on the shores of Lake Rotorua at Hinemoa's Point in Owhata, and surrounding Lake Rotoiti, which is otherwise known as Te Roto-Whaiti-i-kite-ai-a-Ihenga-Ariki-ai-a-Kahumatamoemoe. Arawa flax is described as having long, medium green coloured blades, wide stems with orange-red colour keel and margins, and high flower heads, although it rarely flowers. It is often used for making piupiu (traditional Māori flax fibre garment), as this type of flax has large amounts of muka (flax fibre), which is strong and difficult to break or tear apart. According to Sue Scheele (2005), Arawa is also "ideal for whenu [flax strand] and aho [flax fibre string/cord] in kākahu [garment/clothes] and for muka kete" [flax fibre Māori basket] (p. 10).

Kohunga is another type of Phormium tenax flax that is located in Te Kuiti and Oparure in the Maniapoto region. It has a black keel and margins, long blue-green coloured blades that tend to fold over, and tall flower heads. The muka is easier to extract when the plant is old; however, the younger the plant, the higher the possibility of the muka breaking further towards the tips of the strands. Kohunga is strong and contains lots of fibres. It is good for extracting muka and is often used by the people of Ngati Maniapoto to make fine garments, such as korowai (traditional Māori cloak). Kohunga can also be boiled and when dried the leaf turns to a pale white colour. When un-boiled and left to dry out naturally, the leaf will darken.

Te pā harakeke

Figure 2. Taken near Ohinemutu's Point, Owhata Marae, Rotorua, New Zealand (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph, 2017)

The Arawa Harakeke plant has a fan-like shape (as depicted in Figure 2). Te pā harakeke (flax plant or bush) is symbolic for Māori as a metaphor that reflects the whānau (family) unit. The middle shoot is the rito or the child. The two shoots either side of the rito are the awhi rito or the parents, and the left over strands or sword like leaves that flank the parents are the grandparents and tūpuna (ancestors). This symbol or model is used to portray the whakapapa of a whānau, or the family tree. In order to harvest the harakeke correctly, only the leaves from the grandparents and outwards are cut. This ensures that the child is always supported by the parents, and the whakapapa will continue to prosper just as the plant will continue to also grow and flourish. "The whānau share common roots and derive strength and stability from forming part of a larger whole" (Christchurch City Libraries, 2016, p. 1). A whakataukī (proverb) often used to express the unity and strength within the whānau, and harakeke bush is,

E hara taku toa, I te toa takitahi ēngari he toa taki tini

(My strength is not from myself alone,

but from the strength of the group)

Mātauranga Māori, tikanga

Mātauranga Māori incorporates a knowledge base that encapsulates the physical and spiritual elements of working with harakeke and conducting mahi rāranga. Mātauranga provides people with an understanding of tikanga. The word tikanga can be translated in English to mean the customs or protocols of the Māori culture, although this is a somewhat simplistic translation. Gallagher (2003) states "it must be noted that a perfect picture will never be painted when trying to give Māori concepts an English definition" (as cited in Te Ratana, 2012, p. 11).

Tikanga can be practised when conducting mahi harakeke. For example when a novice individual is chosen and taught by a tohunga (expert practitioner) to commence mahi rāranga. This took place amongst ceremonial practices and under strict conditions. For example, the novice was not to touch kai (food) and was fed by another person, as this engagement with the work and environment was seen as being tapu (sacred). The tohunga would take the individual to a special place called Te Whare Pora (house of weaving). Hine-te-iwa-iwa is the

deity of Te Whare Pora, so when the individual enters the house of weaving they are also metaphorically entering the house of Hineteiwaiwa, which evokes a spiritual connection between the participants, the space that they inhabit, and the goddess herself. Cultural knowledge is shared and handed down from the tohunga to the novice. The tohunga would karakia in order to give thanks and praise to Hineteiwaiwa and to prepare the individual for the application and uptake of knowledge that he/she would receive. According to Te Kanawa (2014) "the practice was discouraged by the 10th century missionaries, and very few weavers in the present day practice experience this initiation ceremony" (p. 2). It is also noteable that prior to colonisation, males also partook in mahi rāranga; however, weaving was predominantly practised by females (Te Kanawa, 2014).

It is also common for karakia to take place before harvesting the harakeke plant. Karakia acknowledges the mauri or life force of the plant and acknowledges its whakapapa. Karakia is also used to give thanks for the resource that sustains people's everyday needs, and to ask for permission to enter the realm of the plant to harvest. "Pakea te hau taringa" is one oriori (lullaby) that can be used to ask te pā harakeke for permission to enter and harvest. This oriori simply translates as 'let the breath of you brush across my ear'. If the person reciting the karakia receives a breeze across their ear this signifies that they have permission to enter te pā harakeke. If they do not receive this breeze across their ear then that is an indication that they have not been given permission to harvest this particular pa harakeke bush.

Women who are menstruating or pregnant are unable to harvest the harakeke, as this is also considered tapu and a breach of tikanga. Other protocols or customs around Aotearoa stipulate that harvesting is not to be conducted at night or in the rain. No food is to be consumed around the plant, no person is to step over the harakeke and the plant must be cut in a way that is respectful and sustainable. The strands must also be cut on a diagonal angle away from the middle of the plant, so the rain water will flow to the outside of the plant. This prevents the middle of the plant from dying as a result of receiving excessive amounts of water.

History of mahi rāranga

Significance to the people

Before the invasion of European settlers, Harakeke was of great importance for Māori, as flax was a resource that was used in their everyday lives. As Lawless, Wirihana, Pahewa and Turi-Tiakitai (2018) state "harakeke is the most common plant material used for weaving in Aotearoa" (p. 11). Māori used flax leaves or fibres to make garments, containers, ropes, fishing nets, matting, taonga, and certain areas of the plant, such as the roots or flower nectar, were also used for medicinal purposes, food and drink (Scheele & Orchiston, 1994).

The flax fibre industry

Due to the easily accessible nature of this resource and the many benefits associated with using harakeke, Māori were able to make ropes, sails and other products with which to trade or barter with the Pākehā settlers for European goods such as blankets, muskets, tobacco and alcohol (Swarbrick, 2007). By the 1800's the fibre extracted from harakeke was being traded with Australia and Britain, and mills were set up throughout New Zealand to cater for demand, and in order to reduce time constraints and mass produce higher quantities of the fibres extracted from the harakeke, machines were also invented (Swarbrick, 2007). However, in the early 1900's, the introduction of a yellow leaf disease reduced production and quality (Scheele, 1997). Production also declined following the introduction of steam ships, which reduced the market for harakeke ropes and sails. Demand for harakeke fibres further declined as a result of technological change. This combination of factors consequently affected the harakeke plant, the demand for its fibres, and the productivity of the many mills that were situated throughout Aotearoa, which ultimately resulted in the decline of the flax fibre industry by the end of the 1920's/1930's (Swarbrick, 2007).

Continuing revitalisation efforts of rāranga knowledge and skills

Rene Orchiston, a renowned researcher of harakeke, lived in Gisborne and during the 1970's travelled throughout Aotearoa talking to weavers from different areas in order to gather and record information pertaining to the

different types of and uses for flax (Scheele & Orchiston, 1994). She believed this knowledge was declining due to the arrival and influences of the European settlers. Whilst she recorded around sixty different varieties of harakeke, for example Tiore, Kohunga, Raumoa, and Arawa, she also acknowledged that some of the same flax plants have different names in different regions (Scheele & Orchiston, 1994).

Due to the decline of the mahi rāranga, many rōpū (groups) were formed in order to gather the mātauranga of mahi rāranga and revive these skills. The establishment of Te Rōpū Wahine Māori Toko i te Ora, translated as the Māori Womens Welfare league (MMWL), in 1951 (Connell, 2011), and can be partially attributed to the shared desire to revitalise rāranga among some of its members (Māori Womens Welfare League, 2014). Led by Mrs Rumatiki Wright of the Ngati Poneke Centre in Wellington, this national body gained over 3000 members (Māori Womens Welfare League, 2018). It was comprised of Māori women and was a response to the perceived need for tribal communities that were not dominated by men.

The MMWL was created with the aim of tackling the social welfare challenges that contemporary Māori faced in their everyday lives, such as education, health and housing. Mrs Rumatiki was responsible for recruiting women from all over Aotearoa to increase the memberships whilst also identifying experts in specific areas to build the many branches of the corporation. The MMWL had many strands. One being to maintain traditional and contemporary art and craft forms, as well as being able to pass this knowledge down through future generations. Mrs Rumatiki met Rangimarie Hetet, an expert in the mātauranga and traditional methods of rāranga. Rangimarie later agreed to attend a conference where she displayed taonga (treasures) that she was making at the time. Astonished by her skills in mahi rāranga, many of the people who attended invited her to other conventions to demonstrate rāranga and display more of her taonga (Putaranui, 2000). Rangimarie contributed much of her time to teaching others and sharing her knowledge. Ultimately, this was a significant contribution to the revival of the skill rāranga. The MMWL has contributed significantly to the revival of the skills

associated with rāranga, as it established a national body of women, like Rangimarie Hetet, who were able to present their taonga and share their skills and knowledge amongst national and international communities. This consequently, inspired others to take up the art form and maintain rāranga knowledge and skills for future generations. As a result, weaving groups have been established all over Aotearoa.

Emily Schuster another well-known rāranga expert who "helped establish Te Whare Rārānga (weaving school), an initiative run by New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute in 1969" (Black, 2017). The tauira (students) were taught the necessary skills and tikanga associated with mahi rāranga where they are able to make taonga such as piupiu, kete and whāriki (traditional Māori mats) (New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute, 2018). In the late 1900s educational instituitons such as Te Wānanga O Awanuirānga, Te Wānanga O Raukawa and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TWOA) were also established. The aim being to provide quality programmes within the tertiary education sector in Aotearoa. Of importance is the vision to promote, grow and sustain language, knowledge and culture in all its manifestations and with regard to tikanga practice. This institution also operates in the present time and offers programmes from certificate level to a Masters level.

Practical mahi rāranga skills

Harakeke continues to be of great importance to the Māori people. According to Te Ratana (2012) "Te pā harakeke is the most common natural resource used in rāranga" (p. 8). Many iwi and hapū continue to use harakeke in their everyday lives. Tuhouranga a subtribe in the Te Arawa region uses harakeke to make kai baskets and piupiu for their whānau who provide cultural performances in the tourism industry, and at local and national kapahaka (traditional dance) competitions. Harakeke is also used to create taonga which consist of garments such as korowai and whāriki, kete (traditional Māori baskets) which can also be adorned with various patterns used for a specific purpose or for a special occasion. Rāranga requires specialised knowledge, techniques and skills in order to produce these taonga. These include understanding all aspects of the process, including obtaining the correct tools, designing what is to be created, harvesting

sustainably, preparing the harakeke and weaving to make the taonga (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. The process of mahi rāranga learned during Te Wānanga o Aotearoa's Kāwai Raupapa Level 4 certificate (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph, 2017)

Pounamu

Whakapapa of pounamu

Just like harakeke, there are tribal variations in explanations of the origins of pounamu (jade/greenstone), and how it came to be situated in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Brailsford (1984) identified a number of traditional narratives where pounamu was associated with a fish. One legend talks about how Kupe's voyaging companion Ngahue rode a fish named Poutini to Aotearoa to escape from his enemy Hine-tu-ahonga. From Hawaiki he fled to Tuhua Bay in the Bay of Plenty region where he was forced to continue his travels when he was followed. Eventually he relocated to the west coast of the South Island, where he hid Poutini in the bed of the Arahura River. Another addition or version of this legend describes Ngahue's continuing journey from Tuhua bay, but Poutini was lead upstream and became weak and fatigued by the journey, eventually dying and turning into greenstone. Before returning, Ngahue tore off one side of his

fish and took it back to Hawaiki where it was made into toki (adze), which would later be used to carve the Arawa canoe (Brailsford, 1984).

Other narratives describe the colour of the greenstone and how the different types of pounamu were given their names. One narrative talks about a man named Tama who had three wives. They all left him and on his journey to find his wives he discovered one of them had been turned into translucent greenstone. "The tears ran down his face and on to the hard stone, penetrating it until the tangiwai was flecked with tears" (Brailsford, 1984, p. 8). That is how this specific type of pounamu received the name Tangiwai. Tangi translated/meaning to cry and wai is water. Other types of pounamu have been named after the birds and fish that were caught for kai, such as the Totoweka (New Zealand native bird) and Inanga (whitebait). Looking at the pounamu you will notice that the stone has similar characteristics to the bird or fish after which it was named. The colour of Inanga is murky white just like the colour of the Inanga fish. There are many shades of pounamu, but to an untrained eye the type of pounamu and colour is not often revealed until the stone has been cut. In the water, the outer edge of the stone is often milky in colour due to erosion and oxidisation.

Although there are various versions of how pounamu came to be situated in Aotearoa, one thing that is commonly expressed between many tribes is that pounamu is a significant taonga to the Māori people. "To the Māori pounamu was a gift of the gods, a treasure of immense spiritual and material value" (Brailsford, 1984, p.1).

Terminology

Māori named the stone pounamu. However, just as rāranga was renamed on the arrival of Captain James Cook, so too was pounamu. "When Europeans took a look at New Zealand in the 18th century they described pounamu as "green talc" or "green stone" … (Riley, 1987, p. 5), so they identified pounamu but referred to what was for Māori precious taonga as merely a green stone. "In 1863 the French mineralist Augustin Damour scientifically defined the terminology for the two different varieties of jade – nephrite and jadeite" (Beck & Mason, 2012, p. 7). Jade derives from the Latin word "ilia", whereas nephrite refers further back to

the Greek "nephros" (Riley, 1987, p. 5). Brailsford (1984) sums thus up quite succinctly as, "to the geologist it is nephrite, or jade, to the Māori, pounamu, and to many others greenstone" (p. 1).

Nephrite and jadeite are located in other countries, such as Europe, China, British Columbia and Australia. Here, in Aotearoa, the pounamu is nephrite, and there are many different varieties of nephrite jade, including: inanga, kahurangi, kawakawa, kokopu, totoweka and flower jade. The colour of pounamu in Aotearoa varies from light pale green to black.

Location of pounamu in Aotearoa

"The location of all known jade deposits in New Zealand is the South Island, referred to by many as Te Wai Pounamu – the water in which pounamu dwelt" (Riley, 1987, p. 5). Several specific fields have been identified as containing pounamu along the west coast: Nelson Field, Westland Field, Jackson Field, Wakatipu Field, Wananka Field, and Anita Bay Field. However, according to Brailsford (1984) "in pre European times the lower Arahura River area was probably the richest pounamu source in Aotearoa" (p. 14). In the present day pounamu is often sourced and removed using a helicopter, as the boulders are often large in size and weigh several tonnes.

Mātauranga Māori, tikanga

Similar to rāranga, tikanga was also practised when engaging in mahi pounamu. For example when Māori would set off to find pounamu, the tohunga would ask for spiritual guidance and in his dreams he would be told where to go to retrieve the pounamu. The tohunga would give directions to the search party, and when the stone was located the boulder was named after the atua who guided them to the pounamu. Karakia was used in every aspect of mahi pounamu. Locating the pounamu, removing the pounamu, cutting the pounamu, and carving the pounamu to make tools and taonga, such as adzes, mere (stone weapon), or hei tiki (human embryo) to adorn the people. The karakia below by Cowan (as cited in Riley, 1987, p. 44) "is a working karakia (chant) entreating Tangaroa god of the sea and parent of Pounamu to break up the stone".

ko hauru tai e	in this karakia evoking the sound
ko au teitei e	and the visual image of a raging sea,
Tangaroa ripiripia	Tangaroa is exhorted to ‘slice open
Tangaroa haehae	and split apart the jade boulder.
Tangaroa wawahia	

Just like mahi rāranga, mahi pounamu was not conducted where food was being prepared and cooking taking place, and woman were not to go near the craftsman or house when pounamu was being worked. “It was believed that should a woman pass over the water that dripped from a saw-cut stone, she would bear sickly children” (Riley, 1987, p. 46). “As with all stages in the manufacture there was a chant to accompany polishing to placate and nurture the spirit contained in the pounamu” (Riley, 1987, p. 52). Whilst tikanga pertaining to mahi pounamu was well rehearsed by the people before the intrusion of Pākehā culture, similar to rāranga, the tikanga and mātauranga Māori pertaining to mahi pounamu are not commonly known and used at the present time.

History of Mahi Pounamu

Significance to the people

Just like harakeke, “pounamu, or jade is one of New Zealand’s most treasured natural resources, celebrated for its rich beauty and significance to Māori” (Beck, 2012, p. 122). Pounamu was so well known for its toughness and durability that the people would travel many weeks from the North Island to source the treasured pounamu from the South Island. Māori on the west coast of the South Island would search for pounamu after storms and on the out-going tide, as the strong force of the winds and high tides would move pounamu to higher ground where it was more visible and easier to identify after the weather had calmed.

Some boulders were very large in size and weighed several tonnes, such that it often took more than four weeks to cut the stone using simple basic tools, sandstone and water. Ruff (1950) describes nephrite as being so tough that it would take a 50-tonne pressured object to crush a piece of jade only an inch thick. This explains the lengthy time period it often took to make a jade mere

(Stack, 1935), which could be as long as a year. The pounamu was then shaped and made into ornaments, tools or weapons. These taonga were sometimes polished using an individual's natural skin oil, or oil from the liver of a mango ururoa shark (Best, 1974).

"For around 8000 years jade has held a special place in history of human development. It has been used for tools, weapons, adornment, currency, as spiritual symbol and as art medium" (Beck & Mason, 2012, p. 7). In Aotearoa, pounamu was used in people's everyday lives. Adzes were made to cut objects and carve waka (canoe). Pounamu mere were created to use in hand to hand combat, involving striking the opponent to slit the scull and thrusting the weapon to open and expose the brain. Prized possessions were worn as ornaments around the neck, such as pekapeka (a necklace depicting two bats), hei tiki (portraying a human embryo) and kakaporia (bird ring necklace or ear pendant). Other matau (hook ear pendants) would also be used to adorn one ear. These taonga were given to chiefs to represent their status or power within their tribes.

Taonga pounamu are said to have mauri (life force) and to bring mana (prestige) to the person who possesses them. As confirmed by Hanna and Menefy (1995) "its ethereal qualities making it one of the most prized possession representative of mana (spiritual power) and rank" (p. 2). The treasures become family heirlooms and are often passed down from generation to generation, remembering those who have passed over. The person to whom it was gifted was said to have responsibilities to maintain the mana of the people who had held it previously. In return the treasure would guide the current owner to behave in a certain manner that would lead the people in the right direction. Just like harakeke, pounamu was used for its medicinal purposes and as a source of protection. "It was believed that the ground stone could alleviate kidney ailments… also that jade, worn as an ornament, would keep away illnesses" (Riley, 1987, p. 5). Gale (1997) describes the roles of different people in the community and their contributions to mahi pounamu.

> "In working this material the craftsman found a degree of immortality. His skill enabled him to project the past into the future, and his craft granted him stature, or mana, of almost sacred proportions. In a world

> where the lines between the natural and supernatural were blurred, the craftsman and the tohunga each performed a mystical role that held the people together" (Gale, 1997, p. 13).

The pounamu industry

People voyaged for weeks to source and trade dried fish, birds, kumara, forest berries, flaxed fibre products, carving and tā moko services to exchange for pounamu. "With food preserved and dried against the leaner winter months [the people] turned to their major industry, the working of pounamu" (Brailsford, 1984, p. 22). According to Riley (1987) "the arrival of the Pākehā greatly lessened the value of pounamu in Māori society. Its mana was weakened as the gun proved superior to the mere of the chief and as the steel axe and chisel took place of the jade adze and chisel" (p. 24). Similar to the rāranga industry the pounamu industry experienced many changes after the 1500s due to technological changes and the import of other European tools, diamond saws and instruments for everyday use. What once took 4-6 weeks to cut would now take minutes or hours, and the need to make toki and other pounamu instruments or weapons for everyday use reduced with the introduction of new steel tools and guns. Whilst taonga pounamu are no longer used as weapons, they are still created as ornaments and family heirlooms, and continue to be treasured and highly prized possessions amongst many Māori communities.

Practical mahi pounamu skills

Many taonga and heirlooms remain with Māori families today, including those which have been passed down through the generations. Some taonga have also been acquired by museums, including in Britain and other parts of the world. Mere and toki are no longer used as weapons for combat or as tools for everyday use, but they are still being made today as symbols that represent strength and mana, and to reinforce the spiritual connections between the people, places and the whenua (land), including those who have passed over to the spiritual realm and those who still remain in the physical.

Toki is often made into a pendant to be warn around the neck. The "toki is said to give the wearer mana and strength, it could be a good gift for a child

who is struggling in school, with health issues or just needs a confidence boost" (Mountain Jade, 2017, p. 2). Other contemporary modern designs have also been created, such as the koru (depicting new beginnings, growth and harmony), hei matau (fish hook, providing protection over water), twist (signifies the close bond or relationship between people) and manaia (spiritual guardian). Many tourists who come to New Zealand are told about the special significance of pounamu to Māori, and will often purchase pounamu before they return to their country of residence, either as a gift for others or a keepsake for themselves to remember their trip to Aotearoa. Like the first settlers, many tourists appreciate the spiritual significance pounamu can offer and are delighted to obtain such a precious taonga.

Figure 4. Rākai Jade one-day course, Rotorua, New Zealand (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph, 2017)

From the top left to the right of the diagram in Figure 4, the skills and processes required to make taonga are illustrated. Modern tools have enabled taonga pounamu to be created more efficiently, but whilst "modern technology allows us to work the stone faster… we still need a good eye and steady hands to control the result" (Gale, 1997, p. 35). The design and spiritual elements thus remain largely unchanged, and considerable knowledge, effort and skill are still

required. However, although “the challenges of working with pounamu may be daunting the rewards, both material and spiritual are great” (Gale, 1997, p. 16).

Situating the Research Context

The almost complete absence of mahi toi in skills education reveals the influence of the political ideology of the people who have authoritative power in government, and demonstrates that formal education systematically overvalues hard skills and undervalues and under-appreciates Māori mahi toi skills, thereby hindering the development of these skills in training and formal education. A preliminary investigation revealed that there are very few institutions for learning and gaining the skills associated with mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Puia, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Rākai Jade and Mountain Jade were identified as training providers. These comprise a combination of public tertiary educational institutions (TEIs) that are directly funded by the government, and private tertiary enterprises (PTEs) that are not directly funded by the government.

A thorough literature review of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu provided broad information on the whakapapa of these skills, different variations of these resources, their historical importance to Māori, and how these skills contributed to people’s everyday lives. Literature was also obtained that described the decline of the flax fibre and pounamu industries, and the revitalisation efforts to restore these skills. The literature revealed the mātauranga and tikanga involved in conducting mahi pounamu and mahi rāranga. Many sources also provided step-by-step guides on how to make taonga using these skills, but this literature focused almost exclusively on hard skills and practical knowledge, rather than interpersonal and intrapersonal ways of being and knowing. The researcher’s practical learning experiences while obtaining the skills required to conduct mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu have also been included to demonstrate the practical knowledge required to make taonga. This information acknowledges the vast amount of hard skill knowledge that can be obtained from the existing literature, but also highlights the internal personal and psychological development that is largely absent from the literature.

Whilst there was substantial historical information obtained about mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, a limited number of studies were located that had been conducted with a focus on contemporary mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu in the 21st century, and the soft skills that can be attained which contribute to personal, professional and Māori cultural development. The only available research addressing development issues was based on the One programme, which was delivered through the Waitematā District Heath Board, and used rāranga as a tool for working with whānau to assist in healing and overall wellbeing, self-regulation and emotional adjustment. The lead programme contributor, Kirkwood (2016), asserts "rāranga harakeke is a tool that is used as a coping strategy that incorporates the senses of smell, taste, vision, hearing, touch and also oral motor sense (oratory) by providing a safe space for talking therapy to occur" (p. 1). Results of this study indicated that the participants' stress levels lowered when they were conducting rāranga harakeke, and that participants built stronger relationships with their whānau, as there was a safe space to talk, sing, laugh and share their accomplishments, as well as celebrate the taonga that they had made. The results also showed that mahi rāranga enhanced participants' cultural identity and wairua (spiritual connections).

The researcher was unable to find any similar studies about mahi pounamu that had been conducted to highlight the personal, professional or cultural benefits of learning this skill in the 21st century. This indicated a significant gap in the existing literature on the contemporary benefits for Māori of the acquisition of traditional mahi pounamu and mahi rāranga skills.

Rationale, Aim, Objectives and Research Question

Prior to colonisation, Māori skills were of vital importance. More recently, revitalisation efforts have aimed to retain and maintain these skills, and to conserve and adapt traditional ways of life that have been conducted over many decades, so as to ensure they continue today, for the betterment of future generations. Whilst the practical knowledge associated wth mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu continues to be of great significance to Māori, it is important to discover how the personal, professional and cultural benefits of training people

in Māori skills contributes to Māori development. With this in mind my aim in undertaking this research project was to gain a deeper understanding of the hard and soft skills associated with mahi toi, and to find out how these skills contribute to personal, professional and cultural development, in order to promote the value of directing more funding towards mahi toi skills in education.

The research has two main objectives. The first objective is to provide an appreciation for the selected mahi toi skills and their associated mātauranga by illustrating the benefits of learning mahi toi skills. The second objective was to demonstrate how the learning and teaching of these skills have been implemented within private (PTE) and public (TEI) tertiary educational contexts by the key informants who shared their pūrākau.

My research question is "what are the personal, professional and cultural benefits of learning mahi toi skills such as mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu in the 21st century?

Chapter 2: Kaupapa Māori Approach to Research

In this chapter, I attempt to re-centre Māori cultural knowledge within this psychological study through providing a cultural lens to my methodology. I will outline my motivations for using a kaupapa Māori approach as a methodological framework by first defining kaupapa Māori, and explaining how kaupapa Māori theory and research emerged. Kaupapa Māori methods will then be presented. In this section the ethical and guiding principles whakawhanaungatanga (relationships), mana, te reo, taonga tuku iho (treasures and mātauranga for future generations) and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), are used to provide an explanation of how they shaped my research methods. Both key informants consented to being identified so anonymisation was not used. Ethical considerations and cultural accountabilities are explained through descriptions of the recruitment processes for key informants. An in-depth justification is provided for my use of a kaupapa Māori research approach (to contribute to the decolonising process), to reclaim Māori cultural knowledge and provide a cultural understanding for my key informants, our whānau, hapū, iwi and the wider community.

Being mindful that kaupapa Māori research is still on the fringe of psychological research, I explain the notions of research validity and reliability and the importance of recognising cultural authority to ensure my research is of high quality. The methods used to gather and then analyse the data collected to answer my research question are also described in this chapter. By explaining the use of kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) semi-structured interviews and photo elicitation techniques, I highlight how these qualitative methods helped build trust with key informants. Continuing a kaupapa Māori approach, I explain the relevance of presenting the interviews using a traditional Māori method called pūrākau. I conclude the chapter with a reflexive critique of the methods used with the intention of improving the research methods utilised when engaging with Māori in research of this nature.

Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa can be understood as a subject, concept, or a line of inquiry that is of a Māori nature or of interest to Māori. Māori are the indigenous people of Aotearoa and standing strong on the land is our foundation, in doing so Māori must hold firm to the kaupapa. In te ao Māori, our mātauranga Māori and tikanga are derived from our whakapapa. Whakapapa is often understood as familial and genealogical relationships, but the concept also links back to papa (the land) and to our collective relationship to Papatūānuku, emphasising the foundations that have been provided for us as Māori. This relationship and connection to where Māori come from and are affiliated to can influence how we might view, perceive and navigate the world to which we belong. Kaupapa is thus acknowledged as "the notion of ka ū ki te papa – [with] ka ū [meaning] to hold firm and papa [having a] … foundation in the concept of kaupapa itself…" (Pihama, 2017). To be strong in who you are, where you come from, and the knowledge you have acquired, while embracing the kaupapa which you are representing, is therefore an essential element of Māori identity and the reclaiming of culture post-colonisation.

In psychology, "theory" refers to a body of knowledge which attempts to describe a phenomenon or explain why certain objects or behaviours occur (Wacker, 1998). Pihama (2001) asserts that kaupapa Māori theory offers a distinctive framework, which is "based on a foundation of kaupapa Māori" (p. 110). It has been used in a range of disciplines, such as education, health, community and social practices, and has been developed in conjunction with other efforts to empower indigenous first nations' peoples to sustain their cultures, lands and languages after colonisation (Glover, 2002). Kaupapa Māori theory is often used in research "to challenge the 'norm', take a political stance, educate others, and provide alternate methodologies and methods, which challenge mainstream assumptions and better cater for cultural aspirations" (Pihama, 2001, p. 110). Ani Mikaere (2011) also accentuates the importance of whakapapa to kaupapa Māori theory, stating that whakapapa "is absolutely central to our understanding of the world" (p. 35). The kaupapa Māori theory

framework thus grows from the knowledge and understanding of who we are as Māori, our whenua, and in particular the significance of and our affiliation with ancestral lands, as well as our relationships with those places. "[W]hat kaupapa Māori theory has always done is said very clearly that we are Māori and this comes from a Māori place" (Pihama, 2017).

Māori people look back to their whakapapa, whenua, and foundations to guide and create a theoretical framework based on their mātauranga and the tikanga of where they come from and who we are as Māori. "So everything about kaupapa Māori theory is about asserting our indigenousness, it's about asserting our sovereignty, it's about being self-determining [tino rangatiratanga] …" (Pihama, 2017). This means reclaiming our land, our space, and our identity. This is how we contribute to the retention of kaupapa Māori, mātauranga Māori and tikanga to ultimately reinforce positive outcomes for Māori. This sense of looking back to my whānau and whenua for guidance and inspiration therefore provided a foundation for both the selection of my research topic and my conduct within all aspects of this research.

Kaupapa Māori Research

For many years Māori and other indigenous cultures were the subjects of research, which used inappropriate approaches, methodologies and methods to study them. They were often objectified by negligent researchers who produced findings that were fallacious, deceptive, misleading and untrue (Barnes, 2000; Powick, 2003). In her book, Decolonising Methodologies, Linda Smith (2012) claims the word 'research' "is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world's vocabulary" (p. xi), as historically it has "been a process that exploits indigenous peoples, their culture, their knowledge and their reactions" (Smith, 2012, p. xi). She claimed that "when the book was published the worlds of indigenous peoples and research intersected only to the extent that indigenous communities were most often the objects or subjects of study by non-indigenous researchers" (p. x). In contrast, kaupapa Māori research attempts to challenge the negative thoughts and feelings that have come to be associated with the word 'research' by conducting studies that are based on te ao Māori.

The enactment of tikanga and kaupapa Māori values in research generates an environment that is culturally safe and produces information that is more accurate and consistent to the Māori worldview. Graham Smith (1999b) defines kaupapa Māori research as being "for Māori, with Māori, by Māori" (as cited in Walker, Eketone & Gibbs, 2006, p. 333). This implies kaupapa Māori research should be 'for Māori', which emphasises that the research should seek to be be transformative and contribute positively to the lives of Māori. Many studies have been conducted on indigenous cultures with little deliberation, contemplation or concern for the people they were researching, or how the research could be made more beneficial to make a positive contribution in their lives. Walker et al. (2006) "conclude that kaupapa Māori research is a relevant approach for research involving Māori and that it can enhance the self-determining of Māori society" (p. 311).

Similarly, Linda Smith (2006) asserts, "Kaupapa Māori research should aim to make a positive difference for māoridom" (as cited in Turi-Tiakitai, 2015, p. 14). Smith (2012) explains that "at a common sense level research was talked about both in terms of its absolute worthlessness to us, the indigenous world, and its absolute usefulness to those who wielded it as an instrument" (p. 3). She refers to a speaker from a conference she attended claiming "I heard an Aboriginal elder in Cairns welcome researchers to his country referring to his people as 'the most researched in the world' – which I interpret as the perception of research as something which there is no apparent positive outcome" (Smith, 2012, p. xi). This reinforces why kaupapa Māori research must seek to be transformative as research should not only benefit the researcher, but also make a positive contribution to the lives of those who are involved (Smith, 2006, 2012). It should, first and foremost, be of benefit to the participants or key informants, and then to the wider community.

Graham Smith also states that research should also be conducted 'with Māori', which implies that any study involving Māori should be undertaken in collaboration with Māori playing an active participatory role in determining the goals, procedures and applications of the research. If Māori are included as part

of the research, trust can be formed through collaborative engagement, increasing the likelihood of accurate information and positive outcomes.

Kaupapa Māori research should also be conducted 'by Māori'. Although it is possible for a researcher to be from another ethnicity or culture, this is "an important requirement, but one that is debated" (Walker et al., 2006, p. 335). Studies have found that many Māori found their experiences of being researched by Pākehā unsatisfactory, inappropriate and inaccurate (Barnes, 2000; Powick, 2003). It is thought that if a researcher studying Māori is Māori, then automatically they will share an ancestry that unites and connects them inherently to each other, through whakapapa. In such circumstances, cultural familiarities arise and a foundation exists on which a stronger relationship can be built moving forward together in partnership. Whakapapa also creates obligations and accountability that transcend the individual researcher, creating a greater incentive to ensure findings accurately reflect Māori experiences, knowledge and aspirations. As a Māori researcher, I chose to use a kaupapa Māori approach to conduct this research.

Ko Pukehokio me Matawhaura oku maunga
Ko Mangapu me Rotoiti oku awa/moana
Ko Oparure me Tapuaeharuru oku marae
Ko Tainui me Te Arawa oku waka
Ko Ngati Kinohaku me Ngāti Pikiao oku hapū
Ko Ngati Maniapoto me Te Arawa oku iwi
Ko Makarita Ngapine Tangitu-Joseph toku ingoa

Because I am Māori and the key informants are also Māori, I also chose to be proactively engage in the decolonising process by selecting a topic that was of relevance to maintaining the cultural traditions of my iwi and that involved whānau members as key informants. Our whakapapa relationship and my knowledge of our shared history and tikanga aided me in conducting myself in a manner that was appropriate for engaging with these key informants. My approach was also consistent with other recent studies involving Māori participants, such as Walker et al.'s (2006) research, which positions kaupapa Māori research as having "begun to restore the faith of Māori in research. They

[Māori] have started to trust researchers, and they hope that such research can produce beneficial outcomes for Māori" (p. 342). My desire to empower Māori to determine our own research objectives and outcomes has shaped my research approach, methodologies and methods.

Kaupapa Māori research methods thus seeks to enable research to be conducted with Māori, rather than on Māori, which is beneficial and empowering for participants and communities. Finally, kaupapa Māori research in the academic field allows researchers, key informants and participants to become actively engaged in the decolonising process through challenging mainstream ideas and approaches, and asserting Māori knowledge as legimate knowledge in the research context.

Kaupapa Māori Methods

Kaupapa Māori research involves researchers and participants or key informants seeking to make a positive difference in the lives of Māori people. "Kaupapa Māori research is about control... In this type of research Māori design, gather data, analyse, and write up the research" (Walker et al., 2006, p. 333). Furthermore, Kathy Irwin (1992, as cited in Pihama, 2017) reminds us that we have our own tools and knowledge that we can use to conduct research and encourages us to be strong and creative in asserting our right to do so. She argues:

> we don't need anyone else developing tools which will help us to come to terms with who we are. We can and will do this work. Real power lies with those who design the tools – it always has. The power is ours.

This statement resonates with Moana Jackson's presentation about being brave in our kaupapa Māori research, and working through the negative stigma, challenges and issues that can arise from conducting this kind of research in a mainstream context (Jackson, 2013).

During this research project, I had to ensure that the research was 'for Māori', thereby ensuring that key informants benefited from this opportunity to share their knowledge, journeys and experiences. They received a copy of the thesis and a koha (gift). Mine and the key informants' present and future whānau will also benefit from this research, as they will have a pūrākau of their whānau

members' journey with their specific mahi toi skills. The wider community could also benefit from this research because the thesis will provide information about mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, and where people can go if they want to learn these skills. The research project is intended to ultimately contribute to Māori development and aspirations of becoming self-determining whilst asserting our sovereignty.

This research was conducted 'with Māori', therefore the key informants played an active role in guiding the research, and I will share information with them at different stages throughout the entire research process, seeking their ideas, thoughts, feelings, feedback and assent. As a researcher, I acknowledge and affirm that at times I will need to be brave in this research journey, knowing that kaupapa Māori research provides appropriate methodological frameworks to use, even though to many mainstream researchers, this approach controversial and may be considered biased or inappropriate, as it is not the norm, and risks being dismissed as invalid.

I am motivated by the conviction that kaupapa Māori research has a kaupapa that is 'for Māori (transformative), conducted with Māori (collaborative), [and] by Māori (Māori researcher)'. I have held strong to this kaupapa and to the conviction that research can be empowering rather than disempowering for Māori. This kaupapa is embodied within every aspect of this project, as the stance I have taken reflects the way the key informants and I stood together in our culture as we engaged in the research process together. By reflecting and acknowledging our past, we have been better able to understand our present, and therefore prepare and move forward into the future. Just as we, as Māori, hold together and stand strong on the land, whilst maintaining our connection to Papatūānuku and with other (past, present and future) generations, we stand together when sharing our knowledge and insights with our people.

Ethical principles

When undertaking kaupapa Māori research it is important to recognise that "ethics is about values, and ethical behaviour reflects values held by people at large. Similarly, in the context of formal research, ethics encompasses principles

which inform and guide behaviour. A review of journal articles on research ethics highlighted a number of common concepts or principles that should be addressed to ensure the conduct of research is safe, valid and reliable. According to Singh (2012), the researcher needs to:

- ensure participants do not experience any harm or discomfort;
- make sure the research is conducted in a truthful manner (honesty regarding reporting methods procedures);
- avoid bias (data analysis, data interpretation, peer review) and insure the integrity of key information;
- respect participants intellectual property (including, avoiding plagiarizing);
- maintain confidentiality (anonymity, secure storage);
- ensure responsible publication (inclusion of appropriate communities);
- obtain informed consent (participants are well informed of research, such as the use of information sheets and consent forms); and
- indicating authorship and intellectual property (who owns information).

While mainstream research principles and kaupapa Māori principles are both premised on respect for participants, at times they may be seen to conflict. For example, researchers are often discouraged from recruiting participants who they know well, or whom they are affiliated with, because the participants might feel pressured, coerced or obliged to participate. This is because it is believed that personal and power relations could affect the way that both parties engage in the research process, raising issues and the assumption that the data collected could be considered biased.

In te ao Māori it is considered both more appropriate and ‘the norm’ for people to go to those with whom they feel they already have a connection when seeking new knowledge. In most cases whakawhanaungatanga relationships have already been established, and this rapport is important to ensure trust and authenticity. In the research context, the relationship becomes a tuakana (older person, expert) teina (younger person, student) relationship, where the tuakana is the key informant with the expert knowledge, who has been approached by the researcher to share this knowledge. This power-relationship differs from mainstream participant-researcher relationships where the researcher is often perceived to have higher status and authority.

In this research project, both key informants are related to me through whakapapa, which enabled the initial expression of intent to be made. However, because of this tuakana-teina relationship, I had no power or authority over them, or the information that they chose to share. There was, therefore, very little risk that these key informants would feel pressured into giving me their consent, as their position was clearly outlined and understood by all parties, and they held the mana in this research project.

Guiding principles

Due to the negative impacts of colonisation and the misuse and misappropriation of the contributions made by whānau Māori to previous research, Māori are considered a sensitive and vulnerable community in the research context. When working to decolonise the research experience, kaupapa Māori researchers are informed by "protocols developed by Māori academic scholars to guide research that engages with cultural contexts and peoples" (Love & Tilley, 2014, p. 39). For Māori, ethics is about 'tikanga' – for tikanga reflects our values, our beliefs and the way we view the world" (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell, & Smith, 2010, p. 2). In order to provide protection and support for my key informants, the following ethical considerations were adopted to guide our engagement and commitment in this research project: whakawhanaungatanga, mana, te reo, taonga tuku iho and tino rangatiratanga. These principles not only reflect tikanga, they are also the most appropriate ethical guidelines to follow when working with Māori, as collectively they encompass all of the ethical concepts that need to be considered when conducting research in this context.

Whakawhanaungatanga (Relationships)

The principle of whakawhanaungatanga stresses the importance of building trust to enhance and maintain relationships, while at the same time creating a safe environment. Whakawhanaungatanga in kaupapa Māori research emphasises getting to know each other (whakapapa, interests) by taking time to ensure both the key informants and researcher feel comfortable; it "enables Māori to locate

themselves with those present" (Walker et al., 2006, p. 334), thus creating a trusting environment in which positive social and working relationships can occur.

In this project, whakawhanaungatanga was evident when I visited the key informants prior to commencing data collection. I built on our existing whānau (familial) relationship to foster a deeper sense of trust, and spent time getting to know what was important to them. We strengthened our pre-existing relationship by sharing our knowledge of whakapapa, telling stories, having conversations about our personal challenges and aspirations, revisiting humorous experiences, and eating kai. Kai is considered particularly important for Māori, as relationships are often created and sustained through hospitality. Sharing food with my key informants throughout the research process nourished our minds and souls, and sustained our bodies for the journey we were undertaking together.

Mana (Power and authority)

"Mana in a Māori context refers to power and authority bestowed, gained or inherited individually and collectively" (Hudson, Milne, Reynolds, Russell & Smith, 2010, p. 13). In the context of research, mana affects the potential for bias occurring during the research design, during the data analysis, and in the interpretation and reporting of the findings. In mainstream research mana, power or authority was, for many years, seen to sit with the researcher, who was considered to possess expert knowledge. Participants were typically treated as the objects of research and their experiences were used to reinforce the researcher's ideas. The failure to involve Māori in research and to communicate findings to them in ways that were meaningful was often seen to diminish mana, leading to negative perceptions of researchers. The idea of expert researcher and non-expert participant, is turned on its head in kaupapa Māori research, with the researcher being the non-expert who has come to "look, listen and learn" (Smith, 1999a).

In order to uphold the key informants' mana and not bring them into any disrepute, or belittle their mana, the research was undertaken as a collaborative project. Kidman (2008) maintains "collaboration is a necessary goal for

researchers who plan to engage within the indigenous communities" (p. 2). As Walker et al. (2006) point out "an individual claiming ownership of research, when it reflects other peoples' information, might be viewed as selfish and bad mannered" (p. 335). It was therefore important to me that the key informants knew they continued to hold the mana and authority throughout this research.

I was invited into the key informants' spaces to learn about mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. This showed respect for their mana as experts in their fields, and positioned me as their tauira, seeking to learn from them. Multiple engagements occurred throughout the research process to create opportunities that enabled the key informants to check and edit my interpretation of information they provided; as well amend, extend, revise or make further suggestions. As a result of working collaboratively with them, they had the opportunity to contribute throughout the entire research process. This mitigated the potential for bias, respected the key informants' intellectual property, and upheld their mana and the integrity of the knowledge shared.

Te Reo (Revitalisation of the language)

Te Reo is an important aspect of kaupapa Māori research, as prior to colonisation "Māori had an oral tradition" (Naumann, 2016, p. 30). Te reo is the native language of Aotearoa and its retention is a significant principle that needs to be considered when conducting kaupapa Māori research, as it is imperative that Māori continue to work together to retain and sustain our language. Walker et al. (2006) state that "…kaupapa Māori research aims to encourage the revitalisation of te reo" (p. 334).

This research incorporated aspects of te reo in an effort to contribute to the resurgence of the Māori language. It was important to make sure that I did not offend my key informants or the wider community through the use of incorrect or inappropriate terminology, so in order to ensure that I used te reo correctly, a te reo language expert checked and reviewed my use of terminology in this thesis. Where appropriate, I also engaged in karakia with key informants, as this was another way of learning, embracing and growing in the language. Although I am not fluent in te reo and was unable to write the entire thesis in te

reo, I have extended my own vocabulary, used terminology throughout the thesis, and provided a glossary to contribute to efforts to support and normalise the language both in society and in the context of research. This was intended to make a positive contribution to the revitalisation of te reo and ensure that our taonga tuku iho are sustained for future generations.

Taonga tuku iho (Mātauranga for future generations)

Taonga tuku iho are cultural heirlooms or treasures. The valuing of them is related to reclaiming and maintaining our mātauranga Māori and mahi toi skills for future generations. In order to address the decline of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu as a consequence of colonisation and contemporary lifestyles, Māori must create effective ways to transfer the knowledge from past tūpuna, to continue to make this knowledge accessible and available for present and future generations. In this project, key informants shared their knowledge of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu with me as a member of their extended whānau. Our intention was to work together to ensure that this knowledge was sustained for future generations and that it would be publicly available for the benefit of the wider community. While permission has been obtained for information from this research to be used in future presentations and academic publications, as these are the ways researchers and scholars pass on knowledge, the status of mahi tohi as taonga tuku iho means this will only be considered when the explicit authorisation of the key informants has been obtained.

Tino rangatiratanga (Self-determination)

According to Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002) one main principle of kaupapa Māori research is tino rangatiratanga. Tino rangatiratanga asserts the power and authority to be autonomous. In kaupapa Māori research this reflects the ability to create, deploy, analyse and conduct a research project using Māori tikanga, values and beliefs, thereby enabling Māori to gain absolute sovereignty or control of a research project. In this research, collaborative decisions were made regarding the selection of resources, tools, methodology and methods in consultation with the key informants. Tino rangatiratanga also informed my ethical behaviour, as it gave me and my key informants the opportunity to

discuss and decide where this information could be published or presented, thereby ensuring responsible publication. This motivation influenced our decisions to utilise pūrākau as a way to present the findings of this research, and to create a form of cultural knowledge that could be gifted to our present and future whānau.

Informed consent

For Māori, the spoken word is particularly important (Naumann, 2016). Throughout the research process, key informants were involved in conversations about the research process and goals. In addition to providing a formal written information sheet (APPENDIX A), I also repeatedly reminded them verbally that I was available in person, via email or cell phone to discuss and clarify any information regarding the research goals, outcomes, or their participation in the study at any time. Obtaining written consent (APPENDIX B) to participate was initiated at the first kanohi ki kanohi engagement, as signed consent is consistent with western research practices. However, several discussions had occurred prior to this, in order to establish their willingness to participate and to discuss their contributions and concerns. Additionally, but more importantly, in te ao Māori, our interactions were negotiated, and for research purposes, the key informants provided verbal consent on several occasions. Repeat affirmations of consent were particularly important when sensitive information was being discussed. This practice is consistent with Māori values and cultural practices.

Anonymity

Maintaining confidentiality, often involves assurances of anonymity, for example, by using pseudonyms and ensuring the secure storage of information. For Māori, identity and collective responsibility are important when passing on knowledge and sustaining it for future generations. For this reason, informants were given the choice as to whether or not they wished to remain anonymous. Both of them elected to make themselves known in the thesis, and provided verbal and written consent to be identified. The key informants understood and acknowledged the importance of being able to share their journey and

knowledge of rāranga and pounamu for future generations, and this was reflected in their decision.

Ethical support for the researcher

Glover (2002) emphasises the importance of kaumātua (elders) involvement when conducting kaupapa Māori research, stating that Māori elders provide a guidance, protection, spiritual oversight and keep cultural practices in the forefront of research. A kaumātua, my kuia Mary Moanaroa Mihipeka Tangitu (nee Gardiner) provided me with the spiritual guidance and support I required to conduct my research truthfully, authentically and honourably. I was honest in my intent, authentic in the use of tikanga Māori and the practices of kaupapa Māori research, and honourable to my key informants to maintain their mana and integrity.

This research project was reviewed by the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee in the School of Psychology, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Waikato, and was granted approval on the August 3, 2017. File reference number #17:53

Quality of Research

The following subsection describes who has the authority to validate the quality of this research.

Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are two principles that are often associated with determining the value of Western research. Validity is concerned with the research data obtained and whether the findings are accurately interpreted and reflected in the information or report provided (Roberts, Priest & Traynor, 2006). Reliability is concerned with research procedures and tools and whether the methods conducted produce accurate results. When conducting kaupapa Māori research using a kaupapa Māori approach the notion of validity and reliability is always questioned and critiqued by non-Māori.

Jackson (2013) has highlighted many challenges and issues that can arise when conducting kaupapa Māori research through the world view of non-Māori.

> Hence one question asked by mainly non-researchers is: does kaupapa Māori research satisfy the rigours of research enough to produce reliable and valid data? The straightforward answer is yes, but of course it is more complex than that. Much depends on the researcher and if they are clear about the research and methodology, and whether the findings are consistent with the research objectives, and so forth.

I believe that kaupapa Māori research can only be valid and reliable when it attends to the authenticity of te ao Māori and tikanga. This is reflected in how I have chosen to collect, analyse and present my findings, and how I have addressed my research question and objectives. Walker et al. (2006) remind us that "kaupapa research is first a philosophy, then a strategy, and when carried out it will produce acceptable research" (p. 337). Validity and reliability in the Māori context must therefore remain for Māori, by and with Māori.

In this research project the key informants are the authorities of their experiences and therefore the rightful authority to validate the reliability of the data analysis and granted approval for submission. The key informants were given the opportunity throughout the research process to review and give feedback on their pūrākau in order to make sure that the interpretation of the data was correct and a true reflection of their experiences with mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu. The final approval given from the key informants acknowledges that they have read and are satisfied with the content subsequently supporting the integrity of the research.

My supervisors also assisted me in my research to ensure that I am conducting the research appropriately. I gathered the themes collected from the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews myself, however, it was independently reviewed by my supervisors. This process ensures that the methods that I have used are reliable and accurately reflect the data I have collected and analysed.

Data Collection

The next sections outline the methods used to gather the data from my key informants.

Kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) semi structured interviews

According to O'Carroll (2013b) "kanohi ki te kanohi is an important part of Māori society cultural practices" (p. 446). Kanohi ki te kanohi interviews are appropriate in te ao Māori as meeting in person enhances the relationship of both parties. Physically being present acknowledges that the researcher has made an effort to meet face-to-face and has shown respect and commitment to the key informants, and honours the kaupapa or what you are trying to achieve. In this instance the kaupapa is this research project. The method of meeting kanohi ki te kanohi creates an environment where all parties can be engaged in the principle of whakawhanaungatanga. Meeting face-to-face also allows the researcher to identify any discomfort that the key informant may be experiencing through their body language such as frowns or nervous tapping (Cavana, Delahaye and Sekaran, 2001). The detection of uncomfortable behaviours is important for Māori because discomfort and concern may not always be verbalised, but still needs to be acknowledged and addressed rather than being left unresolved. Questions administered (APPENDIX D) during face-to-face interviews were therefore selected because they provide the best opportunity for participants to engage in dialogue, challenge aspects of the research, or clarify information, which minimises the risk of discomfort and uncertainty. Key informants were advised prior to commencing the interview that they were able to stop me at any time during the interview if they wanted me to clarify any information.

Photo elicitation

The method of photo elicitation was selected as it was a way to re-establish and maintain relationships, trust and enhance whakawhanaungatanga. Ultimately contributing to the fluid collection of knowledge which would help answer the

research question and objectives. The use of photo elicitation is also consistent with the values inherent in kaupapa Māori research, as this method gives the key informants the opportunity to actively contribute and to participate in the research project. It is a means of working collaboratively 'with Māori' and demonstrating research integrity.

In this research key informants were asked questions pertaining to the institution (APPENDIX E), and given the opportunity during the first kanohi ki te kanohi interview to share existing pictures or take photographs using the researcher's electronic device to illustrate the organisation where they were employed or taught the skill. The photographs or pictures from the photo elicitation exercise were returned to the key informants two weeks later and with their permission, some of the photographs have been used within this thesis.

Presentation of Findings

The following section describes how the data collected has been presented in the findings section as a pūrākau of the key informants' journeys and experiences with either mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu.

Pūrākau

Pūrākau is the name used to describe Māori narratives. According to Le Grice and Braun (2016) pūrākau is defined as "cultural narratives that are encoded with a rich resource of mātauranga Māori" (p. 152). The narrative which explains the whakapapa of Harakeke provided on page 16 is an example of a pūrākau. Traditionally pūrākau were shared as a normal part of Māori people's everyday lives. Kaumātua would pass down the practical and allegorical knowledge to the tamariki (children) through the use of pūrākau. Lee (2009) explains that "storytelling has always been one of the key ways knowledge was sustained and protected within indigenous communities" (p. 2). However, after the arrival of Pākehā the use of this cultural practice was replaced and Māori assimilated into western culture, adapting to their styles and methods, as pūrākau and Māori traditional stories were often thought of as merely myths and legends, which

non-Māori often dismiss as being fictional or untrue. This perception is incorrect as prior to colonisation te reo was verbally communicated through the use of pūrākau, which was the main way of transferring knowledge amongst Māori communities.

In the present-day, pūrākau has been revitalised in both social and research contexts. According to Lee (2009), "indigenous researchers have only re-employed popular qualitative storytelling approaches such as the life-history method to ensure contemporary lives and realities are heard, but are also reviving traditional modes of storytelling in contemporary ways" (Lee, 2009, p. 2). Māori need to obtain the method of pūrākau in their research as a way of contributing to decolonisaiton, and reviatlising Māori methods which lives were onced based. In the same way "Māori writers 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 lives and issues" (Lee, 2009, p. 3).

To be brave, as a researcher conducting kaupapa Māori research, means being willing to take a stance and follow in the footsteps of Patricia and Hone. Although pūrākau is often used as a method of narrative inquiry, I would like to use pūrākau as a method to present my findings. My decision to use pūrākau as a method reflects Lee's (2009) stance which asserts that "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" (p. 4). Therefore, I have chosen to retrieve the use of pūrākau as a means of participating in a form of decolonisation, and to adapt this to the context of my research by gathering the pūrākau of my key informants and presenting these in my findings section.

The pūrākau that have been created is based on the data collected from the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews, and will benefit the key informants and their wider whānau and communities. It can be a rewarding and fulfilling exercise for someone to reflect on their life experiences and for the extended whānau to share the pūrākau of their family member. Providing the key informants pūrākau

in the findings section reflects and reinforces the importance of ‘kaupapa research for Māori’.

Data Analysis

Thematic Analysis

The data collected from the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews was presented as pūrākau in the findings chapter so that whānau would have a narrative about their whānau member, and then the pūrākau were further analysed using thematic analysis. Main ideas or concepts were identified and mapped out visually identifying personal and cultural benefits in order to recognise the value of learning mahi pounamu or mahi rāranga skills, and distinguish how these skills contribute to gaining employment. Organisational information was also examined to identify the similarities or differences within the organisations where the key informants teach their specific skills.

Recruiting and Selecting Key Informants

Selection criteria for key informants

Key informants were selected through whānau networks as they had to be affiliated to Ngati Kinohaku, Maniapoto and Tamateatutahi Kawiti, Ngati Pikiao where the researcher is also affiliated, so that the project would be beneficial for the researcher, key informants and their hapū and iwi. The key informants were teachers within their institutions for more than two years who were well known and respected within their personal and professional communities, and had presented their technologies locally, nationally or internationally. Selecting key informants in line with these characteristics ensures a vast amount of knowledge and experience can be obtained during the kanohi ki te kanohi semi structured interviews. That means the research question can be answered and research objectives would be met. An invitation to participate (APPENDIX C) was given to the selected key informants.

Key informants information

The key informants have given verbal and written consent to be identified within this research project. The first key informant Ngaturu Paparahi is a trainer in rāranga and teachers within Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Maniapoto Campus, which is a Tertiary Education Institute (TEI). The second key informant Lewis Tamihana Gardiner is a practitioner in pounamu and has a private business Rākai Jade in Rotorua, which could be classed as a Private Training Enterprise (PTE).

Critique of methods

When I reflect on the methods although I was able to gather 'rich data' from the kanohi ki te kanohi interviews I think the surrounding environment where I conducted the interview reflected a wānanga type space more so than an interview. A wānanga is created when people gather, discuss and deliberate about a certain interest or topic amongst normal everyday conversations and settings. It was traditionally done in an open spaced environment where anyone was able to partake and other mahi was being conducted simultaneously. Interviews are normally conducted within a certain time frame, in a private quiet room where there are no distractions and the conversation is based around certain questions. When I went to conduct the interviews they were not one hour long as I had intended but were between one to four hours. The interviews took place in an open space where tourists, clients, whānau, work colleagues and students were occupying the same place, it was noisy and we often went off the topic. As Nguyen, Elliot, Terlouw and Pilot (2009) reiterate "simplistic forms of 'transfer' of western approaches to other contexts may often be inappropriate" (p. 109). Linda Smith (2011) claims "anyone who has tried to interview will know immediately that most of the skills you need are not in those books" (p. 11).

Future research could include using wānanga as an alternate method for engaging and/or gathering data from Māori participants or key informants as this method may reflect the environment more accurately when engaging with Māori.

Chapter Summary

The ethical conduct of this research has been enhanced through the implementation of the guiding principles whakawhanaungatanga, mana, te reo, taonga tuku iho and tino rangatiratanga. Love and Tilley (2014) assert "important concepts need to be applied within kaupapa Māori research to ensure that protocols are maintained" (p. 41). In this study, the guiding principles provided the platform from which the methods were selected, developed and implemented. These principles enabled the informants to feel safe in the research context, and willing to gift the information that was required to answer the project's research question and objectives.

While the more general principles of informed consent, preventing participant experiencing harm or discomfort and maintaining confidentiality have been observed, the primary responsibility in conducting this research was to uphold tikanga and kaupapa Māori values and principles. My adherence to kaupapa Māori research principles when undertaking this research demonstrated how key informants were respected throughout the entire process. By utilising these five guiding principles, I also affirmed the nature of kaupapa Māori research being 'for Māori, with Māori, by Māori'. Specifically for mine and my key informants whānau, hapū and iwi.

Chapter 3: Key Informants Pūrākau

The following pūrākau provide the narratives of Ngaturu Paparahi and Lewis Tamihana Gardiner who are indigenous practitioners of traditional Māori skills. These pūrākau were developed from semi-structured interviews and kōrero that sought to describe and understand:

- What are mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu?
- Their journey with pounamu or rāranga
- Why/how, are the beneficial?
- How can they be applied in an educational context?

Prior to colonisation pūrākau was used to transfer knowledge and narratives from generation to generation. Therefore when using a kaupapa Māori approach in research, pūrākau is considered an appropriate method when working with Māori participants. The pūrākau are my narrative interpretations of my interview data and have been reviewed and validated by the key informants. During the presentation of the pūrākau, I have not edited or critiqued the key informants' kōrero, so as to maintain the integrity of their stories for their whanau. However, it should be noted that the names of people the key informants referred to during their pūrākau have been omitted to protect the privacy of those about whom they have spoken. The decision to maintain a separation between the pūrākau and the academic analysis of this qualitative data is an attempt to decolonise research and demonstrate how research can be conducted 'with Maori' and 'for Māori'. However, the summary that concludes the pūrākau chapter provides a combined analysis to review similarities and slight differences in their mahi toi journeys. It compares TWOA and Rākai Jade, in order meet the second research objective, by demonstrating how these skills have been applied by the key informants in different organisational educational contexts.

Pūrākau Ngaturu Paparahi

Participant Profile

Ngaturu Paparahi is a well-respected person in her community. She has a quiet humble nature and prefers to share dialogue and express herself with her hands through the taonga that she makes, as do most artists. During her korero she emphasised that "before there was oral language there was visual language". She is so reserved that she found it difficult talking about herself, even when asked what her name was and where she was from. She replied, "my name is Ngaturu Paparahi and oh that's bloody hard man, I was born in a hospital". Ngaturu resides in Oparure and has one brother. She affiliates to Ngati Kinohaku, which is her hapū in Ngati Maniapoto, which is her iwi. Ngaturu is an expert indigenous practitioner, or kai rāranga as tauira call people in her position within TWOA. However, she prefers to be called a kaiako (teacher), so she does not confuse anyone with the new words or jargon that is being used in the present time. Ngaturu is currently enrolled in the two-year Masters programme He Waka Herenga with TWOA.

Ngaturu has been invited to display some of her mahi rāranga in national exhibitions and receives many requests from the local and international community for commissioned work. She has made piupiu for kapa haka (traditional Māori dance) groups, kete for school prize giving's and other significant events. For example, Ngaturu produced some taonga for the New Zealand Diversity Awards. She has also prepared a large number of wahakura (flax bassinet) for a maternity hospital and other taonga for a family member's retail shop in Australia. Whilst she produces commissioned work, alongside her teaching job, she also uses her rāranga skills in exchange with a whānau member who is a tā moko artist in Australia. He claims that there is a high demand for rāranga taonga in Australia, so Ngaturu supplies his business in return for tā moko for her or her tamariki (children). While Ngaturu has exhibited, she claims, "it's not a big deal. To everyone else it's a big deal". She seems to understate her achievements and success.

Earlier experiences with harakeke

One of Ngaturu's earliest experiences with learning how to weave was at school. She said they used to make kono (small flax food basket) using paper. At the age of 16 she learnt about mahi rāranga and how to make kete under the guidance of a whānau member, the late Diggeress Te Kanawa, who is the daughter of the late Dame Rangimarie Hetet, a well-known authority in rāranga.

One of her early influences came after an encounter with a whānau korowai. Her uncle had passed away and she was tidying up one of the rooms when she came across a suitcase in the wardrobe. She discovered an unfinished korowai inside made of candlewick, also known as mop cloth, as it is crafted from the strands that dangle from the end of an old-fashioned mop. According to Ngaturu, whānau found the mop cloth that was introduced by the European settlers was easier to handle, faster to prepare, and compared to the natural traditional resources more convenient for making their korowai. Ngaturu showed the korowai to another whānau member who suggested that she enrol in a course to finish the korowai.

Ngaturu shared her belief that she was chosen or selected to conduct mahi rāranga, and described how the unfinished korowai revealed itself to her. "I was chosen to do this mahi, I didn't choose to do this mahi. It found me so I chose to define it". This presentation of the korowai could be seen as the planting of the seed from her tūpuna. Ngaturu had been presented with mahi rāranga, but it was up to her to define how that special taonga was going to be a part of her life.

Learning mahi rāranga knowledge and skills

Maniapoto pilot programme

Ngaturu enrolled in the first pilot programme at the wānanga in Ngati Maniapoto and although she did not finish the korowai she had found, she learnt how to make piupiu, tukutuku panels (traditional decorative wall panels) and muka kete. Whilst korowai was one of the main skills or art forms taught around Aotearoa, Ngaturu had an interest and wanted to learn how to make whāriki (traditional

floor mats). She believed that there had been a decline in the art of making whāriki, and expressed how many mats that can be seen in the marae (Māori communal space) have been made in China using other synthetic materials. Her kaiako was from Hastings, and according to Ngaturu had become famous for the ability to sculpt different parts of a tree such as twigs, sticks and branches. Which she found intriguing but strange. He was unable to provide her with the knowledge and skills required to make whāriki, so another whānau member attended their class noho (sleep over) agreed to teach her. Unfortunately, they were unable to complete the whāriki they had started, as the whānau member left when she attained an employment position in Otago.

Studying in Otaki

Ngaturu had a strong desire to learn how to make whāriki, so she rang another whānau member who was studying in Otaki, to find out if there was a course at Te Wānanga o Raukawa where she would be able to learn the necessary skills. Ngaturu enrolled with Raukawa in 2006 and was cross-credited for all of the mahi she had already produced in the pilot programme in Maniapoto. Although she had to wait until year three to learn whāriki, she revealed that joining Te Wānanga o Raukawa was the best move she had made in her life. It was at this institution where she obtained the skills needed to make whāriki at the start of year three. After learning the skills she wanted she returned to Maniapoto. In her own words "I didn't even finish the year. My intentions were to come home and make whāriki for the marae".

In 2009, she returned home, but decided she needed to rest after studying, or as she put it "floundered around for a while". She seemed quietly proud of her achievement and emphasised that there were 45 tauira that started in the first year of the course at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, and by the third year of the programme, there were only two. She expressed how attaining the degree was of little importance to her at that time; what was vital was that she gain the necessary knowledge and skills required to be able to make whāriki for the marae. Hence she did not consider it a priority to stay to complete the degree.

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Ngaturu later decided that she did want to obtain a qualification and complete a degree programme. She enrolled with Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Maniapoto campus. During this course, she was required to develop a research question. Ngaturu reminisced about spending time with one of her aunties who showed her an exquisite whāriki that was made by her mother and other whānau members. When Ngaturu queried the dye that had been used, her aunty replied "paru I think", which became Ngaturu's research question during her degree programme. She wanted to find out if the dye used on the old whāriki was a natural material obtained from a certain rākau (tree/bark) in the ngāhere (forest), as it had maintained its dense black colour for a long period. She concluded that paru had not been used on the whāriki that was shown to her by her aunty, but suggested that it could have been crape paper or another similar material.

Rāranga

Myths and legends

Ngaturu claimed that there are a few stories that focus on rāranga. She spoke of one about Pakoti (one of Tane wives) and another about Huna, but admitted that there are different hapū and iwi variations of these stories, so depending on where you are from, you may have a different version. However, Ngaturu shared that she is not a "staunch believer" of some traditional stories. Instead she prefers to leave individuals to be shaped by their own beliefs. Ngaturu spoke of having no direct experience or encounters with these stories, myths or legends, and said she found it difficult connecting and relating to them. Although she acknowledged they were there, they were not meaningful for her and she seemed detached from them.

Spirituality

One story that Ngaturu did feel connected to was the tale of Tarapikau, a patupaiarehe (fairy-like person/s) in Oparure. One of Ngaturu's koroua (grandfather) use to scare her by telling her not to go outside at night because Tarapikau would get her. She confessed that she use to get scared, stating "I

would come scootering back through the door because I didn't want Tarapikau to get me". This story was one she believed because she had overheard her elders talk about Tarapikau one night, which confirmed for her that he was not a fairy-tale fictional character.

She reminisced about sitting up in her bed listening to her koro and another whānau member talk about his encounter with Tarapikau and how the whānau member had got intoxicated one day and left his wife home for a few days with no kai or wood for the fire. When he returned home he found that his wife had wood and there was a white streak on each piece. When he asked where she got the wood from she said that a man came asking for a cup of tea. His wife said that when she said she could not make one because she had no wood to start the fire and boil the water, he told her to go back inside and prepare the tea, and he would return with some wood. When she had organised everything, she went outside to find all of this wood, but the man had gone. The white lines were Tarapikau's trademarks. Whilst tentatively listening, Ngaturu said she was peering out of her blanket and could see her koro's eyes getting bigger, before he said to the whānau member, so what did you learn from that? To which he replied, not to leave my wife home by herself.

Ngaturu claimed this was her experience, so it seemed real, but for many myths and legends she did not have a direct experience, so she found it difficult to embrace their meaning, and therefore it was less interesting to her. "So yeah, there is sought of like an element there with the wairua and the physical but yeah I don't cross that line. I stick to the physical when it comes to my mahi".

Tikanga

Alluding to the spiritual aspects of rāranga, Ngaturu shared another example of a student who she assisted when struggling to work with her own kaiako. They were harvesting harakeke and Ngaturu threw the offcuts on a fire. According to Ngaturu, "[the student] was on her knees and begun saying karakia (Māori incantations)". Ngaturu spoke of how the student was adamant that harakeke should never be burnt, but always buried because it belonged to Papatūānuku and therefore needed to be returned to the earth mother. Ngaturu told the

student that she had seen one of her nannies burn harakeke offcuts to prevent them rotting and causing infestation from insects and other parasites that might affect the surrounding flax. Ngaturu asserted “so people like that believe that harakeke is god”. They embrace the spiritual elements of mahi rāranga and have their own versions of tikanga and what is considered appropriate behaviour.

Ngaturu provides her students with insights into different aspects of mahi rāranga, but as she restated many times, it is up to the individual what they do with that knowledge. While Ngaturu acknowledges that there is a spiritual element around the use of and interaction with harakeke, she maintained that “my job is to get it done, teach how it is done, teach the tikanga, the kaupapa and what they do with it is up to them as long as my way of teaching comes across to you fullas right”.

Cultural significance

Ngaturu expressed the importance harakeke had as a natural resource many years ago, particularly because of its qualities, which provided warmth and comfort for the people. She expressed how precious harakeke was because it was needed and used in peoples’ everyday lives. “Yeah, but today it’s not needed, absolutely not. Only if you want to keep your culture alive”.

Cultural knowledge

For Ngaturu, teaching mahi rāranga involves passing on how it can contribute to cultural knowledge and transferring this information to future generations. Learning about mahi rāranga in a broader sense acknowledges all the people who have contributed to the revitalisation efforts and maintaining these skills over time. For example, significant influence for Ngaturu include the MWWL, Rangimarie Hetet and other whānau members from Oparure. Showing how these people were significantly involved in the MWWL and describing the photos that she had seen of her grandmother and aunty holding the MWWL shield. Ngaturu explained that the reason it was awarded to Maniapoto on many occasions was because of the work the iwi was doing in the community. Ngaturu said as well as doing “arts and crafts”, for example mahi rāranga, they were knitting blankets and clothes, and teaching people everyday activities like how to

cook and clean. She also recalled when she was a child and the joy she attained from using string to make parachutes at Oparure marae where MWWL activities were based, and had positive associations about spending this time among wahine (women).

Educating people to appreciate mahi rāranga

Ngaturu spoke about educating people to appreciate how much time and effort is required to make a taonga using harakeke, asserting that people will often ask for something to be made without considering the resources, knowledge and skills that are involved in creating the taonga. Therefore, she felt that on many occasions the value of this taonga is undervalued, unappreciated and taken for granted. She said, "people will walk over a whāriki like any other floor mat, kick the sides and treat it with little respect". She found these behaviours disrespectful and said that they can occur when people have not been educated and have little appreciation for the taonga.

Evolution as a mahi rāranga artist

Kaiako

In 2013, Ngaturu was headhunted and offered employment at TWOA, Maniapoto campus from where she had obtained her degree. Ngaturu claimed that she had no interest in becoming a kaiako, but was pursued by the Wānanga for her ability to make whāriki. TWOA also believed that there was a need for more whāriki to be made within the iwi, so her skills would be highly sort after and extremely useful. Ngaturu was initially terrified of the thought of having to teach and talk in front of people, and when first approached said "no" straight away, shouting "hell no, you want me to get up in front of people? Piss off". After briefly contemplating the offer, and her abrupt and hasty rejection, she then reconsidered and told the person who had telephoned her that she would think about the offer.

The thought of being a kaiako stayed on Ngaturu's mind and when she received a follow-up call, she accepted the offer, rationalising that it would have been selfish for her to withhold the rāranga information, knowledge and skills

she had learnt whilst in Otaki. She said she had also thought about the employment opportunity she had been offered and the financial security it would provide, which contributed to her decision-making process. Ngaturu remains a rāranga kaiako at TWOA where she has been for more than five years. Whilst she teaches many different forms and aspects of rāranga, she continues to encourage her students to learn how to make whāriki, as she wants to contribute to the revitalisation of the skills and techniques required to make traditional mats. She recently completed an adult education paper, as part the professional development associated with becoming a kaiako within TWOA.

Challenges whilst teaching

When asked what personal, financial or institutional challenges she faced whilst being a kaiako, she declared, "you just do what works for you". This described how she felt she had to make do with the lack of support or resources that were available or offered to her. When explaining the situation, she said "[I was] just thrown into it. They said you know what you know, now teach it". She likened her earlier teaching experience of being put in the kaiako position because of her rāranga skills and understanding of "the way of life" where you are put in, or given, a position and have to figure it out for yourself. "You just get flung into it and you either swim or you drown". Ngaturu did not have much guidance during the earlier stages of her kaiako journey, but said that she was grateful to one person from TWOA who attended one of her first classes to show her how to deliver some kōnae ako (learning modules) to the students.

Masters journey

Ngaturu shared how prior to becoming a kaiako, her family defined who she was and how she grew up, and she felt nurtured by her whānau to be the person she truly is. Now that she is conducting her Masters, she feels that she is in control of her own journey, and is better able to produce and conduct her mahi in a way that fits with her character and way of knowing and being. She attends classes and shared that she also enjoys meeting with her classmates when they gather together. She has a good friend who inspires her all of the time with the mahi that he produces.

Ngaturu feels that her kaiako enjoy her narrative writing style, which they told her was rarely demonstrated in students' work. Ngaturu whispered, "she loves my visual writing because it puts her on the edge of her seat". Ngaturu's supervisor, affirmed this construction of Ngaturu's philosophy, describing it as "you think and you see - a visual philosophy". Her supervisor is well known around Aotearoa, and Ngaturu expressed her gratitude that she had accepted her and agreed to become her supervisor. The name of Ngaturu's Masters rangahau (research) is He Putake Tangata, he Putake Whenua: If your Foundations are Right your People will be Strong. She shared the reason her supervisor gave her for wanting to supervise her during her thesis and be part her Masters' journey was that "you can have a leader who will lead you down the garden path. You can have a leader that will lead you the right way but there are leaders that don't do anything that can lead you and that's you". Ngaturu said "true leaders don't know they are. People will just follow them".

Future aspirations

Ngaturu has earlier recollections of when she had no inspiration or motivation to be anything when growing up. She said "no one knows their destiny. [They] Don't even think about what they want to do with their lives. You know the thought never crossed my mind. I never aspired to be anything. Just to be at home. Be a kid. That was my plan". Many years later, Ngaturu's future aspiration is to have her own trading name and business cards. She would also like to have more time to work on other marae and community projects, and said would enjoy doing landscaping or something of that nature, as she enjoys being outdoors. She would also like to delve into participating in the international market to exhibit and retail her taonga rāranga.

Benefits of Learning mahi rāranga

Provides a foundation

Ngaturu specifically claimed that it was making whāriki that provided her with a foundation, and which ultimately supported the realisation of her path in life, and aided her in becoming more confident and independent as a person. She

stressed the importance of having a foundation, stating that “a lot of people go through life without any”. Ngaturu provided the example of a wharenui (traditional Māori meeting house), to stress this idea. Whakairo rākau keep the whare (house) stable, tukutuku panels make up the walls and there are korowai for warmth. She alluded to a whāriki and how it belongs on the floor, which represents the foundations, highlighting that without foundations the structure will be weak.

She also shared one of her dreams and how she was turning the pages of a book when she stumbled upon a pattern that had three words on the page. She could only see the first two letters of the words, which were WH. Ngaturu worked out that the three words were whakapapa, whāriki and whenua. These became the principles that would guide her throughout her life journey, and which could be considered her foundations or personal philosophy or tikanga. “So I have gone through the whakapapa… sussed out the whāriki and now I am at the environment, the whenua, yeah”. This expression of “having the whakapapa” means she knows where she comes from and who she is. She is grounded and has a foundation with whāriki and her mahi rāranga and “now it’s about everything else”. Her focus can now be on continuing her journey and discovering the element or meaning of the third concept that was revealed to her, which is ‘whenua’.

Contributes to cultural identity

Ngaturu alluded to how mahi rāranga can contribute to a person’s cultural identity. She explained that the way of being and attaining knowledge is reflected in how you work and conduct yourself, and the manner in which this ‘fits’ with who you really are, and the culture with which you affiliate. This involves becoming able to use the tools and methods that were once embodied in us as Māori. She provided an example, describing rangahau which reflects your own practical experience and how you have to go out and discover or gather the knowledge: “you don’t sit there and read a book. You don’t sit there and look at a computer”. This is how Ngaturu articulated the way rāranga skills

contribute to a person's identity. The person has to find their own path when engaging with experiences and knowledge that are meaningful.

> "So you know it's about cultural identity and whānau identity, your own identity, gives you a place of belonging, gives you heaps of stuff. You know who you are and you become an individual. If it wasn't for harakeke I wouldn't be who I am today".

The essence of this whakaaro (thoughts/opinion), is that through learning the skills and knowledge of mahi rāranga, Ngaturu believes the individual is better able to enhance or reconnect with who they are as Māori.

Improved confidence and independence

Ngaturu spoke of how mahi rāranga has helped further develop her confidence and made her more independent, declaring "it has hugely put me out there and I have had to do things that are way out of my comfort zone". She expressed how learning mahi rāranga knowledge and skills has meant that she has had to talk to people and crowds and perform presentations giving her greater confidence. She claimed that "because I know what I know and I do what I do, it's created independence, so I know my identity".

Mana (acquired or bestowed)

Ngaturu talked about how mahi rāranga has influenced her life because people have seen her mahi and know that she has the expertise to produce special taonga. Although she does not like to talk about herself, she did quietly share that "I'm not blowing my own trumpet but people come to me because of what I do and the way I do it". She referred to the aspect of acquiring Mana and how mahi rāranga has bestowed her with an authority to set boundaries in order to ensure that people respect who she is and the mahi that she produces for them. She shared how she used to make taonga for anyone, but now she is selective about who she produces work for and what she makes.

Form of therapy

Ngaturu also thought mahi rāranga was a form of therapy. She shared a story about when she was in Otaki and how rāranga had brought twelve single

mothers together that had experienced many problems and challenging times throughout their lives. During the course of the rāranga programme, they all became good friends. According to Ngaturu "rāranga was a form of therapy for all us woman". She revealed there was a time in her life when she had lost those whom she cherished, and in her own words "was trying to get back on my feet. I had to bring up my boys on my own and then you know [you feel] desperate for something". She expressed the benefits of harvesting harakeke and how this aspect of mahi rāranga helped her release her anger and frustration. "So I am out there and cursing and my mind is going flat sticks but by the time I finish my problem has gone". She said she enjoys being outside, and it is this part of mahi rāranga that she emphasised provided her with a form of therapy to process her emotions.

Career development

Ngaturu insists that mahi rāranga is her career path stating that if she did not have this mahi she would probably still be "on the benefit". She explained "you know for me this is the rest of my life. Whether I would be a paid teacher or not a paid teacher this would be me for the rest of my life". She mentioned that she missed making the taonga herself. Stating that a lot of her time is occupied teaching rāranga. She is unsure about the future, but talked about how everything happens in progressive stages, explaining:

> so you go through the learning, you are the learner, than you become the learnee, then you become the kaitiaki (guardian). So you go from mōhiotanga (acquiring knowledge, sense of knowing) to māramatanga (understanding) and then end up as a kaitiaki. So to actually get to mōhiotanga you actually have to learn from kaitiaki. Then you go to māramatanga which is enlightenment.

Anyone who knows Ngaturu would vow that she is at the kaitiaki stage of her rāranga journey. This sentiment was reinforced by Ngaturu's kaiako who explained to her the difference between practitioners and indigenous practitioners. He questioned her by asking "what is the first thing you do with

your students". She replied "tikanga". He pronounced she was an indigenous practitioner because practitioners do not practice tikanga.

Indigenous practitioners have a broader perspective and practice tikanga. They "look after the resource to get your result". Ngaturu is a kaitiaki because of her skills and knowledge, and she is an indigenous practitioner because of the way she practices and shares this knowledge with others. While she is adamant rāranga is "her profession and career" she understands that not everyone will have the ability to get this far on their rāranga journey, as "there will only be a few who will actually have it". What "it" is, is something outsiders will struggle to understand, as it is not merely a gift or talent, but also a sense of having being chosen and of having spiritual guidance.

Financial rewards

The remuneration Ngaturu has received from her employment has meant that she has been able to make alterations and renovations to her house. She is able to purchase things that she considers "luxury items" for some of her family. Ngaturu talked about her son coming home one day excitingly announcing, "there is real butter, steak… He was like 'mum we never had this when we were growing up'. So it's actually contributed to our whānau and wellbeing, everything." The financial gain that has come from sharing her knowledge has meant her family has also benefited from mahi rāranga, and that Ngaturu can now provide for her young daughter in a way that she was unable to do for her sons. This seems to have given her a sense of fulfilment as a mother because she feels able to provide for her children and support her mokopuna (grandchildren).

Organisational Profile for Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Figure 5. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa Ngati Maniapoto and Ohaki Campus (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph, 2017)

Name: TWOA has had a few name changes since its inception from the Waipa Kokiri Arts Centre to the Aoteroa Institution and then to Te Wānanga o Aotearoa.

Ngaturu Paparahi proclaimed that rāranga, whakairo and te reo were the three disciplines that were offered when the Wānanga first opened. The arts being the core foundation of TWOA. According to her knowledge Boy Mangu, was concerned for the Māori students who were "falling through the gaps and ending up on the streets and or you know in trouble" as a result of not liking mainstream education at school. He spoke with Rongo Wetere who was on the school board at the time, along with two others. They all discussed these issues and decided that they would create a school in the Māori arts, as this was where these children had an interest, "they were artists" and were excelling. Ngaturu exclaimed that no one would sell these men any land to build on except the land where the rubbish dump was situated. "So they brought it [the land] for $1 dollar because the people selling the land did not think that they could do anything with it". The men required some money to overhaul and restore the land and make it stable so they tried to get loans but in the end, they had to re-mortgage their homes. So the Apakura campus which was first named the kokiri centre was

built on a rubbish site. TWOA was founded in Te Nehenehenui, the Maniapoto region and the iwi gave their consent and supported the concept.

Uniqueness: TWOA offer a range of different programmes but compared to other tertiary institutions TWOA are unique as they are based on Māori values. These values are called Nga Uara, which are comprised of;

> Te Aroha – Having regard for one another and those for whom we are responsible and to whom we are accountable to, Te Whakapono – The basis for beliefs and the confidence that what we are doing is right, Ngā Ture – The knowledge that our actions are morally and ethically right and that we are acting in an honourable manner, and kotahitanga – Unity amongst iwi and other ethnicities; standing as one (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2018, p.1)

These are the values which direct the organisations actions to ensure they assist their students to achieve and be successful in their chosen educational programmes.

Courses available: Ngaturu instructed that the Wānanga will try and steer students into taking business or curators papers so they can utilise their skills in the arts for business ventures or in an effort to prepare the students for employment.

Developing skills: At the Maniapoto campus where Ngaturu is employed there are three kaiako that teach rāranga and the classes are held at Ohaki situated near Waitomo Caves. Ngauturu mentioned there were 46 tauira enrolled to learn rāranga at the beginning of 2017 and twenty of those students were in her class, Kawai Raupapa level four. The level four is a free course but levels five to ten which lead on from the certificate all the way through to a masters level have an enrolment fee. The course starts in March and ends in November. The students are required to attend a three day noho (sleep over) once a month. Ngaturu said that the level four is a basic beginner's level and involves learning about the tikanga around the harakeke, how to work with harakeke and how to take care of it. The behaviours of the harakeke, for example "if you harvest in the rain well

then you get a different outcome than if you were to harvest in the sun". During the course the students are assessed and are either given an achieved or yet to achieve status. When the student has achieved all of the assessments during the 9 month period they are signed off as completed the course and will receive a certificate when they graduate. TWOA also offer a range of programmes ranging from professional skills and trades, Māori language, Māori indigenous development, Māori and indigenous arts, business, computing, education, social services and health and fitness (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, 2018).

Formal qualifications: TWOA offer a range of qualifications, from community education programmes, Certificates and Diplomas to Bachelor and Masters Degrees. They offer level four certificate in rāranga right through to level 10 Master's degree.

Future aspirations: According to TWOA strategic plan working towards 2027 they have four strategic objectives. To provide a world class indigenous educational experience, ensure sustainability through educational excellance, drive a culture of innovation and partnering for success (Te Wānanga o Aotearoa). Working with whānau, hapū, iwi using the values Nga Uara, to maintain the Māori culture for everyone to experience educational excellence.

Pūrākau Lewis Tamihana Gardiner

Participant Profile

Lewis Tamihana Gardiner is well respected in his community. His whakapapa is to Ngāti Awa, Te Whānau a Apanui, Tuwharetoa, and Ngāi Tahu. He has a strong connection to his hapū Tamateatutahi Kawiti, Ngāti Pikiao as this is where he resides. A biography of Lewis would highlight his position as the company director of Rākai Jade, but Lewis refers to himself as an artist and just like Ngaturu he understates his success. Lewis likes routine and normality sharing "he doesn't like things being moved in this house but accepts that it is not just his space", reminding himself that he shares a house with his partner and tamariki (children).

Lewis has been invited to display his work in exhibitions throughout New Zealand, as well as other galleries internationally, in places such as San Francisco, Vancouver and China. He claimed that this was about survival. “If you don’t sell, you can’t make the next piece. It’s as simple as that”. Although he travels over to other countries to sell his taonga in galleries he does not alter the prices. “What is $5000 over here is $5000 over in Canada”. This is where he is able to make some money to sustain and maintain the space and resources for the Rākai Jade whānau and his personal whānau demands and projects.

Lewis has also had the opportunity to compete in the World Jade Symposium and other jade competitions where he has been awarded gold and silver medals and plaques. His pounamu knowledge and skills have taken Lewis all over the world, and he shows a deep appreciation for the connection and relationships he has made with other indigenous artists who share the same profession and similar cultural experiences.

Learning mahi pounamu knowledge and skills

Waiariki Institute of Technology

Lewis shared that he always had an interest in arts, crafts and design. He attended The Waiariki Institute of Technology (a formal tertiary institution) in Rotorua from 1990, from which he graduated in 1994 with a Diploma in Craft Design Māori. He was exposed and introduced to a number of different art forms or mediums, such as 2D painting and drawing, and 3D clay, wood sculpture and experimenting with other types of materials. Lewis stated that there was one classic design module that included bone carving and adornment, where he claims to have found the most enjoyment. He remembers the course being predominantly constructed in practical work with about 90% “hands on” and about 10% theory. It was the physicality of making taonga whilst learning the skills and knowledge that informed this creative process that was fulfilling for Lewis.

In the fourth year of the diploma, students were able to select what is now referred to as a major, although it was not at that time. Lewis mentioned that he was fortunate to have spent Christmas with his whānau in the South

Island before his final year at Waiariki. During this period he was gifted pounamu. This enabled him to choose pounamu as a focus of study in his final year, even though there was no tutor to teach him this specific skill. Lewis claims to be "self-taught and self-learnt". His studies led him to "research, looking at forms, looking at designs and figuring out the forms and learning from your mistakes". Formal education thus gave him a foundation and access to the basic tools, but he had to make do with what he had.

Lewis spoke of the challenge of working with a different material, as he had not previously had many opportunities to work with pounamu as a medium. He maintained that he learnt a lot in his fourth year because although "your design skills are always there… you have just got to learn the processes to be able to create what you are trying to envision". Thus, for Lewis formal education was just a planting of the seed. Now that he has gained a lot more experience, he reflects on the pieces that he had made during his time at Waiariki and is satisfied with his efforts and what he produced at this early stage of his pounamu journey.

Lewis mentioned that there are two structured courses around stone carving. One course is at NZMACI, which is not New Zealand Qualification Authority (NZQA) accredited. The other course is based in Greymouth through Te Tai Pounamu Polytechnic and is NZQA accredited. However, although he attended a formal institution, he claimed it is not necessary to attend a tertiary institution to learn the skills that are required to work in his profession. He now believes the skills and abilities that it took him eight years to learn, he could teach in two years. Because he has made all the 'mistakes', he now feels "he is able to guide others down a better pathway". Lewis talked about the ability to learn through practical experience and emphasised the importance of having the right coaching and mentoring to teach the skills and share the knowledge. "Because it doesn't matter what you do [formal/informal education], it's about the processes that you take to get from A to the finish[ed] product". Lewis acknowledged his friends and other whakairo rākau artists who he considered mentors, because their work was inspiring. They were always striving for excellence and "raising the bar" and appreciated their attitudes, as they were

always challenging themselves stating “that’s how the art form will evolve”. Whilst Lewis has worked collaboratively with other indigenous artists, he is aware of the dilution that can occur, but claims “the key is to diversify but the key is to make sure that your cultural identity remains within the work”. He asserted that “it’s really about sitting down and practicing your skills” and being ready to learn the processes and techniques. However, he also cautioned not to move too far away from our own traditions in order to avoid “cross fertilising with other cultures” in an inappropriate manner, so as not to lose our distinctive cultural identity.

Pounamu

Myths and legends

Lewis shared that there are many different narratives about pounamu, but affirmed how Poutini, or the fish of Poutini, comes up in some shape or form within most of the different stories. There are different hapū and iwi variations, and Lewis emphasised that “there is no wrong one and there is no right one. To me they are all relevant”. When discussing what pounamu meant to him, Lewis shared the story of one of the first explorers who made a toki out of pounamu. He returned to Hawaiki with it, where it was then used to carve the waka (canoe) that would later return to Aotearoa. This was the legend that he had learnt from, but he acknowledged that other Rākai Jade whānau members had attended wharekura (Māori schools) and could have similar or different narratives that had been learnt through waiata (song/singing) or karakia.

Valuable resource

Lewis also talked about the importance of the material pounamu and how it has been utilised for different tools and adornment pieces depending on its strength and durability. Historically, the working of pounamu was a communal activity for both males and females. The harvesting and breaking the material down to produce a taonga was done by many people within the community. Pounamu communities were set up to trade pounamu for skills and labour before European contact. When discussing its location and excavation, and how it was a

valuable resource many years ago, Lewis combined practical advice with local stories. He suggested when you look for pounamu you should "really look at the high flood lines because the pounamu will go to the outside and will almost settle on the highest point of the flooding". This is consistent with traditional methods of searching for pounamu. Many people from the far north would make the long journey to the South Island to source the material. They would typically barter for this resource, but some would also take pounamu without permission, which lead to rage and war between the people. Lewis mentioned that Te Rau Paraha is well known for his rage in the South Island, and for his quest to acquire pounamu.

Lewis described the Dart River near Te Koraka, situated north of Queenstown where pounamu was sourced, and explained how would migrate up and down the West Coast following seasonal food. They would conclude their journey by acquiring good quality pounamu at the Arahura River before returning home. "So the Arahura River is kind of always referred to as the base or home, and is kind of regarded as the main pounamu bearing river for pounamu". Lake Kanere translated to mean "cut the stone", is also referred to as 'Lake Canary' and is situated not far from the Arahura River. Lewis explained how the people would take pounamu from Arahura to Kanere and break the stone down ready for transportation. It was then taken over the Southern Alps to Kaiapoi. Significant excavations also took place at Pegasus near Christchurch, where a lot of pounamu taonga has been recovered, indicating that this area was also another manufacturing area for pounamu that had been brought over from the coast. The four to five day walk involved in reaching its location highlights the significance and value pounamu had for many people.

Adornment

Lewis expressed his belief that his main contribution and expertise in his profession was to pass on knowledge about the historical and contemporary functional aspects of pounamu. "So we talk about 400 years where the material was obviously acknowledged for its strength and durability. Tool making and weapon making was first and foremost". However, over time those tools were

replaced with other materials, such as metals, that were harder, sharper and easier to work. As a result, the pounamu was replaced as a functional resource and reworked. “Once the steel started to replace the more functional ones then they were reworked into hei tiki” and other forms of adornment. Toki for example, were seen as a symbol of authority or leadership, and were passed from chief to chief, “so we talk about that whakapapa element or connection element”.

Cultural significance

He expressed relief when describing how the significance and cultural value of pounamu has returned. He felt that “for a while it was considered a commercial material for the tourist market”, asserting it was important “that people don’t forget the difference between a souvenir and taonga. If you get the right type of people that are doing really exciting pieces that are still affordable for our people then that act of what the pounamu or the material or resource was intended, will be maintained”. When Lewis was asked why he thought making pounamu taonga was an important skill he reinforced the spiritual connection of passing a taonga down through the generations, and being able to remember or maintain a connection with a person/whānau or place when they or not physically present is the most significant difference between pounamu taonga and jade mementos. Lewis acknowledged the work practitioners have undertaken in recent years to remind people about the cultural significance of pounamu and ensure the inter-generational transfer, stories and appreciation for the wairua (spiritual connections) of pounamu have been restored. He is gratified that pounamu is no longer seen as a piece of material which is “flicked off to tourists”.

Lewis spoke of his disappointment that jade products are made in other countries and shipped back to New Zealand to sell, declaring that it is cheaper to use other materials, tools, jade and labour from countries like China, suggesting that this was not authentic and lacked integrity. Unfortunately, many people who buy the product in New Zealand, assume it has been sourced and produced in Aotearoa, when it is often from China, Canada or another country.

Origins of Māori design

Lewis reflected on how some hapū and iwi are trying to revive their whakairo rākau tribal style. He suggested "most design references come from the environment that the artists are in", such as tuna in the rivers or maunga (mountain), and these features could be sources of inspiration. "So we [Māori] always talk about the origins of Māori design, so where they come from and how they arrive to them and those are always questions that are really hard to answer".

Alluding to the design of pounamu pieces, Lewis spoke of the uniqueness of pounamu and the connection between the carver, the essence of the taonga, and its significance to the person engaging with it, "there is more than meets the eye". When you travel to other countries some pieces reflect exactly what they are, for example, in some countries where products are mass produced. "Once you have seen one you have seen 1000", with pounamu it is different. The piece may have a particular story, but for a person looking at it, there may be aspects that the individual can personally relate to, which others would not experience. Lewis said, "it's like when you walk into a beautiful wharenui and you might not necessarily understand every tūpuna, but you might. That is in there, but that is the essence, you can see the whakapapa in there, but you might not necessarily know all the names, but you can go in there and see the connections, you know and how it all connects to the embodiment of the ancestor." Lewis believes an awareness of the full story is not needed to explain what is happening or what is represented. He was understated about how meaning is communicated and said "yeah like you need an insight, but you don't need a novel to explain something". He believes that sometimes it is important to share a little information, "whakataukī" for example, but this can be left open to the interpretation of the individual, as he feels it is enough to create thought and provoke inquisitiveness.

Lewis also talked about maintaining a balance when working with pounamu, so that it is "symmetrical and aesthetically pleasing and beautiful". For example, Lewis spoke about the hei tiki design, stating hei tiki were the most difficult and complicated pieces to carve. He alluded to the hei tiki and needing to be able to understand the cut processes required to make this taonga. "There

are lots of holes that needed to be cut and it needed to be balanced". He emphasised the importance of balance and how the taonga can be displeasing to look at if it is not balanced. These considerations are sometimes in tension when integrating contemporary and traditional pounamu design styles, particularly when creating bespoke pieces for particular clients.

Lewis will replicate pieces for clients on request, however, admits that he does not gain satisfaction from duplicating pieces, as he believes those forms have been mastered many years ago. "Replicating an old form is a skill in itself but to me there is no revolution in design and the old timers pretty much mastered those forms".

Lewis also shared his view about the generic designs, which are often acquired by tourists. He stated that they are simplistic designs, which refer to traditional designs "they are generic designs which are kind of cool" and felt they had some value in terms of educating people about pounamu. It was apparent that while he was willing to create these kinds of pieces for clients, they were not meaningful for him, as it did not help evolve the pounamu art form, or help him progress as an artist.

Evolution as a pounamu artist

Jade Factory

Like Ngaturu and many other students who study within a formal institution, Lewis had a little smirk on his face and smiled when he said he then "took a break". His specific words were that he "mucked around for a year" deciding during this time that he would concentrate on developing his golf and rugby skills. He was offered many opportunities to work at different places, but declined these offers, stating "the heart was never in it, so it would of just [have] been a shitty job". Lewis attended a Workbridge seminar, where he was fortunate to meet a woman who had an impact on him securing employment at the tourist focused retail and wholesale Jade Factory in Rotorua. He was able to carry on with carving pounamu, which he relished. Lewis reflects that at that time "I suppose being young umm, you know, shy to a point to actually go out and say to somebody I want a job and I want to learn how to carve umm it's really hard for

people to actually guts up and actually do that. And I couldn't do that so I was lucky that I met this lady". Her confident outgoing personality and 'go get it' attitude influenced the owners of the Jade Factory to give Lewis the opportunity to carve, on a trial basis. Due to his easy going nature, dedicated work ethic, commitment and the remarkable pounamu taonga he produced, he gained a permanent position and remained with the Jade Factory for the next 15 years. For the first 10 years he was directly employed by the Jade Factory, and for the last five years was a self-employed contractor.

Lewis acknowledges the contribution of the Jade Factory, as it gave him the opportunity to practice and enhance his individual pounamu carving skills. Although he did not agree with all aspects of how the Jade Factory operated, he understood that it was a business and was grateful for the opportunity they presented to him, asserting "I would always acknowledge Mountain Jade or Jade Factory for the opportunity to hone skills and learn the processes and to get your design capabilities up".

Pounamu carving school

Lewis was then given the opportunity to establish a pounamu carving school at the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI), which is now known as Te Puia. He loved working with young people who were really passionate about carving pounamu, but was not satisfied with the remuneration and found the organisational politics quite difficult. After his previous work experiences and having been self-employed, he was well aware of the policies and processes that needed to be put in place to protect the students and employees, but found working within the NZMACI organisation fragmented, unorganised, individualistic and superficial. Among other concerns, Lewis could see the authenticity of the arts suffering, and after his third intake of students, after about five years with the organisation, he resigned.

Whilst Lewis was working with students at NZMACI, he determined that by the time they graduated, they would not only have the skills to carve pounamu, they would also have other skills to be able to survive in the real world, which he felt was very important. Among other things, he taught them about

pricing, costs and time management. The process involved designing and carving the piece right through to how that taonga was going to generate an income to help put kai on the table. Lewis spoke about how some tutors taught students how to make intricate pieces, which he asserts is great for the art form, but the carver also has to learn how to stick to a timeframe and make things that are affordable for their customers or clients, if the carver is going to be able to make a living. Lewis said "you need a stable weekly income just to keep things afloat and ticking over. I would just teach them a little bit about money and how to survive and your tax obligations and stuff because those are the things that you can't escape". Whilst Lewis gained satisfaction out of working alongside passionate young people, he found it difficult working within the hierarchy and structure of the environment at NZMACI, so he moved onto creating his own business.

Auckland business experience

Lewis borrowed money from the bank against his own property and went into partnership with a friend who was a tā moko artist and took a risk on a business venture in Auckland. Although he knew he could start up another business in Rotorua, he decided not to, as one of his past students had created a "niche for himself in the market". Being the gentle kind hearted person that he is, Lewis revealed "the last thing I wanted to do was set up a space that conflicted or umm ate into his market and so I was always wary of that". During the short period of time that Lewis worked in partnership with the tā moko artist, he experienced many challenges and difficulties. The art forms were very different. Lewis noticed "they have a different set of etic aye. Like when you deal with moko, moko artists that are probably the most highly paid artists to be fair and to put it in a nutshell, they can charge between $100-$250 dollars an hour it doesn't matter. That's kind of their normal charge. Whereas a pounamu carver will normally charge between $20-$40 an hour." The price varies, but the taonga has to be affordable for the client and it has to be produced efficiently. Lewis felt carvers have to work really hard for their money. The pounamu carver would probably have to work four times longer to make the same money as the tā moko artist.

The consumables, materials, and direct costs to the artists are also very different. It costs a lot more for a pounamu artist to survive. A pounamu artist might have $10-20,000 in costs whereas a tā moko artist might have as little as $1000.

Lewis also noticed that his stock was being sold in the shop, but he was not consistently getting paid. His perception was that although he made a significant financial contribution to the venture, his business partner was unable to manage the business, as "things were not getting logged in the books cleanly". Lewis decided that in order to protect his whānau and their assets, he needed to withdraw himself from this venture. He acknowledged that although it took him a lot of time to accept what had happened, he learnt 'a big lesson' from this experience, stating "so I kind of learnt that I will never go into partnership again, ever. I would rather do things myself and then take that hit if it works and take that hit if it doesn't work".

Lewis believes that in order for a business partnership to be successful both parties have to be 100% committed and invested in the business. "You have got to invest your time, you have got to invest your own money, and you have to put the investment back, to build it so it gets to a point that it will grow and your foundations are solid because if you don't then you are over before you have even started".

Rākai Jade

Lewis then started his own business, Rākai Jade, back in Rotorua where he lives. He continued to build his client base, but stressed the importance of looking after the local market. He spoke about how the influx of tourists is seasonal, and how domestic sales could keep you going during the off-season. Lewis claimed "that's survival for us". He spoke about being able to understand and appreciate why clients return to the Rākai Jade whānau. He spoke about the connection pounamu has with whakapapa and whānau, emphasising "you know from one generation to the next. Without that understanding or that aspect of maintaining that gift from generation to generation then really what the pounamu is about or the act of taonga will get lost". In Māori culture taonga becomes part of the whānau and when someone dies the piece is passed on through the generations

in remembrance of that person or whānau, but when a tourist takes a pounamu piece home with them, it is often as a souvenir to remember their holiday in New Zealand. Lewis suggested that when they are deceased, or if they downsize their house, it is highly likely that the taonga would be sold to a gallery or auction house. He said that even though "we might not charge as much for the item there is so many things that are attached to the item culturally that makes it all worthwhile". There was a clear sense that for Lewis the connection to the taonga through whakapapa was valuable, and that how taonga is passed on was significant and meaningful.

Lewis acknowledged that New Zealanders, in general and including non-Māori, have an appreciation for pounamu. The pounamu taonga often expresses stories, and the choice of designs are often simple and generic, but meaningful to the clients for different reasons. They have their own way of expressing their connections to their family members. Lewis said "they still have their own way of attaching to their children or their parents or whatever so to me they have an appreciation for the material and they have an appreciation for the work and it's about that attachment", which is what makes the pounamu a precious taonga. For these reasons, he feels other New Zealanders have a connection to pounamu that is similar to Māori.

Whilst some people have an appreciation for pounamu many others prefer to be adorned with other types of materials, such as gold and silver. Lewis combines these elements with pounamu for those who have an appreciation for these kinds of materials in order to expose and alter or "transform their thoughts" about pounamu. Providing them with a new experience and introduction to another resource or material which is significant and valuable too many other New Zealanders. In the hope that many other people will be drawn to the beauty and cultural significance of pounamu taonga.

Lewis's business trades under the name of Kokako Contracting Limited, but Rākai Jade is the name of the studio. He refers to the other artists in the studio as "whānau members", as "the whānau of Rākai Jade". Although the individuals have their own styles, they sit collectively under the umbrella of Rākai Jade. This is the environment Lewis sought to provide and that he found lacking

elsewhere, as Rākai Jade creates a safe, creative, engaging, commercial space "because you know umm with the aspect of business you have to be able to brand and you have got to build your brand. So if people talk about Rākai Jade they are talking about the collective". The people at Rākai Jade have created a whānau environment based on good relationships. Anyone is able to go to Rākai Jade and have a go at learning the skills. Lewis was adamant that his hope was "that our door is always open and umm we don't come across too many people who abuse the whānau environment and we have to shut the door on them".

Whānau

Whilst Lewis is passionate about mahi pounamu he expressed some concern about the degree to which carving had consumed his time. He admitted that it had kept him very busy and that he had forgotten to spend more time with his own whānau. This was an important reminder that it is important to have balance in life as well as in design, and that he sometimes neglected the balance between work life and family life, saying "so I have learnt that family is important and that you need to not work all of the time". Lewis talked about prioritising other projects outside of Rākai Jade, such as the house he and his whānau had just finished renovating together, in order to spend more quality time with his partner and children.

Future aspirations

Lewis alluded to the future and expressed his interest in moving to new premises or purchasing a more appropriate building. He also spoke about the possibility of creating a space for artists, where the creators of different art forms could work together in one building. Lewis recognised that he would not want to enter into a business partnership again, but said that his partner has "all the skills" required to make this happen. "You know there are skills that my partner has that can be utilised. She could pretty much run the whole show. She is good at managing that stuff". He also liked the idea of having a café in the building, as a focal point, and creating space for art attractions. Although he joked that this would reduce his workload because he "would just hang around in the background and have heaps of coffees, business meetings and lunches", it seemed that spending more

time with whānau, rather than at work, was an important motivation. What lacked was financial capital.

Benefits of learning mahi pounamu

Profession - pounamu artist

Lewis has created a career and business for himself and his whānau, but also established a space for others to learn and become a part of the Rākai Jade whānau. In addition, he has had to learn and pass on a variety of business skills. Lewis alluded to the investment he has made in establishing Rākai Jade, and suggested that today someone would need about $10,000, if they wanted to start working with pounamu. He spoke of the challenges sourcing and purchasing resources and tools in New Zealand, and mentioned that it is cheaper to obtain what is required from places like China.

When teaching others Lewis said it was important to make sure that "the person that is learning can still survive and you know have a life and live comfortably". Unlike formal education, where government funding, loans and allowances may be available, there are no financial supports, educational resources, or business services available to Lewis to help establish or teach the whānau at Rākai Jade. Although the whānau all learn from each other, the "business survives on hard cold sales". This economic mentality is what he finds most challenging.

Lewis talked about the need to keep challenging yourself and learning new techniques in order to develop your skills. However, he emphasised that to be able to work within this profession you have to be able to multi-task. "So you have to cover a lot of aspects such as simple accounting, simple marketing, you have to cover everything to do with business". He also pointed out that this is something that should be covered whilst teaching someone the processes associated with creating taonga. This includes how to "cover your labour costs, cover your material costs and just knowing how to get the balance right, so you know how to survive". He tries to incorporate these aspects when working with the whānau at Rākai Jade, so if they want to create a business for themselves in

the future, or work from home, they would know how to manage all aspects of their mahi (work).

He acknowledged that other trades are faster to learn and easier to make a living from because they have standard procedures or processes, but for this skill you need to be creative. He maintains that "you could be good at a lot of other things but then lack the creative talent that is needed to make you different to other people and I would say that in our work, individuality is important. You carve who you are, how you feel. That's what makes your work unique". He emphasised the differences being learning how to mahi pounamu and acquiring other trade skills, claiming although "the boys have got their own individuality, their own brands as such, their own hash tags or whatever you call it, or Instagram names the point is they are still part of Rākai and so it is all intertwined".

Passion not a job

Lewis talked about his passion for jade carving and how the day can go really quickly because it is something he enjoys, unlike a "normal job" where you are constantly watching the clock waiting to go home. He has been in the industry for about 25 years and consistently says "there is not a day where he doesn't mind going to work". Lewis also claimed that overall "most of the guys that I have had contact with through jade carving are generally quiet well rounded guys". Much like himself, they first have a passion for what they do and financial motivations are secondary. This is why he believes mahi pounamu is not a job, but rather it is an important part of his life, and also happens to be a skill from which he is able to acquire an income.

Improved confidence and communication

Lewis admitted that many years ago when he started to carve he was very shy, but over the years his confidence has grown and he now feels he can comfortably communicate in front of a crowd. "You become confident in the work that you produce. But then you also critique your work as well". You have a standard or benchmark where you know what is good and bad work. He talked about how other Rākai Jade whānau have also grown in confidence and that his

aspiration is when he leaves the studio, they are capable of talking to clients or customers. He seemed to gain a sense of satisfaction when he was able to develop and enhance the existing skills and knowledge of the Rākai Jade whānau, and commented on the value of "bouncing off other people and their ideas to create your own concepts… looking at multiple facets and taking what you need to ensure your own growth".

Enhances cultural identity

Lewis also spoke briefly about how this skill can contribute to someone's cultural identity. Through practical experiences, research, historical knowledge, and reconnecting or enhancing someone's cultural knowledge, the artist is able to develop their own cultural identity. As a result, Lewis suggests "if someone knows about who they are it makes them more, I suppose confident and the way they present themselves". He provided practical examples and reminisced about one of the Rākai Jade whānau, and how he used to be really shy. Stating "it took years for him to come out of his shell but now you can joke around with him". As his cultural knowledge grew, he became more comfortable with his cultural identity, and consequently his confidence had developed.

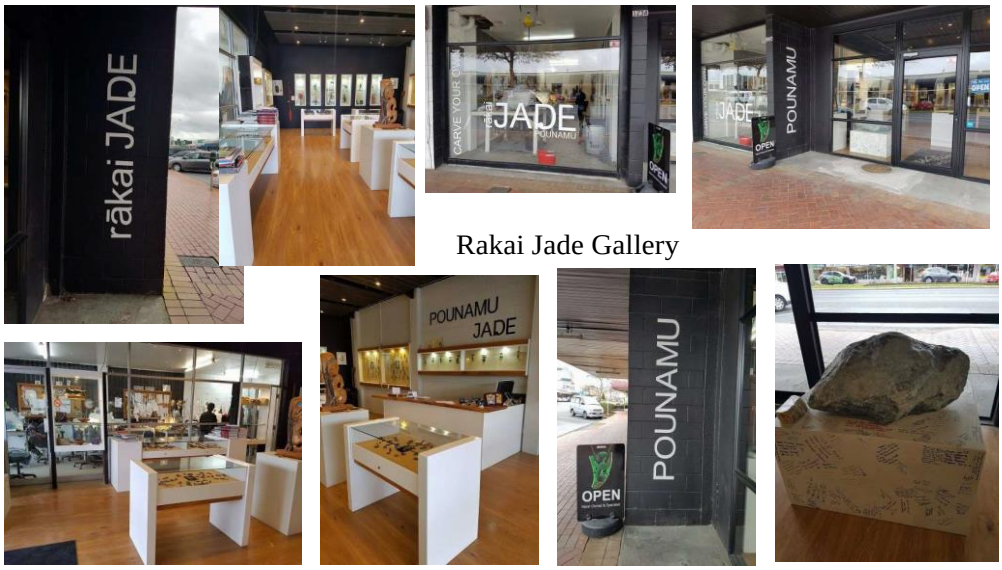
Form of therapy

Although Lewis maintains that the most important aspect of pounamu is the connection it provokes between people, and how it becomes meaningful for the individual or whānau, he also spoke about the presence or space it creates to process difficult challenging times, thoughts and emotions. He spoke about how life can get very intense, stating "sometimes the creative mind is busy and you are unable to stop thinking". Lewis believes that creating pounamu taonga is "a good positive thought process so a lot of people find jade carving therapeutic". He suggests that some people are able to focus on the taonga they are trying to make, and can "shut the world out" and concentrate on what they are trying to achieve. Lewis questioned whether jade carving would be helpful for those who may be suffering with mental illnesses declaring "I think it could be positive". It could have a positive influence in their lives. He spoke from his own observations, saying "like we have had a few of the guys umm really depressed and I suppose…

the carving has like helped them process it". When people are working with pounamu it gives them the opportunity "to focus and run through the thought processes and whether they are bad or good it gives you a chance to process them". This indicates that when people are having challenges in their lives, the creative space that allows them to create pounamu taonga also gives them time to process their thoughts and emotions.

Although mahi pounamu continues to be important within the culture and others who learn of its special significance, informal and formal education regarding mahi pounamu is limited. There are only a few institutions or organisations in New Zealand where you can go to learn the knowledge and skills required to carve pounamu. Rākai Jade is one place that teaches locals and non-locals how to carve pounamu.

Organisational Profile for Rākai Jade



Rakai Jade Gallery

Figure 6. Rākai Jade, Rotorua, New Zealand (photographer: M. Tangitu-Joseph)

Name: According to Lewis, Rākai is another word for adornment. Even though Lewis considered including the word pounamu when naming the studio, he chose 'Rākai Jade' and not 'Rākai Pounamu' because he wanted the business to have broader appeal, rather than only cater for those who knew about pounamu. He shared information about the creation of the brand Rākai Jade, maintaining

that it is about four years old, and he considers "Rākai Jade is kind of just really a brand concept so it's really just acknowledging the group of people rather than the individual".

Uniqueness: Rākai Jade is unique in the sense that the artists only use pounamu from Aotearoa, and they have created an environment where anyone is welcome to come and learn mahi pounamu, including locals as well as tourists. According to Lewis "Rākai Jade is a collaborative space and was created for the opportunity for carvers to move from the pathways of learning into the pathways of the workforce as such". Lewis highlights the importance of being able to gain employment, stating that although money is not everything, there are few employment opportunities available once students have learnt the technical skills. He expressed concern that people may learn the skills or processes for how to carve a taonga, but not the cultural significance or knowledge of how to make a living from this skill. Rākai Jade was created so that people could learn how to use pounamu skills and be able to make a living to put kai on the table.

Daily course: Rākai Jade also offer a daily course, which they have found beneficial for people who want to learn the processes of physically making a pounamu taonga. As Rākai Jade only use pounamu that is sourced from New Zealand, they are very particular about the quality of the taonga they complete, so they will work alongside the person and support them through each process or stage of making the taonga. The customer pays for the material and the Rākai Jade whānau member who takes them through the processes is also paid for their time and support. Recently a group of 11 boys from a school in Tauranga came over and the Rākai Jade whānau took them through the processes of how to make a taonga.

Supporting other local artists: Lewis will also assist local artists and display and sell their work within the workshop. Stating "we make a little bit on them but at the end of the day if I can do more for other people so they can get money then that's cool".

Jade whānau environment: Although Lewis often acknowledged the importance of being able to make taonga to gain financial income to support a family, he stated that this would be difficult without the appropriate foundations. "So it's important that first and foremost we have a whānau environment". Lewis described the space at Rākai Jade as a relaxed atmosphere where everyone is accepted for their uniqueness, feels welcome and is respected. It is a place where everyone can focus on their individual work whilst being surrounded by others who will provide support and encouragement, but still joke with each other and share friendly banter. He joked that the same question pops up every day "what's for lunch", as this is something to which they all contribute.

Lewis emphasised the mutual benefits of working in a whānau-focused space, as they all assist each other and aid in one another's development:

> We have been in situations within other organisations where the environment is quite septic and everyone pretty much just runs through the motion and they have got no invested interest at all. But within this environment everyone has an invested interest. They are here because they enjoy being here and they know that if the premises does well or the brand does well then everyone gets paid. It is a whānau based environment so within here we talk about Rākai Jade as being like the jade whānau. Lewis emphasised they are not here for the money I am telling you that now. You know I think people just want to feel like they are a part of a family.

Lewis credits the organisational culture that has been created at Rākai Jade with creating a relaxed atmosphere: "we tend not to have people and management issues" because they have created an environment where there is no hierarchical structure and everyone is valued for who they are and where they might be on their pounamu journey. He expressed that although some of the whānau might have spent a longer time working with pounamu, there is always something new to design, process, improve and develop. He reinforced that just like a whānau, no matter what age or ability one has, everyone has something to offer, everyone works together, and everyone is able to learn something from one another.

“Join the space”: The whānau environment means that everyone is welcome and anyone is given the opportunity to come in and “join the space” to learn, but they are not guaranteed work or paid employment positions. Lewis said it is generally a safe, hazard free environment expressing how “we are quite comfortable with having people in our studio. We talk them through processes, and you know if they are the right person and they fit within our environment and are on the same wave length with us then they are more likely, end up staying”. They eventually learn the design process right through to selling the taonga and gaining financial stability.

Whānau numbers and developing skills: Lewis planned to have a workshop space in Rākai Jade for people who wanted to learn mahi pounamu, but did not intend to offer typically structured classes for students like other tertiary institutions. He believes that having large classes puts a strain on pounamu resources, which ultimately puts the price up because the resource becomes scarce. Lewis can accommodate about eight people in the workshop space at any one time, but has about six to seven carvers on at different times, enabling them to come and go from the premises as they please. Claiming “we are not short of bums on seats, sometimes we don’t have enough seats”. The Rākai Jade whānau are individual contractors who are paid for the taonga that they produce. However, Lewis understands that people need time to learn, so he will often provide some financial support for those that are new to the whānau group, to help them put kai on their table until they are self-sufficient.

According to Lewis, Rākai Jade maximise its space by first getting everyone to focus on the processes at which they excel. Unbeknown to them, at the same time they are also strengthening their weaknesses. Lewis asserts:

> so, you know, processes push their strengths because they get satisfaction that they can see the results. That their work is improving, and their work is excelling, and then what they don’t realise is that the stuff that they were weak at is actually coming up as well.

Having a strength-focussed approach gives whānau members positive affirmation and motivation to keep developing their knowledge and progressing

their skills. Lewis or other whānau might make suggestions, but encourage individuals to take up the opportunity to think for themselves. Lewis claims "they have to go away and research the form and I still want them to sketch and design and try and develop that concept so when they ask me they are developing those skills".

Some tutors focus on production carving and how to cater for the tourist market, and other tutors will look at design. However Lewis said "I would prefer that they look at their design elements and come up with unique and interesting pieces, therefore the material is not wasted, you can't carve the material as quickly so therefore the material is not hammered", and more importantly "it probably puts the taonga status back on the pounamu rather than a souvenir, trinket". He reinforces the need to find a balance between production work and designing other unique pieces. Lewis claims "you can be a good production carver but then your designing skills are weak and really to kind of survive you have got to be able to balance your stuff out from anything that you make a living off to something that is a little bit more unique and one off and that makes you different from everyone else". Lewis asserts that ultimately a balance must be found between the things that a person enjoys and has a passion for, and creating employment that allows their rent or mortgage to be paid, and food to be put on the table for whānau. "So it's about finding a balance where you can service those so called societal demands to enjoy [what you are doing] no matter what you do".

Formal qualifications: When learning at Rākai Jade there are no restricted time periods, rigid structures or formal qualifications obtained. Everyone provides support to learn and develop from each other. They learn through practice and learning from their mistakes. The whānau-based environment enables people to learn in their own time. According to Lewis, everyone has a different understanding of the processes and will be good at different aspects. Some people will be good at the designing aspect, others will be efficient at production carving, but over time the whānau within will all develop their own unique styles. Although the whānau do not gain any formal qualifications, Lewis explains to the

Rākai Jade whānau the benefits that a tertiary qualification might bring, particularly how it could support their pounamu skills and contribute to their future aspirations. He discusses different options, such as gaining pounamu knowledge and skills and combining this with a teaching qualification, proposing formal training will mean "you will have a new set of skills and stand out from the pack". However, Lewis has realised over time:

> that no matter where you go to study, at the end of the day good work is good work. If you understand particularly design and processes and finish work and the quality of finish work, it doesn't matter where you study. You could be in the back of your shed or backyard.

This reinforces the idea that education is about learning not gaining qualifications and status: "It's not about the paper work it's about the product in front of you".

Looking after customers/clients: The Rākai Jade whānau understand that some people cannot afford to pay a lot of money for a taonga, so will try to help them understand how to achieve the design they want at an affordable price. Lewis said:

> you know we balance out what we call umm aroha jobs with commercial realism but that's fine. You win some and you lose some but at the end of the day, it's those ones that will come back and support your business when times are tough. You look after someone now and they will come back when you actually need them.

Future aspirations: Lewis suggested they could make improvements to the business, such as improving the marketing and advertising of their mahi. They already photograph some of the taonga and display it on their website and Facebook page, but their social media promotion could be improved, and better analytics gathered to inform future work. However, Lewis mentioned he has "often got four or five of these commission jobs on at one time" and sometimes struggles to find time and money for extra administrative responsibilities. Lewis maintains that although this would improve their business. He describes the Rākai Jade whānau as hands on practical carvers who sometimes lack the

necessary skills and knowledge required to market and grow a commercial business.

Chapter Summary

A comparative analysis of the information gathered from both key informants' pūrākau reveal that Ngaturu and Lewis have similarities and slight differences throughout their own journeys with mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. Ngaturu's earlier learning experiences were informal and with her whanau, whereas Lewis's first engagement with mahi pounamu arose whilst attending a formal institution as a result of his interest in Māori art. They both engaged in tertiary study and formal education throughout their journeys to enhance their knowledge and skills, but strongly believe that a person can learn the same skills through either formal or informal educational avenues.

Both Ngaturu and Lewis spoke about the whakapapa of these skills and their cultural significance to Māori. They acknowledged many influential people who assisted them throughout their journeys, and who have contributed to who they are and where they are at in this stage of their lives. Lewis and Ngaturu both have a passion for the mahi and these skills play a significant role in their everyday lives. Lewis has his own business, Rākai Jade, where he can conduct his own mahi, whilst sharing this knowledge with others. Ngaturu also has her own community projects, but is able to share her knowledge and skills with others whilst engaged in formal education as a kaiako within TWOA.

Lewis's future aspirations are business orientated, as he would like to extend his market and client base, and move Rākai Jade to another facility. His long term goal is to create a shared space for Māori artists engaged in other mahi toi skills. Ultimately, he envisions this business venture becoming an attraction for tourists. Ngaturu's future aspirations are to conduct more mahi rāranga community projects whilst also creating her own business with a trading name and business cards. She sees this as a means to extend her reach into domestic and international markets.

When comparing the two organisations, Rākai Jade can be considered a PTE and TWOA a TEI. Despite their different structures, they have both similarities and differences in the way they operate and what they have to offer.

Rākai Jade has created a space for anyone who wants to learn the skills, as long as they do not abuse the whānau environment. Individuals are able to learn and progress in their own time, but while they do not have to pay to learn the skills, they must accept that there are no formal qualifications gained. At TWOA students must apply to gain entrance into the course. While they offer to teach rāranga skills at different levels, there are costs associated with most of their programmes. Individuals must also follow structured learning modules, which need to be completed at certain times throughout the course, in order to be eligible to graduate.

Chapter 4: Pūrākau Thematic Analysis

This chapter discusses similar themes that emerged after analysing both key informants' pūrākau in order to address the key research question. Themes were mapped out visually to identify personal, professional and cultural benefits in order to recognise the value of learning mahi pounamu or mahi rāranga skills in the 21st century. During my analysis, eight themes were discovered with regard to to the learning of mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu skills. They were:

1. Provides a foundation for believing in your potential;
2. Contributes to a person's cultural identity;
3. Improves confidence and communications skills;
4. Bestows or acquires mana;
5. Offers a type of therapy;
6. Enhances career progression and professional identity;
7. Provides financial rewards and stability; and
8. Helps with the revitalisation and transfer of mātauranga Māori.

These themes are further described and discussed below.

Provides a Foundation for Believing in Your Potential

Providing a foundation for believing in your potential was a theme observed in both key informants' narratives. Whilst Ngaturu directly spoke about how mahi rāranga provided her with a foundation from which to grow and develop as a person and realise her potential, Lewis alludes to this theme indirectly throughout his pūrākau by talking about the importance of having a positive whānau environment.

Ngaturu spoke about how some people go through their life journeys without any foundations and lacking a stable environment from which to grow and flourish in their chosen domain and as a person. Rāranga, more specifically mahi whāriki, provided her with this. Ngaturu understands the importance of having a foundation, and expressed this though the naming of her Master's rangahau He Putake Tangata, he Putake Whenua: If your Foundations are Right your People will be Strong. The importance of foundations was also reflected in

her analogy to a wharenui, suggesting that when foundations are strong, the house will be stable.

Ngaturu described herself as “a foundations person”, commenting that she has a strong connection to whāriki, which symbolises the stability of the structure. She also commented on how this belief informed her teaching, as she tries to provide and equip her students with the foundations for mahi rāranga, for example, by imparting tikanga that will provide them with the knowledge and basis from which to further progress their work and grow as a person.

Whereas Ngaturu verbalised the importance of a foundation in terms of gaining knowledge, Lewis created and implemented a whānau environment at Rākai Jade that was intended to provide an example of a supportive foundation. Lewis shared how he had been a part of other businesses and instiutions which he referred to as being “toxic”, in terms of not being in a supportive environment. Lewis established Rākai Jade for people who wanted to learn mahi pounamu and join the Rākai Jade whānau, so that they would be able to experience a supportive space. This shows the value he placed on creating an appropriate positive foundation to enable others to learn and develop their pounamu knowledge and skills.

This kōrero highlights the positive contribution mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu can have for individuals who have gained knowledge and experienced being in a supportive environment. The acquisition of mahi toi skills can therefore contribute to personal development, as the individual obtains a foundation or basis from which they are able to improve realise their potential to grow and develop. When this stable foundation is constructed, then the walls of the whare are strong, meaning the individual is securely supported in a whānau environment, and they are then able to learn more effectively and holistically, as their identity is affirmed.

Contributes to a Person’s Cultural Identity

Cultural identity was another prominent theme that was evident within the pūrākau of both key informants. Cultural identity promotes wellbeing (Trimble, 2000) and evokes a sense of belonging or affiliation with a particular group.

Ngaturu explained how mahi rāranga can enhance someone's cultural identity. She spoke of how the knowledge and practical experiences attained can be meaningful for different people in different ways. She described how a person in her course was able to relate what they had learnt to their lived experiences, as the connections they made between past and present were reflected in who they were as individuals and as Māori, and in the mahi that they produced. With respect to her own cultural identity, Ngaturu asserted that "if it wasn't for harakeke I wouldn't be who I am today". She elaborated, stating "so you know it's about cultural identity and whānau identity, your own identity, gives you a place of belonging, gives you heaps of stuff. You know who you are and you become an individual".

Similarly, Lewis believed that learning mahi pounamu can contribute to strengthening a person's cultural identity. Through acquiring an understanding of mahi pounamu, a person is able to broaden their basket of knowledge and gain a new appreciation for what they do and who they are. Lewis drew upon an observation of a Rākai Jade whānau member who, as a result of engaging with mahi pounamu, extended his cultural knowledge to strengthen his cultural identity. Lewis suggested that: "if someone knows about who they are it makes them more, I suppose confident and the way they present themselves".

An individual learning mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu is able to gain a stronger sense of self by enhancing their cultural identity which can lead to improved wellbeing as the individual has a stronger sense of belonging and can relate with the cultural group from which they are affiliated. Connecting with traditional cultural knowledge through mahi toi can therefore be seen to enable individuals to reconnect with who they are as Māori and through affirming their identities empower them to make positive changes for their futures. From learning mahi toi skills the individual is also able to develop their intrapersonal and interpersonal skills.

Improves Confidence and Communication Skills

Ngaturu and Lewis shared how mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu have helped improve their confidence and communications skills.

Ngaturu conveyed how she was very shy growing up and at the start of her rāranga journey. She was initially petrified at the thought of being a kaiako, as she was afraid of talking in front of others. This was evident in her immediate reply to TWOA when she was offered a teaching position. She reacted emotionally, responding: "hell no, you want me to get up in front of people? Piss off". Ngaturu's confidence has positively developed as a result of learning mahi rāranga, as she has gained the skills required to make taonga. Her communication skills have also improved as a consequence of engaging with and teaching other people.

Lewis shared that at the start of his pounamu journey he was also very shy. However, his confidence has grown as he has become knowledgeable about the processes that he uses to create the taonga that he produces. He stated: "you become confident in the work that you produce. But then you also critique your work as well". Like Ngaturu, Lewis' communication skills have improved as a result of having to learn, talk to and teach others. Whilst Lewis acknowledged that his own confidence and communication skills have been enhanced, he has gained more satisfaction from recognising other Rākai Jade whānau members' personal development. With his support, the Rākai Jade whānau have become self-assured when talking with customers and clients, and Lewis now feels that their confidence and communication has grown to a level where he is able to leave the workshop in the hands of the Rākai Jade whanau, knowing that they can complete their work and communicate with customers without him being present.

Both key informants spoke about how they used to be shy, but through learning mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu and engaging with others, their confidence and communication skills have developed. For both Lewis and Ngaturu the ability to talk with or in front of others, and to speak competently and confidently in public were significant personal achievements. Mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu have clearly aided in the personal development of both key informants', and Lewis has also noticed similar growth and development in the others with whom he is sharing pounamu knowledge. Whilst enabling personal growth is an important outcome, an individual who possesses mahi rāranga or

mahi pounamu skills also has the opportutnity to be bestowed or acquire a form of mana.

Bestows or Acquires Mana

Being a mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu expert means that the individual has a high level of knowledge and skills in their specific area. As a result of being considered by others to be an expert in the field, people acquire or are bestowed with mana or a form of prestige or authority. In the Māori community it is considered an honour to obtain mana, as this elevates their status, acknowledges their expertise and recognises their legitimate authority. Whilst Ngaturu directly alluded to acquiring mana, Lewis's pūrākau suggests that many people have bestowed him with mana.

In Ngaturu's pūrākau she talked about how mahi rāranga has influenced her life because people have seen her mahi and know that she has the expertise to produce taonga of special quality. Although she is humble and does not like to be boastful, she did quietly share "I'm not blowing my own trumpet but people come to me because of what I do and the way I do it". Her korero reflects her acquisition of mana and reveals how mahi rāranga has presented her with the authority to set boundaries in order to ensure that people respect who she is and the mahi that she produces. She has spent a lot of time and effort throughout her life journey to learn about mahi rāranga and is now at a level where she can comfortably and confidently determine the mahi she will produce and who this mahi will be conducted for. Her elevated status is evident in the fact that in the past Ngaturu used to make taonga for anyone, but now she is selective and sought after, so no longer creates taonga for just anyone. Because Ngaturu has been bestowed with mana, she is highly sort after by other people who desire rāranga taonga and has accepted a lot of commissioned rāranga mahi for others who acknowledge her expertise.

Whilst Lewis did not talk directly about the concept of mana, it is evident that he has also been bestowed with mana. He is often the person people will seek out if they want to know anything regarding pounamu, or if they would like a taonga produced. His expert knowledge and skill, and his commitment to

gathering and sharing what he knows, have instilled mana in him that has been bestowed by others with whom he has worked and engaged.

Mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu contribute to personal development as these skills provide the individual with an opportunity to aquire or be bestowed with mana. For Ngaturu and Lewis, their expertise and specialised skills means many people flock to them, and their taonga and knowledge are highly valued by the Māori community. Extended knowledge of mahi toi thus positively generates a form of mana, but engaging with mahi toi also has personal psychological benefits.

Offers a Type of Therapy

Mahi pounamu and mahi rāranga appear to play a therapeutic role in the lives of people who are facing personal challenges.

Ngaturu shared the story of the group of women who were in her rāranga class in Otaki, and how they were going through challenging times in their lives, stating "rāranga was a form of therapy for all us woman". She also spoke personally about raising her sons as a single parent, and the feeling of desperation and yearning for something to assist her during those demanding periods in her life. According to Ngaturu, harvesting harakeke helped her process her emotions. At times she felt overwhelmed by her feelings, and being outside in a natural environment conducting mahi rāranga provided her with an outlet and a calming space to resolve the difficulties with which she was struggling.

Lewis also spoke about the time and space mahi pounamu provided when processing difficult times and emotions. He expressed that "sometimes the creative mind is busy and you are unable to stop thinking". Lewis experienced how making taonga evokes "a good positive thought process so a lot of people find jade carving therapeutic". He believes that mahi pounamu can make a positive impact in people's lives, and shared the experiences of some of the Rākai Jade whānau. "Like we have had a few of the guys umm really depressed and I suppose… the carving has like helped them process it". He suggested that many people can "shut the world out" and focus on the taonga they are trying to create or the problem they are trying to resolve.

Both mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu appear to engage people in the creative, practical and technical aspects of making taonga, and in doing so have helped my key informants and Rākai Jade whānau members process their thoughts and emotions. Mahi toi provides people with the space and opportunity to reflect; it fosters self-awareness and provides opportunities to regulate ones emotions. The development of these dispositions can also help an individual gain a profession or career.

Enhances Career Progression and Professional Identity

The pūrākau described how mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu have provided both key informants, as well as some of those they have learned with and taught, with a vocation that has enhanced their professional identities.

Mahi rāranga has become such a major part of Ngaturu's life that she has been able to use these skills to develop her career. She has been able to progress from learning mahi rāranga, to gaining employment and developing her professional identity. Ngaturu was on a welfare benefit prior to obtaining employment; however, she is now a kaiako at TWOA, enabling a significant lift in socio-economic status. The development of her mahi rāranga skills and professional identity have meant that she has also gained commissions to create taonga for people and influential organisations outside of her formal employment.

Lewis has also been able to gain employment and develop his career and professional identity. He has created opportunities for him and the Rākai Jade whānau by establishing a business. He combines his knowledge of pounamu with business acumen and shares his insights with other Rākai Jade whānau, so that they may potentially create their own careers and establish independent businesses in the future. Lewis has developed his mahi pounamu knowledge and skills to a high standard where he is able to teach and share those skills with other people. He has created a professional identity through mentoring those he teaches and is the director of his Rākai Jade business.

Both Ngaturu's and Lewis's pūrākau describe how they progressed from learning mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu and developed professional identities

through sharing those skills with others. As a result their careers and opportunities have been established and enhanced. Ngaturu is now a kaiako at TWOA and Lewis is a mentor and director of this own business, Rākai Jade. Whilst mahi toi skills do not only develop a person's career and professional identity, they also help the individual gain financial rewards that benefit themselves and their extended whānau.

Provides Financial Rewards and Stability

The appreciation of gaining financial stability was evident in the pūrākau shared by both artists.

Ngaturu was able to make renovations to her house as a result of gaining employment as a rāranga kaiako, as well as from commissioned work that she produced for organisations, whānau and friends. Such work enabled Ngaturu to buy food items that were considered restricted luxury items before she gained financial stability through her mahi rāranga work. "There is real butter, steak. He was like mum we never had this when we were growing up. So it's actually contributed to our whānau and wellbeing, everything".

Whilst Lewis did not directly share information about his financial status, it was evident from his pūrākau that his mahi pounamu skills have created opportunities for him to sell his taonga overseas in galleries. The success he has with clients and customers in his business means he has been able to create financial stability for himself and his whanau, as well as share the benefits of this with the Rakai Jade whānau.

Mahi toi skills enable individuals to make financial gains through employment and selling their taonga. However, the benefits and opportunities created by the financial gains obtained also extend to the wider whānau. Ngaturu was able to provide luxary items for her family as a result of having financial stability, and Lewis is able to provide for his immediate and extended Rākai Jade whānau. Leaning mahi toi skills also supports Māori development by retaining and maintaining Māori cultural knowledge.

Helps with the Revitalisation and Transfer of Mātauranga Māori

A significant theme that emerged from analysing both key informants' pūrākau was the importance of maintaining and transferring cultural knowledge. As a result of colonisation, traditional Māori knowledge and skills were suppressed and replaced with the introduction of Pākehā skills. Mātauranga Māori or traditional Māori knowledge declined over several generations, althought revitalisation efforts have been underway for many years to retain this knowledge and transfer it to future generations.

Ngaturu shared how her profession involved passing her skills and knowledge on to others, so as to ensure the transfer of information for future generations. She spoke about the legends, tikanga, and the physical and spiritual elements involved with mahi rāranga. She also referred to the MWWL and others who contributed to the revitalisation of this skill. Ngaturu emphasised the importance, value and significance of rāranga as a resource for the people, and felt gaining a greater understanding and therefore appreciation for this resource was necessary.

Lewis also discussed the significance and value of pounamu as a resource for Māori. He spoke of the location, strength and durability of pounamu, and how people would travel up and down the North Island to source this precious taonga. His korero focused on design and how pounamu was initially used as tools, but later reworked into adornment when European metal tools became available. Lewis also shared how poumanu was an indication of authority or chiefly status. He specifically talked about the cultural significance of pounamu and was emphatic that it is more than just a token or souvenir. He declared "for a while it was considered a commercial material for the tourist market", and was adamant that it was important "that people don't forget the difference between a souvenir and taonga".

This reinforces the spiritual element of taonga for Māori, and the connection taonga maintains between those who have passed over to the spiritual realm and those who are still present in the physical world. This includes the passing down of taonga from generation to generation, and the ability to

maintain a connection with significant others. For both Lewis and Ngaturu their motivation to create and share their mahi appears to be justified by both a desire and an obligation to enhance cultural knowledge, and to affirm the importance of being able to pass this knowledge and understanding down to future generations. Learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu can therefore be seen as important aspects of the revitalisation of mātauranga Māori. Learning mahi toi contributes to the revival and maintenance of Māori culture, as a way to continue the traditional knowledge and skills on which Māori lives were based prior to the invasion of Aotearoa by Pākehā.

Chapter Summary

Eight themes were identified from analysing both key informants pūrākau.

Engaging in Mahi toi creates a supportive environment can provide a foundation for individuals to gather skills and knowledge, and come to believe in their personal potential. Mahi toi can contribute to a person's cultural identity as individuals gain mātauranga Māori, which affirms their sense of belonging or affiliation with the Māori culture. Learning mahi toi also improves an individual's confidence by developing their ability to conduct mahi toi and to communicate and engage effectively with other people. Obtaining mahi toi skills can provide the individual with a form of mana which reflects their expertise in their chosen fields, and also offers a type of therapy for individuals who need assistance to process their emotions and difficult challenging situations. By gaining mahi toi skills it is also possible for an individual to gain a career and enhance their professional identity. The ability to learn mahi toi skills provides an individual with employment and opportunities to gain financial rewards and stability for themselves, as well as benefiting their immediate and extended whānau. Finally, it contributes to the revitalisation and transfer of cultural knowledge between present and future generations. There are thus many positive aspects associated with learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. These benefits are not restricted to the acquisition of practical and hard skills, but instead primarily enhance PsycCap and soft skills, as the themes that emerged from this analysis highlight the contribution mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu make to personal, professional and cultural development.

Chapter 5: Discussion

A struggle that is compounded by The New Zealand government's focus on training and development for the 21st century emphasises curriculum and pedagogy associated with employability, which is narrowly defined within the formal education sector as skills with direct application to securing paid employment. Productivity is also considered to be a training priority by the government and educational authorities, as it contributes to economic gains. The ability to calculate and demonstrate return on investment (ROI) in terms of rates of employment and economic measures therefore motivates a focus on specific hard skills.

Funding is filtered from the government through to the TEC, ITF and ITOs, which reflect this focus by providing hard skills programmes, such as traditional trade skills and apprenticeships for construction services to increase individual employability prospects and cater for labour market demand. As a result of the focus on hard skills for employability, the government and educational authorities, such as the TEC, ITF and ITOs, undervalue Māori skills in training and education as they do not have an explicit connection to paid employment. This under-appreciation is highlighted in the fact that only one Māori skill, Mahi ā Rehia, was identified amongst the combined 97 trades, apprenticeships or training opportunities that are offered by the 11 ITOs. This means traditional Māori skills constitute just 1 percent of the available training offered by ITF instiutions.

Maintaining the status of Māori education and revitalising the Māori skills on which Māori lives were once based has been difficult, as Māori knowledge and skills were displaced or substituted for Pakēhā skills and western education as as result of colonisation. Despite the government's Treaty of Waitangi obligations to protect Māori taonga and provide access to learning Māori cultural knowledge and skills, Māori educational institutions, such as Te Wānanga O Raukawa, Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa have had difficulty gaining funding to deliver Māori skills programmes. This struggle is evident in their Waitangi Tribunal claims (WAI718 and WAI1298), which

emphasise the lack of equity, support and appreciation from government for the development of Māori skills in training and education.

However, when considering the development of an individual's employability aspirations, it is important to identify what types of skills potential employers are seeking during the recruitment process, so as to be fully prepared for the personnel selection process. Whilst the government funds the development and delivery of programmes to teach hard skills, soft skills and PsyCap also affect employability and productivity, despite not having a direct relationshp to the performance of tasks within the workplace. Intrapersonal and interpersonal skills, such as motivation, resilience, and the ability to communicate and engage with others, can affect a person's capability to gain employment and be productive in the workplace. For this reason, in recent times, soft skills have become favourable by employers from many industries, particularly those which have had to grapple with technological advancements and organisational change.

A literature review focusing on mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu was conducted to ascertain what information was available about these types of mahi toi, and to identify the hard and soft skills that can be acquired from learning these Māori skills. The literature provided substancial historical information and identified much of the hard skills knowledge involved in mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. However, only the One programme, delivered through the Waitematā District Heath Board, promoted the benefits of learning rāranga in terms of contributing to person development. This study found the participants' stress levels lowered when they were conducting mahi rāranga, and that they were able to build stronger relationships with their whānau, as there was a safe space to talk. It was also concluded that mahi rāranga enhanced participants' cultural identity and wairua (spiritual connections), which could be considered to contribute to positive PsyCap.

A limited number of studies were located that had been conducted with a focus on the value and relevance of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu in the 21st century. Notably, there was little emphasis on the soft skills that can be attained, which not only contribute to Māori development, but also to employability and

productivity. This indicated a significant gap in the existing literature on the contemporary benefits of the acquisition of traditional mahi pounamu and mahi rāranga skills for Māori. Therefore, the rationale for conducting this research was to gain a deeper understanding of the hard and soft skills associated with mahi toi, and to find out how these skills contribute to personal, professional and cultural development, in order to promote the value of directing more funding towards mahi toi skills in education.

My analysis of both key informants' pūrākau found many benefits of learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu in the 21st century, as these specific Māori mahi toi involve the attainment of both hard and softs skills. The hard skills that are attained are practical domain-specific skills that enable individuals to gain knowledge of where to locate the resource, how to use the tools required to cut and process the material, and the practices involved in physically making taonga. The soft skills comprise intrapersonal and interpersonal proficiencies that develop an individual's internal self-management and their ability to engage with others, such as confidence, communication and resilience, which enhances PsyCap.

A thematic analysis of the key informants' pūrākau revealed that mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu contribute to personal development, as these skills provided my key informants, and other individuals they learnt with or taught, with a foundation to realise their potential and from which they could further develop themselves both personally and professionally. Once this foundation had been laid, mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu further provided a basis for enhancing cultural identity, as when a person learns about mātauranga Māori this taonga enhances who they are as Māori.

Learning mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu was also found to enhance soft skills, as both key informants' acknowledged they have the potential to improve an individual's ability to communicate through working with the kaiako, as well as other tauira, whānau or customers. This provides learners with opportunities to practice communicating effectively with others in a supportive whānau environment. Conducting mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu also provides a form of therapy to help regulate and process the emotions and stressful situations one

may be dealing with. These findings are consistent with the programme delivered through the Waitemata District Health Board, which also found that rāranga had lowered their participant stress levels and enhanced their cultural identity (Kirkwood, 2016).

Becoming competent in mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu may also give an individual a professional identity. Obtaining a profession involves acquiring or being bestowed with a form of mana, as many people value the holder of expertise and knowledge. A person's status and confidence are thus able to develop and grow because they not only become competent in the hard skills and abilities to make taonga, they also engage with others, regulate their emotions and manage themselves in positive and constructive ways.

It was evident that Ngaturu and Lewis have developed personally from learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, as they have both been able to enhance their intrapersonal and interpersonal or soft skills. As Robles (2012) noted earlier soft skills "have more to do with who you are not what you know" (p. 458). Their pūrākau revealed changes in identity and sense of self, which enhanced who they are, leading to emotional stability, self-affirming internal processes and confidence engaging and communicating with others. Their PsyCap, or psychological state of development, was also positively enhanced through learning more about themselves and their culture.

Despite the belief that Māori skills do not have an explicit link to employability, both Ngaturu and Lewis have been able to gain employment and develop their professional indentities and status within their communities through learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu illustrating that mahi toi does contribute to employability. This is not just a result of their acquisition of hard skills and technical knowledge of how to make taonga, but also the soft skills and PsyCap that develops when individuals train in mahi toi. While the hard skills have cultural benefits for Māori, particularly in terms of retaining and passing on traditional knowledge, not all trainees will attain employment in these specific fields like Lewis and Ngaturu have been able to. However, the soft skills gained are transferable and can be applied in a wide variety of employment contexts, and therefore may have a positive impact on employability and professional identity and development.

It was evident in this study that unlike many individuals who learn mahi toi, both Ngaturu and Lewis were able to gain employment in their respective fields. While they utilise the hard skills of mahi raranga and mahi toi in their work, both Ngaturu and Lewis emphasised the value of learning to communicate effectively, and to work with and support others in their workplace environments, which had led to career progression. Lewis has now created his own business, Rākai Jade, and Ngaturu has become a highly sought after and successful kaiako at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and amongst the wider community. It is therefore evident that learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu has the potential to enhance and develop an individual's personal and professional identity through the acquisition of both hard and soft skills.

Demonstrated within both pūrākau was evidence that learning mahi toi can improve an individual's self-efficacy, their ability to manage themselves and their internal capabilities. These qualities enhance employability, as the intrinsic benefits obtained from learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu contribute to positive PsyCap. Lorenz et al. (2016) reminds us that a positive psychological state of development is associated with motivation and commitment to the task, thereby enhancing performance and productivity. Additionally, when an individual is better equipped with a combination of hard and soft skills, they are more likely to be able to portray themselves with confidence throughout the recruitment process, increasing opportunities for achieving employment. Having gained employment, an individual who is confident in themselves and in their ability to complete the job is more likely to make a positive contribution to a work team and be better able to work collaboratively with others. These qualities are valued by employers, but not currently reflected in government funding priorities.

Recruiters look for people who exhibit a range of hard and soft skills (Rao, 2012), as while technical competencies are required to complete fundamental aspects of a job, it is soft skills that enable people to engage constructively with others and cope when changes or difficult situations arise within the workplace. Although both Ngaturu and Lewis acquired formal qualifications from learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, the hard skills these qualifications assessed

may not necessary lead to increased employability, as there are limited opportunities for employment in mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. However, the softs skills developed through engaging in mahi toi are transferable and can be utilised within almost any workplace environment. People who have learnt mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu are therefore in a better position to gain employment because they have developed intrapersonal and interpersonal skills. These skills are unlikely to be recognised in formal qualifications, due to their less quantifiable characteristics, but have been identified as a priority by 21st century employers, as many young people at the present time are lacking in soft skills (Tulgan 2016) despite having numerous hard skills and formal qualifications.

As highlighted by Robles (2012) "the greatest feature of soft skills is that the application of soft skills is not limited to one's profession" (p. 457). It is therefore important to recognise that the transferability of the soft skills acquired through learning mahi toi is not only advantageous in the employment context; these skills also benefit whānau and wider Māori communities. Hard skills may also have benefit beyond the individuals who attain them. For example, marae and other community projects may become the recipients of taonga produced by applying hard practical skills. Immediate and extended whānau also benefit when mahi toi skills are acquired. Both Ngaturu and Lewis spoke of the benefits their whānau had received as a result of their ability to make taonga for galleries, exhibitions, community projects, and selling their taonga to the public. Mahi toi skills can thus provide financial stability that enables people to better provide for their family's needs by purchasing food, gaining access to education, and improving housing and health care.

Learning mahi toi skills, like mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, strengthens whānau and Māori communities, enhancing Māori development. This is a priority for Māori who are seeking to mitigate the ongoing impacts of the historical change in authoritative power from Māori to Pākēha. This colonisation process led to the loss and suppression of Māori skills, and for many decades Māori struggled to keep the culture alive. Many Māori found it difficult to assimilate into a western paradigm, and this is reflected in lower participation

and engagement rates in education and employment, and ongoing mental health issues.

Theefore, the benefits of acquiring hard and soft skills acquired through learning mahi toi are not insignificant, as they have the potential ability to reduce Māori unemployment statistics in Aotearoa. According to Attewell (2018) "just over 80,000 Māori are potential jobseekers, looking for more hours or [are currently] unemployed" (p. 1); as such the socio-economic and productivity gains could be substantial. However, for Māori, it may be more important to re-connect with mātauranga Māori and to affirm their lives and values as Māori, so as to contribute to the decolonisation process and improve their lives and PsyCap.

Re-engagement with traditional Māori skills and knowledge can help to address the historical trauma that continues to be present today. The analysis of the key informants' pūrākau revealed that mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu skills can contribute to mental wellbeing for Māori, as these skills offer a form of therapy. "Māori adults were about 1.5 times as likely as non-Māori adults to report a high or very high probability of having an anxiety or depressive disorder" (Ministry of Health, 2015). Both Ngaturu and Lewis claimed mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu had helped them cope with difficult situations in their lives, and had also witnessed these skills and creative spaces giving others the chance to process and regulate their emotions. This suggests mahi toi may have potential as an alternate form of therapy to help reduce the likelihood of Māori presenting with mental health disorders, and this warrants further research and investigation.

Ngaturu and Lewis have been able to contribute to the revitalisation of mātauranga Māori by maintaining tradition cultural knowledge and sharing this taonga with others for the betterment of future generations. Ngaturu commented that learning mahi rāranga helps "keep your culture alive" and Lewis expressed the importance of cultural knowledge in terms of being able to maintain the significance and meaning of taonga, so that the pounamu is not referred to as just a trinket or a souvenir that is purchased by a tourist. The education of mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu contributes to the revitalisation of Māori skills and knowledge. This thesis has also sought to affirm kaupapa Maori

in a research context and to undertake research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori and their pūrākau have helped to affirm traditional methods of communicating knowledge.

The analysis of the key informants' pūrākau emphasise the value of Māori skills in training and education. They not only lead to personal and professional development and the potential to gain employment through the acquisition of a combination of hard and soft skills, but also benefit the family and wider community, ultimately contributing to Māori development. Mahi toi education, specifically mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, ultimately enhance Māori development by contributing to a reduction in unemployment statistics, enabling individuals to provide for their families, providing a form of therapy to combat the negative mental health statistics for Māori, and revitalising the knowledge and skills on which Māori lives were once based.

While education for employability is important to Māori, it is also important that education is appropriate, meaningful and transformational (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2012). An education that is meaningful for Māori acknowledges the tūpuna of the past, maintains knowledge in the present, and enables understanding to be sustained for future generations. Such an education plays an important role in upholding and affirming relationships, history, knowledge and culture, as cultural situated education is more likely to "ensure whānau are happy in education and enjoy educational success" (Maniapoto Māori Trust Board, 2012, p. 12). If this also leads to the acquisition of the soft skills that employers are seeking, funding priorities should be revisited to recognise the connection between education that is transformational for Māori and the Government and TEC's employability objectives.

Although the Government currently favours the training and development of hard skills, as a result of being able to quantify their success in terms of ROI, the acquisition of both hard and softs skills can be acquired as a result of learning mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu. Highlighting the vocational value of the soft skills acquired when creating taonga should therefore be emphasised, so that government agencies can perceive a connection to the skills

employers are seeking, and understand why mahi toi skills should be made a funding priority and valued in training and education.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Colonisation forced Māori to assimilate to Pākehā culture and ways of living. As a result, skills such as mahi toi, on which Māori lives were once based, declined to near extinction. For many years, neither the government nor other educational authorities, such as TEC, ITF and ITOs, have supported efforts to revitalise these skills, and this has made it very difficult for institutions to gain funding to deliver education in mahi toi. The government has perceived these skills to be leisure activities, and has failed to recognise their benefits in terms of social inclusion and employment, perceiving few economic gains for an investment in mahi toi education.

Although the literature only provided basic knowledge of mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu, such as explaining the terminology, location, different types of harakeke and pounamu, mātauranga, and revitalisation efforts, most of the information gathered focused almost exclusively on the hard skills or practices required to produce taonga. Little research has previously been conducted with regard to how learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu can contribute to an individual's personal and cultural development.

My aim in undertaking this research project was to gain a deeper understanding of the hard and soft skills associated with mahi toi, so as to find out how these skills contribute to personal, professional and cultural development in the 21st century. The research had two main objectives. The first objective was to provide an appreciation for the selected mahi toi skills and their associated mātauranga by illustrating the benefits of learning mahi toi. The second objective was to explore how these skills are practised in private (PTE) and public (TEI) tertiary educational contexts to demonstrate how key informants utilised their skills in very different training environments.

A kaupapa Māori approach was used to conduct this research and two key informants, Ngaturu Paparahi and Lewis Tamihana Gardiner, were interviewed in order to meet the research objectives and answer the research question: "what are the personal, professional and cultural benefits of learning

mahi toi skills such as mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu in the 21st century?" Their pūrākau highlighted the value of providing learning and training opportunities for traditional Māori skills in education.

Both pūrākau from Lewis and Ngaturu illustrated the personal, professional and cultural benefits they have personally experienced whilst on their journeys with their respective mahi toi skills. They also shared their observations of benefits for others they have learnt with and taught. Eight themes were identified when analysing and comparing their pūrākau. Mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu were found to provide a foundation for believing in your potential, contribute to a person's cultural identity, improve confidence and communication skills, help an individual be bestowed or acquire a form of mana, offer a type of therapy, enhance career progression and professional identity, provide financial rewards and stability for themselves as well as their whānau, and help with the revitalisation and transfer of cultural knowledge. This provides evidence of demonstrable benefits from learning mahi toi.

Individuals who engage in mahi toi also obtain both hard and soft skills that enhance their employability prospects, which can not only lead to potential employment, but also to success within the workforce in terms of professional identity, progression and productivity gains. Employers in many industries have realised the benefits from employing individuals who possess soft skills, such as communication, confidence and resilience, as these people are better able to work with others, and are more likely to cope with organisational change. Employers also recoginise positive PsyCap and soft skills, as it contributes to improvements in in motivation, commitment and/or performance from employees. Therefore, organisations and employers also benefit from hiring an individual who possess a number of soft skills, regardless of the context in which these skills were acquired. Because soft skills are readily transferable, the soft skills acquired through education in mahi toi should be recognised, valued and funded.

The acquisition of mahi toi skills, such as mahi rāranga or mahi pounamu, ultimately contribute to Māori development, as individual's obtain skills that put them in a better position to gain employment, thereby contributing to a

reduction in Māori over-representation in unemployment statistics, and poorer education and health outcomes. An individual who gains paid employment is better able to provide for their whānau in terms of housing, education and health care. They are also able to provide access to luxury items and expose their families to more opportunities in life, as a result of having financial stability. Mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu can be also used as a form of therapy to combat and reduce the negative mental health statistics for Māori.

Iwi also gain an advantage by maintaining mātauranga Māori, which can be transferred through whānau and iwi for the benefit of future generations. As Lewis emphasised during his korero "with the whānau basis comes in marae basis, within the marae basis comes you know hapū basis and then iwi basis and then it just gets bigger and bigger and then even to the point where you represent as a whole internationally".

The review of two key informants who practise in very different educational institutions, Rākai Jade (PTE) and Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (TEI), showed a difference in the delivery and deployment of mahi toi skills. TWOA continuously battles to receive annual government funding to assist it to deploy and deliver mahi rāranga skills. However, Rākai Jade does not receive any funding to provide mahi pounamu skills and relies on whānau relationships and retail sales. At TWOA the individual has to apply to enrol into its rāranga programmes and meet specific entry criteria. The programme is formally structured with certain activities that need to be completed within certain time periods. There is normally a cost associated with participation, but there are formal qualifications that can be obtained.

Rākai Jade offers a space for anyone who wants to learn about mahi pounamu. They are more flexible than TWOA, as the individual is able to learn and develop in their own time and there is normally no cost involved in learning, other than materials. Members of the public may opt to take a daily course, which involves a whānau member of Rākai Jade supporting them through the entire process, so the individual leaves with the taonga they have made.

Although there are differences between TWOA and Rākai Jade, as one institution could be considered more formal than the other, it is clear that mahi

toi can be learnt from either a formally structured and funded institution, or a flexible private organisation, and that both are able to pass on Māori knowledge and skills, helping individuals attain the hard and soft skills, and the personal benefits of acquiring mahi toi.

This research project has provided greater insight and understanding into the personal development opportunities available through gaining mahi toi skills, in particular, mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. It illustrates how learning these skills can make a positive contribution to the development of an individual, as well as the associated benefits for whānau and iwi.

While the impacts of the historical trauma our tūpuna experienced many years ago continues to be felt, restoring mātauranga Māori through learning about the knowledge and skills of our tūpuna through learning mahi toi has been found to have a positive impact on Māori development and wellbeing. This study also indicates mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu have had direct employment potential for the participants in this study. In addition, their acquisition has been found to have the ability to affirm cultural identity, enhance confidence and communication skills, and develop a sense of community. This demonstrates there are clear benefits associated with attaining and retaining mahi toi skills and traditional cultural knowledge for Māori in the 21st century.

This research was conducted from a kaupapa Māori perspective with the intention to uphold the aspirations of one of the researcher's iwi, Maniapoto. It was developed to affirm Maniapoto Trust Board's education strategy and enable its aspirations, vision and mission to be realised through recognising the value of learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu. These skills enable an individual to engage in meaningful education that enhances who they are as Māori whilst becoming confident in their Maniapoto history, thereby allowing the knowledge to flow through the generations.

My research has affirmed my identity a Māori researcher from Maniapoto. It has highlighted the educational success of Māori and Maniapoto through the acquisition of hard and soft skills, and has emphasised the importance of maintaining cultural traditions. The key informants' pūrākau have illustrated the ways in which mahi toi can be transferred from education into

meaningful work, which is significant as my findings indicate soft skills and PsyCap an be developed through acquiring mahi toi skills, and the literature has demonstrated employers are increasingly recognising the value of employees with soft skills. It is for this reason that I believe mahi toi skills should be valued and publicly funded, so that they can be deployed and delivered in education.

From conducting this research I have been able to gain a deeper understanding of the hard and soft skills associated with learning mahi toi, and have identified how these skills contribute to personal, professional and Māori cultural development, benefiting the individual, their whānau and their extended communities. This research has highlighted the potential value of directing more funding into developing mahi toi skills in training and education, but more importantly I have a greater appreciation of mahi toi skills and of the means by which whānau like Ngaturu and Lewis have worked to maintain these skills for future generations.

In concluding my research journey, I would like to acknowledge the efforts of others before us who worked tirelessly to re-claim our skills, which had declined as a result of colonisation. I hope this small research project has contributed to the revitalisation efforts of our mahi toi skills, and that it serves as an attempt to share our mātauranga with others for the betterment of future generations. Like the experiences of many others, this experience has been an uplifting and affirming process for me.

Kia mau ki nga taonga o ngā tūpuna

Hold fast to the knowledge and skills of our ancestors.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Participant information sheet

Appendix B: Consent form

Appendix C: Invitation to participate letter

Appendix D: Interview Schedule

Appendix E: Photo elicitation exercise/questionnaire

Appendix A: Information sheet for key informants
Waikato University - Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

The Research Project Title: Mahi Toi Skills in Contemporary Education, Training and Māori Development

Research description: Since the 1980's investment in human capital and skills in education has been promoted as key to becoming employable, gain a competitive advantage and therefore economic success. With a focus on providing training programmes to enhance skills such as literacy, numeracy, computer programming, traditional trades, and create advances in cyber and digital technology.

Due to the limited research being conducted on indigenous skills and the associated social, cultural, economic individual and organisational benefits that can occur as a result of having learnt indigenous skills, people who create education policy and fund training programmes undervalue indigenous skills and perceive these skills as being merely an art or hobby.

For the purpose of this research the term indigenous skills refers to a selection of specialist technologies rāranga, and whakairo pounamu.

The intent of my project is to elevate the value and benefit of training people in indigenous skills, highlighting the value of directing more funding towards indigenous skills in education (tertiary).

Aim: Is to provide a deeper understanding of the value of training and learning mahi rāranga and mahi pounamu skills

Your involvement: I would like to seek the narratives of indigenous practitioners of traditional Māori skills in order to be better informed about:

- What are indigenous skills?
- Why/how, are the beneficial?
- How can they be applied in an educational context?

You have been approached as an authority and educator of a specific indigenous skill and I would like to invite you to participate and contribute to a collaborative research project along with myself and one other practitioner. This includes multiple engagements with myself consisting of:

1) a photo elicitation exercise where you will tell me about the organisation that you work for, provide existing pictures, photos or books and with your permission I will also take photos
2) an interview, which will last between 60-90 minutes at a time and venue of your choosing
3) the opportunity to check, edit or delete information in your interview transcript, photos and descriptions
4) the opportunity to provide comments or feedback on a 3-5 page summary of my thesis research project

What will happen to the information that you share?
With your permission, I will audio record our conversation. If at any time you feel uncomfortable, giving a response you can refrain from answering. You are welcome to re-join the conversation when you feel ready. The interview will then be transcribed and once you have sighted the information two weeks after the interview, the discussion will then be incorporated into my analysis.
All consent forms and information obtained will be kept securely filed on a database by the researcher for 5 years after the project has been completed at which point the data will be returned to you or disposed of.
Unless you state otherwise on the consent form your name will not be linked to the information you provide that is presented in the report. I will omit/change any specific names, places or obvious events that would identify you.
After the project is complete, the findings may be used to publish articles in journals for practitioners and researchers, or used in presentations and seminars for national or international conferences.

What are my rights as a participant?
If you decide to participate, you will also have the right to:

- Support personnel/ whānau during the interview
- The protection of your privacy and anonymity throughout and after the research process
- Withdraw any information you provide up to two weeks after receiving the transcription of the interview
- Request a summary of the research findings
- Contact myself or my supervisors for more information, or ask any further questions you might have about the study

Is the research ethical?
This project has been reviewed by the Human Research Ethics Committee in the School of Psychology, Faculty of Arts and Social Science at the University of Waikato. This research proposal received approval on the 3 August 2017, reference number #17:53
If you have any concerns about this project, you can contact my supervisors Dr Bridgette Masters-Awatere bridgette.masters-awatere@waikato.ac.nz or Dr Maree Roche mroche@waikato.ac.nz or the convenor of the Psychology School Research and Ethics Committee Dr Rebecca Sargisson rebeccas@waikato.ac.nz

Who is the researcher?
My name is Makarita Ngapine Tangitu-Joseph. I am the researcher for this project and I am a Masters student at the University of Waikato.
Contact details: makarita24@hotmail.com 0223215672

You are welcome to contact me for further information regarding this project.
Thank you for your consideration.

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Appendix B: Consent Form

The Research Project Title: Mahi Toi Skills in Contemporary Education, Training and Māori Development

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (□) the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it.		
2. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study		
3. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet		
4. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw my information up to two weeks after receiving my interview summary/transcript		
5. I have the right to decline to participate in any part of the research activity		
6. I know whom to contact if I have any questions about the study in general		
7. I agree to you taking photos within the organisation where I work		
8. I give permission for my interviews to be recorded		
9. I agree to having my identifiable information used in this research report, other publications and conference proceedings		
10. I agree to having the organisations information where I teach identifiable in this research report, other publications and conference proceedings		
11. I would like to receive a summary of the organisational description information obtained in our first engagement		
12. I give permission for any photos taken throughout the research process to be used in the thesis or any future academic publications or conferences		
13. I wish to receive a summary (maximum 5 pages) of the research project		
14. I wish to have my interview recordings and photos returned to me after the 5-year period is complete.		

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw any of my data up to two weeks after I receive my transcript/summary. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (Dr Rebecca Sargisson, phone 07 873 9580, email: rebecca.sargisson@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

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Appendix C: External Organisational Letter
(Te Wānanga o Aotearoa/Rākai Jade)

Invitation to participate

To whom it may concern,

Ko Pukehokio me Matawhaura oku maunga
Ko Mangapu me Rotoiti oku awa/moana
Ko Oparure me Tapuaeharuru oku marae
Ko Tainui me Te Arawa oku waka
Ko Ngati Kinohaku me Ngāti Pikiao oku hapū
Ko Ngati Maniapoto me Te Arawa oku iwi

Ko Makarita Ngapine Tangitu-Joseph toku ingoa

I am a Master's student in the psychology department at the University of Waikato. I am also enrolled at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, in the Kawau Raupapa Level 4 Rāranga class, Maniapoto Campus.

I am about to embark on my Masters research titled "Mahi Toi Skills in Contemporary Education, Training and Māori Development", with a specific focus on Māori mahi toi skills. I have identified that you offer courses, which provide training in indigenous skills. With permission, I would like to interview Ngaturu Paparahi, which is my kaiako in rāranga based at the Maniapoto campus. The aim of my project is to provide a deeper understanding of the value of training and learning indigenous technologies.

I have attached further research information. Please feel free to contact my supervisors or me at any time if you need further clarification or have any remaining questions or concerns.

If required I am willing to meet with you at a time and place that suits to further explain the research project.

Thank you for your consideration. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Nga mihi

Makarita Ngapine Tangitu-Joseph

Researcher - Makarita makarita24@hotmail.com

Supervisor – Dr. Bridgette Masters-Awatere
Phone: +64 7 837 9228 bridgette.masters-awatere@waikato.ac.nz

Supervisor – Dr. Maree Roche
Phone: +64 7 838 4080 extn. 9285 mroche@waikato.ac.nz

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Appendix D - Interview schedule (60-90 minute)

Personal narratives (Pūrākau)

Participant profile

Can you please tell me about yourself?

- Name, whakapapa/ hapū/iwi

Practitioner history

- Why did you choose to become a practitioner in this specialised technology?
- Early influences/experiences

Profession

- What is your current occupation?
- Is your specialist discipline a requirement of the profession?
- Do you use the specialist technology in your position or independently of your employment? If so can you please provide examples/elaborate
- Do you or have you applied your specialist discipline for independent trade or exchange opportunities? Do you have a trading name?

Specialised skill

Can you please tell me about your specialised technology?

- History, whakapapa, form, function. What it involves/techniques

- **Why did you want to learn this skill?** (Earlier whānau or cultural influences, qualifications)
- **How did you learn your technology and skill?** (Informal/formal settings, where, how long did it take, qualifications obtained, cost)
- **Why do you think this is an important skill to have**? (Qualifications, maintain cultural knowledge)
- **How has this technology contributed to your professional development**?
  (deciding career path, progression)
- **How has this technology contributed to your personal development**? (self-esteem, communication skills, soft skills)
- **How has this technology contributed to your organisational development?** (business, progression, money, opportunities to further develop your business)
- **Can you share some experiences that you have had as a result of learning this skill?**
  (Travel internationally, exhibitions)
- **What challenges have you faced whilst trying to teach this skill to others?** (Institutional, financial, personal)
- **What support did you receive that helped you with teaching this skill?**
  (Institutional, financial, personal)
- **What support would you have liked to receive to help you teach this technology?** (Institutional, financial, personal)
- **Where to next** (future development plans) (For themselves, for their skills (area))

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Appendix E: Photo elicitation exercise

General discussion area (Organisation)

Organisational profile

Can you please tell me about the organisation where you train students in this specialised technology?

- History of how this institution started and how long has the organisation been offering this training programme.
- How many students/staff?
  Organisational structure/hierarchy
- What role do they play in the organisation?
- How long does the course go for?
- What do the students have to do?
- What qualifications do the students obtain?
- What support did the organisation/you receive to start and provide this programme?
    - Financial/educational/resources

Can you tell me about any of the photos that you have to share with me?