

KEI TUA O TE PAE HUI PROCEEDINGS

CHANGING WORLDS, CHANGING TIKANGA—
EDUCATING HISTORY AND THE FUTURE

TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA
ŌTAKI

4–5 SEPTEMBER, 2012

COMPILED BY
ANI MIKAERE AND JESSICA HUTCHINGS

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HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA
 **NZCER**

 **TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA**
e kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea

AKO AOTEAROA
NATIONAL CENTRE FOR
TERTIARY TEACHING
EXCELLENCE

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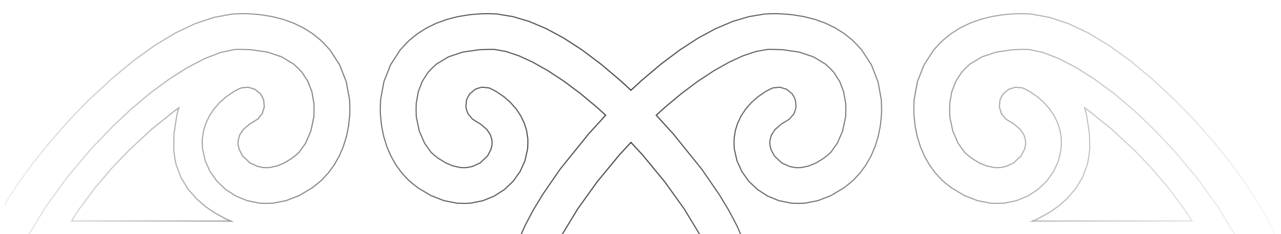
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KUPU WHAKATAKI

Tēnā koutou katoa rau rangatira mā. Tēnei te tāpae atu nei i runga i te ngākau iti ngā hua o te hui tuarua o Kei Tua o Te Pae, *Changing Worlds, Changing Tikanga—Educating History and the Future*, i tū rā ki Te Wānanga o Raukawa i Ōtaki. Te whāinga ia o tēnei hui he whakawhānui ake i ngā ngaunga toki o te hui tuatahi, Kei Tua o Te Pae, 2011, i karangatia ai tētehi huinga kairangahau Māori kia huihui mai ki te whiriwhiri i ngā pīkauranga ka tau pea ki te hunga kawē i ngā rangahau kaupapa Māori hei te rau tau 21. Ko tā tēnei hui tuarua, he whai kia tūhuratia te pānga o te taenga mai o tauīwi ki ngā tikanga Māori, kia āta whakaaro hoki tātou he pēhea te tāreinga o ā tātou tikanga e ngā ngaru o te takanga o te wā, otirā he whiriwhiri hoki ko ēhea ngā tikanga hei kawē mā tātou ki roto i te mano tau hou. E ai tā Moana Jackson i tāna kauwhau whakakapi i te hui, i whai wāhi tātou i tēnei hui tuarua o Kei Tua o Te Pae ki te kōrero ki a tātou anō, ā, ko tātou Māori nei ki te kōrero. I runga anō i taua whakaaro, ka nui rā te whakamoemiti ki ngā kaikōrero me te hunga whai wāhi mai i noho ki te wetewete i ngā tikanga hou kua tangata whenuatia mai nei, pēnei i te whakaponi karaitiana, te wehi ki te hunga takatāpui, te noho rangatira mai o te tāne anake, te taikaha me ērā atu āhuatanga o te raupatu whenua, nō te taenga mai o tauīwi, kua paiaka hōhonutia i roto i ētehi o ā tātou whakaaro, mahinga hoki e pā ana ki ngā tikanga. I noho te huihuinga ki te tihorehore i ngā parumoana o ngā tau, o te raupatu whenua, raupatu mana, me te whakaoho i a tātou kia āta whakaaro anō tātou mō ā tātou tikanga i ēnei wā hurihuri.

Tētehi kaupapa matua o ngā whakahokinga kōrero mai ki a mātou mō te rārangi kaikōrero o te hui, ko te noho ōrite mai o te wāhi ki a Tamawahine rāua ko Tamatāne.

Ahakoia he maha ngā kōrero whakamihi kua hoki mai i te hunga i taetae ake ki te hui, mō te tokomaha o ngā kaikauwhau wāhine, ko ētehi kāore i pērā rawa te whakapai mai. Nō te whakamaheretanga o te hui ko tā mātou whāinga ia kia taurite te wāhi ki ngā taha e rua, kaikauwhau tamawahine, kaikauwhau tamatāne.

Nā runga i tēnei whiunga kupu, e whakapae nei ētehi kua riro te wāhi nui ki a Tamawahine, kua huri mātou ki te whiriwhiri i te pātai mō te “wā ki te kaikōrero”, he pēhea i tohatohangia ai ki te wahine, ki te tāne puta noa i te hui.

Nā runga i ngā paringa mai o te hunga wātea, nā ngā āhuatanga hoki o te wā, i kumea ngā whakariterite kia rerekē te rārangi kaupapa i ngā rā i mua tata tonu ake i te hui, ā, he pēnei tonu i ngā huihuinga maha. Ahakoia tā mātou hiahia kia wehea ngā kauwhau kia ōrite te maha o ngā tāne, o ngā wāhine, i te mutu-nga iho ka rere tokorua i tāne, tokowhā i wāhine. Heoi anō, ki a mātou kāore i tino tukoki te waka i tēnei āhua nā te mea, he tāne te kaikauwhau matua tuawhiti—kua oti tēnei tangata te tautapa ki te mahi nui ki te whakakapi i ngā kōrero katoa o te hui, ki te waitohu i ōna kaupapa matua, me te whakamārama ki te hui he aha pea he huarahi whakamua. I tua atu i tēnei, tokorua ngā kaikauwhau o te tēpu whakawhiti kōrero he tāne, waihoki te kaikauwhau mō AKO Aotearoa, he tāne anō. He tika te kī, ahakoia tokomaha kē atu ngā wāhine i ngā tāne (6:8 te tataua) kāore i ta-whiti rawa te huinga tokomaha o tētehi, o tētehi. Kia mahara hoki, kāore i uru ki tēnei tauanga te hunga i tū ki te kōrero i tōna wāhanga hira, arā, i te pōwhiri. Pēnei i ngā huihuinga katoa, i huri ngā kaikaranga me ngā kaikōrero ki te hiki, ki te whakamārama hoki i te kaupapa o te hui, ā, he tika tonu hoki kia pērā, kia wātea te hunga o te pae ki te whakaputa i ō rātou whakaaro i te hui. Kāti, tēnei te whakamahara i a tātou anō ko te tīmatanga o te hui ko te pānga o te reo karanga tuatahi i te marae. Ki te āta tauria ngā “wā kōrero” katoa, tae atu ki te pōwhiri, he taurite tonu te wā i tuwhaia ki a Tamatāne, ki a Tamawahine.

He whai hua te rapu i te take i pēnei rawa ai te hohoro o ētehi tāne ki te whakapae i hē te wehewehenga o te wā kōrero ki ngā tāne me ngā wāhine. Ahakoia warewaretia te pōwhiri ki tahaki, kapea rawatia atu (me te whakaaro, nō whea hoki e taea mehemea ko ngā tikanga te kaupapa o te hui) e tika ana ia kia he tukoki te pae, i te rārangi tokoono ōna tāne, tokowaru ōna wāhine? Mehemea i tokowaru ōna tāne tokoono

ōna wāhine, kua whiua he kōrero pēnei, he tukoki te waka i te hē o te kapa kaihoe? Ko te whakaaro i a mātou, kua kawea pea ō tātou ngākau e ngā ia o te wā, me ngā tikanga i ō tātou marae ātea, i te nuinga o ngā rohe. Me te mea nei i takea mai ō tātou whakaaro i ēnei rā i tā tātou titiro ki ngā mahi o te marae ātea, he roa kē atu nei te whaikōrero a te tāne tēnā i te karanga me te waiata a te wahine, ā, koia pea tātou i mea ai he tika kia pērā te wehewehe o te wā ki a Tamatāne ki a Tamawahine i ētehi atu atamira i waho atu i te marae ātea. Nā konei pea ka kitea te tikanga i whakapaetia ai e hē ana te whakariterite i te wā ki ia kaikōrero i tētehi hui pēnei, ahakoa pono ngā whakaaro (kāore e taea te kī he tika) o ētehi he tukoki te rārangi. Otirā, kāore e taea te kī taurangi i takea mai tēnei tirohanga mō te tukoki i hea. Heoi anō, he tino pātai matatini ēnei, he hira, he tika kia rangahaua nuitia, hei kaupapa kōrero pea mō tērā o ngā hui o Kei Tua o te Pae!

Kāore mātou e ngākau-rua ki te kī, kua tutuki pai te kaupapa i ngā kaikōrero katoa, kua eke ki ngā taumata kei tua atu i te tirohanga tuatahi. I noho ia kaikauwhau ki te whakairi whakaaro whai take, ngako nui, mō te āhua o ngā tikanga. Ahakoa i te whiriwhiri i ngā painga o ngā kaupapa me ngā tikanga i roto i ngā whakahaere o ngā iwi, te tūhura rānei i te wāhi ki ngā kaupapa me ngā tikanga hei huarahi i ngā take pēnei i te taikaha i roto i te whānau, i ngā take hemahema rānei, he take nui ēnei ka noho hei wāhi nui o te oranga tonutanga o ngāi tātou hei Māori. Ahakoa i te kauwhau kia uru mai ngā tikanga ki ā tātou mahi tiaki i a Papatūānuku, i te kauwhau rānei kia rapua ētehi kōrero i roto i ngā tikanga e pā ana ki te wāhi me te hira o te awa o te atua o te wahine, he wero tonu tā ia kaikauwhau ki a tātou, kia whāia tā te kaikōrero whakamutunga i kī rā ia: kia rapua te kaha o roto i te pono, kia mōhio ki te pono o tō tātou kaha. Tēnei mātou te whakamahi atu ki ia kaikōrero, ki a rātou katoa hoki i tae ake ki te hui, i whai wāhi hoki ki ngā kōrerorerotanga. E mihi ana hoki ki a koutou te hunga i whakawātea i a koutou ki te whakaoti i te mahi arotake, ki a koutou hoki i tuku whakaaro mai mō te hui hei whakauru ki tēnei pukapuka.

Ani Mikaere
Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Jessica Hutchings
Te Wāhanga, NZCER



FOREWORD

It is with a deep sense of respect and humility that we present the proceedings from the second Kei Tua o Te Pae hui, *Changing Worlds, Changing Tikanga—Educating History and the Future*, held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki. The purpose of this hui was to build on the 2011 Kei Tua o Te Pae hui which called together a community of kaupapa Māori researchers and explored the challenges of undertaking kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century. This second hui aimed to explore the impact that colonisation has had on tikanga Māori, to think about how tikanga has been shaped by history and to consider what we take with us into the future. As Moana Jackson noted in his closing address to the hui, this second Kei Tua o Te Pae hui provided space for us, as Māori, to talk ourselves. In this regard we are very grateful to speakers and participants who bravely critiqued the normalisation of Christianity, homophobia, patriarchy, violence and other forms of colonial imperialism that have found their way into some of our current understandings and practices of tikanga. The hui stripped away the layers of colonial imperialism, challenging us to re-orientate our thinking about the changing nature of tikanga in these changing times.

A recurrent theme in commentary that we have received about the hui programme has concerned the issue of gender balance. While many hui participants have responded favourably to what they saw as a significant female presence in the line-up of speakers, some have been less enthusiastic. When planning the conference we had aimed to achieve a balance of female and male speakers. The perception of the programme as female-dominated has, therefore, caused us to think carefully about the question of “air-time” and how it was allocated between women and men throughout the hui.

As is often the case with events such as this, we were forced to make adjustments to our original programme as the conference date drew near. Despite our initial intention of splitting the keynote presentations evenly between men and women, we ended

up with two male and four female keynote speakers. We did not feel that this change resulted in the programme being particularly unbalanced because the seventh main speaker—who was assigned the important task of concluding the hui, noting significant themes to have emerged and suggesting a way forward—was also a man. In addition, two of the six panel speakers were men, as was the speaker who gave the presentation on behalf of AKO Aotearoa. On the face of it, then, while the male speakers were outnumbered by the women (a ratio of 6:8, to be precise), the disparity was not extreme. Moreover, this calculation only takes into account those who spoke once the hui moved beyond its crucial first stage, the pōwhiri. As always, the pōwhiri provided an important opportunity for kaikoranga and kaikōrero to address the kaupapa of the hui and all who performed those roles rightly took advantage of the occasion to express their views. If we remind ourselves that the conference began at the moment the first karanga went out, we find that, in fact, the “air-time” during the conference was evenly shared between male and female.

It is worth pondering, then, why some were so quick to perceive disparity in the division of speaking time between men and women. Even if the pōwhiri is discounted (and leaving to one side the extraordinary irony of doing so in a conference about tikanga) can a programme that includes six men and eight women fairly be characterised as unbalanced? Would a conference that boasted a line-up of eight men and six women speakers be perceived as unbalanced? We wonder whether our expectations may have been influenced by what occurs on the marae-ātea in most rohe. Perhaps the length of time that men typically speak on the marae-ātea through whaikōrero, as opposed to the length of time that women speak through karanga and waiata, has led to a similar division of “air-time” being regarded as the norm in contexts other than the marae-ātea. This may provide an explanation for why a relatively even distribution of

speaking time between women and men at a conference might quite genuinely (if illogically) be perceived by some as unbalanced. Of course, it is impossible to say with any certainty where this perception of imbalance might have come from. But these are complex and important questions, and are deserving of more thorough investigation—a topic of discussion, perhaps, for the next Kei Tua o te Pae hui!

We can say, without hesitation, that the speakers fulfilled, indeed exceeded, our every expectation. Each and every one of them shared perceptive and valuable insights into the nature of tikanga. Whether considering the innovative potential of kaupapa and tikanga in the management of iwi affairs, or exploring what kaupapa and tikanga tell us about how to deal with whānau violence or questions of sexuality, they raised issues that are of crucial significance to our survival as Māori. Whether advocating the development of tikanga to better care for Papatūānuku or explaining the need to reclaim our tikanga concerning the role and significance of menstruation, every speaker challenged us collectively to do as our concluding speaker urged: to find the power in our truth, and to know the truth of our power. We owe a debt of gratitude to each of them, as we do to all who attended the hui and participated in the discussions. We add a special note of appreciation to those who took the trouble to participate in the evaluation exercise, and to those who sent us their reflections on the hui for inclusion in this publication.

Ani Mikaere

Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Jessica Hutchings

Te Wāhanga, NZCER



INTRODUCTION

Moana Jackson

This volume records the proceedings of the Conference “Changing Histories, Changing Tikanga” held on 4–5 September 2012 at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Jointly organised by Te Wāhanga (the Māori research unit within the New Zealand Council for Educational Research) and Te Wānanga o Raukawa, the conference aimed to stimulate debate and considered reflection on the history, meaning, and place of tikanga in the 21st century. In a general context it sought to draw upon the many everyday conversations and encounters that Māori people have with and about tikanga. More specifically it drew in many ways upon the discussions that took place at the 2011 Kei Tua o te Pae Conference organised by Te Wāhanga and the earlier conference “Mai i Te Ata Hāpara” organised by the wānanga in 2000. In a sense the 2011 conference encouraged participants to engage critically with the educational and other issues confronting Māori people while the earlier hui considered the relevance and critical importance of tikanga. Together they provided a framework to reconsider tikanga that seemed both relevant and timely.

The actual organisation of the conference was undertaken by a small Working Group consisting of Wānanga representatives, members of Te Wāhanga, and Te Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau, the support group for Te Wāhanga. As with all conferences there were major logistical and organisational details to be dealt with but perhaps more importantly there were extra and quite unique issues to be considered as well. In a sense organising a conference about tikanga necessarily raised matters of tikanga which in themselves determined the nature and eventual development of the Conference programme.

The first issue considered by the organisers was the venue. It seemed obvious that if we were to discuss tikanga, then such a kōrero might most properly take place on a marae, but it was eventually decided to hold it at the wānanga itself. Part of the reason for that decision was practical in that the wānanga provided the space not normally available on most marae. There

were large rooms and classroom facilities where the participants might comfortably contribute and feel part of the proceedings while the wānanga itself is of course steeped in the preservation and nurturing of tikanga.

However there was another perhaps less obvious reason why the proceedings were held at the wānanga which was directly linked to the kaupapa of the conference. Prior to 1840 tikanga was, as Ani Mikaere has often said, the first law of this land. It was not lore, the term subsequently applied to it by the colonisers as a rather quaint if unacceptably heathen (and therefore necessarily inferior) set of customs, but a law that was born of a great intellectual tradition to regulate and guide the lives of the tipuna. It was a philosophical, spiritual, moral and ethical framework, derived from a set of values and kaupapa that in a very real sense underpinned a functioning, practical legal system. As such it truly was the law of the land and it was known and lived across the whole land as a vibrant ethos about what ought to be, complete with sanctions and redress for infringement.

Since 1840 colonisation has of course imposed its own imported law from England using a range of verbally gymnastic if logically (and morally) unjustifiable reasons for doing so. The most common has been that iwi and hapū had no “real” law and therefore needed the beneficence and guidance of the “revealed truth” of the coloniser’s law. In the process tikanga was then suppressed, redefined and corrupted in the usual colonising mix of racist ideologies allied with Christian (and especially patriarchal) redefining. As the lands and political authority of iwi and hapū were taken away so the law that underpinned and gave meaning and order to Māori realities was reduced to a constricted and apolitical “lore”. Eventually it was confined to the small areas of our marae, and the “law of the land” became something invented and developed on the other side of the world. The tikanga that had once guided and exhorted us to maintain the mana of good relationships across the whole land became a

kind of restricted artefact that was safe and unthreatening to the colonisers.

Frantz Fanon wrote in one of the first comprehensive deconstructions of colonisation that

the colonial system does not necessarily of itself bring about the death of the native culture...the aim sought is rather a continued agony than a total disappearance...This culture, once living and open to the future, becomes closed, fixed in the colonial status, caught in the yoke of oppression...this behaviour betrays a determination to objectify, to confine, to imprison, to harden ...

Tikanga, like so much of what was once unique about the Māori world, has been confined and hardened in just that way. Firstly it has been “imprisoned” philosophically in the sense that too often it has been trapped in a redefining that clearly has more to do with the dominant ideas of the colonisers than those which the tipuna developed, whether it was the often unspoken but obvious patriarchal repositioning of mana wahine as something of somehow lesser value, or its absolute objectification as something cute or “spiritual” but clearly subordinate to Pākehā law. Secondly it has been “confined” physically to the marae where to all intents and purposes it can be an esoteric subject of debate rather than an everyday code for living that might inspire and govern the people’s relationships way beyond the borders of the marae.

Holding the conference at the wānanga rather than a specific marae was therefore an attempt to metaphorically—but also tangibly—free tikanga from the constraints placed upon it. It was just a little effort to once again broaden the possibilities within tikanga so that the damage done to it might be exposed, critiqued and understood in order that it might once again be more fully “open to the future”.

The organising rōpū also considered the use of the reo since it once again seemed axiomatic that tikanga is most aptly defined in the language that first gave rise to it. Many of the presenters and speakers were capable of using the reo but, in the still sad reality of what colonisation has done, the wide range of participants we hoped to involve in the discussions might not have had the reo. One of course hopes that such a situation will one day soon be remedied, but because the tikanga-defined ideal of relationships is meant to be inclusive rather than exclusionary it was felt that it

might be better at this time to provide a series of reo workshop groups for those who wished to follow-up the presentations in te reo rangatira. In doing so we were confident that some would participate in those groups while others would engage in their own way within a process that the Muskogee Creek writer Joy Harjo has called “reinventing the enemy’s language”. And so, as the tipuna have done for decades now, the majority of participants each created their own dialogue in English and in doing so transformed the enemy language and “made it usefully tough and beautiful”.

That toughness and beauty is evident in the all of the kōrero recorded in this volume. In thoughtful, inspiring and always incisive presentations, in the workshops, and in the informal kōrero over kai, the Conference became a critically engaged attempt to treasure the value of tikanga simply by questioning and talking about it. Pakeke and rangatahi questioned each other, and the diverse mix of academics and students and workers and unemployed shared a range of ideas. If the kōrero was sometimes difficult because confronting colonisation is rarely easy, and if it was challenging of what have become frozen certainties, it was also immensely positive because it did offer that opening to the future without which progress and reclamation of a more honest past is not possible.

The organising rōpū is grateful for that kōrero and for the participation of all who attended. Ngā mihi ki a koutou katoa.

OPENING KEYNOTE: BUILDING MĀORI FUTURES ON KAUPAPA TUKU IHO

Whatarangi Winiata

1. INTRODUCTION

When the Raukawa Marae Trustees¹ resolved in April 1981 to establish Te Wānanga o Raukawa, they prescribed that the wānanga be developed as a Māori tertiary educational institution. It was two decades later, in 2002, that a decision was taken by the wānanga to put on paper what was intended by the words “Māori tertiary educational institution”. A staff member of the wānanga with responsibility for the design and delivery of the wānanga’s degree in mātauranga Māori accepted the task of writing a paper on the subject and gave his product the title “Guiding Kaupapa of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa”².

In the decade since then, written commentaries on kaupapa tuku iho, fundamental values inherited from tūpuna Māori, have been produced. A recent example is the 34-page section on the expression of kaupapa tuku iho in the wānanga’s latest annual report. As a reflection of the extent to which kaupapa tuku iho have penetrated the thinking at the wānanga, we can note that in the 2011 Annual Report, of 120 pages of text (excluding the financials), all but 11 pages include a reference to one or more of the 10 kaupapa selected by the wānanga as providing the basis for all of its activities.

This paper emphasises the central place of the expression of kaupapa tuku iho in the life of Te

Wānanga o Raukawa and in the future of Māori as a distinct cultural group. It asserts that by expressing kaupapa tuku iho in all that it does, the wānanga will maximise its contribution to the survival of Māori as a people.

2. THE SURVIVAL OF MĀORI AS A PEOPLE

During the course of the 50 years following the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi the Māori population declined by over 50 percent, from a figure estimated to have been 90,000 in 1840, to just 37,520 in 1871 (McLintock, 1966). The demise of Māori was predicted; the prescription offered to the nation was to smooth the pillow of this dying race (Stafford & Williams, 2006, p. 110). Instead of fulfilling the prophesy of our extinction, we did just the opposite. We can be sure that our mitochondrial DNA will continue to feature as a unique genetic code amongst those inhabiting the planet and that our numbers will multiply. What we cannot be sure about is that all that is unique about being and behaving as Māori, that is, our language, our beliefs, our values, will forever survive as distinctive elements in the global community.

Survival has occurred despite the hardships accompanying the decline in the Māori population during the 19th century, and the pressures arising from the rapidly changing population ratios, from 90,000 Māori (98%) to 2,000 (2%) Pākehā in 1840, to the current position of 673,000³ Māori (15%) to 3,767,340

1 In 1936 the marae matua of Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga, located in Ōtaki, was opened and 69 persons representing the iwi and hapū of the confederation of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa ki Te Tonga and Ngāti Toarangatira were appointed the trustees of the marae and registered as such in the Māori Purposes Act 1936. The Raukawa Marae Trustees, though not legislated to do so, monitored the affairs of the wānanga as a Māori tertiary educational institution until legislation was enacted to provide for the wānanga’s existence. This brought funding; it also brought the challenge of reconciling the exercise of kawanatanga and the authority and responsibility of Māori to pursue tino rangatiratanga over taonga.

2 Pakake Winiata, currently Pou Akoranga at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

3 Statistics NZ website. The 2006 Census reported 643,977 as people who identify Māori descent (Estimated number of residents who identify with the Māori ethnic group. In June 2011 Statistics NZ estimated a resident population of 673,000) (Retrieved 16 August 2012)

Pākehā (85%) and others. The current population of New Zealand is 4,440,340.⁴

We can anticipate that the effectiveness of Māori determination to survive as a people will be assisted by a significant shift in the population composition just described. Predictions indicate that by 2031 of all children in Aotearoa New Zealand, 33 percent will be Māori (Durie, 2011, p. 139).

This has major implications for the future influence of Māori on the affairs of the nation, especially if the leadership of Māori ancestry are determined to be Māori. That is, they will be giving expression to kaupapa tuku iho in their daily activities.

That Māori have survived as a distinct cultural group is self evident. Equally self evident is that this has been as a result of Māori determination to be Māori; a distinctive indicator of which is the use, wittingly or unwittingly, of kaupapa tuku iho.

Survival will be happening when a large and growing number of te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea are living according to kaupapa tuku iho that distinguish us culturally from the rest of the world.

The development of aronga Māori took place as tūpuna Māori accumulated and refined their own understandings and knowledge of the world during centuries in Te Moananui a Kiwa and in their previous homes. They came to the islands of Aotearoa with seasons, flora, fauna, fish and other features that were different from their previous homes, and they survived in isolation from the rest of the world for almost a thousand years. It was during this period that they developed a range of values to guide them as a people of these islands.

We know these values inherited from this period of isolation as kaupapa tuku iho. These kaupapa tuku iho are evident in our earliest compositions of mōteatea and whakataukī (P C Winiata, personal communication, 27 August, 2012). This premise was fundamental to the selection of kaupapa tuku iho for the wānanga by Pakake Winiata and others when they gathered to prepare a statement for the wānanga. We will return to this.

Māori have been deliberate in the pursuit of their survival as a people. Since the visits by Cook in the 1760s and 1770s and the subsequent arrivals of Pākehā, particularly after the signing of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Māori initiatives to affirm their tangata

whenuatanga and cultural distinctiveness emerged. Their insistence on parliamentary representation, the taking up of arms over land issues and the formation of the Kingitanga are signs of Māori determination to persist in the face of numerous challenges.

3. MĀORI-DRIVEN ACTIVITY

Māori entities across a broad variety of human pursuits exist because of Māori initiatives, Māori governance, Māori management and Māori support.

These testify to the determination of te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea to be identifiable as Māori, to be Māori in a wide range of activities and to survive as a people. Collectively, Māori pursuits described below provide examples of tikanga designed and implemented by Māori to ensure that our ethos remains distinctive amongst the cultures present worldwide.

(a) Operating marae, whānau, hapū and iwi

Of particular importance are the 1034 (National Marae Survey, Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997) marae located throughout Aotearoa New Zealand on which behaviour that is Māori is apparent. With few exceptions, mainly in urban areas, each marae has at least one hapū or iwi. The whakapapa amongst the members of hapū/iwi stimulates marae-based pursuits that are identifiably Māori.⁵

Recent evidence indicates that 84 percent (Statistics New Zealand, 2012) of te kākano living in urban centres are able to identify their marae, hapū, or iwi origins. This is a small increase on the 1998 figure of 79.9 percent who could identify with their iwi (National Marae Survey, Te Puni Kōkiri, 1997).

We remind ourselves regularly of the prescription “Hoki atu ki ō maunga kia purea ai e ngā hau a Tāwhirimātea”. Return to the mountain. Let the winds of Tāwhirimātea refresh you. Here, “maunga” is used to refer to where one’s ūkaipōtanga is experienced; where one’s homeland, one’s marae, one’s community of close whanaunga are found; where one’s pito is buried, where we can be Māori.

While marae, maunga, awa, and hapū or iwi affiliations are critical to maintaining our whakapapa affiliations, there are many other signs of our

⁴ Statistics NZ website, Population Clock (Retrieved 3 September 2012)

⁵ Each of the score of marae that are part of the Confederation of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira (ART) have been through major restorations or complete rebuilding in the last 30 years. One new hapū and associated facilities have been celebrated by ART.

determination to be identified as Māori that may not have a particular whakapapa imperative.

(b) Social, political and religious initiatives

Steps taken to establish the Kingitanga (1858), Rātana Movement (1920s), Māori Battalion (1939), Māori Women's Welfare League (1950), New Zealand Māori Council (1962) Tōrangapū Māori (2004), and Te Pihopatanga o Aotearoa (and branches of other imported churches) are illustrative of tikanga Māori and have been deliberately designed by rangatira-tanga. Each entity is distinctly Māori and each has its own particular mission to fulfil Māori aspirations, obligations and needs. There is little doubt about their Māoriness.

(c) Education

Te Wānanga o Raukawa was established by the ART Confederation. Eighty percent of the student body are from other iwi and 50 percent of the staff are from areas outside ART. Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi are other Māori initiated tertiary educational institutions. All three are tertiary educational institutions that are the result of Māori initiative, Māori governance, Māori management and Māori support for directing their own tertiary education.⁶ The need for the discovery, creation and maintenance of mātauranga Māori was, as an expression of pūkengatanga, on the minds of those involved in these institutions.

Coming soon after the wānanga movement was launched in 1981, kōhanga reo appeared as a Māori initiative which attracted national Māori support very rapidly. A few years into the lifetime of kōhanga reo, the need for kura kaupapa Māori and whare kura was recognised. All of these demanded voluntary teaching and other support from Māori communities, and it was forthcoming.

Reo learning, acquisition, maintenance and restoration would be the foci of those whose energy and time, much of it unpaid, would be devoted to

the establishment and growth of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and whare kura.

The co-patron of the kōhanga reo movement, James Henare, offered the following observation on the importance of the reo: Ko te reo te kaipupuri i te Māoritanga. Currently there are 484 (New Zealand Education, 2012) kōhanga reo and 71 (New Zealand Education, 2012) kura kaupapa Māori (including whare kura). Their work is vital to the strengthening of the reo—the repository of Māoritanga as described by James Henare.

(d) Sport

The emergence of Māori sports teams at local and national levels commenced in the 19th century with a Māori national rugby team established in 1889. Māori have teams in many codes. These teams exhibit behaviours that are deemed to be "Māori", including kotahitanga and whanaungatanga. As early as 1840, Māori were engaged in horse racing in Ōtaki. In 1886, the Ōtaki Māori Racing Club was established by members of Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira.

(e) Broadcasting

Māori radio (23 stations) and Māori television (2 channels) are presenting to the Nation programming designed to stimulate and entertain primarily the Māori community. These programmes cover a full range of broadcasting services: news, entertainment, sport, education and information. In these programmes the expression of taonga tuku iho, including te reo, are prominent.

(f) Kapa haka, manu kōrero

Regional and national events are well established, and provide a strong Māori presence on the national scene. The taonga tuku iho that is ūkaipōtanga recognises and values contributions in this activity.

(g) Economic

Māori business networks that are shaping distinctive Māori models of governance and management have emerged over the past 27 years. In 1985, the first Māori business network, the Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA) was established. Since then, 18 regional business networks and numerous sector based bodies have emerged as places where Māori

⁶ In the 1850s Ngāti Toarangatira gave 500 acres in Porirua for the establishment of a Māori tertiary educational institution to be modelled after Trinity College in Auckland. Tamihana Te Rauparaha and Mātene Te Whiwhi had attended Trinity and were impressed by the potential of that model to serve their people and other Māori. A dispute emerged as to whom the land had been gifted and the hoped for development never occurred. Had it been established and survived, it may now have been the oldest tertiary educational institution in the Country.

business operators can come together to practice whanaungatanga. The maximisation of the expression of kaupapa tuku iho subject to financial constraints is a distinctive characterisation of Māori business.

(h) Entertainment

Māori have been prominent in this domain for decades. Their demonstrations are of uniquely Māori characteristics. The distinctiveness of Māori humour, the poetry of the language and the melodies of waiata can be emotive and inspiring. The learnings inherent in these compositions are enriching and uplifting to our wairua.

This listing of examples of Māori driven initiatives is a reminder of the desire of our people to experience uplifting, rewarding and enriching experiences by giving expression to kaupapa tuku iho. This is activated through the selection of appropriate tikanga, the right ways of doing things, to express values inherited from tūpuna Māori and to be Māori.

4. A DESCRIPTIVE THEORY OF MĀORI

The intention of this section is to present a statement about the way Māori behave. We start with the assumption that Māori are determined to survive as a people. That is, the speck in the global cultural mosaic that is Māori will be here forever as the following pepehā predicts: E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea, I shall never be lost, a seed scattered from Rangiātea.

Three closely related concepts are central to this section's presentation on how Māori behave. These are

- aronga: how Māori view their world

- kaupapa: principles, values, philosophies
- tikanga: methods, processes, policies aligned to the kaupapa

Figure 1, drawn from Pakake Winiata's paper, offers a sketch on the relationships between aronga, kaupapa and tikanga. The intended messages from this exhibit are: from aronga Māori, kaupapa are drawn and from a desire to express kaupapa we seek appropriate tikanga.

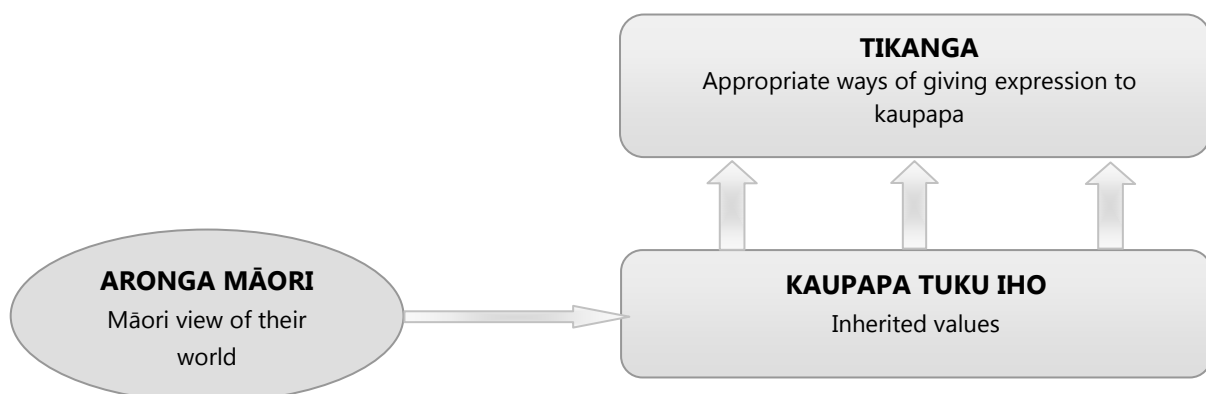
Aronga Māori may be held at whānau, hapū, iwi, waka or multi-waka levels.

Events occur, explanations are offered, those explanations come to be accepted and we develop our own and often unique understanding of our world. Each understanding is constantly subjected to further rounds of testing resulting in acceptance or refinements. This process leads to revisions of kaupapa and tikanga. This continuum of mātauranga, patchy or otherwise, forms the foundation of what it is to be Māori. It also explains how survival as a people is exhibited in the Māori driven activities described earlier.

If our aronga is dominated by economic issues then our kaupapa and tikanga will be shaped accordingly. If, however, our aronga are preoccupied with environmental issues then the kaupapa we choose and the tikanga we shape will address these issues. Any specific orientation will be evident in the contextual statements of each kaupapa tuku iho.

Māori may be driven by aronga, kaupapa, tikanga or some combination of these in the determination to give expression to being Māori. At Te Wānanga o Raukawa we have opted for a selection of ten kaupapa tuku iho and have drawn on our imaginations

Figure 1. Illustration of relationships between aronga, kaupapa and tikanga



to choose the most effective ways to express the kaupapa.

This approach relies on a definition of “tikanga” that differs from the understanding of this word that we might take from Hirini Moko Mead or from Māori Marsden. Each of these authorities views tikanga as being inherited from our tūpuna. Mead says one of the many views of tikanga is that it is “embedded in mātauranga Māori” (2003, p. 7). Marsden tells us that tikanga “have been handed down through many generations.” (Royal (ed), 2003, p. 66). The view taken of tikanga in the work being done at Te Wānanga o Raukawa is that they are “aligned to kaupapa” and, as noted above, are chosen for their effectiveness in giving expression to the kaupapa.

Our descriptive theory of Māori rests on the following line of thought:

- a. Māori are determined to survive as a people;
- b. we will know that Māori are surviving as a people when a large and growing number of Te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea are expressing kaupapa tuku iho in their daily routines; and
- c. Māori can be expected to arrange their preferred pursuits in ways that give expression to kaupapa tuku iho and tikanga selected for their efficiency or optimality in giving expression to kaupapa tuku iho.

This combination of elements will be present, implicitly or explicitly in the building of Māori futures on kaupapa tuku iho.

5. THE KAUPAPA-TIKANGA FRAMEWORK

The kaupapa-tikanga framework ensures that the thinking used to identify activities and behaviours are driven by aronga Māori and an accompanying desire to give expression to each of the ten kaupapa.

The key elements of the kaupapa-tikanga framework are: kaupapa tuku iho; tikanga to express the kaupapa; hiahia (the targets); hua (the results); and kaute (reporting).

The planning, reporting and performance management of the wānanga are advanced using the kaupapa-tikanga framework. Action is likely to be triggered as a consequence of differentials between actual performance and planned targets. In section 7

below, there is discussion on how the wānanga might take the opportunity to be innovative in the process of designing new tikanga to achieve planned targets and raise performance.

The framework's beginnings were developed in 2002, when Pakake Winiata convened a group to prepare a values statement for the wānanga. The group explored models that utilised and applied mātauranga Māori and the ten sources they drew from were:

- Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (Winiata, P.C., 1997, p. 29)
- Kia Rangatira Te Tū—The Waka Framework (Kia Tū Kia Pūāwai Evaluation Team, 2000)
- Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 1985)
- Theory and Understanding of Wānanga (Winiata, P.B., 2001)
- Te Haumunga Tāngata (Winiata, P.C., 1997)
- Māori Marsden's description of Te Tiriti o Waitangi
- Te Kura o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano—dispute resolution process (Kura Minutes, 2002)
- Te Wānanga o Raukawa Charter
- Te Wheke (Pere, 1995)
- Colin Knox and Whatarangi Winiata (Paper delivered to Te Mana Whakahaere, 30 July 2002)

From this review 40⁷ kaupapa were initially identified and, following robust and discerning discussion, the selection of ten was made. The group needed to have confidence that, if challenged, they could validate the kaupapa selected through reference to pūrākau, karakia, mōteatea, whakataukī or whakapapa. Staff of Te Wānanga o Raukawa subsequently confirmed that they could support the following ten for the purposes of the wānanga:

- whakapapa
- wairuatanga
- whanaungatanga
- rangatiratanga
- te reo
- pūkengatanga
- manaakitanga

⁷ In a book entitled *Leading through Values* by Michael Henderson, Dougal Thompson and Shar Henderson, which addresses linking company culture to business strategy, 128 values are embodied in their work. Our kaupapa-tikanga framework draws on only ten inherited values, kaupapa tuku iho. Each of these values can be expressed in different ways depending on the context in which each kaupapa is to be expressed. This flexibility implies that the ways in which kaupapa can be expressed depends on various applications an organisation uses to express the ten kaupapa tuku iho. These applications can be in employment arrangements, in planning, performance management or in other management activities.

- kotahitanga
- kaitiakitanga
- ūkaipōtanga

The group then drew largely on statements provided in the works of Rose Pere and in Te Hauminga Tāngata to prepare the definitions of the kaupapa.

6. EXPERIENCE OF THE ART CONFEDERATION

The activity at Te Wānanga o Raukawa is an extension of the initiatives of the Raukawa Marae Trustees when they chose to establish a 25 year development programme for their three iwi, their many hapū and their 25,000 members. That programme was known as Whakatupuranga Rua Mano—Generation 2000. While the application of kaupapa tuku iho was not deliberate within the programme, their presence can be seen in retrospect.

Launched in 1975, the task of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano was to prepare the Confederation of the three iwi for the 21st century. At that time, there were 21 iwi and hapū, 19 marae, no one under the age of 30 who could converse in te reo Māori and poor educational accomplishments (Winiata, PB, 2001). The Raukawa Marae trustees resolved that attention needed to be paid to:

- a. closing the gap in educational accomplishments between their members and the rest of the population (at the time, they were doing about half-as-well as the rest); and
- b. the rejuvenation of the physical resources and human communities of their score of marae.

From these came three missions, Pākehā, ART and Education. Early in the programme, the Trustees decided to not continue the Pākehā mission. Due to limited resources, the size of the task and the uncertainty of its benefits to the initiative, Whakatupuranga Rua Mano turned their attention to the remaining two missions.

Four principles of the ART Mission were developed to maintain their focus. These principles are key to the survival of the Confederation, and they continue to influence the thinking and behaviour of the ART Confederation today.

1. The people are our wealth: develop and retain.
2. The Māori language is a taonga: halt its decline and revive.

3. The marae is our principal home: maintain and respect.
4. Self-determination.

Hui were held, involving rangatahi and pakeke who represented their hapū and iwi. It became apparent that the Raukawa Marae Trustees needed to develop notions about wellbeing and its advancement. In doing so, they needed to develop a set of indicators for assessing the Confederation's wellbeing. They chose to focus on hapū and iwi resources as the measure.

These resources, tangible and intangible, were expected to produce positive net benefits and were grouped either as Human or Physical resources. There were sixteen resources identified in all, with 41 hiahia (targets) and 39 tikanga (actions) to achieve those hiahia. Two of the three essential elements of the wānanga's kaupapa-tikanga framework, tikanga and hiahia, were in place.

The thinking at the time was that if they knew how to measure the resources of an iwi or of a hapū, they could then plan to expand those resources and, in doing so, make iwi or hapū wealthier, more attractive and more productive.

An article (Winiata, W, 1988) was prepared for the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988 based on ideas emerging from the energy being put into the 100 Whakatupuranga Rua Mano hui held from 1976 to 1985 (Winiata, W, 1988). The experience of these hui and literature arising from them entered the curricula of Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

While the ten kaupapa tuku iho of Te Wānanga o Raukawa are not mentioned in the article prepared for the Royal Commission, their influence can be seen in the tikanga and hiahia that are present in the article.

Double-entry accounting⁸ is fundamental to accounting systems worldwide. A system known as multiple entry accounting⁹ was proposed to capture the cultural pursuits of iwi or hapū during a reporting period and on which the building of cultural resources was dependent. A resource was identified as something tangible or intangible from which positive net benefits can be expected, including:

⁸ Discussion on the origins of double-entry accounting follows later in this paper.

⁹ Multiple entry accounting is a system that provides for the recording of multiple effects that flow from a transaction. See Winiata W. 2004. *Accounting and Reporting for the Hapū*, Te Pa Harakeke Vol.1. Ōtaki: Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

HUMAN

- Membership
- Pataka (repositories) of instantaneously available Whakapapa (genealogy)
- Wairuatanga
- Whanaungatanga
- Kawa
- Pataka of the reo
- Tikanga (policies, procedures)
- Kaumātua
- Health
- Education

PHYSICAL

- Manuscripts of whakapapa
- Marae facilities
- Taonga (artifacts, literature and other treasures)
- Land

- Investments
- Fishing rights

A set of accounts was produced in the article, an excerpt from which is in Table 1. What has emerged from this exploratory work, is that which Te Wānanga o Raukawa now knows as the kaupapa-tikanga framework.

7. TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA— MODEL FOR PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT

There follows a limited description of the wānanga's planning, reporting and performance assessment processes, based on the kaupapa-tikanga framework which is a consequence of the activity described in the invitation issued by the organisers of this Conference ki te tiroiro, ki te whāwhā i ngā tikanga.

Table 1. Example of potential framework for hapū management of resources

Resources	Possible/Alternative Measures of Resources	Activities to Maintain or to Increase Resources
HUMAN		
Membership	Number of active members	Conducting a census regularly, say every 3 or 5 years
Whanaungatanga	Distribution (mean and dispersion) of the number of immediate-past 14 ancestors (2 parents, 4 grandparents and 8 great-grandparents) able to be named easily and from memory	Finding procedures of systems which reward those who have or acquire this knowledge
PHYSICAL		
Manuscripts of whakapapa	Number of manuscripts in the possession of members	Conducting research into whakapapa (including techniques of compiling, storing, retrieving the data)
Marae facilities	Index of use (days per annum, attendances)	Encouraging use of marae

Table 2. 2010/2011 Performance management comparison

Kaupapa	2010 Targets			2011 Targets		
	Total	Met	%	Total	Met	%
Manaakitanga	16	7	43.7	12	5	41.6
Rangatiratanga	5	3	60.0	6	3	50.0
Whanaungatanga	6	5	83.3	6	6	100.0
Kotahitanga	7	5	71.4	7	7	100.0
Wairuatanga	4	4	100.0	4	4	100.0
Ūkaipotanga	8	6	75.0	7	6	85.7
Pūkengatanga	17	9	52.9	13	8	61.5
Kaitiakitanga	16	16	100.0	15	11	73.3
Whakapapa	4	3	75.0	4	4	100.0
Te Reo	6	5	83.3	6	3	50.0
Total	89	63		80	58	
Percentage	100%		70.8%	100%		72.5%

Te Wānanga o Raukawa devotes all or part of its annual two-day Hui Whakakaupapa to explorations of the kaupapa-tikanga framework. The Hui Whakakaupapa 2012 (Winiata, W., June 2012) received a presentation that discussed the wānanga's performance against kaupapa tuku iho.

Each year an Annual Report is produced that provides analysis for the ten kaupapa tuku iho across the areas of akoranga, whakahaere and whakatupu mātauranga.¹⁰ The 2010 and 2011 reports were the sources of information for the comparison in Table 2 of performance over this time.

A cursory inspection of these figures reveals:

- an increase in targets met from 2010 (70.8%) to 2011 (72.5%)
- an increase in targets met recorded by seven of the ten kaupapa
- the number of kaupapa with 100 percent of targets met has increased from two in 2010 to four in 2011.

It should also be noted that adjustments were made to the number of targets for three kaupapa across the two years. There are challenges to consistency when the number, and nature of targets changes over two periods of measurement.

We can learn from the unceasing efforts of accountants worldwide whose professional bodies give a great deal of attention to the measurement problem. They have been considering the issue of measurement

for over 672 years.¹¹ Fra Luca Bartolomeo de Pacioli, Italian mathematician, Franciscan friar, collaborator with Leonardo da Vinci and the reputed father of accounting, first codified double-entry accounting in 1494.¹² One requirement to ensure the usefulness of double-entry accounting is consistency and reliability of measurement of the statements produced by accountants.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa, as the initiator of the kaupapa-tikanga framework, is developing two lines of enquiry. One, to which the above figures apply, is the measurement of performance of the wānanga. The other is the analysis and investigation into the results exhibited in the performance measures. With respect to the second, the role of innovation is important. We might illustrate this by taking two sets of results from Table 2.

One illustration is provided by the results for manaakitanga in 2011. We note that 12 targets were adopted for that year and that only five were met. A message for management is the need to be more creative and innovative regarding the selection of tikanga to express manaakitanga; once selected, the tikanga must be pursued in order to achieve the desired end of meeting the twelve targets, other things being equal.

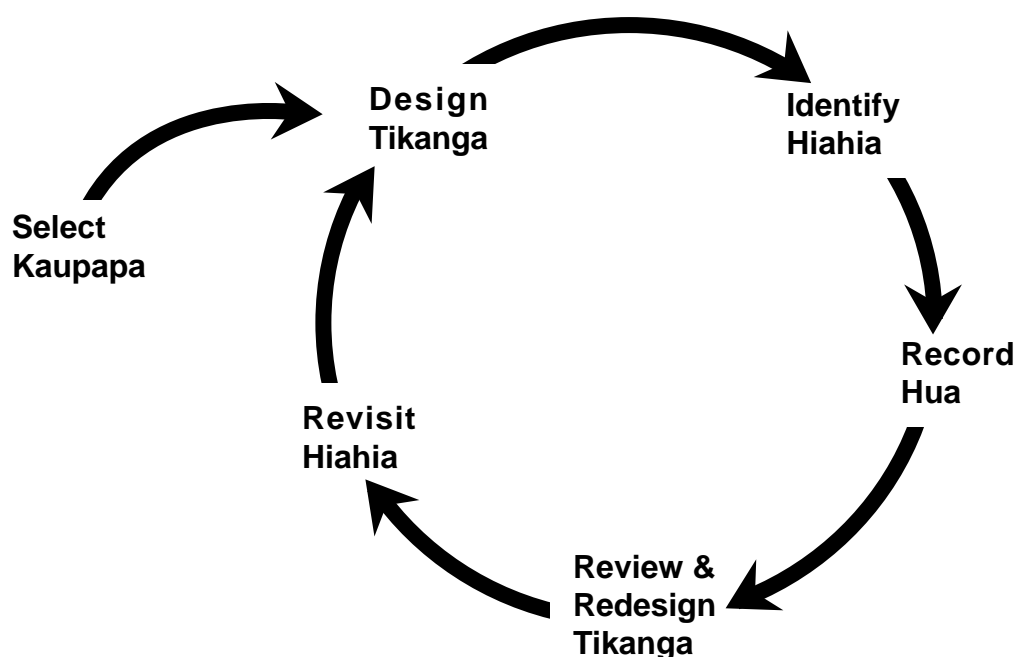
The other example is kotahitanga, where it is

¹¹ The Treasurers Accounts for the Republic of Genoa in 1340 is the first set of double-entry accounts published.

¹² Published in his mathematics textbook *Summa de arithmetica, geometria, proportioni et proportionalità* published in Venice in 1494.

¹⁰ The 2011 Report contains 34 pages of analysis.

Figure 2. Process of creativity and innovation



noted the seven targets for its expression were met in 2011. Management might consider that the wānanga should be challenged to raise its performance for the expression of Kotahitanga by the inclusion of additional targets. This would be with the intention of management striving to raise its output to achieve the higher number of targets.

This review process (Figure 2) demonstrates the potential of the kaupapa-tikanga framework as a source of innovation in planning, measuring and assessing performance. We are at the beginnings of developing a system of measurement in the expression of kaupapa *tuku iho* that is consistent, that can be duplicated and is a valuable means for the study of performance across time.

Once the kaupapa are selected, tikanga are designed and appropriate hiahia are identified in the initial plans, with activities being completed as planned. When these activities are evaluated, the opportunity to review and redesign tikanga is presented if performance is not as initially hoped. This ongoing review and redesign process ensures the wānanga's plans remain relevant, current and practical.

This process of performance, review and creativity is eternal and is a distinctive characteristic of the

kaupapa–tikanga framework. It is worth noting that in its 2011 Annual Report, the wānanga listed 80 tikanga that give expression to these ten kaupapa *tuku iho* across its three centres of activity, namely, *akoranga*, *whakatupu mātauranga* and *whakahaere*.

8. KAUPAPA-TIKANGA FRAMEWORK EXPLORATIONS

Over the last five years, staff at Te Wānanga o Raukawa and other interested parties have collaborated to compile statements on kaupapa-tikanga frameworks for 25 entities, including twelve that are associated with the ART Confederation. Case studies are being advanced for a number of these.

The organisations that have been accepting of this model are involved in a diverse range of activities. These include private enterprise, iwi authorities, tertiary and secondary education institutions, national bodies, community development groups, health providers, farming, telecommunications, land management, broadcasting and political groups.

Just as varied are the many management applications in which these bodies have used the kaupapa–tikanga framework. These have included performance management and evaluation, strategic planning, employment arrangements, financial reporting, the

creation of training programmes, student management, mana restoration programmes, development of memoranda of understandings, risk assessment, design of constitution arrangements and relationship management. One group is currently using the kaupapa-tikanga framework to develop a model for identification and registration of taonga tuku iho by hapū and whānau.

As we have worked with these 25 bodies, our understanding of the kaupapa-tikanga framework has increased. We have moved beyond developing simple contextual statements created to guide the thinking and behaviours of organisations, without too much attention being paid to associated tikanga, let alone developing hiahia and recording hua and completing kaute. We are now designing more complex frameworks that identify tikanga for implementation over up-to-five years with numbers of measurable hiahia identified alongside. Twenty percent of these organisations have conducted annual reviews and are able to report their results in a quantitative manner.

Case Study 1. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa

The performance management, evaluation and reporting of Te Wānanga o Raukawa has already been discussed. Another closely associated body, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa, adopted the ten kaupapa in 2011. Since that time, the Rūnanga has incorporated kaupapa-tikanga frameworks into their annual and long term planning and into their employment arrangements. Their investigatory work influences all aspects of service delivery, including suicide risk assessments, their memorandum of understandings with the District Health Board and, more recently, their arrangements with the Muaūpoko Tribal Authority. The 90 staff of the Rūnanga have embraced training opportunities designed to expand their understanding and incorporation of kaupapa in their work and in their personal lives.

Interest in the Rūnanga's work into the kaupapa-tikanga framework for planning, reporting and performance assessment attracted the attention of others when close attention was given to the experience of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa with one of its major investments. This experience revealed the potential benefits of Māori enterprise looking to maximise the expression of kaupapa tuku iho subject to the requirement of ensuring a positive, if small, return of capital.

Raukawa was invited to lend \$2 million to a newly established boutique meat works, Levin Meats Limited, to acquire and install capital equipment. Raukawa chose to make the investment with the employment of members of the iwi firmly in mind in the first instance. Twenty-six members of Ngāti Raukawa were employees; they represented 24 percent of the workforce which numbered 110 at the time. Taking steps to secure jobs was a significant act of kaupapa expression, including manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and kotahitanga.

Raukawa considered the offered interest reward of 8.50% per year on a \$2 million loan as attractive when compared with the bank yield of 6.25% pa. Moreover, there was substantial appeal in the promised superior financial return when combined with the securing of jobs, the prospect of hapū being able to buy meat at a discount (another expression of manaakitanga) and in the Company being able to support local suppliers (an expression of kotahitanga within the community). Finally, the idea of branding the Company abroad with a logo incorporating the iwi (representing an expression of rangatiratanga) had appeal.

These arrangements enabled Raukawa to maximise their expression of kaupapa tuku iho within a financial constraint, the protection of the capital base.

Cash flows and the expression of kaupapa

Over the five years of collaboration, total expenditures in the community provided by Levin Meats Limited totalled \$344,684,996. Detail on these expenditures appears in Table 3, organised according to the kaupapa being expressed. These appear in the left most column. Standard accounting descriptions are in the middle column. The amounts expended are to the right.

While it cannot be said that expressions of the kaupapa were preordained, we can say that inferences can be drawn to the effect that the kaupapa were instrumental in the thinking that led to the expenditures presented below and categorised according to kaupapa.

A significant cash outlay was local purchasing. Net wages and salaries and the purchasing of goods and services from local businesses gave rise to expenditures of \$68,019,165 for the six-year period. Beyond these outlays were payments of \$276,665,831 to suppliers outside the region.

The following estimates of multipliers for the meat processing industry nationwide have been produced by BERL (D. Norman, email, 22 December 2008).

- i) for output: 3.17
- ii) for gross domestic product: 5.72 and
- iii) for employment: 5.11.

Accordingly, depending on the choice of multiplier, the contribution of the Levin meat works to the economy, with the collaboration of Raukawa through its \$2 million loan, was three to six times the cash outlays of Levin Meats Limited between 2004 and 2008. These outlays totalled \$344,684,996 over the six-year period. At the low end (that is, if we applied a multiplier of 3) total expenditures in the economy would reach \$1.034 billion, and twice this, that is

\$2.068 billion, with a multiplier of six.

Six years later, the business was sold and Raukawa received back its capital of \$2 million along with a modest return of 2.5 percent per annum. Employment had increased by 145 percent (from 110 to 270).

While the financial performance of the investment against the financial commitment made by Raukawa may have been lower than expected, when the performance was judged against the expression of kaupapa the results were very favourable. There was mana a-iwi in the results for Raukawa.

The case study showed Raukawa engaged in ways that expressed their support for the community without looking to maximise their own financial return. Their quasi-government role was performed with

Table 3. Levin Meats Limited, Cash Expenditures 2003–2008, categorised according to kaupapa

Kaupapa Expressed Implicitly	Purpose	Amount
<i>a. Payments to local suppliers</i>		
Manaakitanga, Whanaungatanga and Kotahitanga	Net wages and salaries	34,482,814
Pūkengatanga	Training	100,000
Whakapapa and Whanaungatanga	Koha	45,000
Kotahitanga	Packaging	12,963,169
	Transport (outward)	5,311,338
	Utilities (power, gas, water)	5,555,416
Kaitiakitanga	Repairs /maintenance and other outlays to give effect to compliance requirements	3,121,242
	Other repairs and maintenance	3,836,384
Rangatiratanga	Interest on Raukawa loan	357,747
	Miscellaneous items	2,246,055
Total cash expenditures into the local community		\$68,019,165
<i>b. Payments to suppliers outside the local community</i>		
	Capital expenditures	7,121,412
Kaitiakitanga	PAYE	8,352,980
Rangatiratanga	All other expenditures beyond local suppliers	261,191,439
Total cash expenditures, including stock, external to the local community		\$276,665,831
Total local and external expenditures		\$344,684,996

community in mind and with modest financial benefit to the iwi.

Case Study 2. Te Aute College Hostel

The Te Aute Trust Board is the proprietor for Te Aute College, Hukarere Girls College and their two hostels. In July 2011, the Trust Board assumed the day to day management responsibility for the Te Aute College hostel. The Trust Board and hostel staff developed a kaupapa-tikanga framework with hiahia to provide staff and management with a means to monitor their performance and their contributions to the survival of Māori as a people against a set of kaupapa based performance indicators.

Staff engaged in the residential care of our students give expression to the ten kaupapa tuku iho through the design and implementation of tikanga

that will achieve the hiahia (targets) listed in the middle column below. The 2012 annual review identifies whether the hiahia have been met or advanced. Ideally, those involved in the annual review process would include trustees, hostel management and staff, students and whānau. Reviews provide an opportunity to implement additional tikanga designed to lift performance.

The hua column reflects the performance according to the following system of quantification. A performance value (PV) that recognises progress toward achievement was developed.

The full Te Aute framework identifies ten kaupapa tuku iho with four hiahia for each, therefore the maximum potential expression of kaupapa tuku iho in this framework is 120. This calculation is demonstrated on the following page.

Kaupapa Tuku Iho	Hiahia	Hua	Tikanga to Raise Performance
Manaakitanga Delivering quality curriculum and educational programmes with exceptional residential facilities for students	1. Increased NCEA achievements statistics	1	Establish and maintain study times, resources and places
	2. Increased number of curriculum and co-curriculum courses	2	Build networks that support Tini Akoranga implementation
	3. Increased number of Year 11, 12 & 13 students	1	Provide facilities and services that are healthy and support students studies and recreational activities
	4. Dormitories are well maintained and meet the needs of today's boarders	2	
Rangatiratanga Exhibiting the characteristics of a rangatira as described by Bishop Manuhuia Bennett: Te kai a te rangatira, he korero Te tohu o te rangatira, he manaaki Te mahi a te rangatira, he whakatira i te iwi	1. Increasingly staff and students are engaged in activities to enhance their understanding of kaupapa and tikanga	2	Enrol staff in courses and conduct kaupapa Māori training
	2. Staff are engaged in iwi/hapū studies	1	Staff engage with the tangata whenua, Te Rōpū Pakeke and alumni
	3. Staff and students support community activities including provision of māra kai produce to kaumātua and others	1	Staff engage and encourage students in discussions on world events, politics and community activities
	4. Kaumātua are encouraged to support student development and understanding of mātauranga Māori	2	

Kaupapa tuku iho	10
multiplied by the number of hiahia	4
	40
multiplied by the highest rating possible, in this case	3
Maximum potential expression	120

The table below lists only two of the Te Aute kaupapa tuku iho with associated hiahia, hua and newly designed tikanga produced to raise the performance of the hostel.

Following the 2012 review, a calculation of all hua identified a performance level of 67 or 55.8% of the maximum potential. It is apparent that while some progress is evident, for some tikanga the hiahia will not be achieved for a year or two. However, where one can anticipate that progress should be more obvious, new tikanga have been designed to raise performance levels. This process of performance measurement allows for comparisons to be made over time.

Some learnings

This work over the last five years has proceeded but it has not been without its challenges.

The most common and perhaps the most frustrating challenge is where some of our people have lacked confidence in our own knowledge base, instead defaulting to Pākehā methodologies. Here at the wānanga we often refer to this as “bolting backward into tikanga Pākehā rather than striving forward into kaupapa Māori”.

This is most evident in those industries and situations where groups are contracting for the provision of health or social services, and in education and business as well. The emerging work of reporting quantitative results of the expression of kaupapa tuku iho has assisted in allaying the doubts of some individuals.

For others, training and coaching initiatives need to be developed to increase our understanding of kaupapa and tikanga. The most successful tikanga that we have experienced in this regard is engaging people and groups in the development of the frameworks from the beginning of the process.

That is:

- participation in the selection of the kaupapa tuku iho
- the formation of contextual statements that describe the environment they are involved in and the activities they are engaged in
- the design of tikanga to give expression to the kaupapa tuku iho
- the identification of hiahia that can be measured
- the review and assessment of performance to produce results that are recorded in meaningful and usable ways

CONCLUSION—2040: KIA MĀORI 24/7

It will be apparent from this paper that much is to be done to extend, refine and apply the kaupapa-tikanga framework. Central to the advancement of the techniques involved is the commitment by a growing number of Māori, to being Māori in their daily activities. This will require that increasing numbers of us grow our understanding and that of Māori amongst us of the aronga, kaupapa, tikanga axis. This would facilitate engagement in the design and implementation of distinctly Māori systems to advance our diverse interests.

If Māori were motivated to adopt the concept of “2040: Kia Māori 24/7” in their respective pursuits, the next 28 years would see the release of creative energy directed toward the affirmation of the survival of Māori as a people. One outcome would be the extension, refinement and application of the kaupapa-

Hua	PV
Target achievement not yet evident - recognising that some hiahia will take time to bear fruits	1
Target not met although some progress made toward the target as planned	2
Target Met	3

tikanga framework and the building of Māori futures on kaupapa tuku iho.

Kia kaha tātou!

Whatarangi Winiata

4 September 2012

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CHANGING THE DEFAULT SETTING: MAKING TROUBLE TO RESTORE TIKANGA

Ani Mikaere

INTRODUCTION

As one of the early speakers on the programme for this conference, I thought it may be helpful to begin by briefly considering the nature and significance of tikanga. My focus will then turn to identifying particular threats to the integrity of tikanga, and making some observations as to how we might begin to grapple with those challenges.

WHAT IS TIKANGA?

Like every group of people in the world, our old people pondered the mysteries of the universe. They developed a theory of existence, based on their basic human need to make sense of the world around them and to explain their place within it. They constructed a philosophical framework, within which evolved a code for living that enabled them to endure and to thrive. Tikanga is the practical expression of a philosophy that is founded in the experience of our tūpuna, and has been adapted over time in the light of successive generations' experience and circumstances. Tikanga is the first law of Aotearoa. Tikanga is, rightfully, the only legitimate law in Aotearoa.

At the core of the philosophical framework underpinning tikanga is the conceptual tool of whakapapa. It is the joining of female and male essences to create whakapapa that enables us to make sense of perhaps the greatest mystery of all, creation itself. Our ancestors witnessed the miracle of new life every time a child was born. Utilising their powers of observation and their propensity to theorise, they explained the wonder of creation in terms of a foundational female–male relationship between Papatūānuku and Ranginui, conception and gestation within the womb of Papa and finally the birth of their children into Te Ao Mārama.

They expanded on the idea of gestation and birth,

relying on the concept of whakapapa once again in order to explain the link between ourselves and the beginning of time. As each generation is born into the world of light, a new layer of creation is built upon the one before it, forming an ever-expanding and interconnected web of life.

From this understanding about the unfolding of the universe emerges a set of values that underpin the tikanga that we practice. While the tikanga may change, the values (referred to by some as the kaupapa) remain constant. These values are informed by the primacy of whakapapa as an organising concept, which tells us that relationships are of paramount significance, whether between people or between people and the natural world. It reminds us that our long-term future is reliant upon the maintenance of reciprocal obligations between ourselves and all other facets of creation.

WHY DOES TIKANGA MATTER?

Our tūpuna were not alone in their desire to explain the enigma of creation or the wonder of the world around them; the impulse to philosophise is part of the human experience. However, while the act of developing a theory of existence may be universal to all peoples, no two peoples have answered the question “where do we come from?” in the same way. The conception of reality devised by our tūpuna and extended by subsequent generations is unique. The values that have arisen from these philosophical traditions are distinctive to us, and are central to our identity. As the practical application of those values, tikanga enables us to live our lives as Māori. Its integrity must be maintained and nurtured for future generations if our survival as Māori is to be secure.

WHAT ARE THE THREATS TO TIKANGA?

During the last two centuries tikanga has been under attack. Our colonisers have applied themselves enthusiastically to the task of replacing our philosophical framework with their own. This process of cultural annihilation persists, with our principles continuing to be eroded by a constant barrage of messages about the inherent superiority of the invader's values and beliefs. Once branded as evil and misguided superstition, tikanga is still typically dismissed as inadequate to meet contemporary needs. Just as scorn and derision was heaped upon tikanga practitioners in former times, those who today argue that tikanga provides the answers to current problems are typically regarded as "unrealistic" or as not fully understanding the implications of what they are proposing.

Present-day proponents of tikanga face innumerable challenges. Much of our tikanga has been grossly distorted by the influence of alien values. At the same time, we have become understandably protective of what remains—so much so that daring to question the authenticity of practices that are commonly paraded as tikanga can be hazardous. Tikanga has largely retreated to the illusory safety of the marae, which some of us take comfort in characterising as the last bastion of Māori authority. There, we reassure ourselves, tikanga is the law—everything that is practiced has been "handed down" to us from on high, beyond challenge and above reproach.

Ironically, those who take what they may perceive to be a "strong" position on the immutability of tikanga in the context of the marae are propagating the very weaknesses that will ultimately lead to its disintegration. By regarding the marae as the rightful home of tikanga, we limit its sphere of influence and encourage its characterisation as exotic rather than normal. By mindlessly adhering to what one or two "experts" lay down as tikanga, we are exhibiting an intellectual laziness and a diffidence that does not bode well for the future. We run the risk of perpetuating colonised tikanga, the practice of which is doing extraordinary damage to our whānau and hapū. We encourage the nonsensical characterisation of tikanga as rigid and incapable of change. We are also displaying a worrying lack of confidence in our competence as tikanga practitioners.

WHAT CAN WE DO TO OVERCOME THESE THREATS?

One of the most enduring legacies of colonisation is the loss of faith it has instilled in the tangata whenua whose lands were targeted for invasion. The resultant self-doubt is manifested not only in an unthinking acceptance of the colonial insistence that tikanga is limited in its application, but also in a belief that it cannot be adapted to suit our needs. It is evident in a passive collaboration with damaging practices that are proclaimed to be tikanga-based, and in a sense of resignation that we lack the wherewithal to do anything about it.

What is needed in order to overcome contemporary threats to the integrity of tikanga is a restoration of faith. Faith in tikanga itself: that the principles, the kaupapa that underpin tikanga, are as relevant now as they ever were. And faith in ourselves: in our ability to distinguish between colonised disfigurements of tikanga that will ultimately destroy us, and innovative applications of tikanga that will ensure our long term survival and wellbeing. Dealing with these questions will also, in some instances, take courage. I say this because, while some of the conversations that we might have about the authenticity of modern-day manifestations of tikanga are relatively easy to undertake, others are not.

For example, a discussion of the dress code at pōwhiri may generate a surprising degree of heat and contention, but it is unlikely to cause any lasting damage to relationships. We all know that our old people did not dress in long pants or don themselves from head to toe in the black clothes adopted by Queen Victoria following her husband's death. If my tungāne were to mihi to a group of manuhiri while wearing short pants, I hope we can all agree that the sky is unlikely to fall. If the only woman available to do the karanga is dressed in bright colours or in trousers, I like to think that it is the act of performing the karanga that would ultimately be regarded as more important than whether the kaikaranga is dressed like a mourning Queen Victoria. It might be interesting to ponder whether our tūpuna always had a dress code for such events, and the modern-day obsession with long pants and black skirts is simply a colonised adaption of that; or whether the whole issue of a dress code is a colonial construct that has been superimposed over

our tikanga, at risk sometimes of engulfing the whole point of the exercise. In any case, as I have said, this is probably not the most difficult of conversations to have.

The same cannot be said for the influence that Christianity has had on our tikanga. I know that the conversation about Christianity is difficult because even making the decision to talk about it today was hard. Yet I have decided, with some trepidation, to tackle it because I suspect that several of our speakers will refer to Christianity during this conference. In fact, I expect that they will do so.

Indeed, any discussion of the challenges confronting tikanga in modern times would be hard-pressed not to make mention of Christianity. I stated earlier that our colonisers sought to obliterate our philosophical framework and to replace it with their own. I have written at length elsewhere about the damage that the colonisation of our creation theories has done: introducing destructive notions of hierarchy; normalising concepts of dominance and subservience; and fundamentally undermining the imperative to strive for balance that I believe comes with a theory of existence that has the principle of whakapapa at its core. Christianity has been absolutely central to that process, destabilising the very foundation of tikanga by distorting our creation stories and threatening the integrity of the kaupapa.

Paula Gunn Allen has made the insightful observation that Western civilisation is based on the belief that dominance is synonymous with superiority and that superiority is a reflection of the divine (1998, p. 66). I think she has a point. Take for example, the following lines, recited as part of the Anglican communion service: “We are not worthy, Lord, to gather up the crumbs from under thy table.” As a quietly rebellious teenager who was forced to attend an Anglican boarding school, I had to endure daily prayers and regular religious instruction classes—but worst of all was the dreaded weekly communion service. I have to say that these particular words in the service always stuck in my craw. I can still recall them instantly, despite the fact that I have not been part of a congregation reciting them for over 30 years. The requirement to participate in a ritual that seemed to have been specifically designed to drum into me the certain knowledge that I was subordinate, inferior—not good enough even to crawl around under

an elderly white male authority figure’s table scavenging his crumbs—was deeply offensive to me, even at the tender age of fifteen. It was no more than a gut reaction at the time; I was not able to articulate why I found it so appalling. Now that I ponder the implications of that image I feel sickened that anyone, let alone a young Māori woman, should be subjected to that kind of abuse.

Moana Jackson has talked about the proselytising of Christianity (Oddie & Perret, 1992, p. 3)—the compulsion of its adherents to convert others; and about the implications of monism—the insistence that there can only be one God, one truth, one way of seeing the world.¹ Entertaining a relationship with Christianity has always entailed being presented with a list of “non-negotiables”, as opposed to engaging in a process of give and take. And while some may imagine that rendering the Bible or Christian prayers into te reo Māori represents a concession on the part of the church, translation has not altered the content of the message one jot; it has simply facilitated its uptake by the target audience. Pointing to Christian material written in te reo as evidence of compromise is a little like celebrating the singing of “God defend New Zealand” in Māori as signifying some kind of defining moment in our relationship with Pākehā. The fact is that no amount of rendering the message in te reo can mitigate the absurdity of Māori celebrating the New Zealand “nationhood” that seeks to eradicate our iwi nations, or entreating God to “defend our free land”—the same God in whose name our lands were stolen in the first place. As Vine Deloria has pointed out (1994, p. 256):

The status of native peoples around the globe was firmly cemented by the intervention of Christianity into the political affairs of exploitation and colonisation. They were regarded as not having ownership of their lands, but as merely existing on them at the pleasure of the Christian God who had now given them to the nations of Europe.

A survey of the complicity of Christianity in the colonisation of Indigenous Peoples by European aggressors makes it impossible to disagree with

1 Jackson, M “Whakapapa and the Beginning of Law” (unpublished); see also Paper, J The Deities Are Many: A Polytheistic Theology” (State University of New York Press: New York, 2005) pp 104–105: “Since in monotheistic cultures ultimate truth is singular, that focus on singularity tends to inform every type of value as well as modes of thinking . . . Since there is only one truth, it follows that there is only one true belief, one true religion, one true culture.”

Deloria's conclusion that "[w]here the cross goes, there is never life more abundantly—only death, destruction and ultimately betrayal" (Deloria, 1994, p. 261).

Am I being unfair? Perhaps there are some who would argue that the Christianity of today is not the Christianity of yesteryear—that it has somehow reinvented itself in modern times. My initial response to that suggestion is best summed up in the observation of Ward Churchill that "[s]o long as the aggressors' posterity continues to reap the benefits of that aggression, the crimes are merely replicated in the present" (1999, pp. 18–19). But even if someone were able to convince me that Christianity has magically distanced itself from its historical collusion in the colonising mission of bringing us to our knees, and that it no longer embraces the notions of rigid hierarchy that I find so unpalatable, a crucial fact remains: Christianity isn't ours. As I argued earlier, nobody else on the planet answered the questions about the nature of our reality in quite the same way as our tūpuna did. The philosophical tradition that they bequeathed to us is unique. The kaupapa that underpin our tikanga are inimitable. While we can and should adapt tikanga to meet our current needs, the only way we can do this with confidence is to be sure that the distinctiveness of our philosophical foundation remains intact. For me, ridding our tikanga of Christian influence is a crucial first step.

I am very mindful, as I stand here in the presence of my aunts and uncles, that my grandmother was not only staunchly Māori, but also a devoted Christian. Should my comments be taken as indicating a lack of respect for her memory? I hope not. I loved and respected my nanny, as I do all my whānau, regardless of how they give expression to wairuatanga. That's what makes talking about this subject so daunting. But times change. While my grandmother was Christian, I suspect that her grandmothers were not²—certainly, her great-grandmothers are

most unlikely to have been. That doesn't mean that Nanny's decision to follow the teachings of the Anglican Church should be interpreted as a sign of disrespect for her kuia and koroua. I believe that her choices were dictated by the circumstances into which she was born. She was born in 1896, at a time when Māori seemed poised on the brink of extinction and when the Pākehā God appeared to have all the answers. Is it any wonder that she chose a faith that seemed most likely to guarantee the survival of her whānau?

I suspect that she and my grandfather were motivated by similar considerations when they encouraged their children to pursue English as their first and only language, and to strive for educational success in Pākehā terms. These were survival strategies—and they worked. It is certainly not for me, the beneficiary of the decisions that they made in their time, to judge them now. However, now that our physical survival is secure, I have the luxury—indeed, I would say the duty—to consider how best to secure our survival in cultural terms. How do we ensure our survival and well-being as Māori? In the same way that current generations have reversed the conclusions reached by our grandparents about the value of te reo, I believe it is up to us to think long and hard about overturning the judgments they made with respect to Christianity, in order that our tikanga might be restored.

I also want to be absolutely clear that I am the last person to criticise anyone about the choices they make. Many years ago, Linda Smith used a wonderful phrase to describe the complexity of the situation that we find ourselves in when she referred to the "contradictions of a colonised reality" (1992, p. 48). Our colonised realities are shot through with contradictions, my own no less than anyone else's. My parents baptised me an Anglican, I suspect more because it was expected than for any other reason. I got married—quite an admission in itself given that I have, during the intervening 28 years, become such a critic of the institution of marriage—and in an Anglican ceremony at Ngātōkōwaru. All of my children were christened there too.

Looking back on these events, I realise that my

2 I realise, as I say this, that I am unable to state with any certainty whether they were Christian or not. One of Nanny's grandmothers married in a Presbyterian church in 1852, which might be taken as a clear indication that she was Christian. Then again, I married in an Anglican ceremony in 1984 and I was no more a Christian then than I am now—so the fact of her marriage cannot be taken as irrefutable proof of her faith. Nanny's other grandmother composed the pātere "Poia Atu Taku Poi", and many of the sentiments expressed in the pātere would suggest that she was untouched by Christian doctrine.

However, as Nanny herself epitomised, many of our old people found a way to juggle Christianity and Māori ways of being simultaneously—so once again, I cannot draw any firm conclusions from the fact of the pātere alone. Pondering these questions has certainly inspired me to find out more about my kuia.

decisions were motivated primarily by a strong desire to mark these significant milestones in my life at Ngātokowaru and surrounded by whānau, with my Uncle Hāpai officiating. While the motives were sound, I didn't think too deeply about the wider implications at the time; it was all too complicated and, if I am honest, I suppose I was just too lazy. I did what I suspect many of us do; I took the path of least resistance. This meant settling for what I have since come to regard as the present day "default setting" of Māori ritual. By this I am referring to the phenomenon that occurs on occasions when we feel the need for ceremony but lack the inspiration, the knowledge or the confidence to break with the learned behaviour of our parents and grandparents. Out of habit—habit which has become embedded in our psyche to an astonishing degree when one considers how recent a development it is—we reach for Christianity.

When I was younger and rather less reflective, conundrums of this sort didn't trouble me too much. These days, however, I find the prospect that entanglement with Christian rituals might be the necessary price of maintaining a connection with my marae much more problematic. Now that I am a grandmother, I worry about whether my desire to be buried at Raumatangi alongside my Pareraukawa whānau means that my children will be presented with a set of Christian non-negotiables at my tangihanga. They would struggle with that. They know how strongly I feel that Christianity should not impose itself upon me in death, simply because it is some kind of default setting—or because I am no longer physically able to argue against it. They may even consider dishonouring my wish to be buried at home in order to avoid having to deal with the issue. These questions are so painful, and affect us in such intimate ways. I hope that I have sufficient years left to resolve them so that my children and grandchildren aren't left trying to wrestle with them at a time when they will already have more than enough to cope with.

So far, from what I have spoken about, you could be forgiven for thinking that this tikanga business is just too difficult to even contemplate tackling. I don't want to leave you with the impression that tikanga is exclusively about the thorny questions—because that is just not true. It is so important that, even as we sort out the intractable issues, we understand and embrace tikanga as a source of empowerment

and innovation. We have already heard our opening speaker describe examples of tikanga being used in creative ways to take us with confidence into the future. And I have no doubt that many more exciting ideas will be discussed during the next two days.

One example that I find particularly inspiring is Matike Mai—the Independent Constitutional Transformation Working Group that is being led by Moana Jackson and Margaret Mutu to look at how we might design a constitution for Aotearoa, based on He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Niu Tirenī, on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and on kawa and tikanga. There are two aspects to this exercise. The first concerns process; the second is about the content of the proposals that will eventually be put forward. The Working Group understands only too well the illogicality of formulating a tikanga-based constitution if the process taken to arrive at the model isn't itself based on tikanga. So this means that, unlike the Crown's standard process of what I have dubbed iwi "insultation", whereby it chooses who it will talk to and sets the parameters of the discussion in advance, Matike Mai is iwi-led. Iwi have been asked to send representatives to participate in the group, and a programme of hui is being undertaken throughout iwi rohe. There are no preconceived notions about where the debate may lead us. Most notable to date has been the extraordinary level of enthusiasm and activity generated by the rangatahi group, who have been doing some truly remarkable work. They give us all great cause for optimism about the future.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, I want to take us back to 1876, when a hui was convened at Maketū for iwi to discuss the challenges confronting them at that time. A report of the hui was subsequently published in the Māori newspaper, *Te Wananga*. I find the imagery utilised in the following statement particularly moving (1876, 29 April):

... kua uhi te kupenga nui a te Kāwanatanga ki runga i te whenua katoa nei, kia riro katoa ai ngā whenua mā rātou, mā te Kāwanatanga anake, ā, he iti rawa nō ngā mata o taua kupenga i kore ai e ora te tangata kotahi, e mau ai te katoa, te katoa.

... the great net of Government had covered all the land so that all the lands could be taken for them, for the Government alone, and, as it was a very small mesh in that net, not one person would escape, all

would be caught, all.

While the focus of the comment was land, it is clearly applicable to the totality of our relationship with the coloniser. The net of kāwanatanga—of Pākehā law, of Western philosophy, of values that threaten the very core of our Māoriness—has indeed been cast wide. We cannot afford to ignore the degree to which we have become enmeshed within its strands. We need to be honest with ourselves about the extent to which tikanga has been caught up in the stranglehold of the colonising agenda. Then, and only then, might tikanga be liberated to achieve its limitless potential.

I am inspired by the ideas encapsulated in the pepeha “he ika haehae kupenga” (Mead & Groves, 2001, p. 73), which is said to refer to a troublemaker, or to a person who is adept in battle. I would like to see us commit to battle, dedicating ourselves to making trouble for the ongoing project of colonisation by tearing through the net that continues to tighten around us. If between us, during these two days, we can manage to create so much as a single small tear in the mesh, I will consider this conference to have been well worth the effort.

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THE HETERO-PATRIARCHY AND THE CORRUPTION OF TIKANGA

Jessica Hutchings

E ngā maunga whakahī, e ngā mana o ngā hau e whā, tēnā koutou katoa. He mihi kau atu ki ngā iwi o te rohe nei, arā, ko Te Āti Awa, ko Ngāti Raukawa, ko Ngāti Toa Rangatira. Ki te Wānanga o Raukawa, nā koutou mātou i manaaki, tēnā koutou mā. E Ani, mōkōri anō, me mihi atu rā ki a koe. Nāu i ārahi ngā whakaritenga o tēnei hui, nā reira ka kore e mutu ngā mihi. Kāti rā, ki aku rangatira, ki ngā kaikōrero, tēnā koutou. Whaowhia te kete mātauranga. Tihei mauri ora ki a tātou katoa.

It is an honour to be here today and to share space with Ani and Hemi on this opening panel that holds the same title as the Kei Tua o Te Pae hui theme—Changing Worlds, Changing Tikanga.

It has been a good few months of planning and some very purposeful thinking about the intention of the hui. I want to acknowledge Te Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau, Moana Jackson, Ani Mikaere, Lee Cooper and Hazel Philips for working with Te Wāhanga to conceptualise the focus of this hui. Together we have aimed to create a hui program that allows for the building of a kōrero that rigorously interrogates tikanga in our changing times.

The idea for this hui builds on the Kei Tua o Te Pae hui that Te Wāhanga held last year at Pipitea Marae, which focused on the challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century. This year's hui looks more closely at tikanga, which is the papa or the foundation of kaupapa Māori. At last year's hui speakers Linda Smith, Leonie Pihama, Wally Penetito, Āneta Rawiri, Alice Te Punga Somerville, Percy Tipene, Moana Mitchell, Glenis Philip Barbara, Kathie Irwin, Ngahiwi Apanui, Ani Mikaere and Moana Jackson talked about the challenges and hopes of kaupapa Māori research. We debated and theorised kaupapa Māori, undefined, defined and re-defined the multiple parameters and standpoints of kaupapa Māori and deepened our

own understandings of this paradigm that many of us work and undertake creative activity in. Importantly, we asked the question: is this path of kaupapa Māori creative activity leading to rangatiratanga outcomes for the multiple and diverse Māori communities we are connected to and aspire to see flourish? A lasting statement for me from the Kei Tua o Te Pae hui 2011 was that of Linda Smith, when she described kaupapa Māori in the following way (2011, p. 10):

If I think about kaupapa Māori as it was, as it is, and as it will be, in some kind of definitional framework I think it's really simple. It was what it was, it is what it is and it will be what it will be. It is more than, and less than, other comparative terms. It is more than a theory and less than a theory; it is more than a paradigm and less than a paradigm; it is more than a methodology and less than a methodology. It is something much more fluid.

The other resounding kōrero was that of Moana Jackson who talked about the four components of being brave that those of us working in kaupapa Māori paradigms need to take with us. He stated (2011, p. 74),

...the first component of being brave is to know who we are: to know what it is that makes us the mokopuna of the long and great traditions that developed in this land. It is to know who we are, as our people have always defined who we are, and not to know who we are as defined by others.

The second component of bravery that Moana described as an important papa for kaupapa Māori theory is (2011, p. 75):

...the bravery to know where we are at. Where we are at in the year 2011 is a journey that for 170 years has largely been controlled by someone else. It has not been a journey where we have actually been able to steer the waka in the direction that tikanga and our own best dreams might point us to.

The third component of bravery is simply to know what we have to think about. Moana reminded us last year that “...any intellectual tradition is about asking and answering both the easy and the difficult questions, the irritating and uncomfortable questions” (2011, p. 75).

Finally, the fourth component of bravery is “...the bravery to know where we have to go; the bravery to know what we need to transform—with an emphasis on the what” (2011, p. 77).¹

HETERO-PATRIARCHY, COLONISATION AND TE AO MĀORI

It is from the position of knowing who I am that I introduce this thinking framework of hetero-patriarchy as a way to provoke debate about where we are, or where we may be at in our collective and diverse practices of tikanga. When thinking about the theme of the hui and this panel title, “Changing history, changing tikanga” I thought about the many levels of marginalisation and dominance I have experienced at the hands of Māori, within Māori settings, all in the name of tikanga. These experiences have led me to think and read about this idea of the hetero-patriarchy. Within my kōrero this morning I want to apply it as a tool to critique ourselves and our daily practice of tikanga. I call into question the hetero-patriarchy or hegemonic or dominant systems within our diverse Māori communities and look at how this ideology has reinforced binary patterns of power in how we practice tikanga. I suggest that this way of thinking has become second nature to many within Māori leadership positions and often goes by unquestioned.

First of all let me explain what I mean by the hetero-patriarchy. This is a term that has emerged from women of colour, predominately indigenous women in other parts of the world. I find it a useful concept when critiquing the aims and approach of the colonial project in Aotearoa, and even more useful when we turn it inwards and use it as a tool to critique what is happening across diverse Māori communities. It is particularly relevant when thinking about how tikanga has been corrupted by the colonial project and reformed to continue the Māori male (and on occasion female) dominance that many of

us now experience at the hands of the Māori hetero-patriarchy, but often don’t talk about.

So what do I mean by the hetero-patriarchy? Let’s turn to the work of Cherokee scholar, Andrea Lee Smith, who some of you may know of. She is best known as an intellectual, a feminist and an anti-violence activist. Her work focuses on issues of violence against women of colour and their communities, specifically Native American women, and she has written some critical and stirring papers that engage with this notion of hetero-patriarchy. Andrea Smith describes hetero-patriarchy as a key organising ideology in white supremacy, along with the pillars of capitalism, colonialism and war. It ensures male rights of access to women and it is about men de-skilling and dominating women in a number of forms. Hetero-patriarchy normalises the dominance of one person and the subordination of another (accessed 1 September 2012).

Within hetero-patriarchy, heterosexuality and patriarchy are made to seem like the natural order. It is a framework which through necessity joins heterosexuality, maleness and power. It draws attention to areas where these oppressive forces intersect one another, reinforce one other and function together. The logic of hetero-patriarchy includes the on-going invisibility of takatāpui, gay, lesbian, transgender, transsexual and bi-sexual people and the construction and tolerance of dominant male violence alongside the intolerance of female violence against male abusers. Challenging heteronormativity needs to be central to tino rangatiratanga movements, as Smith explains:

in order to colonize peoples whose societies are not based on social hierarchy, colonizers must first naturalize hierarchy through instituting patriarchy... Any liberation struggle that does not challenge heteronormativity cannot substantially challenge colonialism or white supremacy... Such struggles will maintain colonialism based on a politics of secondary marginalisation where the most elite class of these groups will further their aspirations on the backs of those most marginalized within the community. (accessed 1 September 2012, p. 72)

When we think about hetero-patriarchy in the context of the theme of our hui and the questions we have posed around liberating tikanga, then for me, I am looking for a tikanga that can peel back the layers of hetero-patriarchy across diverse Māori

1 (my emphasis)

communities, label it for what it is and envisage another paradigm.

Both historical and current colonisation have seen the quick uptake and adoption of hetero-patriarchal norms by diverse Māori communities, in particular, Māori men and, now days, some Māori women. The adoption of hetero-patriarchal beliefs and practices has been a quick fire way for some Māori to acquire dominance and power, both within the colonial project and Māori societies. Smith's analysis draws our attention to the consequences of this seduction:

What keeps us trapped within our particular pillars of white supremacy is that we are seduced with the prospect of being able to participate in the other pillars... Thus people of color organizing must be premised on making strategic alliances with each other, based on where we are situated within the larger political economy. (2012, p. 69)

This brings me to the second component of being brave that Moana talked about, the bravery to know where we are at. So I ask the question: Where are we at, as diverse Māori communities, with regard to adopting and perpetuating hetero-patriarchal ideas and values under the guise of tikanga?

I do not subscribe to the idea that hetero-patriarchal norms were a value base for our tikanga: takatāpui were always present and a part of whānau; the role of wāhine as decision makers, leaders and visionaries was present pre-colonisation; and the idea that a menstruating woman is subordinate and unclean during her moon cycle couldn't be further from the truth in terms of how I feel in my body when I menstruate. For me, it is a time when I am in the seat of my power, a time to rejoice in the flow and connection with the moon and the deep rhythmic connections to Papatūānuku and our Atua. I reject the hetero-patriarchal values applied to menstruation and ask how much of what we apply to Māori women and our roles when menstruating has been informed by a hetero-patriarchy values base that has been imposed on us due to colonisation. I am pleased that our first keynote speaker, Ngahuia Murphy, will be talking to this kaupapa.

This brings me to the third aspect of bravery that Moana talked about—to know what we have to think about, being prepared to ask and answer both the easy and the difficult questions, the irritating and uncomfortable questions. A key question for me

when using this concept of hetero-patriarchy to think about tikanga, sub-ordination, dominance, male power and inappropriate male behaviour is:

- In what ways has the hetero-patriarchy corrupted our tikanga?

To be even more specific when we use this concept in our critique of tikanga in a changing world, we can refine the question to ask:

- In what ways does tikanga sub-ordinate women? How does it perpetuate Māori male dominance, male power and inappropriate male behaviour?

I think these questions are particularly relevant if we connect what I am saying with what Ani said earlier with regard to the impact of Christianity on tikanga.

In a previous paper on *Collective Rights and Gender Issues*, Ani discusses how the the colonial project has played a major role in destroying the cultural and social structures of whānau and hapū, which has forced “Māori women away from their whānau and into the Pākehā model of the nuclear family.” She argues that this situation has meant wāhine have been portrayed as being:

dependent on their husbands as breadwinners, while they became increasingly isolated as caregivers at home. Some women were expected to work both outside and in the home, as economic hardship required them to contribute financially while Christian values about what constituted a good wife and mother compelled them to maintain that role as well. (2011, pp. 197–198)

Furthermore, Ani notes the impact that colonisation and Christianity has had on the principle of balance between Māori women and men. She states:

The colonisation of tikanga Māori has impacted severely upon the principle of balance that had formerly characterised the relationship between Māori women and men. The female figures within the cosmogonic accounts were recast as passive and subservient to the male figures, while the influence of Christian morality proscribed the sexual autonomy of Māori women. These views were reinforced by the destruction of the whānau network, a result of massive land theft, social upheaval caused by the effects of introduced disease and the urban migration that occurred during the middle of the twentieth century. (2011, p. 199)

Hetero-patriarchal beliefs and practices of Christianity are evident in the many ways they have defined

homosexuality as a sinful and inappropriate sexuality. Ngahuia Te Awakotuku has written accounts of how whakairo depicting same sex intimacy and sexual acts were removed from meeting houses by the early missionaries, rendering takatāpui relationships invisible. Ngahuia, along with other takatāpui creative artists, writers and whānau members, reminds us how much of our herstory has been filtered through colonial, Christian, heterosexual eyes, to the exclusion of stories that reflect our herstories and traditions. We see this exclusion occur today in the marriage equality debate on whether to allow same-sex couples to marry. These examples demonstrate the lack of support shown from a majority of churches for same sex marriage, and the active perpetuation of hetero-patriarchal beliefs in current times. If we apply a hetero-patriarchy framework or analysis to the impact of Christianity on tikanga then this requires us to examine the practices of the churches and the intersections between hetero-sexuality, maleness, power, domination and subordination.

HETERO-PATRIARCHY, PAPATŪĀNUKU AND MĀORI DEVELOPMENT

In my last 5 minutes I want to expand this idea of the hetero-patriarchy to think about contemporary Māori development, Papatūānuku and te ao tūroa. In particular, I want to consider the role of tikanga in informing current Māori development pathways.

If we expand the critique of the hetero-patriarchy to the environment, I argue that a parallel can be drawn between the subordination of women and the subordination of Papatūānuku and nature, with the key principle of domination underlying modern attitudes towards both women and nature.

Indigenous scholars have argued that this domination of nature can be found in the mechanistic and reductionist view of the world that has come from the time of the so called “Enlightenment” (Marsden, 2003). A mechanistic and reductionist view of the world divides and fractures the interconnected components of nature, giving “man” dominion over her parts for his use and pleasure. This mechanistic understanding and framing of nature allowed for the development of an instrumental value to be placed on her, where the value of nature was measured in the value it derived for others. This enabled “man” to

justify the merciless exploitation of the natural world, and ultimately to dominate and control that world; women were viewed as closer to nature than men and in this context were also treated instrumentally. This mechanistic and reductionist worldview gave rise to the idea of the rationale scientific method that was, and still is, based on the belief that knowledge is found in fragmentation and specialisation. The western method has reduced the importance of lived experience and indigenous wisdoms as invalid routes to knowledge.

This way of viewing knowledge is almost completely opposite to the landscape and form of mātauranga Māori, which is about drawing connections and relationships between all forms and aspects of knowing or coming to know. Furthermore the mechanistic and reductionist view of nature is a polar opposite to the interconnected relationships between Atua and Te Ao Tūroa that we know through tikanga and mātauranga.

This brings me to the third point of being brave that Moana discusses - to know what we have to think about. In this vein I want to ask why is the dominant Māori development paradigm privileging development pathways that privileges a disconnected, reductionist and mechanistic view of nature? Surely this is not a tikanga based worldview of Te Ao Tūroa which would encourage us to bring together and rediscover our multiple connections to whenua, whānau, hapū and iwi.

I question the dominant Māori development approach because at the Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA) hui next week in Rotorua genetic modification (GM) multinationals, DuPont and Monsanto, are platinum sponsors. Why would we want to introduce Māori businesses and predominately agribusinesses to a development paradigm that is about using unsafe, untested and profit driven technologies that do not support a holistic and interconnected view of the environment? In fact, GM technologies are based entirely on working at one of the most reductionist and mechanistic levels—the molecular level. Many Māori communities have strongly opposed GM and other technologies, such as nanotechnology, as being incongruent with tikanga, as impacting on whakapapa, te ira tangata, te ora o te whānau, Papatūānuku and te ao tūroa. I strongly feel that we must continue to question the commodification of nature through

the use and introduction of these technologies, as with this process comes the misappropriation of indigenous intellectual property rights and an undermining of tikanga. I am using hetero-patriarchy as a tool of analysis to interrogate the domination of man over nature within current Māori development paradigms and to call into question how tikanga is being upheld within whānau, hapū, iwi, and Māori community development models.

I propose that we need to think not only about the hetero-patriarchy within our own Māori communities and the need to restore gender relationships based on a tikanga of mana and rangatiratanga; but that we also need to apply a hetero-patriarchy critique to Māori development pathways, to ensure that whole and connected ways of knowing are privileged and that the interconnections of te ao tūroa are protected. I am arguing that key aspects of the dominant Māori development pathway are hetero-patriarchal because it is about “man” dominating nature—dominating Papatūānuku and in some instances, with GE and nanotechnologies, this is occurring at the most reductionist and mechanist levels.

CONCLUSION

I have woven in and out of this idea of the hetero-patriarchy in a very short time. For me, as wahine takatāpui, hetero-patriarchy resonates as a pertinent and critical tool of analysis, not only when thinking about the aims of the colonial project but also when critiquing the role of tikanga and the intersections of heterosexuality, maleness, power and dominance in living tikanga.

In closing I want to return to Moana’s fourth aspect of bravery, which he describes as “the bravery to know where we have to go, what we need to transform” (Jackson, 2011, p. 76). Therefore I leave you with my vision of a tikanga in changing times that does not exclude the participation of wahine Māori, kōtiro Māori or takatāpui, a tikanga that does not uphold male dominance or inappropriate male behaviour. My version of tikanga breaks the divides of dominance and subordination, and envisages a new dynamic for relationships. I value a tikanga in these changing times that can lead and open Māori development pathways, that is holistic and that upholds the interconnections of te ao tūroa and our rich diversity of being Māori.

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TE AWA ATUA: THE RIVER OF LIFE! MENSTRUATION IN PRE-COLONIAL TIMES

Ngāhuia Murphy

Ngāti Manawa, Ngāti Ruapani, Tūhoe, Ngāti Kahungunu

E ako au ki te haka
E ako au ki te ringaringa
E ako au ki te whewhera
E kāore te whewhera
E ako au ki te kōwhiti
E kāore te kōwhiti
E kōwhiti nuku
E kōwhiti rangi
E kōwhiti puapua
E kōwhiti werewere
E hanahana a tinaku ... e!
(Karetu, 1993, p. 15).

I begin with the words of an ancient haka that some say was the first ever composed (Karetu, 1993, p. 15). It is attributed to our beloved atua wahine, Hinateiwaiwa, who with a war party of up to 40 women performed it to rout out of a crowd the murderer Kae, marking him for death. I open with these words because they illustrate the boldness with which our tipuna celebrated the fecundity, ferocity, and fabulousness of the vagina, singing songs and performing haka, often with graphic enthusiasm! This is in complete contrast to many Māori women today, who have been taught not to sing, but to shuffle and stammer over language about our own sexual bodies.

An extreme example is the subject of menstruation and menstrual blood. Our tipuna kuia composed the most loving, intimate songs of reverence about menstruation and menstrual blood. But for many of us, there are “no words for the blood ‘down there’” (Smith, personal communication, 8 June, 2010).

The ambivalence and silence that surrounds the subject of menstruation is the direct consequence of our colonial history in which colonial ethnographers distorted our menstrual ceremonies beyond recognition and presented menstruation as something putrid, something paru. Many of us have been told that this belief is a traditional Māori belief, that our tipuna thought this. Nothing could be further from the truth.

In former times menstrual blood was considered not putrid, but potent; not paru, but powerful. It was seen as a symbol: a symbol of the mana and tapu of Maori women; a symbol of whakapapa, carrying ancestors and descendents, linking us back to our atua and creation stories; a symbol that bonded the genders through nurturing tikanga; and a symbol that bound the generations through ceremonies of reverence and celebration.

In 2010 I embarked upon research examining the stories, ceremonies, practices and attitudes regarding menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world. I had grown increasingly suspicious of references to menstruation as some filthy women’s sickness. How could menstruation be considered “paru”, I wondered, by a culture that referred to women, as the “whare tangata”—“house of humanity”? If Māori women’s reproductive bodies were a source of uncleanness and inferiority, why were there countless mōteatea that celebrated female sexuality in graphic detail?

My research began by examining what the colonial ethnographers and historians had written about menstruation, and Māori women more generally. It soon became clear that the Victorian, patriarchal and Christian lens of many of the colonial ethnographers had distorted their interpretations of the menstrual practices that they observed, and that those misinterpretations had acquired the status of

authority. I also studied Māori oral literatures such as karakia, mōteatea, tribal and navigational histories, and our creation stories to investigate how our ancestors conceptualised menstruation. I used the insights gained to reinterpret the menstrual rituals and practices recorded by the colonial ethnographers. I also interviewed Māori cultural experts, historians and exponents of mana wahine to bring a deeper understanding to the subject.

I used a kaupapa Māori and mana wahine theoretical lens in my research, locating menstrual rituals and tribal practices within Māori cultural paradigms.

Kaupapa Māori celebrates Māori language, traditions, and philosophies and emerged from within the wider context of Māori cultural revival and politicisation (Bishop, 2005, 2008). It also emerged in response to a history of cultural redefinition by Pākehā. This is particularly relevant to the subject of menstruation. What was once regarded as a symbol of female power has now come to be regarded as a symbol of female inferiority due to the misinterpretations of some colonial ethnographers and historians.

Mana wahine theories address the patriarchal nature of colonisation, which has impacted on Māori women and girls differently to the way it has affected Māori men and boys. Leonie Pihama details the marginalisation of Māori women's knowledge and roles in colonial ethnographic texts, stating:

Māori women's knowledge has been made secondary to Māori men's knowledge and Māori women's roles redefined in line with colonial notions of gender relations. Information related to Māori women has been ignored or rewritten to become more conducive to colonial belief systems. (Pihama, 1994, p. 39)

Through this process Māori women's reproductive bodies, and menstruation in particular, have been demonized by language reminiscent of the Witch-hunts of Britain and Europe. This language has continued into recent "authoritative" texts, creating oppressive dialogues about the inferiority of Māori women and girls. Once again, these descriptions are contrary to some of the earliest recorded karakia and mōteatea.

THE COSMOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF MENSTRUATION

There are at least three cosmological stories that reflect themes of menstruation as a medium of whakapapa, connecting us to our atua and creation stories.

The oldest begins in the cosmogonic cycles of Te Pō (The Nights) where the earth and sky were born. Ranginui, the sky father, and Papatūānuku, beloved earth mother, clung to one another in union, birthing a pantheon of male and female gods. The pantheon multiplied within the darkness until it could no longer contain them, demanding an evolutionary leap. According to this version, the leap was realised by Tāne and enabled through the medium of his mother's menstrual blood. Intuiting the existence of another world beyond his parents stifling embrace, Tāne rode out of the darkness of Te Pō into Te Ao Mārama, the world of light, on his mother's menstrual tide (Smith, 1913, p. 120).

This story reflects the idea that menstruation was regarded as a medium: a medium between worlds; a medium of evolutionary expansion; a medium of atua; and a medium connecting Māori women to our atua and our creation stories at the beginning of time. Indeed one of the ancient names for menstruation used across the country in former times was atua (Williams, 1991, p. 20).

Within some of the colonial ethnographic accounts, menstrual blood is presented as a malignant demon called the atua kahu, described by Goldie as the "wasted souls of humans" (Goldie, 1904, p. 26). According to Goldie, Māori women are "possessed by a demon during menstruation—or rather, she becomes dispossessed of a malignant disease-dealing demon" (p. 91). The repeated colonial misrepresentation of atua kahukahu as malignant demons has progressed the idea that menstruating women house dangerous forces and therefore need to be contained by the enforcement of restrictions. This has furthered a colonial and patriarchal agenda of female subordination.

Goldie describes menstruating Māori women as "unclean", comparing them to Hebrew women, whose movements are restricted lest they "contaminate" others (Goldie, 1904, p. 91). This interpretation reveals the infiltration of Christian ideologies which

present menstruation as the “Curse of Eve”. In the Old Testament menstrual blood is referred to as polluting, impure, and unclean and is accompanied by restrictions that segregate the menstruating women from the rest of the community (Lev. 15: 19–26 King James Authorised Version). The influence of Christian teachings is also evident in the prolific works of Elsdon Best. In relation to the reproductive body of Māori women, Best translates tapu (which in all other contexts he translates as sacred or restricted) as a state paralleling “the condition termed ‘unclean’ in the Scriptures” (Best, 1924a, p. 107; Best, 1929, p. 7). Thus Best presumes to design a whole new “kind” of tapu for women, one that is in line with Christian doctrine and one that denies the power and significance of Māori women’s reproductive bodies as *te whare tangata*—the sacred house of humanity.

Menstruation was considered tapu, not because it was unclean, but rather because it was acknowledged as a medium of *whakapapa*. There are two other cosmological narratives that speak to this theme. Hineahuone, the first human, was sculpted from what is delicately described by scholars as the “red clay” at Kurawaka, the *mons veneris* of the great mother earth goddess, Papatūānuku. In popular accounts it was the god Tāne who discovered the altar of humanity. He had searched in vain for the *uha*, according to legend, but the female element had remained concealed within the confines of his own birthplace (Best, 1924; Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984). Under his mother Papatūānuku’s counsel, Tāne approached her pubis, discovering the elusive material that ushered in humanity (cited in Cram, 2000; Kahukiwa & Grace, 1984; Mikaere, 2003; Yates-Smith, 1998).

What is consistently down-played across the colonial ethnographic literature is the significance of the location of Kurawaka, and the force inherent within the “red soil” that made Hineahuone’s creation finally achievable (Yates-Smith, 1998). Tāne is singularly celebrated for his act of procreation, denying the raw and very female sexual potency imbued in the “red soil”. The following is a typical, standardised version of the creation of Hineahuone:

Tane the god created the first woman out of earth; he formed her by scraping up the earth into human shape and endowed her with life. He lay on her and breathed life into her and he called her Hine-hau-one ... he took her to wife. (Cowan, 1930, p. 8)

Cowan’s example denies the generative sexual centre of Papatūānuku, the mother of the gods, and relegates Hineahuone to a pile of dirt with language that erases the vocabulary of women’s sexuality and power. The divinity of Hineahuone is negated, and so, correspondingly, is the divinity of Māori women as her descendents. Papatūānuku’s status as an *atua*, as the mother of Tāne himself, is overlooked in the colonial literature. This kind of presentation of the origins of humanity, and women, has informed and perpetuated the myth that women are inferior to men “even as Hineahuone was inferior to Tane” (Best, 1924, p. 74). Here at the genesis of humanity, in what could be a story reflecting the intense power of women, sourced from the creative force of the earth, we find a subdued story of female reticence. Translated in such a way, this story became the hook on which to hang chronicles of masculine supremacy within the Māori world that continue today.

Hineahuone, far from the submissive Victorian caricature portrayed in colonialist literature, contained her own power, a force derived from Kurawaka which can be translated as a precious, sacred, red medium, synonymous perhaps with older descriptions of menstrual blood. Aroha Yates-Smith (1998) confirms that Hineahuone was imbued with her own autonomous power, inherited from her mother’s genital organs. This power Tāne encountered upon entering Hineahuone, experiencing “a tremendous force from within Hine, a powerful force, such as he had never experienced before” (Pere, 1982, pp. 10–11). This force was the raw primal sexual power of Hine, as a being created from the menstrual soil of her mother. Thus *ikura* is another old name for menstruation derived from the saying *mai-i-Kurawaka* (from Kurawaka). Menstrual blood, in this story, is an ancient matrilineal river connecting Māori women to our ancestress Hineahuone and, through her, to Papatūānuku, the mother of the gods.

Similarly, the Ngā Pōtiki, Ngā Uri-a-Māui story about the origins of menstruation reflect the idea of menstruation as both a medium of *whakapapa* and a conduit back to the gods. Māui, a demigod, observed that Hinateiwaiwa, the moon god, could make her world wax and wane every month. Deciding that he too wanted continuity like the moon, Māui approached his mother, the god Hinenuitēpotea, to receive immortality. His plan was to reverse the

process of birth, entering her womb through the birth canal. As Māui entered Hinenuitepōteao, she awoke. Māui told her about wanting to be like the Moon, to which Hinenuitepōteao responded that she could grant this wish; she then crushed him and made him the first menstruation to come into the world. As long as woman menstruates, Māui will live on (R. Pere, personal communication, July 11, 2010).

According to this version Māui did not die but achieved immortality after all, reappearing “like the moon” in the blood-tides of woman. Māui’s monthly appearance signals continuity and the “immortality” of the people down through the generations, through whakapapa. Whakapapa, according to Angeline Greensill, is the “foundation stone” within a Māori perspective because it represents relationships across generations and species with all things interconnected through a shared lineage back to our atua (cited in Cram, 2000, p. 5). Menstruation provides humanity with a link back to our atua and the cosmos. According to Rangimarie Pere the flowing blood was once known by the name māui, heard throughout Te Urewera at one time in the saying “kua tae mai a māui” (menses has arrived).

MENARCHE RITES

In former times the arrival of menstruation was welcomed as a sign of the continuity of the whānau and hapū. Menarche rituals included the ceremonial cutting of hair, piercing of ears, receiving an adult name (often after an ancestor), receiving a moko kauae, and a presentation of gifts along with a community feast (Hohaia, 2010, personal communications; Kent & Besley, 1990; Tregear, 1904). At this time girls were formally initiated into different ritual arts and knowledge traditions. The following mōteatea from the George Grey collection, entitled *He Whai Kanohi Me Ka Pohea* (tribal origins unknown), is described by Williams (1991) as an “occult rite” and references the welcoming of menarche as a symbol of the vivacity of life:

Te ra e hara mai ra,
Rere kura, rere toro hai,
Te marama e rere mai ra,
Rere kura, rere toro hai,
Ka whekite,
Ka whekaro, te kahui tupua,
Nau mai ki waho;

Te ritorito,
Te wai whero;
Tupu te ora,
He ora, ora.

The sun arising, flying red,
Seeking its journey,
The moon arising, flying red,
Seeking its journey,
One perceives it dimly,
For the first time, the supernatural being,
Welcome, come forward;
The potential of life,
The menstrual blood;
Let life grow,
Life itself.
(Grey, 1853, p. 281).

The arrival of menarche provided an intimate opportunity for intergenerational bonding. Rangimarie Pere states that in Te Urewera all the girls were told to inform the kuia (elder women) when their time arrived:

My kuia washed all my clothes after my first menstruation and cried in regard to seeing the ‘sacred river’ that had come through her, and yet there was a spirit of celebration between us, because I brought in the continuity of our tangatatanga, atuātanga, whakapapa. (Pere, personal communication, July 12, 2010)

According to this account the arrival of menses was carefully observed and cherished between kuia and mokopuna (grandchild) in Te Urewera. It was celebrated as a medium of humanity, divinity and genealogy and was regarded as an intergenerational gift, epitomised by the saying “Kua mimiti taku puna tamariki engari kua timata to puna” (My blood has run dry but yours has begun) (Pere, personal communication, July 12, 2010). Aroha Yates-Smith of Te Arawa also shared knowledge about this particular ceremony, commenting that her own daughter’s menarche was received in this way.

In Te Urewera the teachings that a kuia passed on to her mokopuna within the ceremony of menarche built on the foundations of a tribal education. Menstruation, according to Pere, was talked about in detail in the whare puni (whānau meeting house) in front of both genders and including all generations:

We had intergenerational teaching and learning in my family with both genders, so that my tribal brothers knew all about menstruation, and I knew everything about their development. Since those teachings that we had in our family whare puni, there has always been a deep respect and a lot of aroha between my tribal brothers and myself. (Pere, personal communication, July 12, 2010)

Makereti Papakura (1938) also wrote that menstruation was discussed frankly by the whole whānau, without the squeamishness she observed within Pākehā society in the 1920s. Papakura insists:

Every phase of life was freely discussed by the parents in the presence of the children, even things which western people deem most intimate ... there was no word considered rude; in the body there was nothing unclean; no bodily functions were treated as being unworthy of mention in plain language. (1938, p. 101)

Pere's and Papakura's accounts cut across some of the ethnographic reports that insist shame haunted the steps of a menstruating girl, who always had to maintain discretion about her "condition" lest she be humiliated (Best, 1906; Goldie, 1904). On the contrary, Pere insists that her brothers always knew when she was menstruating and respected that. She asserts that the bond she developed with her tribal brothers through those formative years has continued throughout her life, remarking that during her hapūtanga (pregnancy) her tribal brothers went out of their way to give her the best of everything, bringing her flowers and special foods every day. Gift giving, according to Pere, was not unusual, rather it was the continuation of an ancient tradition that acknowledged the whare tangata as paramount (Pere, personal communication, July 12, 2010).

According to Pere, menstruating women were free to enter any of the houses and, whilst they bled, the men would cook special meals for them. Another woman, raised by learned kuia, commented on the same, remarking that in her tribal area menstruating women would go to the whare kōhanga, the birthing house, to rest. Men were free to come and go from this space and it was their duty to prepare food for the women. Hinewirangi Kohu also stated that menstruating women in some tribal areas retired to the whare kōhanga in the past, to rest and to learn. According to Kohu, this space was a whare wānanga, a learning house of women where

matrilineal knowledge traditions were handed down the generations (Kohu, personal communication, July 16, 2010). Similarly, Te Wai Hohaia stated that in Taranaki the women would retire to a space that could be considered the original women's whare wānanga. Because workload eased off throughout menstruation, it was considered a good time for in-depth wānanga, kōrero, learning, teaching, resting and nurturing. Karakia, whakapapa and waiata were absorbed in these spaces, as during this time "you are at your best for those things, in tune with the natural elements" (Hohaia, personal communication, August 18, 2010).

MENSTRUAL "RESTRICTIONS"

Whilst there are tribal variations, there is consistency in the claim that our tīpuna whāea (ancestresses) were regarded as being in a sacred state when menstruating. This relinquished them from their daily chores and community responsibilities. Pere explains that so-called menstrual "prohibitions" were a time when women could rest. Menstruating women did not enter the gardens to perform work, set traps, or gather kaimoana (seafood) because menstruation was a time of rest and nurturance that was supported by the whānau. In a society motivated by working toward the wellbeing of the collective, menstruation must have provided a welcome reprieve from the daily demands of community living.

Restrictions around the cultivation of food reveal cultural codes of conduct that are grounded in Māori metaphysics. Menstrual blood was seen as carrying ancestors and descendants. Shedding this blood in food spaces, like gardens, was considered culturally inappropriate because of the risk of consumption, relegating the ancestors and descendants to food. The thought is anathema to Māori. Parallels of this kind of thinking can be found in practices that observe the careful storage of whakapapa charts and karakia. You would not place such materials on a food table or kitchen bench.

Some restrictions, Ngahuia Te Awekotuku points out, are simply commonsense. For example, the prohibition on women entering the sea to gather food, Te Awekotuku suggests, is sensible. She recounts the story of her friend whose blood attracted the interest of a giant stingray: "It's not because you're dirty, it's because you smell tasty!" Te Awekotuku exclaimed

(Te Awekotuku, personal communication, June 18, 2010). Similarly, Te Awekotuku points out that in former times a woman's kope (a pad made out of kohukohu—sphagnum moss) was held in place by a tukaretu (thin woven string belt) or a maro kopua (woven triangular apron). These may not have been as reliable as modern inventions. "There is a risk when you weave, particularly whāriki, your legs are all over the place and one splash of blood could ruin months of work" (Te Awekotuku, personal communication, June 18, 2010).

The significance of menstrual traditions has been eclipsed by the early ethnographers' automatic equation of restriction with "contamination," "impurity" and female inferiority (Buckley & Gottlieb, 1988; Grahn, 1993). Menstrual restrictions, when interpreted through a patriarchal lens, are easily distorted to convey a message of male control over the wild and uncivilised female body. Menstrual restrictions are slavishly documented in ethnographic literature as a means to contain menstruating women who are "possessed of an extremely harmful influence" (Best, 1982, p. 614) during menstruation, the dreaded and malignant atua kahukahu mentioned earlier. Themes of menstrual demons are littered throughout the colonial ethnographic accounts, providing a political agenda that subordinates women by claiming their inferiority due to some menstrual malevolence.

The myriad of menstrual restrictions recorded in some of the ethnographic accounts use language that is near identical to biblical scripture and some of the restrictions are the same. Other ethnographic recordings contradict these restrictions. The claim that a man must resist the sleeping and sitting places of menstruating women "lest he lose his clairvoyant powers" is an interesting contradiction to the accounts of the employment of menstrual blood and female genitalia in rituals to attract the benevolence of atua and restore clairvoyance, courage, and vitality. According to Best, if a man lost his "powers of sight", if he angered the gods and they deserted him, in order to regain their favour and protection, he would lay down and a woman from a leading family would step over him. Correspondingly, men who lost their nerve in battle anointed themselves with menstrual blood to restore the favour of the gods and their courage respectively (Best: 1941, Pere, personal communication, July 10, 2010). "Women possessed

peculiar powers in certain directions" (1924, p. 170) Best observed.

"Pollution," "unclean," and "contamination" are words systematically used in colonial literature in reference to menstrual blood and menstruating women (Goldie: 1904, Best: 1924a, Best: 1924b). This is an extension of the misogynist, Victorian language that many colonial ethnographers have used more generally when describing the reproductive bodies of Māori women. Best, whose deeply misogynist interpretations have been largely accepted as authoritative representations of Māori culture, writes:

This 'house' of misfortune, of ominous inferiority, is represented by this world, by the earth, by the female sex, and by the female organ of generation, which holds dread powers of destruction and pollution. (Best, 1924, p. 74)

The (mis)representations and (mis)interpretations of those early ethnographers have become the foundations of what many Māori assume are traditional values and beliefs, perpetuated in contemporary literature produced by writers such as Berys Heuer (1972), Jean Smith (1974) and Ann Salmond (1975). Leonie Pihama (2001) points out that Māori themselves have recycled colonial patriarchal discourse, citing Witi Ihimaera's *The Matriarch* (1986) and Ranginui Walker's highly recommended anti-colonial work *Ka Whawhai Tonu Mātou: Struggle Without End* (1990) as examples. Another alarming example is Kent and Besley's (1990) *He Whakamārama: A Bicultural Resource*, targeted as an educational resource for schools and community groups. Drawing on Berys Heuer (1972) who, in turn, was informed by Elsdon Best, the authors proclaim that Māori women and girls feel a shame toward their bodies (unlike the men) and are seen as a destructive force of low status and little power within Māori society (p. 4–5).

Like Makereti Papakura (1938), Kent and Besley (1990, p. 11) reference the fact that in former times there was open discussion within whānau about the onset of menstruation. They observe, however, that this attitude has since changed to a hushed silence as "one did not talk about these things" or the blood "down there". This reflects the internalisation of textual legacies that present Māori women's reproductive bodies as unclean, contaminating, polluting, and a source of shame and inferiority.

This language, couched within a context of colonial conquest, continues today.

The consequences of presenting menstruation as “unclean”, “an embarrassment” and, in some cases, “demonic” created both a hostility toward the menstruating body of Māori women, and a “lost vocabulary”. Linda Tuhiwai Smith states that for many Māori women there are no words to express what is “down there” (L. Smith, personal communication, June 8, 2010). After almost two centuries of colonial contact, many Māori women shuffle around language about their reproductive bodies, in complete contrast to our ancestresses who celebrated their sexuality through compositions, many of which are still sung today.

CONCLUSION

Our tipuna regarded menstruation as a sacred and ancient river, carrying ancestors and descendents and connecting us to our atua. Menstruation was a time of rest and nurturance in honor of the continuity of life. Tikanga surrounding menstruation bonded the genders through a mutual understanding and respect. It also bound the generations through ceremonies of reverence and celebration.

Reclaiming stories that reflect the power of Māori girls’ and women’s reproductive bodies is not a women’s issue: it’s a kaupapa Maori issue and it’s a whānau issue, because menstrual blood represents our continuity and our inter-connections. To speak of the blood as paru desecrates those connections and attempts to sever that continuity with language couched in the politics of cultural extermination and colonial conquest.

Reclaiming, reconstructing and re-envisioning stories and ceremonies about menstruation is ultimately about decolonisation of a fundamental site—whakapapa—our connections to one another, to our atua and to our spiritual traditions. Profound transformation happens, as my father would say, not in people’s heads but people’s hearts. Celebrating our daughters, our nieces and mokopuna, when their time comes; teaching our sons and nephews to know and to nurture them; reclaiming language; and continuing to assert the power to tell the stories about our own bodies, are all acts that will bring transformation and decolonisation to the site of menstruation. And for our men, facilitating transformation and decolonisation

here means grabbing the vacuum cleaner and stirring that pot of kai when women are in our time of power!

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VIOLENCE AND THE DISTORTION OF TIKANGA

Mereana Pitman

Rau rangatira mā, e kui mā, e koro mā, tēnā koutou katoa. E ngā kaiwhakahaere, e ngā kaiāwhina, e ngā hoa, e ngā whanaunga, tēnei te mihi atu ki a tātou katoa. Kia ora tātou.

Ko Whakapunaki te maunga.

Ko Wairoa Hōpūpū Hōnengenenge Mātangi Rau te awa.

Ko Ngāti Kuripakiaka te hapū.

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi.

Ko Takitimu te waka.

I would like to mihi to all the speakers before me, and especially to Ngāhuia. As she was speaking, I went back on a journey through my own life, through the same things that have come up for me as a woman, and as a mother and grandmother as well. It's so massive to hear that reclamation and that redefining back to how things should be. I also want to acknowledge Moana, who asked me to speak today. I want to thank him for all those kōrero we've had about our people, and particularly for his insights into how colonisation has affected our people.

I also want to pay my respects to three women: my mother who gave birth to me, Ritihia, and who continues to support me; my mother who cared for me as a baby, Pani Winitana; and my partner, Megan, who has spent 21 years living with me and who died last year. Megan supported me and the basis of this kōrero is something that she did for me. Up until I met Megan, I was a Māori activist: I roamed around all over the place, I went with hundreds of people and did hundreds of things. Then I met her, and the first thing she did was buy us a house. And I never knew before then the importance of that creation of our space. Because we were two women living together, that space became absolutely necessary for our safety; it was our space. So I want to thank Megan for that as well, and I miss her heaps.

My kōrero looks at colonisation, the ultimate act of violence, and how it has distorted tikanga. It also looks at what some Māori women have done as a result of that distortion. I've worked in family violence for a long time: next year it'll be 30 years. I haven't been doing this work all the time, because I'd go crazy, but on and off throughout the past 30 years I have worked in family violence. I have worked mostly with women but for a long period of time, about 10 years, I have also worked with men. During the last 5 years my work has been exclusively with men. I had to really pull out of myself to go and work with men. I didn't like men very much, not because I was gay, but because I found them really brutal and I didn't want to have anything to do with that brutality. I'd worked with women for a long time, and all I had heard was stories about that brutality.

I worked in prisons for a long time, with Te Miringa Hohaia. We went into Rimutaka, New Plymouth and Mangaroa prisons, and worked with Māori men. It was under the guise of parenting, but it was really about liberation. During the last 5 years I've worked with men at a place called Dove Hawkes Bay. That probably has been, for me, some of the best work that I've ever done because it made me see Māori men very differently. I realise that colonisation and the violence that has ensued from colonisation has distorted their beings, their souls, their spirits in a way that's pretty different to women. While both Māori men and Māori women have been colonised, we have done quite different things with that colonisation.

When I first began in this work, I didn't have all the dots joined. I saw the violence as being the actions of an individual. I thought that the problem was all about an individual wielding power and control over another individual. It was a man–woman thing, a relationship thing, and all they had to do was change

the way that they behaved and it'd be okay. I never saw it in its historical context. So, like all good counsellors and practitioners, I went off to treat the problem and the behaviour.

It was not until I'd been working in violence and abuse for a very long time that I came to understand that what I was working with was not just an individual who was sad, mad or bad. Rather, I was working with a whole—I was working with a person who had a whakapapa, I was working with a person who had been brought up by people who loved him, I was working with a person who had his own stories and I was working with someone who was a human being. What he had done to his wahine wasn't human: he had dehumanised her. Many times I worked with men who had dehumanised their women, who had committed rape, who had committed incest on their families, had beaten women, had tortured women, tortured children, beaten their mothers and their elders. But when I started to see the whole story, the story of the violence became lined up with everything else.

I came to understand that our people were suffering from generations of dispossession and marginalisation. It's been an amazing insight into how Māori men think. What I've often seen is men not connected anymore, men wanting to be white, men wanting power and control, men having no mana, men having less mana than women in society. And what I figured out is that when Māori men have no mana outside the home—when they don't have a job, when they don't have a way forward, when there's nothing out there that reflects who they are, or what is good about them or where they have come from—then of course it's going to get violent at home. Of course it's going to get violent at home because that's the only place where you're somebody. Even if you're a creep, it's still the only place where you're somebody, because you're somebody's father, somebody's son, somebody's tāne, somebody's lover, somebody's partner. You have power and control in that little space. Out there you may have nothing, but in here you have heaps.

What's more, the self-hatred that we have learnt from colonisation, we have learnt to dish out to each other. We are a people who don't go out there and attack the enemy—we beat each other up. We have conferences and we talk about how we might like to go out there and beat the enemy. We sit and strategise

for hours about how we can beat them but actually what we do, most of the time, is we internalise it and we take it out on ourselves. We layer it, we layer our pain. One of the things that I know about working with our people is that our violence against each other is intergenerational. There are red flags all the way through our history. From the time that they moved onto the land and began to take from us, we began to turn on each other.

I want to talk about the holy trinity—I used to call it the wedge of colonisation, but I've taken to calling it the holy trinity. I am not referring to the father, the son and the holy ghost, but rather to the church, the state and private enterprise. When the holy trinity arrived in Aotearoa with their agenda of colonisation, it had already been formalised as a process over a period of some 600 years. So when they arrived here they knew exactly what to do and how to do it. They moved in and immediately began to dispossess our people. They split the links between ourselves and our culture. They split the links to the land, to each other, and to those things that had fed and nurtured us for years. They cut all those links off. I realise that the more colonisation impacted on our people, the more pain became internalised, the more self-hatred there was, and the more we turned on each other. That's the thing about invasion and colonisation, it is an invasion of the mind, of the body, of the soul and the spirit, and it spreads itself across generations.

People have said to me, "Oh Mereana, you're always going on about that stuff, colonisation is finished". Well let me tell you, for those of you who think we're living in post-colonial times, we are not. Colonisation is just as pervasive now as it was when they first came. And it still affects the mind, the body, the soul and the spirit of our people. And it still comes across generationally. I work with men and women who are now the fifth and sixth generation of their family who were not born with their spirit inside them, because five or six generations ago, the coloniser came along and smashed it out of them. I see women today who give birth to babies who are not inside themselves, because that's what colonisation does. It forces us to leave ourselves, and the only thing left inside is hatred. And if we have no place to express that hatred, we internalise it. That's why places like this are really important because we can come here and we can at least kōrero to each other about it. Colonisation

forces our people to stop seeing one another, to stop saying things to one another. It forced us to stop helping one another. We began to judge one another.

My family, on one side, is Ropata Wahawaha. In some respects, although I'd like to dismiss this at times (and I think that Monty Soutar has had a good stab at it), Ropata Wahawaha is regarded as the ultimate kūpapa, the ultimate "friendly". And on the other side is my great-grandfather, Wiremu Kaimoana Wirihana. He was staunch Ringatū, a rebel. So we grew up with what I call a kind of cultural schizophrenia. When we are in Tūhoe, we have learnt to never talk about Ropata Wahawaha. When we are in Ngāti Porou, we never talk about Te Kooti. And when I'm in Ngāi Tāmanuhiri, with my mother's other people, we don't talk about anything if we can help it. What has happened is that we've learnt to judge one other, and not according to our own tikanga. The coloniser made us turn on one other: the good Māoris versus the bad Māoris; the friendly Māoris versus the rebel Māoris; the believers versus the non-believers. We turned away from each other and we separated from each other.

Colonisation is an extremely violent process. There's nothing nice about colonisation. From day one, what the coloniser wanted was to separate us from our lands, our resources and from each other. And just to ensure that colonisation is really effective, there has been, since Pākehā arrived, a constant state of redefining who and what we are and what we should be.

When I went to New York in 1998 to do some work at the UN, I had to get a name tag. I was asked "where are you from lady?" and I said, "I'm Ngāti Kahungunu and I'm from Aotearoa". The man looked at me and he went, "I know you, you an Australian" and I said, "No, I'm Ngāti Kahungunu and I'm from Aotearoa". "I know you, you a New Zealander". If there is something that I hate more than anything in my life, it is to be called a New Zealander. I am not a New Zealander. I said "No, I'm not. I'm Ngāti Kahungunu and I come from Aotearoa". "I know who you are, you a Māori!" "I'm Ngāti Kahungunu! And I'm from Aotearoa!" I eventually got a little tag that said "Mereana Pitman, Ngāti Kahungunu, Aotearoa". One of the things that I've learnt to do is to define myself because the coloniser redefined everything about us and gave us labels: "The Māoris." "The New Zealanders". "The

Ngātis." One of the disturbing things that I find about my own people is that we're not saying "Ngāti" any more, we're not talking about the people. Instead, we talk about the tupuna, Kahungunu: "Kia ora, I'm Tūhoe, I'm Tūwharetoa, I'm Kahungunu" and so on. I'm not descended from the man, I'm descended from the people, I'm Ngāti Kahungunu.

Defining who you are is important. We must reclaim the right to define ourselves because it's that constant redefining of us by the coloniser that causes schizophrenia, confusion and separation from each other. Through the institutions of colonisation—the churches, the state and the military, and now the media—the roles and responsibilities that we have as Māori women, as Māori men, as tangata whenua, as hapū and as whānau have been redefined. Once those roles and responsibilities, especially of women, had been marginalised, denied and modified then tikanga was forced to change as well.

So colonisation has done all of that to us, and I see it every week. When I work with our people I see it all the time. I work with young men and women, and some of them have nothing. They've got no-one to manaaki them. I say to them, "where's your mother?" "At the pub." "Not here." There's a whole group of people out there, our people, who are not making it, who have been smacked in the head by generations of colonisation and who aren't going to recover. It's alright for us, we're all matatau about everything! If you're from generations of violence and abuse, and never born into the spirit of being who you are, and not knowing and not belonging, then how do you know where to go and what to do? How do you know what to reclaim or how to reclaim it?

In 1492 when the Catholic Church began to actively promote colonisation, they invented an edict giving themselves permission from God to colonise. They said, "it is our laudable duty to God to go out to the four corners of the world and bring the natives under the tenets of western civilisation". So that gave private enterprise the right to go out and rape the lands. History shows that they spread out around the world and that indigenous people were killed in their millions. That was one of the things that struck me about Ngāhūia's kōrero this morning—6 million women were burnt at the stake, and mostly in the Catholic church as well.

So they gave themselves permission from God to

colonise. All violence needs an excuse to exist. Violence cannot exist in a vacuum. We need to invent it. I need to convince you that you need a smack around the ears. It is the same with colonisation, they needed to invent an excuse, so they gave themselves permission from God to go out and bring us in. They began to divide the world, as I said, into good–bad, believer–non-believer, men–women. Most importantly, they began to create different spaces for women and children, separate from men and often separate from each other. It was no different when they came here, they managed to convince Māori men that they had the right to contain and define the role of Māori women. One of the things that Moana and I have talked about a lot is that I wish he would write a book about the colonisation of Māori men. I think it would be a very different book to one written about the colonisation of the people. I say this because it's my observation, from working with men, that some of them took to colonisation like ducks to water. Māori men began to define the role of women and children. They began to contain their own women.

I got this tā moko done after my partner died, and my mother has just given me permission to do my moko kauae. It's been a bit of an arduous journey. She and I have made two trips to Ngāi Tāmanuhiri to take photographs of my kuia, Horiwia Te Ihu Rakau Kaimoana. In the first photographs I took of her, the moko kauae was quite faded. When we reproduced the photograph it didn't come through very well, but in this photograph she is in a cloak and she is standing beside my Pākehā tupuna, James Wilson. My cousin Trina told me that there was another photograph of the old lady up in our whare, so I went back to take another photograph of her. In this photograph she's standing behind James Wilson. She's got a Pākehā dress on and she looks really stern. I said to Mum, "she looks really stern" and Mum said to me, "if I was wearing that, I'd look pretty stern as well". And so I had a closer look. I took a photograph and when we blew it up, I saw that she's wearing a whale bone corset and she's wearing one of those high necked collars. I thought, yeah, if I had to wear that, I would look stern too. But what struck me was that change in her, that moulding of her into this other person, through the clothing that she wore.

So as the relationship between Māori men and Pākehā men developed, Pākehā men didn't have

to mould Māori women any more because Māori men took over that role anyway. And Māori women became the hand maidens of Māori men for many years. A good woman was one who got married in a church, who served God and man, and who, most importantly of all, knew her place. That has been the role since the coloniser arrived: to interpret what the coloniser wanted and how the coloniser wanted it.

I've often wondered what the attraction was or is between the coloniser and Māori men. I do know that the impact of colonisation for Māori men has been vastly different to that experienced by Māori women. I constantly see Māori men courting, using, acquiescing in and clamouring for the coloniser's power. On my way here I was listening to Maanu Paul, on one side, insisting that the Prime Minister has to speak to the New Zealand Māori Council. On the other side, I was listening to John Key saying, "I'm not going to speak to the New Zealand Māori Council about the water, I'm going to speak to the iwi leaders forum". And I thought, we're done and dusted then, John, because if there is a group of men who will acquiesce at the drop of a hat, it's the iwi leaders forum. And I'm really serious about this, because that's what we constantly have to watch, our men acquiescing.

The Crown constructed the iwi leaders forum, the people didn't. Rūnanga were constructed by the Crown as a convenience for the Crown, and what I see is that our men have taken that role. What is that relationship about? Is it that they want that power? Are they captured by the power? What is it that they are captured by? Do they want to be like "them"? I don't know. But that's what I see, the courting, the being used, the acquiescing, being the negotiator, being the one in the middle—telling John Key what's good for me. And yet: ki tā te wāhanga tuarua o Te Tiriti o Waitangi, ki ngā rangatira ki ngā hapū te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou whenua, ō rātou kāinga, me ō rātou taonga katoa. To the people of the hapū goes the sovereignty, not to the iwi leaders forum, not to the men.

If we were to look at who is upholding tikanga now, it's actually the women. The men turn up, sometimes with their shoes on in the whare, to formally welcome everybody, and then they disappear. You know, at home there are very few men who come and work in the kitchen any more. The back is run by women. The

men turn up, they sit on the paepae, they welcome everybody, and then they go. The only fortunate thing about that is that now I can kill a cow, a pig and a sheep.

I do know that the violence against Māori women increases when Māori men's power has been diminished or marginalised by white men. A loss of Māori men's power in the community, in the world, in society, manifests itself in the home because it is the only place where they have a sense of mana—no matter how distorted that may be. For women this has brought a desire to reclaim tikanga in our own image. The violence has forced us to create spaces that are safe from men. I have been in the Women's Refuge movement for almost 26 years. I've been the chair of the Women's Refuge movement twice. What is a women's refuge, what is a safe house, what are rape crisis centres? What do they have in common? They were all created to keep women and children safe from the violence of the men.

And in the creation of that space, we have had to redefine tikanga Māori. We can define our own relationships in these spaces. Our homes become our castles. And I suppose that's what I want to thank Megan for. We can care for each other without condemnation. We can mourn and celebrate without being ashamed. We can say what we want to each other without fear of being silenced. We can wear what we want, and it's not black, and it's not a dress—not in my house anyway! We are not moulded in these places. We can host without a fear of being judged, we can entertain without a fear of being compared, we can pray without the fear of being ridiculed, or put in our place, or usurped. I cannot count the number of men who have come to stand in front of me and do karakia, and I think that they probably invented the word "boring" as well.

The creation of those safe spaces from the coloniser, from the men, provides a place where we can find our place again with each other. We can define our own boundaries, but most of all we can be Māori and we can be women. That is about reclaiming our tikanga. If colonisation and the ensuing violence has created the distortion, then we as women want and need to reclaim our own truths. We need those spaces and we've had to take those spaces. And no matter what happens out there, we will always define what tikanga

is for ourselves, based on our experiences and our history.

I just want to finish by quoting one of my favourite philosophers, Paulo Freire:

You cannot change the world. What you can do is change your world, and in doing so the world must adjust to the changes that you make.

Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, kia ora tātou katoa.

Leonie Pihama

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Firstly, it is important to acknowledge the presentations yesterday and the contribution everyone has made to engaging with this idea of “Changing Worlds, Changing Tikanga”, from the beginning of the day at the pōwhiri through the range of great speakers who presented their whakaaro and reflections on the place and role and changing face of tikanga within their whānau, hapū, iwi and mahi. I thank the organisers for bringing this kaupapa to a hui like this.

I want to begin my kōrero by introducing a discussion of historical trauma. It has direct relevance to what we have been talking about, in that if we are seeking to engage in a process of changing tikanga, then it is necessary for us to think about the tikanga that we currently draw upon and how that has come to be. Last year I was honoured to be hosted by the Indigenous Wellness Research Institute (IWRI) at the University of Washington as an Indigenous Fulbright Scholar. IWRI has a strong focus on historical trauma and its impact on the wellbeing of indigenous peoples. During that time I heard many discussions about historical trauma and the ways in which traumatic events impact and influence native peoples’ expressions and practices of “Original Instructions”. Original Instructions is a notion that we can relate to as indigenous peoples, and which we would articulate through our own cultural ways of being within frameworks of kaupapa and tikanga.

Karina Walters referred to historical trauma as follows:

When I am talking about historical trauma I am talking about massive cataclysmic events that target a collective. I am not talking about single event discriminatory experiences that are between one or two people but a whole group of people or community that is targeted. In our communities we talk about how this trauma is transmitted over generations so I may not have experienced the Trail of Tears, my great grandparents did so therefore what aspects of that trauma do I still carry in my history to this day ... One of the things that’s really hard to distinguish around historical trauma research is how we think about historical trauma as a factor. Some people talk about historical trauma as an ideological factor, as a causal factor, so we look at things like historically traumatic events causing poor health outcomes. Other folks talk about historical trauma itself as an actual outcome in terms of things like historical trauma response or a native specific ways of manifesting what I call colonial trauma response and I will talk a bit more about that. Historical trauma can also be conceptualized as a mechanism or a pathway by which trauma is transmitted. Some researchers have talked about this through storytelling in families or sharing survival stories, and things like that. And in native communities we are also doing some research looking at proximal factors related to historical trauma such as historical trauma loss, unresolved grief and mourning that we still carry around for significant losses that our communities endured. (Walters, 2010)

The development of historical trauma theory and interventions have been articulated through the experiences of holocaust survivors and their descendants. It is clear however that the research and literature, whilst relevant to indigenous peoples, is

limited in its applicability to engaging contemporary issues that derive from our wider historical experiences of colonisation and invasion. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart locates social issues rising from historical trauma within the construct of oppression and the “unresolved grief across generations” (1999, p. 60). A key element of historical trauma is that of “historical disenfranchised grief”, that is, unresolved grief that has been denied, unacknowledged and un-mourned (ibid). She writes:

We suggest the concept of disenfranchised grief facilitates the explanation of historical unresolved grief among American Indians. The historical legacy denied cultural grieving practices, resulting in multigenerational unresolved grief. Grief from traumatic deaths following the Wounded Knee Massacre and boarding school placement, for example, may have been inhibited both intrapsychically with shame as well as societally disenfranchised through the prohibition of ceremonial grieving practices. Further, European American culture legitimizes grief only for immediate nuclear family in the current generation. This may also serve to disenfranchise the grief of Native people over the loss of ancestors and extended kin as well as animal relatives and traditional language, songs, and dances. (1999, p. 67)

Brave Heart has been working in the area of historical and intergenerational trauma for over thirty years and has developed indigenous understandings and models for dealing with cumulative trauma that has for Native American nations spanned over 500 years since the colonial invasion of Great Turtle Island (Brave Heart, 1995, 1998, 1999, 2000; Duran and Duran, 1995). Her development of historical trauma theory in 1988 and her later writing with Bonnie Duran and Eduardo Duran (1995) provide insightful understandings of the ways in which historical trauma manifests itself through generations and impacts in multiple ways upon the lives of many indigenous peoples.

The significance of this opening is that it highlights how major historical traumatic events such as those discussed with historical trauma theory impact upon and redefine our ways of being, collectively and individually. Tessa Evans-Campbell (2008) argues that, whilst native communities have shown a strength and resilience in light of colonisation and

associated historical trauma, there has been a huge toll. As such those events can impact significantly upon our ability to sustain and practice elements of our tikanga. Such events can interrupt and distort our understandings of who we are as a people, our values, our ways of being and relating, our tikanga.

For the past few days I have been spending time with one of my twin sons, Te Aho o Te Rangi and his partner, Awhina, in Porirua as they prepare for the arrival of their first son and my first mokopuna in the next few days. I have 6 tamariki, 3 tamatāne, 3 tamāhine, so I am used to being a mama, but it is without doubt a new experience for me to build to a nanny role within our whānau. The kaupapa of this hui fits entirely with that process, of putting in place ways of being for future generations.

I chose the broad title for this kōrero “Te Ao Hurihuri” because it is about locating ourselves in this changing world, in this turning world, in this world where change is a part of every part of our lives and the lives of our tamariki and mokopuna. We live in a world where change is inevitable, in fact it is often said that change is the only thing that we can be truly certain of. It may not be the change we desire or even change that we expected, it can be change that happens gradually over time or that gets dropped on you without warning. What we know is that all forms of change, planned or unplanned, create a myriad of reactions and responses.

When I think of Te Ao Hurihuri, I think of those things that change around us as people. I think of Rangimarie Rose Pere and her kōrero about the concepts that underpin A as female and O as male, that AO is about both elements being a part of who we are, that we live in balance not only with all things that share the world within which we live, but also that we have an inherent balance within ourselves.

Te Ao Hurihuri then reaches beyond the physical changes that happen in our material lives and take us to cultural, political and spiritual domains that are a part of this world. Many of our people argue there is a fundamental value of balance that is embedded in our world, in our AO that has existed since time immemorial. It is that which must be restored when changes happen that disrupt that balance.

Mereana Pitman spoke yesterday of the impact of colonisation and the distortion of our understandings, of our access to knowledge, to mātauranga, to whānau,

manaakitanga, whenua, atua, moana and the violence that derives from that process of interruption. She is giving us clear messages about how those distortions throw us out of balance, with ourselves, with our whānau, with our relationships, and that those things happen in a wider context and are not solely about individual behaviours.

The context we are in now of Te Ao Hurihuri, of a changing world, is not necessarily one our tūpuna expected or desired. But it is here and we must find ways to deal with what we have swirling around us. This changing world may or may not be the world we wish to have for our tamariki and mokopuna. Within Te Ao Hurihuri, we should not assume that, just because the world has changed, there are things that cannot be changed back. Saying we have to deal with our context does not mean we have to accept it as a taken for granted way of being. It does not mean we have to accept those that say “this is reality just get on with it”. There is much too much at stake.

We were reminded during the pōwhiri yesterday of the complications and contradictions inherent within our daily practices of tikanga. We heard challenges to the notion that there is a space for Māori women to stand, we heard kōrero of kawa ā-iwi, tikanga ā-iwi. It was emphasised that what is the way for some iwi is not necessarily the way for others. Whatarangi Winiata emphasised yesterday that all tikanga happens within context. The discussion within the whaikōrero that raised the positioning of Māori women as kaikōrero occurred in a context where a Pākehā man was actively supported to speak.

So if tikanga operates within a context, and as we have heard here at the hui, in relationship to the kaupapa at hand, then there is clearly an ability for tikanga to be flexible, and adaptable, and changeable. The question that arises then is who has the power to determine that change? If within a ritual context of pōwhiri, Pākehā men can be provided space to have voice, why then are our women so fervently denied that space? When we seek to create a context where we live our tikanga, where we express tikanga in our practices in a daily way, we also recognise that some changes are often accommodated in our practices when others are not. The question of Māori women speaking through whaikōrero on the marae is one that makes many of us nervous and ambivalent. It may be because, as Ani Mikaere indicated yesterday,

the marae is a space where we believe our tikanga is intact and untampered with by colonialism. It may be, as Mereana Pitman indicated, that Māori men believe that is a place where they need to ensure their mana is upheld. Whatever the reason, whatever the tikanga, it cannot be shifted to make space for Pākehā, when in that same space it is restricted for our women. There are stories of our tūpuna whaea who stood in the face of much male resistance. Mihi Kotukutuku and Whaea McClutchie are powerful examples to Māori women.

Tikanga for me is about those practices and ways of being that are tika, that are correct, for the kaupapa, the context, the time. Tikanga is not static. Is not set in concrete, but is flexible and open for discussion. However, that discussion must be in our control, must be determined by us, must be controlled by us.

My observation is that many of the changes that have been undertaken within our tikanga, and our kawa, have been not determined by our kaupapa or our worldviews, but have been influenced and informed by distorted ideas that have come with colonisation. How we see ourselves, how we see each other, how we see relationships, have all been disrupted in many ways, and in order to seek change we must have access to understanding how those disruptions have occurred, whose interests are served by them, who has the power to determine and control them and how those have created distorted understandings, that are passed down intergenerationally. I have talked about this before, and Ngāhuia talked yesterday, of the ways in which colonial beliefs are reproduced by our own and become presented as “fact”, or even worse as “tikanga”.

When I think of the idea of changing tikanga, within a changing world, I think of the work that Ani has done in her writings and the critique of the multiple ways in which our tikanga has been distorted and reconstructed in ways that bring entirely different, colonial meanings to how we understand or conceptualise our selves, our reo, our tikanga. When I think of changing tikanga, my desire is that changes will be about re-grounding ourselves in what is tika for us and what will restore the balance.

The idea of “changing tikanga” has tended to be one that has been framed by those who hold dominant control or power positions from which they can assert change. For Māori women this has

had incredibly disturbing results. Ani, Ngāhuia and Mereana have all given clear analyses of the ways in which the unbalancing and distortion of tikanga has violent impacts on our people.

Much of that change has been derived from the words of white ethnographers like Elsdon Best, who described our relationships in completely contradictory and derogatory ways:

As in most other barbaric lands, we find that women were looked upon here as being inferior to men. At the same time, a woman endowed with initiative could acquire influence, and some of superior families have attained commanding positions. Children possessed an interest in land derived from both parents, so that added somewhat of dignity to the position of the women. Rank also was transmitted through both parents, and consanguineous relationship counted through both. On the whole, the Maori leaned to agnatic filiation, the male he possesses greater mana that does the female, for is not man descended directly from the gods, while woman had to be created from earth!

This quote provides us with just one example of the ways in which authors such as Best write in ways that are simultaneously contradictory and distorted, and in doing so create new understandings that give effect to an unbalancing of tikanga. The impact of such writing is significant.

The continued reconstruction of our relationships within Te Ao Māori continues to create and maintain a violence within and amongst our people. The colonial re-gendering of our roles within our whānau, hapū and iwi is one example of the distortions that come with the undermining of tikanga when that change is determined, defined, developed, controlled and undertaken through colonising processes.

The disruption of the balance within Te Ao Māori has been central to the oppression of our people. As an educationalist I know that the systemic impact of Pākehā schooling on our people began with the instigation of the first Mission school in Rangihoua in 1816 and has continued for close to 200 years. I want to talk about two examples of how tikanga has been distorted in planned and deliberate ways that have an ongoing effect upon our people.

Firstly, the reconstruction of whānau. Whānau has always been the building block of our people. It was not iwi rūnanga or corporations and, as Mereana

clearly pointed out yesterday, these entities are not of our making but have been created to serve the interests of successive governments. We have been convinced that we cannot make collective decisions or come to agreement unless we have a single entity, headed by a single chairperson, preferably a Māori man. It is reminiscent of the experiences of all indigenous nations and the colonisers' "take me to your leader" mentality.

We have been told that unless we fit their structures, they will not talk to us, because we can't get our act together and make decisions. So it doesn't surprise anyone that, in terms of wai, the government does not want any hui process. They want to find the right person to sign on the dotted line. That's not new. We need to have faith. We need to believe in our tikanga, in our kaupapa. We need to believe that the decisions we make must be tika, and for that to happen on such huge issues, we need to take our time and we must all be involved.

The issue of wai is not about if you have a river, or a dam on your river. It is not about one, two or three iwi saying yes to the Crown's offers about wai. This is not about shares, this is not about assets or property. This is about you and I. Ko wai koe! That is what this is about. Wai. Within our tikanga that means it is about us all. We are the walking embodiment of the wai that flows from our tūpuna. It is evident within our reo. Tupuna, mokopuna—puna—wai. So who gets to change that tikanga?

When we speak of hapū and iwi, we are speaking of whakapapa that flows from each of us. They are built upon the strength of whānau and the collectivity that comes with whānau joining together in particular ways. Through colonisation, and more recently through Treaty settlement processes, we have a privileging of iwi as the primary entity or, as the Crown stated in their fiscal envelope process, as "the largest natural grouping".

There has been an inversion of our society, where individuals within iwi now determine the pathways and wellbeing of all, rather than whānau collectively determining those processes through hapū and feeding in to the collective wellbeing of iwi.

That shift, that change in tikanga—as I would see it—has been a strategy of colonial imperialism since the early 1800s. When we explore the Mission and native schooling system, there were certain elements

of Te Ao Māori that were immediately under attack, the first being whānau and whanaungatanga. Very deliberate and determined policies and strategies were implemented to bring about the reorganisation of Māori society through a reconstruction of whānau and our roles and obligations to each other.

Mission and native schools were instrumental in the reduction of the roles of Māori women to those that reflected Pākehā colonial ways of being. The colonial schooling system is one example of a colonial institution established specifically to aid in the assimilation of Māori (Pihama 2001). The native schooling system was central to the development and entrenchment of discourses that promote the domestication of Māori women. The term domestication is used in a sense that encompasses both the impact of patriarchy, or male dominance, on Māori society and the diminishing of Māori women's status within our own communities. As a system founded on the ideological belief that Māori people required both civilising and christianising, the native schools were viewed as instrumental in bringing about the desired change. There are many, many examples of how colonial views of both civilising and christianising have been central in the reconstruction of our relationships, our tikanga, our worldviews. For example:

I feel anxious to train the children in industrial pursuits, especially in sheep farming and the management of cattle. Simply to fill the head with knowledge, without imparting industrious habits, would in my opinion, prove rather injurious than beneficial to the Maori race. Every boy educated in the school ought to leave it possessed also of a knowledge of the management of sheep and cattle, and of ploughing, reaping, mowing, sewing, &c. Unite education with industrial training; prepare the boy or girl for the position you expect them to fill in life, and under such management there is reason to believe that our exertions will not be thrown away; the schools will become centres for the promotion of Christianity and civilisation amongst the surrounding tribes. (Oatawhao School, 1862).

At the schools where a female teacher is employed the girls take lessons in sewing, also assisting in the master's house to bake and attend to other household duties, thus preparing them for a useful future. (Spencer, 1875, p. 2)

The re-gendering of roles, the assertion of male hierarchies, of women as domestic labour, of women as chattels, of asserting as Elsdon Best maintained that Māori women had "less mana", were central to the processes of colonisation. The belief systems of western colonial male dominance were at the forefront of all interactions with our people, and have been significant in processes of changing tikanga that have had violent consequences for our people. They were also contradictory.

The crediting of light to the male line, and of darkness to the female line, is quite in accordance with Māori views, forever in native myth and belief the female sex is given an inferior position. Woman is allied with misfortune and inferiority as among other barbaric races. The word Po is explained below, while ao denotes day, to dawn and as an adjective, bright. (Best, 1924, 33)

A remarkable feature in Māori life was the fact that women accompanied warlike raids and in a few cases are said to have been energetic fighters. (Best, 1924, 129)

Ani spoke yesterday of the impact of Christianity and western religious beliefs on how we come to understand ourselves. That impact is clear. In a conservative Christian paradigm, Women and men, girls and boys, are not only different biologically but are ranked in a god-given order, and therefore a key thrust of colonisation was to ensure our people would be socialised appropriately in to "natural" roles in order to ensure certain societal ways of being.

To change the "natural" order of things is to undermine the fabric of society. The construction and maintenance of gender hierarchies are dependent upon the acceptance of such ideological assertions as "natural" and necessary. The symbolism of "Father God" within Judeo-Christian beliefs has been central in asserting the validity of patriarchy (Daly, 1973, p. 13).

Quite simply such beliefs have entrenched notions of God as singular, God as male, God as ruling, God as natural, God as white. These beliefs create a state that then functions to maintain the dominance of men as godlike and the subordination of women. The subordination of women is presented to us as a part of a divine and "natural" order. Those beliefs have also led to moves to "clean us up", to stop us having control over things like our relationships, our sexuality, our

rituals. We have disconnected from our knowledge of ourselves. We have shifted from being a people who speak freely of our sexuality. Ngāhuia's presentation is clear.

We hear that kōrero of Hinenuitēpō, but it stops at the death of Māui and an assumption that Māui did not achieve immortality, when in fact that was the outcome of the blood that flowed from Hinenuitēpō—it was a process of fertility, so we become immortal not through our individual lives going on forever, but through our mokopuna and their mokopuna.

I want to return to the notion of educating history—that is history that educates for the future wellbeing of our tamariki and mokopuna. We have the sources at our fingertips. We have pūrākau, mōteatea, whakataukī, kōrero tawhito. These are rich and powerful expressions of how tikanga works for us, providing us with pathways to act and behave and “live as Māori” in our daily lives.

Hinenuitēpō and Māui have jointly gifted us immortality, now we must live it in a way that ensures our mokopuna know that to live as Māori is to live tikanga.

Tēnā koutou katoa.

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IT'S ABOUT WHĀNAU—OPPRESSION, SEXUALITY, AND MANA

Kim McBreen

Waitaha, Kāti Māmoe, Ngāi Tahu

INTRODUCTION

I need to start by talking about who I am, and why this is important to me.

I was adopted at birth by my Pākehā parents, who were guaranteed by the social worker that I was a Pākehā baby, so I grew up entirely in te ao Pākehā. People often asked if I was Māori, and all I could say was, “I don’t know”. When I was 20, I got my original birth certificate with my mother’s name on it, and I tracked her down and met her. She is Pākehā. She and my birth father were kids when they met; they didn’t know each other for long, and he was gone by the time I was born. She gave me his name and a decade-old address in Australia for him. It took me another 10 or so years before I committed to finding him, which I did because I wanted to have children. I want my children to know their whakapapa, whatever it may turn out to be. I eventually found him, and on his side, I’m from Ngāi Tahu.

I’d already been a bit involved in rūpū Māori when I was at university, but I’d been uncommitted, because I hadn’t known for sure whether I had whakapapa Māori. Finding out that I did meant an obligation to find out more. I needed to find my place, if any future children of mine were going to be comfortable. I committed to meet my father’s whānau, and to find out as much as I could about us and Ngāi Tahu, and where I fit in. That went well, but some other stuff was going on that I couldn’t ignore.

At the time I was doing Te Ātaarangi, and it was obvious that my girlfriend and I made a couple of people uncomfortable just by being in class. Student whakaari were at times openly mocking of gay or camp behaviour. When I came to Te Wānanga o Raukawa a year later, again, I saw what I would say

was open hostility to sexualities other than heterosexual. For whatever reason, some people must have assumed I was heterosexual, and talked to me about how disgusting homosexuality was, and a kaiako talked in class about homosexuality as if it was worse than incest. It was only a few people, but it got my attention.

I’m not suggesting that homophobia is unique to Māori. My Pākehā parents were openly homophobic until a year or so after I came out to them. I’ve been abused walking down the street, had eggs thrown at me, and been chased by cars for holding hands with my girlfriend. At university it wasn’t uncommon to read fantasies about killing gays or lesbians in the letters to the student newspaper. So, by the time I came to Te Wānanga o Raukawa, homophobia was not a new experience to me. But these incidents got me wondering. I’d spent years finding a place for myself in te ao Pākehā—would there be a place for me in te ao Māori? Would that be somewhere I could feel comfortable—as someone who was raised Pākehā, for whom mātauranga Māori is really new, and who is queer. Was it worth trying to find a place here? In the same way that many of us have had to act Pākehā to fit into the colonising culture, was I going to have to act straight to fit into te ao Māori? Would there be somewhere that could accept all of me?

This was a question in the back of my mind when I was a student in Ahunga Tikanga classes, listening to Ani Mikaere, Moana Jackson and Leah Whiu saying lovely stuff about whakapapa, ngā kaupapa, inclusion and balance. Everything they said made sense and sounded great, but at the same time I was getting other messages from other places, messages which sounded pretty similar to my experience in Pākehā culture, about excluding people who are different, about disgust and fear of sexual difference in particular. What was pono? Was there space for

me in te ao Māori?

That is where the question started for me, and answering it has taken me in a few different directions. My understanding of this hui is that it is about making sure our tikanga are true to ngā kaupapa mai rā anō, keeping them relevant and adaptive. Hopefully, by the end of this talk, you'll have some ideas about sexuality and tikanga that adequately reflect our kaupapa.

Before I go on, I want to define two words that I will use in this talk.

Queer (not kuia): a label for those of us who don't think well-defined boxes are a helpful way to think about gender or sexuality. My partner pointed out that it's hard to hear the difference between queer and kuia. In this talk, I might describe myself as queer, I am not claiming to be a kuia.

Homophobia: the belief that heterosexuality is normal and healthy, and that anything else is wrong, depraved, unhealthy or dangerous.

Colonisation = oppression = trauma

Oppression is trauma. Every form of inequity has a traumatic impact on the psychology, emotionality and spirituality of the oppressed. (Akili, 2011)

When Yolo Akili says oppression is trauma, he is not saying anything we don't already know about the effect of oppression on our wairua, but I thought this was a good place to start, because we can agree on it.

We can agree on it, because we live with the ongoing effects of colonisation. We know that colonisation is oppression, and we know the trauma of that oppression in our communities and in our lives. Part of the oppression is in the acts of the colonisers—taking our land, spreading diseases, imprisoning us, outlawing our ways of being. The oppression is also perpetrated by the messages that they say about us to justify and minimise their crimes against us.

Many of us have internalised the messages that we have heard, and we know that many of our young people will internalise the messages they hear—that Māori are physical and emotional, meaning we aren't smart enough to look after ourselves or our whenua; that we aren't moral like the colonisers; that we are violent and overly sexual. Politicians and the media go out of their way to find stories of Māori failure, especially those that show us as naive, immoral and out of control.

We know the effects of this oppression: there is massive pressure to conform to the dominant, colonising values. Some of us do eventually conform, while others can't or won't. For all of us, whether we conform or not, oppression tears at our wairua, the sense of self that should make us strong.

Like all indigenous peoples who are living through colonisation, Māori now have high rates of suicide as well as high-risk and anti-social behaviours. This is the effect of the trauma caused by the oppression of colonisation, it is an attack on our wairua. It leads to a whole bunch of outcomes that we all know and that I'm not going to go into—I think we can accept that colonisation is oppression, which is trauma. What I want to discuss now is the fact that, just as colonisation is very clearly oppression, so too is the repression of sexual diversity.

Sexual repression = oppression = trauma

What I'm calling sexual repression consists of acts and messages that say that sexual diversity is wrong—that anyone who isn't heterosexual is abnormal, deviant or immoral, and is somehow a threat to society, or to tikanga or family values, whatever those are. Clearly, that is about oppressing people, and it must therefore be an attack on their wairua.

When I was a child, we used words like faggot and lesbian before we had a clue what they meant, although we knew that they were something really bad. I don't know where we got these words from, but I don't remember anyone being told off for using them. Boys were mocked for being girly by adults and by other kids—there are so many words for boys who aren't appropriately masculine. Sexual or gender difference, being gay or camp, is the punchline of so many jokes. And most of us will internalise those messages. Whoever we grow up to be, these are really damaging and limiting messages. The effect is similar to colonial oppression—there is massive pressure on all of us to conform to the dominant heterosexual standard. Most of us try to do so, and for those of us who can't, if we internalise these messages, we will learn to hate ourselves.

I'm going to talk about shame, because I think it's important to understand what it's like to grow up in a culture that is terrified of sexual difference. I want you to think about a response to that culture which expresses our kaupapa. Should we buy

into homophobia? Should we allow ourselves to be silenced and timid? Or should we protect our tamariki and mokopuna?

When I think of my experience as a child, I don't remember any particular homophobic incidents, but just growing up in Pākehā culture in the 1970s and 80s was like soaking in homophobia. Everything told me that heterosexuality was normal and healthy, and that anything else was sick. I remember when homosexual law reform was going through parliament, there was lots of talk about how homosexuals were paedophiles and that law reform was opening the door to bestiality. There was all sorts of hateful fear mongering. My parents were saying this stuff too. I knew that homosexuality terrified people because something about it was so sick and disgusting.

Exactly the same hate came out 20 years later when parliament started talking about the Civil Unions bill, and we're seeing it again now with the Marriage Equality bill. Almost exactly the same words are being used. Whenever anyone tries to remove some anti-homosexual discrimination, we all get a massive dose of hate speech, which is particularly dangerous for children.

I heard all that in the mid 1980s when I was 11 or so, well before I was thinking about what sexuality meant to me. I already knew that something about me was different from other girls. I didn't know what it was, but I knew there was something wrong with the way I was with my friends and with boys. I was 14 when I started going out with girls, and then everything became much clearer—but it was also worse, because I knew what people thought of people like me. No-one could know, so I became secretive. I became physically self-conscious and reserved. I didn't touch anyone, especially not other girls, unless I absolutely had to. I wouldn't go near children. I had this facade of who I was, and it was completely unrelated to me and what I was feeling. For years, everything about me was fake and was about hiding this awful secret. I still carry some of that self-hatred, that expectation that people will be disgusted, or scared to let me be around their children. A lot of people I've talked to who aren't heterosexual relate to these feelings. (Hutchings & Aspin, 2007)

I know that for most children, first crushes are both exciting and terrifying, and coming into your sexuality is also exciting and terrifying. Ideally,

children can talk to their friends about it or, better still, their parents. People are excited when children start showing those signs.

For lots of young queer people, coming into your sexuality is just terrifying. It feels life threatening, and it actually is. By the age of 21, about a third of young people who are attracted to their own gender will have tried to kill themselves (Suicide Prevention Resource Centre, 2008; Fergusson, Horwood & Beautrais, 1999). The messages they hear about homosexuals are so clear and hateful that the thought of being one, or trying to live as one, is just too awful.

Why am I talking about this? My point isn't to bring you down—my point is that how we talk about sexuality or respond to homophobia isn't abstract or academic. This isn't a philosophical debate about rights or political views. This is about the survival of our children, just like fighting the racist environments in some of our schools is about survival. To bring it back to the kaupapa of this hui, our tikanga should be helping us to survive as Māori. It should not be killing us.

We give children messages about sexuality and gender in many ways. Teaching them to be ashamed, controlling how they behave as girls and boys, talking about heterosexuality as if it is the only normal option as opposed to just a common way of being, laughing at people who are different—none of this will make us heterosexual. All it does is make us scared of who we might be. It makes us all police our own behaviour. For those of us who can't be straight, it may teach us to hate ourselves, and make us scared to show ourselves to you. We may become secretive and isolated. It is an attack on our mana and our wairua. At best, it makes it harder for each of us to reach our potential, at worst, it is so effective that it kills us.

These messages are a form of cultural imperialism, just like colonisation. Those with more power are using it to suppress those with less. Those who are heterosexual are trying to impose their way of being over everyone else, sometimes with the power of the state, sometimes with the authority of a religious text, sometimes with nothing more than numerical dominance and the same self-righteousness that the colonisers wear. It's all the same.

When I was putting this together, I was reminded of Whatarangi Winiata's analysis of why Māori do poorly now compared to Pākehā (1995, p. 6). He

talks about all the ways that the Crown has on the one hand supported Pākehā ways of being, and on the other hand suppressed Māori ways of being, and the effect that this has had on the success, or otherwise, of Pākehā and Māori. He discusses the effects on how we each see each other, how we see ourselves, and the futures we are able to imagine for ourselves.

The racist practices that Whatarangi describes privilege a Pākehā way of being as normal and right, while pathologising Māori ways of being, and lead to the horrible statistics and health outcomes we all know. To me, this seems parallel to how heterosexual ways of being have been privileged by the Crown, by churches and eventually by our own communities and whānau, while at the same time other ways of being have been suppressed. This has meant that many young queer people struggle with who they will be and what their future will look like, for exactly the same reasons that young Māori often struggle with these questions (and it is likely that this is particularly true of young people who are both queer and Māori). Because almost everywhere we turn, it is being drummed into us that we are different, and lesser, and wrong—and we are then blamed for the inevitable outcomes.

As I've said, this is all true of Pākehā culture, but from my limited experience, and from talking to and reading about the experiences of other Māori, I think there are the same destructive attitudes and behaviours in many Māori communities. I would argue that there is a lack of leadership and willingness to talk about why. I'll talk about our leaders in a moment, but first I want to talk about our children.

HOMOPHOBIA AT SCHOOL

There are at least two places where our children should expect to feel safe—at home and at school. There is very little research that has been done on sexuality and health, and of the studies looking at youth, they almost all focus on school.

In a survey of New Zealand high school students, compared to students who identified as exclusively opposite-sex attracted, twice as many same-sex attracted students were afraid that someone would hurt or bother them at school, three times as many had stayed away from school because they were afraid someone would hurt or bother them, three times as many were bullied weekly at school, and 54 percent

had been physically assaulted in the last 12 months (compared with 42 percent of exclusively opposite sex attracted students); of the same-sex attracted students who were bullied, one third were bullied because they were perceived to be gay (Rossen, Lucassen, Denny, Robinson, 2009, p. 26). A US study suggests that not only is homophobic violence commonly experienced, a surprising number of people are perpetrating it—one in ten university students admit physical violence or threats against people they suspect of being homosexual, and one in four admit verbally abusing them (Franklin, 2000, pp. 339–362).

It is common for students to see their schools as poor at responding to any form of bullying (Carroll-Lind, 2009; Painter, 2009). Many schools aren't proactive about dealing with homophobic abuse. They don't talk positively about sexual diversity. They don't challenge ideas that heterosexuality is normal and everything else is deviant and wrong, or that people who are different deserve abuse and ridicule (Carroll-Lind, 2009; Painter, 2009). Often when homophobic abuse is happening schools won't address the real problem (Carroll-Lind, 2009). Schools might deal with the physical violence, but not the underlying attitude; they might deal with the perpetrator, but not the culture that allows bullying (Carroll-Lind, 2009). It's not uncommon for victims of homophobic abuse to be blamed for provoking the abuse by being homosexual (Carroll-Lind, 2009; Painter, 2009). Even in the face of ongoing physical violence to children because they are perceived to be homosexual, some schools will continue to claim that they provide a safe environment for their students (Kendall & Sidebotham, 2004, pp. 71–72). Some principals and boards refuse to see homophobic attitudes as something that they should be addressing in school (Painter, 2009, pp. 12, 20–21).

Whether we're talking about race or perceived sexuality or gender, when schools fail to challenge hatred of any sort, they give a clear message that it is okay, and that there is something wrong with the victims. Studies consistently show that these messages are associated with the physical, emotional and social harm that I've been talking about, the self hatred, the isolation and the suicide.¹

1 E.g. Suicide Prevention Resource Centre 2008 Suicide Risk and Prevention for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Youth (Education Development Center, Newton MA, USA), pp 19–28, and references therein; Ryan, C, D Huebner, R Diaz and J Sanchez 2009 "Family Rejection as a Predictor of Negative

I hope we can all agree that this is something we should be protecting our children from.

HOMOPHOBIA AT HOME

Much less is known about the effect of attitudes at home. The first study came out in 2009 (Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, Sanchez, 2009, pp. 346–352) and it gives clear indications of how whānau rejection, even in relatively subtle forms, can have a huge impact on the health of queer youth. The researchers interviewed young adults who had come out to at least one of their parents as an adolescent. From those interviews, they made a list of 51 rejecting behaviours—things like, if their parents ever blamed them for anti-gay mistreatment, if they were ever excluded from whānau activity because of their sexuality, if family members ever made disparaging comments about queer people in front of them, or verbally or physically abused them because of their sexuality.

Participants were assigned to groups based on whether they experienced few (0–11), some (more than 11 and up to half), or more than half of these behaviours. These groups turned out to be a good predictor of negative health outcomes, particularly for attempted suicide; over two thirds of those in the group who had experienced more than half the rejecting behaviours had attempted suicide, compared to one in five in the group with the least rejection.

This study only included young people who had come out to a parent during adolescence—you'd expect these people to have come from less homophobic homes than those of us who waited until we'd left home to tell our parents. So these results may be underestimating the effect of homophobic experiences at home. Reading this study really drove home to me how dangerous homophobic attitudes and behaviour can be.

I know I've been stressing the similarity between marginalising sexual or gender differences and the way that we are marginalised as Māori, but in the home there is a really big distinction. Most Māori children are raised by at least one Māori parent, and the family knows that their children are Māori. Māori parents know what it's like to be raised in a racist society, and may have some idea of how to

protect their children from the racism that they will encounter. Most Māori children probably feel pretty safe talking to their parents about racism that they see or hear, and asking for help understanding or dealing with it. However, almost all queer children are born to heterosexual parents, who have no idea what it's like to grow up queer in a homophobic society, and who don't know that their children will be queer. The parents of queer children may have no idea how to protect them from the messages they will get, or even that they need to. The parents may themselves be homophobic.

Many of our whānau are not safe places for queer children, and I'd argue that if they aren't safe for queer children, they aren't safe for any children. Not just because we can't know who our children will grow up to be, but also because hatred isn't safe for children—white children are endangered by growing up with racists, boys are endangered by growing up with misogynists, and heterosexual children are endangered by growing up with homophobes.

IS REPRESSION OF SEXUAL DIVERSITY TIKA?

I want to start with the question of whether or not sexual diversity is traditional. This is an impossible question, because the answer will depend on how far back we go, and who we ask. One of the themes through this hui has been the ways that our tikanga may become distorted or co-opted, so that some of us get the idea that something is traditional when it is clearly a relatively new development. The more useful question is whether or not something is consistent with what we know to be tika—based on kaupapa mai rā anō.

In class recently, Moana Jackson was talking to Ahunga Tikanga students about relationships of various sorts—a parent–child relationship, a relationship between workmates, or between institutions, or sexual partners—and how you know whether those relationships are tika. It seems obvious that the gender or sexuality of the people in those relationships is pretty much irrelevant to that question. If the relationships are based on mutual respect, manaakitanga and aroha, then they are tika, irrespective of anything else.

The question of whether heterosexuality is more tika than other ways of loving or relating or having sex with one other seems ridiculous to me. I can't

Health Outcomes in White and Latino Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Young Adults' *Pediatrics* 123, pp 346, 350–351, and references therein

imagine a kaupapa-based argument that justifies marginalising people based on who they are attracted to. I can't think of anything resembling kaupapa that would judge me as more or less depending on the gender of the people I love. Any attempt to reduce my mana based on who I sleep with is an insult to my whānau, my whakapapa and all my tūpuna. I cannot accept that as kaupapa or tika.

One of the comparisons that is often made between western culture and most indigenous cultures is that indigenous peoples know we are all different, and that those differences are not just valid, but potentially valuable. We don't need to feel better about ourselves by trying to dictate anyone else's tikanga—we just have to get our own stuff right for ourselves. I think this is relevant to how we think about other people's relationships.

I expect we all know when our wairua is healthy. We feel good, grounded, sure in who we are, safe. When I start focusing on what other people are doing wrong, I know I need to sort myself out. So I don't see how it can be tika to insult and demean people in healthy relationships because the set up of those relationships is different from what I would choose. If I'm judging other people like that, it's a pretty good sign that there's something going on with my own wairua that I need to address.

So if policing people's sexualities in this way isn't tikanga, where did it come from?

COLONISATION AND SEXUAL REPRESSION

We know the West is a seriously unhealthy culture. It forces itself on everyone else. It tries to stamp out difference. I don't know why it is so obsessed with who sleeps with whom, but it is, to a really bizarre extent.

When Europeans arrived here, they brought with them their fear and hatred of homosexuality. In English law at that time, homosexuality could be punished by hard labour or even death. It's only been 25 years since the New Zealand state got rid of the law that could imprison men for having consensual sex with other men.

When we look to our parents and grandparents for guidance on how to think about different sexualities, we need to remember that for generations we have lived under that strange legal system. Our parents

and grandparents, and their grandparents, have been educated in schools and churches based on western values. There are very few places to avoid the awful messages of that culture—remember that it called our tikanga primitive and violent, then told us that we needed to beat our children, that our men needed to dominate women and that we all needed to hate homosexuality.

Our parents or kaumātua may genuinely believe that there is something wrong with homosexuality. They may genuinely believe that it is traditional to stifle some people's ways of being. After a couple of hundred years of colonisers trying to shame us into rejecting our values and adopting theirs, that's hardly surprising. That's the reason it is so important that we have hui like these to talk about tikanga and kaupapa.

African-American activist and academic Angela Davis is clear about where she thinks homophobia comes from: "The roots of sexism and homophobia are found in the same economic and political institutions that serve as the foundation of racism in this country." (1989, p.12). She is talking about the US, but it's equally true here—it's the desire to force what makes sense to me onto everyone else. As I said earlier, whether we are talking about homophobia, sexism, or racism, it's all about cultural imperialism.

HETEROPATRIARCHY AND HOMOPHOBIA

I want to talk specifically about how we've come to buy into this western preoccupation with how we have sex, and with whom. I know we're all familiar with the way patriarchy has been creeping into interpretations of tikanga and kōrero tawhito, but I think it's helpful to think about the way that patriarchy privileges certain men more than others, and the effect of that.

For example, at the time the English decided they wanted to colonise these motu, their ideal man was the Victorian gentleman. The men that England sent to control us were pretty much in that mould. They weren't aristocracy, and they hadn't gone to the flash schools but they were earning their place as gentlemen through their occupations—the military, the church, and the government. Like all social climbers, they brought with them an unwavering belief in that society's rules. They taught us what it was to be a leader, and how to get those attributes—through private schools, manly sports and Christianity. I don't

think it is too much of a stretch to say some of us are leaning this way now. If we add business people to the list of career pathways, and replace aristocracy with whakapapa, we are starting to describe a path that many of us would see as ideal for developing our young men into iwi leaders.

One of the things that is interesting about this is that, in general, men, people educated in private schools, people who play dominant sports (in this country, rugby, soccer, cricket and softball), and people with Christian beliefs have each been shown to be associated with more homophobic attitudes (Osborne & Wagner, 2007, pp. 599, 601, 607–609).² If we follow this pattern for developing leadership, we are pretty much guaranteeing that we will foster and privilege attitudes that consider sexual repression to be normal and acceptable. Our children will be subjected to that sexual repression, which will limit the development and potential of most of them, and will endanger the lives of some of them.

As Cherokee activist and academic Andrea Smith says:

Any liberation struggle that does not challenge heteronormativity cannot substantially challenge colonialism or white supremacy. Rather, . . . such struggles will maintain colonialism based on a politics of secondary marginalization where the most elite class of these groups will further their aspirations on the backs of those most marginalized within the community. (2006, p. 72)

WHAT CAN WE DO?

Re-broaden our concept of leadership

One thing that I think would make a big difference is if our leadership (whatever we mean by that) reflected the diversity of our communities. I'm not knocking any of the contributions that anyone has made, but I think we should be asking why the people who make up groups like the Iwi Chairs Forum or the Māori Council seem so similar. What messages does it give our young people if they can't see anyone like them being recognised as having mana?

Make our schools safer

We need to make sure our schools are safe for all our children. This means being proactive. Schools need to

talk to children about sexual and gender diversity in a safe and accepting way. This must happen before the negative messages sink in—starting when children are 10 or 11, not leaving it until they're already sexually active, or avoiding it altogether. It means tackling any homophobic attitudes or behaviour that the children bring to school with them. Staff need to be educated and trained so they don't bring damaging attitudes with them. Schools need to be a safe place for staff to be open about their sexuality and gender. Finally, it means educating parents so that they are onboard.

Make our whānau safer

Most importantly, we have to decide what is more important to us: that our children meet our expectations; or that they are safe to be whoever they may be. Is it more important that we shame our children into acting as we want them to act? That we pretend they're someone who they're not? Or that we have a real relationship with them? What is more tika? What is most in line with our kaupapa?

If we want our children to be safe and happy and to meet their potential, then we have to be prepared to accept them, and to love them whoever they turn out to be. We have to make sure they know that.

THE CONTINUUM OF AWESOMENESS

I like to think of our goal in terms of an awesome continuum (Figure 1), on which I'd like to see us all pushing ourselves towards the more awesome end of the spectrum.

In the top left, intolerance is anything that tells our children that it's not acceptable to be different—abuse, or statements suggesting that there's no gayness in tikanga Māori, or anything that condones abuse or mocking of difference. It includes treating gay men as if they're women, which reveals disrespect for both women and gay men. Anything like that is intolerant, and we want to avoid it.

Tolerance is a bit better than intolerance. It means not actively excluding or insulting people that we know to be different from ourselves. However, it assumes that heterosexuality is so normal and healthy that we can ignore the reality that not everyone is heterosexual. For example, I might assume that every child and everyone I know is heterosexual unless they tell me otherwise, which means I don't have to be careful about what I or anyone else does that would

² And references therein

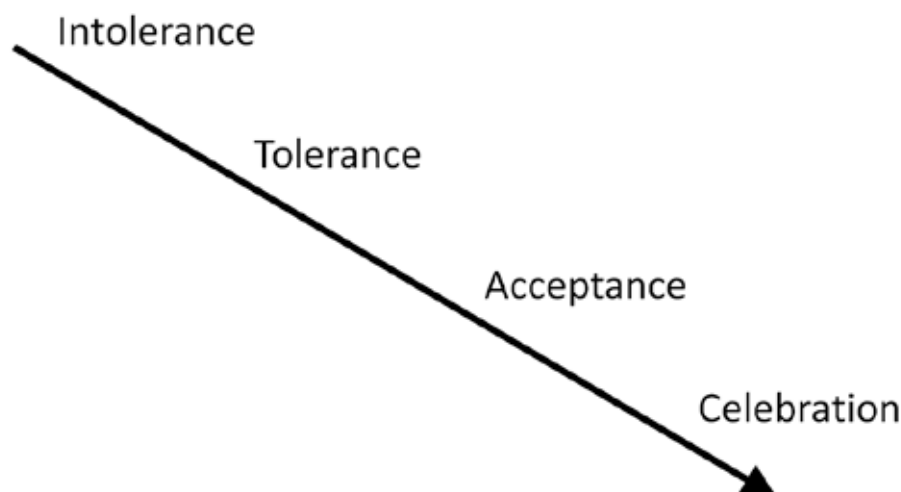


Figure 1: A continuum of awesome behaviour, where least awesome behaviour is at the top left, and most awesome at the bottom right.

insult people who aren't heterosexual. It's much like the way the Crown acts around ethnicity, treating us as if we are all white. Māori are not actually excluded from Pākehā society, we're just expected to change to fit in. Because we assume that every child will grow up to be heterosexual, we don't bother to protect them from hate or carelessness. We let them see sexual and gender diversity being mocked or compared to paedophilia, or hear their queer whanaunga being described as disgusting, as if this has no effect. Tolerance actually allows intolerance to flourish.

Acceptance is just that, anything that lets our children know that they are awesome and loved, whoever they are. It is their whakapapa that gives them a place in their whānau, and everything else is just detail. It also means challenging any homophobic behaviour to protect them from those messages.

Celebration means going out of our way to give positive messages about otherwise marginalised genders or sexualities, as a way of fighting the messages that our children will get in situations beyond our control. For example, loving acceptance probably isn't a sufficient response if a child has just heard that a prominent Māori leader dreams of a world without gays, or if one of their friends has been beaten up for looking queer, or if they're being called faggot or dyke. If a child tells us that they are queer, we should be stoked that they trust us, that they are sharing themselves with us, and we should show them that. If a child is brave enough to express themselves in a way

that others are reading as queer, we should celebrate their uniqueness and bravery. Celebration might mean talking to our children about all the different crushes we've had, or acknowledging all the crushes they have had, not acting like there is something different about their friendships depending on the gender of their friend. Celebration is anything that lets our children know that whoever they are will be awesome.

If tikanga are the behaviours that express our values, I thought I could use Whatarangi Winiata's kaupapa matrix model to work backwards (2012, September). The starting point is to think of each of the positions on the continuum as a set of behaviours. If these behaviours are tika, we should be able to say which kaupapa they are expressing.

Starting with intolerance, which kaupapa am I expressing if I am excluding or attacking my whanaunga based on who they sleep with? It might be a reflection of how little I know about kaupapa, but I couldn't think of any. Looking at tolerance, which kaupapa am I expressing when I am polite to my whanaunga, while judging them as inferior? Or including them, but expecting them to hide who they are? Again, I couldn't think of any kaupapa that fit this tikanga. The kaupapa become apparent when we look at the behaviours that show acceptance. Acceptance is an expression of a whole bunch of kaupapa—whanaungatanga, aroha, manaakitanga, rangatiratanga, whakapapa. Finally, when turning to celebration, it can be seen as

expressing many of the same kaupapa as acceptance.

Some people will feel that celebration is a step too far—that acceptance is enough. In an ideal world, I would say that acceptance is the most tika behaviour. But we live with a dominant culture that condones homophobia. To come back to the analogy with Pākehā culture oppressing tikanga, one response to a culture that makes it hard to live as Māori is that we celebrate what it means to be Māori, we positively promote Māori ways of being. Many Pākehā are resistant to this, arguing that affirmative action and celebrations of our “Māoriness” constitute reverse racism. We know they are wrong. We can extend that analysis to repression of sexual diversity, even if it initially makes us a bit uncomfortable.

The point of this continuum isn't to judge where we each are as parents or friends. We will probably all struggle to overcome the culture that we have been raised in. I certainly do. This is where we need to think about whose kaupapa we are expressing. Western culture has been all about controlling and limiting us; tikanga should be about all of us reaching our potential. My challenge to you is to make sure that you are reflecting the values that you know to be important. Be more awesome, so those around you can feel safe enough to be who they are meant to be. Be brave enough to be uncomfortable. Be brave enough to fight for sexual and gender diversity education in your children's and grandchildren's schools. Be brave enough to love your whole child, and your whole self. We know we aren't going to fully realise tino rangatiratanga unless Pākehā get a bit uncomfortable and give up some power. It's the same with sexual diversity.

As I said earlier, no amount of hatred, bullying or abuse is going to make anyone heterosexual; it will only make people hide themselves from you. Don't be that person. Don't force those you care about into hiding. If you don't know anyone who isn't heterosexual—if you think everyone in your whānau is heterosexual—then that is a reflection of the impression that you have made. You can change that impression.

We need to be clear that homophobia does not come from tikanga. It comes from the colonisers. Whakapapa is about inclusion—there needs to be a really good reason to exclude or demean someone in any way. Who they sleep with is not a good reason. Our children grow up in an environment where

they will see, hear and experience hatred of different sexualities. Whoever they grow up to be, these messages are dangerous. These messages will limit how our children see themselves and who they can imagine being.

At the moment, we have so much unhelpful hatred and intolerance passing as debate about marriage and adoption equality. If there's one thing I want you to get from this talk, it's that we need to change that conversation. Our children don't need to be protected from homosexuality, they need to be protected from hate. People loving each other will never endanger children, homophobia will.

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IN SEARCH OF OUR NANNIES' GARDENS: A MANA WAHINE GEOGRAPHY OF MATERNITIES IN AOTEAROA

Naomi Simmonds

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E kui mā, e koro mā, rau rangatira mā, tēnei te mihi nui ki a koutou katoa. Ki ngā kaiwhakahaere o te hui nei, tēnā koutou.

Ko wai tēnei e tū ana i mua i a koutou? He uri ahau nō Ngāti Raukawa ki te raki. Nō Raukawa ki te kaokaoroa o patetere, nō Ngāti Huri hoki. Ko Pikitū te marae. Ko Pikitū te Pou tuarongo o te whare wairua o Raukawa. Ko Ranginui te tuanui, ko Papatūānuku te papa. Ko te pou tokomanawa kei Ngātira, ko te pou tāhū kei Tarukenga. Ōna maihi taka mai ki Te Wairere Ki Horohoro. Ko Naomi Simmonds ahau. It is with a mixture of excitement, anxiety, joy and trepidation that I stand before you today as part of this panel. Yesterday Ani said that in some ways she still felt like a kōtiro in the presence of her aunties and uncles: I can say honestly that standing here before you all I definitely feel like a pēpi. I am currently finishing my PhD thesis in which I examine the birthing experiences of Māori women. Much of the work that I draw on and am inspired by, in my research, comes from many of the speakers who have presented as part of this great conference. So I am absolutely grateful to them for the amazing mahi they do and I am absolutely humbled (and, to be honest, a little overwhelmed) to share the floor with such an amazing, insightful and articulate group of people.

When preparing for this kōrero I struggled to think about what I could add, if anything, to this forum. So much of what I want to share has already been shared. What I hope to offer today are a few strands that emerge and grow from the stories of maternities that have been gifted to me as part of my doctoral

research. In thinking about “tikanga as liberation” I hope to weave three strands together that are grouped around concepts of “living colonialism”; “retreat and re-awakenings” and “responsibility”.

The title of my thesis and of this kōrero is “In search of our Nannies’ gardens—a mana wahine geography of maternities in Aotearoa”. This title is taken from Alice Walker’s popular collection of essays originally published in 1983 titled *In Search of my Mothers’ Garden* (Walker 1983). In this book she expresses a commitment to exploring “the oppressions, the insanities, the loyalties, and the triumphs of African American women” (Munro, 1984, 161). She argues that it is important for women today to reflect on and understand the experiences of their mothers, grandmothers and great grandmothers in order to understand and make sense of their own realities. She argues that despite the years/generations of oppression that her ancestors were subjected to, they continued, in various ways, to “live creatively”. She goes on to say: “our grandmothers and mothers have, more often than not anonymously handed on their creative spark, or the seed of the flower they themselves never hoped to see” (Walker 1983, 240).

It is in a similar vein and with a similar sense of hope to Alice Walker that I believe we can find in the “gardens” of our tūpuna the seeds they have planted and nurtured for us. It is to these gardens that we can look for concepts and frameworks, kaupapa and tikanga that enable us to not only make sense of our lived realities, but also to be liberated by our subjectivities as Māori: as Māori women and as Māori men.

It is not for me here, or necessarily even in my research, to define what those concepts or frameworks are, or to define tikanga in relation to maternities. This is not my place; there are people with much greater knowledge and skills who are able to do this.

Based on my doctoral research, however, I am of the belief that tikanga is, and should be, as diverse and varied as we are as a people, as whānau, hapū and iwi.

LIVING COLONIALISM

The first strand of this kōrero is the simple but devastating fact that colonisation has, for the most part, stolen from wāhine and from whānau the ceremonies and celebrations; the reo and the tikanga; and the whakapapa of the maternal body and of birth. Yesterday Ngāhuia highlighted the way in which colonial discourse has been inscribed upon our reproductive bodies in relation to menstruation. Her kōrero reminded me of a Facebook discussion I was made aware of a few months ago that highlighted to me the insidious nature of such discourses and ideologies. The following question was posted to Facebook:

Why is it tapu for a woman who has her monthly cycle to enter a vegetable garden? Does anybody know? (Facebook Exchange, March 2012).

To which numerous comments were posted including the following:

- It's somewhere in the bible cuz, it's the whole sin thing!
- Something to do with the unclean factor!
- Sounds like a mean excuse to get out of doing work.
- I was told the same thing I don't know why I never asked it's just tapu.
- Everything tapu is either biblical or common sense!
- Well pretty much it's bad/dead blood and if you go into a vege patch then they thought it would spoil their vegetables ... so they got banned more than anything then regarded it as tapu.
- When you have your mate wahine you are considered unfavourable.
- Your body actually emits toxins during a period through sweat and other fluids, some people have called those rules religious mumbo jumbo but there is actually scientific logic there somewhere, there's similar rules in the bibles old testament, just health precautions I guess. (Facebook Exchange, March 2012)

While many of these comments are nonsensical, they are also illustrative of the “presence” of colonial and Christian ideologies that posit women’s menstruating bodies as unclean and polluting. That, we can all loudly and proudly say, is incorrect, thanks to the ground breaking work of Ngāhuia. In light of all of this then, it may not come as a surprise that for many whānau birthing experiences are equally as entangled

with colonial constructs of the maternal body, and more now with biomedical discourses about pathology, risk factors and safety.

There are many varied ways in which colonialism is manifested in the lived and embodied experiences of birth that I don’t have time to go into here. What I would like to say is that consistently, across all of the wāhine in this research, they housed a strong desire and drive to learn more about tikanga surrounding pregnancy and childbirth. For many of them, they felt a sense of sadness (and for some frustration) in relation to the difficulties they faced in accessing whānau, hapū and iwi specific mātauranga pertaining to the maternal body. The experiences of their mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers often remained unspoken, their gardens unseen.

In an interview, one midwife explained: “our grandmothers have had the “works burger” in terms of their birthing experience and so there is lots of un-programming to do” (Interview, December 2009). The analogy of the “works burger”¹ sums up the experience of birth for many wāhine (particularly in Aotearoa through the mid-19th century). My Nan birthed 15 babies. The first three she had at home with my Koro assisting.² The others she birthed at the hospital on her own. She definitely experienced it all, including internal vaginal examinations by multiple doctors during the birth of one of her children because she was a “special case”—a woman in her 40s who had multiple previous births.³ This all in the name of teaching and, of course, let’s not forget the discourses of “safety” that are often thrown in for good measure. It is little wonder, given experiences such as this, that many of our Nannies did not speak of such things.

These experiences of colonialism are not only felt by our tūpuna but they are lived and embodied by us. There is no doubt in my mind that calculated colonialism changed Māori birthing. But more than that, colonialism is lived (experienced, embodied, negotiated and resisted). It is living and extant, comprised of active, evolving, not-yet-complete, and ever-present practices. It is a continuing endeavour that continues across myriad geographies (De Leuw & Hunt 2011).

1 A “works burger” is a burger with every filling. The analogy is that Māori women have had the full spectrum of birthing experiences—in other words they have experienced it all.

2 Discussion at Wānanga by Okeroa Begbie (September 2010)

3 Personal correspondence with Kimai Begbie (February 2012).

WHAKAMĀ—RETREAT AND REAWAKENINGS

For many of us, colonialism manifests physically and emotionally when we are reminded of “what we have lost”, “what we don’t know”, “what we think we should know or do”, and “who we think we should be”. This brings me to the second strand of this *kōrero*. For many of the *wāhine* in this research the feelings engendered in unsafe or uncomfortable environments or situations were described using the concept of *whakamā*. I would like to briefly share two moments when *wāhine* described such feelings in relation to the expression of *tikanga*.

The first is a story shared with me by a young mother, Oramai,⁴ who fell pregnant whilst completing high school. This *wāhine* was scared of the reaction to her pregnancy by family and friends and thus decided to hide her pregnancy as long as she could. She did this by continuing to smoke so as not to raise suspicions amongst her *whānau* and friends. She told me that she intended to take the *whenua* and bury it at her *tūrangawaewae*, but after she had her *pēpi* the midwife used the *whenua* as “evidence” that she had smoked during pregnancy. Oramai was shown the black spots on the placenta that proved this was so, and the midwife proceeded to give her a lecture about the risks of smoking during pregnancy. Oramai reflected on this and told me:

Even with the placenta; just looking at it put me off. I would have buried it but as soon as I saw it I just couldn’t stand looking at it. They asked me “do you smoke?” I say, “oh yes”. They said “Look ...” they show you on the placenta that they can tell you were a smoker; they show you every little part. I went “oh okay”. They asked me if I wanted it. I said “no I don’t want it”. I didn’t keep anything. I wish I didn’t look at it. (Interview, June 2010)

This situation was “unsafe” for Oramai. She was up against the judgement by hospital staff of her as a young Māori woman who smoked during her pregnancy. As a result of this encounter with the midwife she retreated and withdrew into herself and decided against keeping the *whenua* and returning it to the earth. Her energies were directed towards caring for her newborn baby rather than “fighting” against hospital staff, and rightly so. She retreated

from that situation in order to protect herself and her *pēpi* from the judgement and condemnation of the midwife, and her decision to practice the *tikanga* of returning the placenta to the earth reversed.

The second story I would like to share is a reflection by Marama⁵ about the *tikanga* pertaining to the treatment of the *pito*. It was common to bury the *pito* or to put in the cleft of a tree. However, colonisation has all but stolen this practice from *whānau*. Marama explains this:

Unfortunately, despite trying so very hard to do the right thing with our baby’s *whenua*, our ignorance of *tikanga* Māori resulted in her *pito* being thrown out in the rubbish. *Auē taukiri e!* I think of it now, and cringe at our ignorance. We just didn’t know that the *pito* was meant to be dealt with in the same way as the *whenua*. Perhaps if I’d thought about it a bit more I would have realised they are no different. But nobody ever told me or spelt it out to me and I’m embarrassed that neither my partner or I even thought to keep our baby’s *pito* when it dropped off ... it is ironic that we took so much care to ensure that we did the right thing with her *whenua*, and yet when it came to her *pito*, we were so irreverent. Now when I think of it I am abhorred. But we have to accept it—this is the way things are for Māori brought up, and living in, a mainstream world. We have become so colonised in our thinking, lost so much of our *mātauranga* Māori that we easily revert back to *Pākehā* thinking—without thinking. *Ka tangi au* (I cry). (Diary entry, January 2009)

Marama claims responsibility for not knowing this particular *tikanga*. However, as we know, colonisation has for many severed our knowledge of *tikanga* and our ability to express it in some instances and in some spaces. I am certain that Marama is not the only one of us who has been made aware of a particular *tikanga* after the fact; this is a legacy that colonialism has left.

For Marama, her feelings of *whakamā* (obviously in very different circumstances and not prompted by external judgement or condemnation as was the case with Oramai) prompted a reconsideration of self and ultimately a decision by her and her *whānau* to reclaim *te reo me ōna tikanga* so that her daughter would not have to struggle in the same way that she has had to over her subjectivity as a Māori woman. As Kim said this morning becoming a parent, becoming

4 Name used with permission

5 Name used with permission

a mother is often a strong catalyst for many to reclaim their whakapapa and to reclaim tikanga.

For many of us these experiences, experiences that resonate deep in our puku, that make us feel uncomfortable and uncertain, experiences that raise red flags that perhaps something is not how it should, be can be the catalyst for a reawakening or a reclamation of self and of tikanga. In some cases whakamā as an emotion is so deeply felt that it triggers a re-evaluation and redefinition of self, and therefore has productive capacity to facilitate change and liberation.

The challenge, in my opinion, lies in how we support wāhine and whānau, how we support each other, to move away from the default setting of “retreat” that we have grown accustomed to as a result of the physical, emotional and spiritual violence that we have been subjected to through colonialism. The challenge lies in creating the space and time to reflect on our sense of self, our place in the world, our values, our philosophies and our understanding of and expression of tikanga (in relation to the whole spectrum of our life experiences, including birth). The challenge lies in reconnecting wāhine and whānau to the whakapapa of the maternal body, to the power of Te Whare Tangata. It is within this space that I believe there is the potential to reawaken tikanga, and thus ourselves, our bodies and our spirits.

RESPONSIBILITY

This brings me to the final strand I would like to weave into my kōrero today. This relates to the question of responsibility. Where does the responsibility for “reclaiming tikanga” or being “liberated by tikanga” lie? The potential for overburdening wāhine, particular women who are in the throes of caring for new babies and infants, is very real. Many wāhine are simply trying to survive from day to day. Coupled with the often confusing and contradictory discourses we are fed as pregnant, birthing and mothering women that I so often see resulting in “mother guilt”, it is little wonder that it can be overwhelming for some women to even contemplate the role of “tikanga” in their pregnancies and births.

Kim Anderson (2006, 775) heeds this caution also in relation to native mothering:

Taken uncritically, ideologies of Native mothering run the risk of heaping more responsibility of already overburdened mothers. With so many Native

mothers struggling to raise their children in poverty or in situations of abuse or neglect, we must question the logic of asking mothers to ‘carry the nations’

She asks some pertinent questions that I think apply to this context also: “we must ask ourselves: Where are the men? Where are the communities? Where is the nation and where is the state? And—not to forget—where are the children?” (Anderson 2006, 775). Creating the space and time for wāhine, and for whānau, to share their experiences, to share tikanga and kōrero tuku iho pertaining to birth, is crucial and this necessarily requires the support of tāne, whānau, the state and our communities.

As part of this research we held a wānanga at my marae that enabled wāhine to come together and talk, to share their birthing experiences and to just be with each other, something which many of us do not get the chance to do very often. This was a beautiful space to be part of, but what was also wonderful to see was the role that the men took on that day. They worked in the kitchen preparing kai for us; they looked after the tamariki and did other little jobs to tautoko us in our mahi. There were 17 women, four men and lots of tamariki who attended this wānanga, and the age of women ranged from early 20s through to mid-60s. The wānanga provided a safe space that enabled women to be together and share with each other, and to work towards providing for our babies, what Leanne Simpson (2006, 28) has referred to as “a decolonised pathway into this world”.

The practice of returning the placenta to Papatūānuku—kia whakahoki te whenua ki te whenua—is perhaps the most evidenced tikanga that is being reclaimed by whānau. Whānau, in this research, were practising the tikanga in diverse and evolving ways—changing the practice in light of the contemporary realities of their whānau. There was a diversity of materials used to make ipu whenua including paper mâché, hue, clay, and kete. For some, the whenua remained in an ice-cream container or hospital plastic/paper bag. Reconceptualisations of “home”, and of whenua, are also evident in the location the whenua is being buried by some whānau. Some have buried the whenua in a pot plant with soil from their tūrangawaewae to keep with them as they travel around. Others have made long journeys (one whānau made a 12-hour round trip) to put

the whenua back into Papatūānuku straight after the birth.

Material expressions of tikanga are greatly varied but what I think remained constant across the whānau that I spoke with was the intent of the tikanga. In other words, the ways in which tikanga pertaining to pregnancy and birth are being practiced and expressed are evolving and becoming increasingly diverse, but the kaupapa of the tikanga remains as important as it ever has been.

One midwife made the point that: “Things like using muka, ipu whenua; those are the pretty bits on the edges ... but there’s so much more than that but I can’t say what that is for each woman.”(Interview, December 2009). Neither is it my place to say what that is for each woman or whānau. What I will say is that the dominant strand through all of the kōrero shared in this research was one of hope: wāhine and their whānau are (re)claiming tikanga, sometimes in subtle ways, sometimes more explicitly. Further, they are astute in recognising the structural challenges they face in reclaiming birthing tikanga, but they are also incredibly pragmatic in weaving various strands of tikanga into their (often heavily medicalised) births and, for the most part, they reflected on this as incredibly empowering and liberating.

CONCLUSION

I think the potential for tikanga to be liberating is absolute. As I mentioned before there are many challenges in getting to this space but I am hopeful that we can get to a place where mātauranga and tikanga pertaining to birth are not just strands in our experiences of birth but are the foundations of it.

I am completely humbled by the kōrero that has been shared with and gifted to me for this research. I am also grateful to bear witness to the strength and determination of wāhine and their whānau in reclaiming, in various ways, mātauranga and tikanga pertaining to maternities, specifically birth. To end then, I would like to posit that it is in the search of our Nannies’ gardens that we begin to grow our own and it is in these gardens that we are able to sow the seeds gifted to us by our tūpuna. These gardens are, will and should be very colourful indeed.

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THE EVOLVING TIKANGA OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND CHALLENGES FOR TIKANGA MĀORI

Caleb Royal

Me huri whakamuri ka titiro whakamua—Turn to your past to see your way forward. This whakatauki suggests a way that we should operate. Look to our collective past, celebrate our successes, and learn from our mistakes so we can see a clear path into our future.

This is truly sound advice and, regardless of how each of us learn, our largest mistakes often provide us with the greatest of lessons. When considering the management of our environment, te ao tūroa, what are the lessons of the past? What have been our greatest mistakes? What have been our greatest successes?

What about the mistakes of others: do we still learn a valuable lesson when someone makes a poor decision on our behalf? Is it our responsibility to clean up a mess that someone has created for us? What do we do if the people making decisions for us are still learning about how to behave within te ao tūroa?

Today, iwi and hapū, and the many organisational structures who represent them, are at a critical point when considering the management of our environment. We are moving into a post settlement phase with our Treaty partner. We have national policies such as the National Policy Statement for Freshwater Management that was released in late 2011. There is the Waitangi Tribunal's *Interim Report on National Freshwater and Geothermal Resources* (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012), which reaffirms Māori proprietary rights. There is also legislation such as the Resource Management Act 1991, the Conservation Act 1987 and the Local Government Act 2002.

Within legislation and high-level national policy there are a plethora of statements which assert iwi, hapū, and Māori rights in the management of our natural resources, particularly water. Today I want to discuss what this means. How do the Regional

and district/city councils “recognise and provide for the relationship of Māori with their ancestral lands and waters”? (Resource Management Act 1991, section 6(e)). How is “particular regard afforded to kaitiakitanga” (Resource Management Act 1991, section 7(a)), and what does “taking into account” the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi (Resource Management Act 1991, section 8) mean?

What I don't want to debate today is whether iwi and hapū have tino rangatiratanga over the lands and waters within their ownership and control, as guaranteed by Te Wāhanga Tuarua (Article 2) of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. I am convinced that we once had absolute authority over our waters and that our authority was never ceded or sold to the Crown or one of its agents. However, the Crown has made its stance on the ownership of water clear:

what the Crown can say is that at an abstract level, a claim of ownership (in the English property law sense) over the water and geothermal resource of New Zealand cannot be accepted by Government. New Zealand has a multi-dimensional society with cultural, recreational and commercial claims on the water resource, and the task of government ultimately is to balance and reconcile those in some way that recognises the long-term needs of New Zealanders. (Waitangi Tribunal, 2012, pp. 45–46)

Essentially, the Crown will not be producing an ownership right which attaches the title of water to iwi, hapū, or Māori. No amount of discussion today will change the stance of the Crown.

So where does that leave us? The most that the Crown is willing to countenance at present is the establishment of co-management and/or co-governance structures. What does this mean when we consider “Me huri whakamuri, ka titiro whakamua”?

The Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga rohe lies across the boundaries of two regional councils, Horizons in the north, and the Greater Wellington Regional Council (GWRC) to the south. As Ōtaki is in the southern section of our rohe, I am going to discuss our relationship with (one of) our southern Treaty Partners, GWRC.

Within the boundaries of the GWRC region there are six iwi who have entered into a Charter of Understanding with the regional council. They are Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa, Te Ātiawa/Taranaki ki Te Upoko o te Ika a Māui, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Te Ātiawa ki Whakarongotai, Rangitāne o Wairarapa, and Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga.

The purpose of the Charter is to develop a relationship of mutual benefit between the GWRC and the mana whenua tribes of Te Upoko o te Ika a Māui. The common goal of the Charter is the sustainable management of the region's environment for the benefit and the wellbeing of the regional community, both now and in the future. As you will all be aware, this is a similar goal to those found in numerous documents and laws that exist across the country.

This mutually beneficial relationship has resulted in a number of mechanisms which enable iwi to contribute to the evolving direction and redefining of what sustainable management actually means. In 1993 the Charter provided for the establishment of Ara Tahi, which is still in operation today. Ara Tahi is a joint strategic advisory group comprising the manawhenua iwi leadership and senior leadership from Greater Wellington. This is essentially a strategic advisory group at the governance level.

Beneath both Ara Tahi and the council there has been the establishment of Upoko Taiao—the Natural Resource Planning and Regulation Committee. This committee is made up of seven iwi/Māori representatives and seven councillors. It is the role of Te Upoko Taiao to develop the Regional Policy Statement and the Regional Plan. These two documents will articulate the strategic direction to be taken by the council with its policies, and will also provide the rules for everyone within the regional environment, including the district and city councils. These policies and rules will then be with us all for at least ten years—so we had better get them right!

Te Upoko Taiao has been heralded as a breakthrough in regional co-governance models. We have

an equal share of representation at a governance table and the committee is co-chaired by a councillor and an iwi/Māori representative. There remains, of course, the issue of where decisions made by Te Upoko Taiao are “signed off”, which is the council table. However, as the seven councillors at the Upoko Taiao committee form a majority of the sitting council, all decisions to date have been moved without issue. Certainly, this cannot be claimed to represent tino rangatiratanga, but it brings us much closer to co-governance at a regional level than ever before.

In addition to Ara Tahi and Upoko Taiao, there is Māori representation on council standing committees. Operational departments report back to these committees on the work they are undertaking.

I am hoping that this has provided a very brief overview of the changing world of local government that iwi Māori find ourselves contributing to. At the regional level we are engaged in a co-governance relationship with a representative of the Crown and we have an opportunity to begin redefining what the tikanga of sustainable management may actually look like.

I am sure that if I was at a local government conference there would be unease about what would be perceived in such circles as major steps forward for Māori. Here today, however, I feel there is also a strong sense of unease, but for quite different reasons! As I said earlier, Te Tiriti o Waitangi reaffirmed our absolute authority over our waters. If we took that guarantee to its logical conclusion, then documents such as these would be created exclusively by Māori. They would surely be considered the kawa for the rohe, with tikanga that had to be followed.

Returning to what I have referred to as the changing world of co-governance, how has it enabled the changing of tikanga? Well it hasn't—yet. A significant reason, in my view, is the simple fact that in an organisation of 450 people, fewer than 3 percent are Māori. The governance body doesn't manage the day-to-day tikanga of the organisation, so on a daily basis 437 people go about their business in the construct within which they have been trained and now operate, tikanga Pākehā. Tikanga Pākehā is the predominant educational framework from which their qualifications have been attained, so the council staff generally operate in a tikanga Pākehā way, and life goes on.

This means that specific Māori policy and “rules”

approved at the governance level filter their way down through bureaucratic processes and land on the desk of tikanga Pākehā trained thinkers to determine how best they can provide for tikanga Māori. This is where the co-governance structure fails to deliver tikanga Māori outcomes for the whole of the community.

One answer might be to have much greater representation of Māori in the operational functioning of GWRC. But another issue arises: how are hapū and iwi to be represented? Is it by those newly employed graduates from Lincoln University, now working for regional council, who happen to be Māori? Or must they be kaupapa Māori thinkers, graduates from the marae, now working for iwi? The two options are really quite different, but both would satisfy most broad interpretations of how the organisation has recognised and provided for the participation of Māori in resource management.

It appears to me that GWRC need to be resourcing the kaupapa Māori thinkers who have been tasked to work on and develop the key operational tikanga needed to fulfil the aspirations of iwi, hapū and Māori. What might that mean in practice?

Let's consider an example.

Most of our small streams are choked with noxious weeds, which build up, blocking the flow of the water, jamming logs, and creating a flood hazard for the houses which should have never been built so close to the waterways. However, Auntie Fran now lives in one, Uncle Hone is in the one next door, and Ma Queenie is two houses down from him. We need to make sure that they are not forced from their homes at this time in their lives.

The current tikanga Pākehā approach is to send in a 20-tonne digger every year to dredge the weed out of the stream. It is pulled from the river, along with all manner of fish, bugs, and crustaceans, and either dumped on the side of the bank or, when required, loaded onto a truck to provide fill for another area. Every year this cycle is repeated. The weed grows, people get uneasy, the stream is dredged, and we think about how this isn't very good but we continue none the less. Never mind the baby tuna hiding in the weed destined to die, the removal of bugs who process the mountains of waste that finds its way into our streams, or the desert-like landscape that is left for those lucky creatures who avoid the mechanical

beast who seems to visit every year—sometimes twice!

How would a tikanga Māori approach differ to this? We would need to protect our aunties and uncles as an expression of whanaungatanga, so we would need to mitigate the risk of flooding. Initially, weed would need to be mechanically removed, but fish, crustaceans and any bugs could be returned by hand to the stream. Only half of the stream could be cleared so the water could move, but not all of the habitat provided by the weed would be lost. A regular weed removal exercise using long-handled rakes would slow the re-establishment of the weed. Strategic clusters of planting on the banks with fast-growing natives would shade out the weed to inhibit excessive growth, and the spaces between the plantings could slowly be closed with additional planting. The end result would be a cool, shaded stream which sustains ecological diversity, and is an asset for the people who live beside it. The costs to manage small streams would be higher initially, but the long-term benefits would be high and expenses low.

This example is, of course, quite simple. All it requires is a shift in thinking and operational practice. If we are able to clearly express what our values are and how the stream should be managed, we are much more likely to initiate a change in the tikanga of its management. If all of our streams were managed in this way we would be much closer to “recognising and providing for the relationship of Māori ... with our streams”, and “particular regard to kaitiakitanga” would be evident.

A significant question, of course, is whether this could be said to constitute liberation. The fact of the matter is that tino rangatiratanga would involve so much more than making subtle changes for our tikanga Pākehā partners to implement on our behalf. True liberation—tino rangatiratanga—would not only require the power to be divulged from one partner to the other, but we would need to rediscover what it means to live by kaupapa and tikanga Māori. This rediscovery of living within kaupapa and tikanga Māori is not reliant on legal frameworks and can be actioned at any time.

What I am convinced of is that “we”—iwi, hapū, Māori—need to be determining our own tikanga on how our taonga must be managed. We cannot wait or rely on the Crown or one of its agents to do it for

us—they will miss the mark.

We need to be willing to challenge ourselves—we want rivers and streams that are free of pollution, that sustain diverse forms of life, that are safe to swim in and drink from, and that have a vibrant and healthy mauri.

These types of statements are everywhere—but as practitioners, using kaupapa and tikanga Māori, not western science, how do we know our water is free from pollution or safe to drink? How do we know what a healthy mauri is? Does this mean we can measure mauri? How? We need to be very sure that we have developed tikanga to manage this highly modified and ever changing world.

What about our morning business that we flush away—if liberated with new tikanga, how would we manage the solids that are produced by a population of 4.5 million most mornings? We could put it on the whenua—but how then can we use that whenua—for firewood, stock, veges, fruit? To produce export goods?

Can we afford to export industrialised foods, grown and processed on the backs of the oil industry and the exploitation of both Ranginui and Papatūānuku—what would our tikanga look like today to liberate us from our high-speed, broadband, convenience-food lifestyles?

I love my cheese and butter—but I know that dairy farms pollute our water, and other animals contribute to similar problems. Will our new tikanga on kai include vegetarian and vegan meals only at the marae—the question “what’s for lunch?” might be answered in ways that we might find difficult to contemplate.

Me huri whakamuri—looking back, we lived simply, in touch with environment, in rhythm with her pulses and aware of our responsibilities.

Ka titiro whakamua—are we ready to develop the tikanga required to live in balance within te ao Māori—a natural world.

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MOURI TĀNGATA: TIKANGA AS A LIBERATION

Mera Penehira

Ko te mouri o te tangata, te huarahi hei
whakawaatea, hei whakapakari i a tātou ki te
whai i tōu tātou ake rangatiratanga.
Whāia whāia!
Whāia i te urutapunui o Tāne
Tāne te waiora
Tāne te pūkenga
Tāne te wānanga
Tāne te whakaputa nei ki te whai ao ki te ao
mārama
Tū te ngana
Tū te maranga
Te tuhi
Te rarama
Tēnei au te noho mataara nei
Tihei mouri ora!

This karakia (H. Waikerepuru, 1990) or incantation evokes the spiritual essence of Tāne and is placed at the forefront of this narrative regarding the engagement of “tikanga” as a liberation. “Whāia, whāia” is an opening or beginning karakia, and as such, it is aptly placed here as we begin a new (or re-ignite the old) wave of conversations and thinking critically about Māori and indigenous practices and their potential. Tāne is known as a kaitiaki or guardian of knowledge, in particular, traditional knowledge. In Māori genealogical terms then, these words again find validity. Finally, the phrase “tihei mouri ora!” gives life and energy to the narrative which follows.

The invitation to speak at the “Kei Tua o te Pae” conference this year was a great opportunity to join with others across academic disciplines and across various other communities, in addressing and sharing current Māori research and future directions.

My present research seeks to address Māori sexual and reproductive health, with a primary focus on

reclaiming Māori conceptualisation of wellbeing in this area and resisting dominant non-indigenous views that often conflict with our own. Ultimately the research seeks to “uncover indigenous truths” and dispel myths such as “Māori don’t traditionally speak about things like sex and sexuality ... it’s tapu”. Bringing conversations about sex and sexuality into broader Māori and indigenous forums such as Kei Tua o Te Pae, is an important part of de-marginalising sexual and reproductive health. At its core it is about whakapapa and so is rightfully placed in central Māori health, wellbeing and education discourse. Understanding and enacting Māori views of sexual and reproductive health are potentially powerful tools of liberation in this context.

The following is an excerpt from my doctoral thesis (Penehira, 2011) that was recited during my address to the conference. It is a narrative that speaks to the importance of struggle which has prominence across the broad sector of Māori and indigenous research, the pursuit of academic excellence, and of course reclamation and liberation of tikanga.

13 NOVEMBER 2006

On Saturday the 4th of November 2006, I received the carving of my tūpuna Te Rangi Topeora (attained my moko kauwae). I walk with her markings that have been made my own and in so doing have another language that is spoken without movement of lips, without breath of air. I have been transported and am still flying on the whāriki of our tūpuna encapsulated in all that is aroha, pono, and whakatipuranga.

I feel as though I am one of the most fortunate people in our world, to be born Māori and to be born wahine is to be born to live, to struggle, to fight and to celebrate. Indeed, that is likely so for many others also, but I speak for myself at this time.



Figure 1. *Te Rangi Topeora* (G. Lindauer)

We live the lives that are mapped out for us from those who know, yet it is fully in our power to remap and renegotiate the paths we choose to walk on in that map. Indeed it could be considered to be our responsibility to remap and renegotiate. Sometimes it's called the geography of life. So that's what I have done and the way I choose to live my life. Living and remapping in my world is about facing life in a proactive way creating the reality of my dreams and assisting others to do the same when the lives bring about such connections. Living and remapping is also about facing the challenges of the day ... hei whakamātau atu hei whakamātau mai ... and

responding in ways that see progress forward at a personal level as well as affecting transitional changes at a broader level. Always having an analysis of how our personal or individual journeys affect and intersect with the journeys of others, of whānau, of hapū, of iwi ki te kāinga, ki tāwāhi hoki. Committing to actions that support those journeys, is to live well as a wahine Māori. In life I seek opportunities to learn to grow and to teach ... Akoranga, to teach is to learn. Oranga, to live is to be well. And sometimes it's hard and sometimes it's easy. I say clearly to myself as I read back over this beginning writing, that it isn't about expectations to be a goddess who never gets

it wrong. A true goddess knows how to treat herself and others when things stray from where you want them to be, when I stray from where I want to be and how I want to live. The goddess is innately within.

Life is not devoid of struggle and it is through that that we have an analysis of our power and strength and our history. Struggle is easily perceived as a negative yet if I think about some of the activities people choose to engage in for leisure and pleasure, they often include purposeful struggle. In which case struggle might better be sited in the positive realm. I am thinking of things such as struggling to complete a marathon physical event, struggling to achieve top marks in an academic realm, struggling to eat the last piece of cake, struggling to find the words to tell someone special that you love them, and the list goes on. Maybe it's just a play on words, and if it is I say perceptions in life are all about playing with words. Through playing with words we play with thoughts and perceptions and can find a place of optimism and peace with how things are. When I create my space of optimism and peace I am a stronger mother, I am a more learned friend, I am a caring daughter, I am a more effective student and I am happy and free to explore and roam.

In my circles we are pretty much all aware of the history of fighting of our peoples and the oft warrior nature of the lives many of our tūpuna. Te Rangi Topeora is one of those tūpuna, known as a warrior princess to some, he wahine toa, he wahine tū tika hei tiaki i a ia anō, i te whenua, i ngā tupuranga whai muri ake. She is whom I draw my strength from. Ka whawhai tonu mātou is a catch cry shared by many of us born of the days of hīkoi and struggle just a matter of decades ago and still within our lifetime. And so we continue to fight for our land, our sea, our rivers, and our birds our children our mothers and fathers. It is a fight to retain them in our kaitiakitanga, to maintain them and glorify them as they so deserve and as has been done for many generations before me.

I was recently asked if I would be prepared to put my baby on the line in battle for the land and forced to consider fully my real life politics, my preparedness for battle of a different nature than I am familiar with in everyday speak. My baby is 2 years old, Tū Te Kiha is her name ... to stand strong and breathe and speak with strength. She is stunning, her first language is Māori and she comes of land and people who have

fought to still be here. The battles have cost lives; the battles have maintained and retained the life and kaitiakitanga of our mother Papatūānuku.

My response back to the woman who asked the question of life or death of my baby for the land, was to rephrase the question ...“Would I be prepared to put my mother on the line in battle for my baby, or would I see the death of my mother for the life of my baby?”

The land is my mother, she is I, she is my baby and to lose Papatūānuku is to ultimately lose all. To lose what is present, past and future. And so my answer is yes, I would fight. I would fight for my baby and I would fight for my mother. You see to save Papatūānuku is to save pēpi. Would I lose my baby for my mother by choice? Never! “Ko tōu uri ka whai mai i ō koutou tapuwae” (your offspring follow in your footsteps). What point is the land if there is no one to walk on her? What point is a mother without children? What point is the battle when those for whom we fight no longer exist? In the 80s I belonged to pacifist and feminist groups who at all costs rejected violence in any form. Things have changed and as I write this piece I am reminded of the words of someone else's rhyme ... “not to fight is to commit suicide”. We pick up our arms and we fight these battles because we are on a battlefield, whether we like it or not we have been born here in this time that often requires us to be warriors. It is our responsibility to our land, it is our life and we are grateful for her in every respect. And so, on reflection, “Kei Tua o Te Pae” encourages us to consider both where we have been and where we are at in order to look beyond to the future and to contribute to its creation. The preceding narrative reminds one that at times this is a journey of struggle, one to be embraced as we seek “tikanga as a liberation”!

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TIKANGA IN CHANGING WORLDS

Meihana K. Durie

Tuia te rangi e tū iho nei
Tuia te papa e takoto ake nei
Tuia te here tangata
Ki te wheiao ki te ao mārama!

INTRODUCTION: TIKANGA AND KAWA

This paper discusses the role of tikanga within contemporary Māori settings and in particular the potential for kawa to be applied within modern contexts to enhance Māori engagement in the next century. Analysis and discussion draws partly from findings presented in *He Kawa Oranga* (Durie, 2011, pp. 17–18), a doctoral thesis that explores the application of kawa in order to enhance outcomes in Māori engagement and achievement within the 21st century.

In order to explore the notion of tikanga within the thematic context of this conference, Kei Tua o Te Pae: Tikanga in Changing Worlds, it is helpful to firstly examine the concept itself. Tikanga can be viewed as an evolving reflection of the way in which core cultural values (kaupapa) are both embodied and manifested within Māori corporate communities.

Tikanga are, by nature, dynamic and progressive expressions of kaupapa. They can be interpreted as actions, behaviours or practices although they are commonly perceived as sets of rules or laws. The latter view reflects a perspective of tikanga that highlights the relative divergence of Western political and judicial systems when contrasted with Māori worldviews and practices. Ani Mikaere (2011, pp. 193–194) notes that the work of early European anthropologists and ethnographers in New Zealand, such as Elsdon Best, George Grey and Percy Smith highlighted a tendency to both define and describe Māori culture and beliefs through a Western lens. Despite the contribution of Māori key informants lending considerable authority

and expertise to their publications, their work nonetheless reflected a tendency to ultimately defer to Western anthropological ideals. An overemphasis on the esoteric influence of gods and deities within Māori cultural practices perhaps demonstrated an unnecessary preoccupation with punitive actions and responses. It is not unrealistic therefore to assume that these descriptions have had a degree of influence upon modern perceptions of tikanga Māori at least when earlier published literature is concerned.

The notion of tikanga to mean all things that are right, or that which is correct, does not necessarily convey the full meaning and significance of the term. Charles Royal (Durie, 2011, pp 110–111) argues that this paradigm owes its origin to colonisation and to the adoption of a “biblical morality”. In contrast he describes tikanga as “a revelation and expression of kaupapa where tikanga naturally and organically and spontaneously flow from kaupapa”.

The perspective raised by Royal reinforces Māori oral traditions of Papa and Rangi evident also in relative terms such as whakapapa, kaupapa and Papatūānuku. Rather than descending from the heavens above, tikanga are instead perceived as growing out of Papa.

Promotion of a renaissance period during which traditional Māori society flourished further complicates discussions around tikanga. It also perpetuates the relative falsehood of a Utopian period of Māori existence. This is a common theme in descriptors of Māori culture. The reality is that Māori have always encountered threats to survival and wellbeing yet have always adapted accordingly, enduring through sheer resilience. The traditionalist romanticised view of Māori occupation undermines the extreme nature of environmental challenges (Durie, 2011, p. 160) that faced successive generations of whānau and

hapū—the unrelenting harshness of cold Aotearoa winters contrasted by long, hot and dry summers. Evolving climatic conditions required complex processes and highly detailed protocols and rituals to ensure that the health and wellbeing of people was not compromised but instead enhanced. In a world where survival was a major consideration, there was little room for actions, practices or behaviours that compromised safety or wasted precious time, hours of sunlight or energy. The experiences encountered by the earliest explorers to this land were profoundly different to the challenges encountered by whānau in modern times. Survival was dictated in no small part by the ability to live according to environmental conditions of the time. Rituals, processes and protocols or kawa were constructed that enabled people to live in harmony with the environment and to regulate activities that had important outcomes.

Like tikanga, kawa arises from common cultural values but it is further defined by an additional characteristic, a connection to atua. Pou Temara (Durie, 2011, p. 108) describes this connection as iho atua. Pakake Winiata (2006) explains a similar point by referring to the notion of atua endorsement. Atua in this context are the major stakeholders (along with participants) for specific kawa. Kawa are carefully structured around the principle of ritual which connects participants to specific atua.

Ritual not only ensures adherence to set protocols and processes but it also engages participants in an holistic sense: spiritually (taha wairua); intellectually (taha hinengaro); socially (taha whānau) and physically (taha tinana). Royal (Durie, 2011, p. 110) emphasises that ritual is the enactment of myth and that by participating in the myth participants are transforming themselves into Tāne and Tūmataurangi. Effective participation within kawa typically requires engagement in all four domains.

The element of ritual enables participants engaging within kawa to enter safely into atua—specific domains and activities with an enhanced level of sensory awareness and preparedness. Deep sea fishing for example requires participants to navigate and identify changing ocean currents, wind and rain patterns, seasonal elements and tidal characteristics. Thus, an innate working awareness and knowledge of Tangaroa is pivotal to ensuring a successful outcome. Not only is health and safety an important requirement, so too

is the need to ensure the highest possible levels of performance throughout the activity.

Kawa then provides an entry point for participants engaging in activities with important outcomes, high stakes and enhanced performance requirements. The ritualistic elements of kawa highlight the tapu nature of the activity. The salient element of tapu is often emphasised further by sometimes separating participants from everyday roles and responsibilities whereby they are able to focus and concentrate solely on the task at hand. Kawa is applied throughout the duration of the activity until a clearly identified end point or pre-defined objective is met. Typically this is the point at which the risks subside or a successful outcome is ensured.

Some kawa incorporate detailed whakanoa processes which serve to not only decommission participants from the focus activity, but also enable progressive reintegration back into daily whānau life and the roles and responsibilities that go with it. These processes were often led by wāhine (Mikaere, 2011, pp. 211–214) further reinforcing the critical role of female leadership within these protocols.

In considering the role of tikanga within contemporary society, kawa ought to be taken into account as well. When applied within suitable circumstances kawa has the ability to guide participants towards a successful outcome and minimises the potential for risk or threats to health and safety. The impact of colonisation upon Māori across the 18th and early 19th centuries meant that many kawa simply became obsolete and no longer applicable. As technology advanced and as urbanisation became increasingly common, living conditions were altered. A previous reliance on land, sea and water for kai was no longer the norm. Therefore in many cases only fragments remain of earlier kawa, reflected through practice rather than ritual.

In considering the multitude of threats and risks to Māori wellbeing and survival in current times, is it possible that the construction of new kawa could mitigate the impact of those hazards? Would a kawa for growing, eating or buying unprocessed kai remove the threat of obesity? Would a kawa for enhanced learning conditions increase the likelihood of educational achievement? He Kawa Oranga proposes that kawa can play a useful role in the area

of Māori engagement in contemporary times (Durie, 2011, p. 364).

EXAMPLES OF CONTEMPORARY KAWA

Te Kawa o Te Ako

One example of a contemporary kawa is *Te Kawa o Te Ako* (Te Wānanga o Raukawa, 2006). It is applied at the commencement of the academic year at Te Wānanga o Raukawa to instil within students high levels of expectation and inspiration for the duration of their course of study. It also ensures a safe learning environment for both students and staff by minimising potential threats and maximising positive learning environments.

Throughout the year the principles underlining the kawa are reinforced and supported in a range of contexts both in and outside of the classroom. A specific karakia (He karakia mō Tāwhaki) (Durie, 2011, pp. 194–196) is recited at the conclusion of the pōwhiri. This contextualises the journey that students prepare to embark upon. Upon graduating, another karakia (He karakia Whakapūmau) is recited to acknowledge the successful outcome and to also prepare graduands for the next phase of their journey.

NGĀ PURAPURA AND POUTUARONGO KAWA ORANGA

At the same time as *Te Kawa o Te Ako* was developed, a new proposal was to emerge that sought to emphasise a higher profile for Te Taha Tinana at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Drawing further from the concept of kawa, the proposal advocated a new academic programme, *Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga*,¹ which would form part of the basis or kaupapa of the initiative. Other elements focusing on Te Taha Tinana would then build further upon that platform. One of these elements was the concept of a purpose-built whare that could provide the facilities and expertise required to enable new tikanga to arise in the fields of exercise, nutrition, sport and whānau wellbeing. The idea of kawa providing the inspiration for all related endeavours was central to the proposal.

Ngā Purapura was subsequently opened in February 2012. It represents a major commitment

by Te Wānanga o Raukawa to the advancement of wellbeing of whānau, hapū and iwi. Importantly, it seeks to explore new pathways in Māori wellbeing that draw inspiration from kaupapa, tikanga and kawa providing new opportunities that empower whānau in particular to enjoy good health and longevity.

Designed around the four foundations or domains of Te Whare Tapa Whā (Durie, 2001, pp 238–239) and drawing from the initial proposal in 2001, Ngā Purapura is also indicative of the recent emergence of kaupapa Māori initiatives in wellbeing. There are four main strands to Ngā Purapura:

1. Specialist academic qualifications in Māori Wellbeing (Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga; Poupou Pakari Tinana)
2. Whakatupu Mātauranga (exploration and innovation in relevant fields of knowledge)
3. Provision of exercise, nutrition and sporting facilities and services
4. Community health promotion and event management.

Ngā Purapura embodies the collective aspirations of kaumātua, staff, graduates, students and community groups who aspire to good health and optimal wellbeing. The name Ngā Purapura is a metaphorical reference to the dual notions of human potential and human development. A purapura, when provided with the necessary ingredients of water and sunshine will inevitably grow to reach its full potential and become healthy and strong. This journey is likened to the pathway of discovery and learning that students studying at Te Wānanga o Raukawa embark upon.

If they are able to acquire new knowledge, uplifting experiences and spiritual nourishment during their time at the wānanga they will be well prepared to make a positive contribution. Students now have the opportunity to be able to work towards fulfilment of their goals and aspirations in the area of Te Taha Tinana, the fourth domain of Te Whare Tapa Whā. Though utilisation of Ngā Purapura will not guarantee immediate success, it can, however, act as an initial catalyst and impetus for lifestyle change and empower students to practice sustainable tikanga that enhance their own lives and the lives of their whānau.

It is now almost one year since Ngā Purapura officially opened. Within this period many people have visited and utilised the services, expertise and facilities on offer. It has also provided an opportunity

¹ Poutuarongo Kawa Oranga is a 3-year Bachelor-level degree programme in Māori exercise, nutrition & wellbeing. He Kawa Oranga is the title of a PhD thesis (nā Meihana Durie).

Table 1. Ten Guiding Kaupapa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa (Durie, 2011, p. 188)

Kaupapa	Description	Application to Ngā Purapura
Whakapapa	Kinship links that connect successive generations	Creating successive generations of healthy, active & fully empowered whānau
Te Reo	The primary language of Te Wānanga o Raukawa	Embedded within all aspects of delivery to support acquisition
Kaitiakitanga	Guardianship of resources of value to whānau, hapū & iwi	Prevention of sedentary related illness health & wellbeing and promotion of wellbeing
Rangatiratanga	Demonstrating leadership, humility and enterprise	Empowering students to assume wellbeing leadership roles within whānau environments
Kotahitanga	A unity of purpose created through an overall vision	Uniting whānau, hapū and iwi through a vision for Māori wellbeing
Whanaungatanga	Enhancement & encouragement of kinship and supportive relationships	Creating opportunities to initiate new relationships and develop wider networks through participation and competition in exercise, sport and Māori wellbeing
Pukengatanga	Excellence in pursuit of mātauranga Māori	Learning new skills and consistently improving ability across the ten areas of wellbeing
Wairuatanga	Awareness of the spiritual connection to the environment including maunga, awa, moana	Utilising the natural environment for exercise related activities in places of significance to whānau, hapū & iwi
Ūkaipōtanga	Acknowledgement of Tūrangawaewae as a source of energy, strength & nourishment	Maximising opportunities to draw nourishment from one's Tūrangawaewae
Manaakitanga	Mana-enhancing behaviour	Generosity of time & knowledge to others

for staff to observe specific things that work well and to cast aside those things that haven't worked so well. This process reinforces the earlier discussion around the evolving and dynamic nature of tikanga. Observation of specific actions, practices and behaviours has enabled the identification of tikanga which have been genuinely positive, uplifting or mana enhancing and as well as those that have not. Thus a more consistent range of tikanga have now emerged as users of Ngā Purapura have become more familiar with their surroundings and as staff have become more familiar with their users. One emerging pattern of interest is the formation of small groups of users who share similar goals and aspirations in relation to physical wellbeing. Specific modes of group exercise have been developed around the specific needs of those groups.

The exercise classes each have a specific kaupapa which reflects those requirements in the level of intensity, duration and complexity. Hau Kore for

example, is geared specifically towards athletes who require high intensity interval training in order to replicate performance conditions that they might encounter in their sport.

This process is also enabling the development of specific kawa relevant to the areas of exercise, nutrition, and wellbeing and group interaction. One of the fundamental overarching goals of Ngā Purapura is to give full expression to the Ten Guiding Kaupapa of Te Wānanga o Raukawa. The Guiding Kaupapa comprise specific values that inform, inspire and guide Te Wānanga o Raukawa in all facets of performance and operations. Table 1 demonstrates the application of each Guiding Kaupapa to Ngā Purapura.

As previously mentioned, the initial impetus for Ngā Purapura was attributable in part to the development of a new academic programme by Māori and for Māori specifically in the fields of exercise, sport, nutrition and Māori wellbeing. After

a period of consultation, the Kawa Oranga degree programme was launched at Te Wānanga o Raukawa at the beginning of 2010. It aims to produce graduates who can fulfil leadership roles in Te Taha Tinana. Kawa Oranga incorporates elements of exercise, sport, nutrition, and Māori health promotion.

Students receive hands-on training and relevant expertise in various aspects of Māori wellbeing and research and explore their own whakapapa connections at whānau, hapū and iwi levels. Mātauranga Māori is also integrated into the programme. Kaupapa, tikanga and kawa are promoted as useful tools for promotion and engagement of Te Taha Tinana within Māori communities, including sites such as the household, kōhanga, kura and the marae.

Students in Kawa Oranga represent a wide range of ages and backgrounds ranging from senior wharekura students to competitive athletes or Māori health promoters to pakeke who simply wish to learn how to provide guidance in these areas for their own tamariki and mokopuna. Some of the first generation of Kawa Oranga graduates are now working in Ngā Purapura and are able to apply their expertise across a broad range of fields.

KIA TUPU TE ORA

More recently, Ngā Purapura has been closely involved in the development of a new initiative called Kia Tupu te Ora. Focused on whānau wellbeing, it draws from the values of manaakitanga, whakapapa, rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga. Kia Tupu Te Ora has a particular focus on the wellbeing of tamariki and mokopuna. One of primary objectives of the initiative is to empower Te Wānanga o Raukawa to move collectively towards becoming a Tūpeka Kore (tobacco free) campus by the year 2015. Rather than focusing on punitive measures towards smokers or addressing arising behavioural issues, the initiative focuses instead on setting in place positive examples for tamariki and mokopuna.

This will be achieved by ensuring that staff and students of Te Wānanga o Raukawa are empowered to take active roles as kaitiaki of safe, healthy and smokefree environments on and around campus, in the household and on the marae. This will enable tamariki and mokopuna to move freely without exposure to smoking or smoke. By firstly identifying the fundamental kaupapa of this approach (he oranga

tamariki, he oranga mokopuna) it is hoped that the resulting tikanga will embody the principles of these values. The kawa underpinning this initiative is *Te Kawa o Te Ako*.

OBSERVATIONS OF CONTEMPORARY KAWA

The major research question underpinning He Kawa Oranga is, “Can the concept and application of kawa be usefully applied to a range of situations in modern times?” The answer is “yes”, but a qualified “yes” insofar as some sites of application bring about the risk of undermining the authenticity and impact of kawa.

In other words, when the outward expression of kawa is detached from the philosophical base of kawa, then it is unlikely to be useful, at the least in the long term. A kawa that is alienated from a mātauranga Māori base soon becomes a shallow set of procedures that may have greater theatrical significance but that will not constitute a genuine pathway towards engagement.

Kawa are strengthened further by tikanga and ritenga which are employed to give expression to the kawa and also by the choice of karakia, waiata and other modes of engagement such as haka. Perhaps the most significant finding is that the integrity, authenticity and value of kawa depend on the ways in which it is used, the purposes for which it is used and the benefits that arise from its use. Moreover, the value of kawa is often a function of the context within which it is applied. When introduced to a situation where two or more systems are operating kawa may be misrepresented. If the two systems are so far apart that the significance of one system is only judged by what is significant to the other, little will be achieved. At the same time, if kawa is to be a meaningful part of the lives of Māori in the future, then inevitably there will be an increasing number of situations where two value sets prevail. The challenge will be to develop kawa that are built on secure cultural foundations, that can reflect a set of kaupapa, and that can be practised without undermining either set of values. In other words the kawa should be mana enhancing (Durie, 2011, p. 346).

Kaupapa are reflected in patterns of social interaction and the conventions that govern engagement and outward expressions of group

distinctiveness. Kaupapa can also contain the underlying principles and philosophies which distinguish kawa. Kaupapa therefore is to kawa, what theory is to practice; one provides the basis and validation for the other. Although kawa applied to contemporary situations may be far removed from customary circumstances, it is nonetheless based on Māori worldviews and mātauranga Māori.

Changes in the roles that people play within contemporary Māori society may also dictate fundamental changes to the way that kawa are applied. Is it possible that new kawa might be portable in order to be used whenever or wherever the situation dictates? Can new modes of engagement be used? Is it necessary for group-based engagement to always occur or is it possible for an individual to manage this process if all of the necessary elements are in place? How can new kawa reflect the specific needs of both wāhine and tāne? These questions will be answered if and when Māori begin to test these notions across the next decade.

There has been sufficient evidence in Aotearoa to suggest that when Māori values are promoted within a larger organisation or system, the result is often disappointing. Invariably, as Māori experience in Parliament and many other settings has shown, the values that drive the organisation invariably take precedence over Māori values, including kawa. This is partly why tikanga-Māori institutions such as Te Wānanga o Raukawa have been established. Therefore, any consideration of the potential for kawa to exist within an organisational entity ought to firstly clarify exactly what the institutional values are and whether or not Māori values would be accorded greatest priority.

KAWA AND MANA

The concept of mana underlies the five main conclusions of He Kawa Oranga. The findings represent an amalgamation of the findings of data collation.

Mana Atua

As previously discussed, a fundamental foundation of kawa is mātauranga Māori. The relationship between tangata whenua and the environment is regarded as an essential basis for the organisation of knowledge, the categorisation of life experiences, and the shaping of

attitudes and patterns of thinking. Because identity is regarded as an extension of the environment, there is an element of inseparability between people and the natural world. The individual is a part of all creation and the idea that the world or creation exists for the purpose of human domination and exploitation is absent from indigenous worldviews (Durie, 2011, p. 348).

Mana Tangata

A second conclusion is that kawa enables human dignity to be maintained and human potential to be realised. Kawa has several implications for human potential including a link between individual potential and group potential and the distinction between the potential of one group as opposed to the potential of another. Kawa also embeds a worldview that can give individuals and groups a sense of purpose and the confidence to attain new heights. Potential is reached because there is support, endorsement of worth and guidelines that foster safety, wellbeing, integrity and opportunity (Durie, 2011, p. 352).

When kawa enhances the mana of the whole group, whether it be a hapū, kura or sports team, the mana of each person is also enhanced. By the same token the actions of one person are capable of diminishing the standing of the whole group. Clearly, the relationships between individual members and the larger group that makes up a whānau, hapū or a community of interest have mutually reinforcing impacts.

The group context that typifies kawa, however, is in contrast to New Zealand's wider societal emphasis on individualism and individual freedoms. The collective nature of kawa can sometimes appear to contradict the values contained in doctrines of individual rights.

He Kawa Oranga raises the possibility of a kawa, or a series of kawa that will be relevant to whānau in their everyday lives. Whānau kawa might include a set of protocols around kai, sport, or education, based on mātauranga Māori but relevant to contemporary society. Though they need not be oppositional, a whānau-based kawa, for example should be able to balance collective whānau goals with the goals of individual whānau members.

Table 2. Kawa and Mana

Mana	The Descriptor	The Link to Kawa	The Impact
Mana Atua	The philosophical and theoretical foundations of kawa have an ecological origin	Māori knowledge underpins the values that sustain kawa	Kawa engages participants in a Māori worldview that has strong connections to the environment
Mana Tangata	The empowerment of people through kawa	The standing of people can be enhanced by kawa	Kawa mediates human relationships and human dignity
Mana Wairua	The use of kaupapa and ritenga as tools for engagement	The kaupapa and rituals of kawa contain cultural & spiritual dimensions that are distinctive to Māori	The impact of kawa is increased by cultural & spiritual components
Mana Whakahaere	The processes of kawa and the applications of kawa	Kawa provides guidance for the development of processes to facilitate engagement	Kawa creates certainty and order through a consistent approach to active engagement
Mana Rangatira	The critical role of leaders in the maintenance and practice of kawa	Kawa will be enhanced by leadership that is skilled in kaupapa tuku iho & attuned to societal changes	The maintenance & ongoing development of kawa depends on effective leadership

Mana Wairua

A third conclusion is that the practice of kawa incorporates kaupapa and ritenga (or tikanga) that convey both secular and spiritual messages. The messages may be aimed at welcoming visitors, acknowledging deceased relatives, challenging rivals, encouraging tamariki or promoting unity. They may also focus on very specific matters such as advocating consumption of unprocessed foods or abandoning tobacco use, or reclaiming land lost through unfair means. The choices of ritenga largely define the actions of kawa and identify the participants involved in the kawa, while the performance of ritenga demonstrates the strength and commitment of the participants to enforce whatever message is intended. Ritenga contain metaphor and allusion that add meaning to the occasion and often provide a wider historical context. The critical and perhaps most definitive element of kawa is Te Reo Māori. It is not possible to characterise the ritual of kawa without the incorporation of ritenga and kaupapa that are defined and set entirely within Te Reo Māori.

Spirituality is the other core component of kawa that can heighten the level of engagement by participants. Kawa can be constructed in many different ways but all examples undoubtedly retain a spiritual dimension as a fundamental element (Durie, 2011, p. 357).

Mana Whakahaere

A fourth conclusion is that kawa facilitates engagement through a process that inspires commitment, guides behaviour and generates confidence. Essentially, kawa is a process that enables people to engage with others, with the environment, with language, with culture, with society, with a range of contemporary agendas and with the future. The process is structured but not entirely inflexible and recognises the different needs of groups and different levels of engagement that are appropriate for various situations.

Inevitably, kawa also provides a pathway for engagement with Te Ao Māori. The rituals used to embed the kawa are derived from Māori culture and knowledge and participants are offered entry into that

world. Although a kawa may be engaged in a particular endeavour or purpose not directly linked to Te Ao Māori (Durie, 2011, p. 358), it nonetheless leads to an engagement with the culture. Because it involves Māori culture and people, an association with kawa also raises the increased likelihood of association with a network of Māori organisations. A thrust for development is part of the indigenous journey; it is a product of a dynamic system, an integral part of the physical and social environment of communities and a collective good. Because mātauranga Māori is a system of knowledge that can respond to changing environments, kawa is also a method of engagement that can meet changing environments.

Mana Rangatira

Maintenance and the ongoing development of kawa depends on effective leadership (Durie, 2011, p. 361). Strong leadership is the reason why kawa has continued to flourish on marae, even after the major social dislocations that accompanied urbanisation. Without strong and informed leadership kawa will be difficult to maintain. It will also be difficult for kawa to survive in new circumstances without losing the values and worldviews that lend authenticity and distinctiveness. Not only does the application of kawa require the passing on of teachings from earlier generations, but increasingly, it will require a type of leadership that can facilitate the practice of kawa in new situations and environments.

Guardianship of kawa is important for a number of reasons. Unless the tikanga and ritenga that underpin kawa are meaningful to the circumstances, they will have little more than a token value. Guardianship implies a capacity to know which ritenga are relevant to site and situation; which are grounded in local environments; and which hold significance for the participants and the reasons that have brought them together. A kawa for learning will be different to a kawa for a tangihanga or a kawa for whānau hospitality. As guardians of kawa, leaders also carry some responsibility to monitor the ways in which ritenga are delivered and to tutor those who will carry out the delivery. Kawa performed in a casual or inaccurate way will negate any benefits and in the process undermine the integrity of the kawa itself.

In addition to being guardians of kawa, and ensuring that they are authentic, accurate and appropriate, the

leaders of kawa also have responsibilities to explain to the participants the significance of karakia, waiata, haka and other ritenga (Durie, 2011, p. 362).

Many participants in kawa will have little understanding of the deeper meanings behind the words or songs and as a result their active participation will be limited. Although the impact of kawa can often be “sensed” as a spiritual experience, intellectual understanding of the implications of metaphorical language and the meaning of words not often used in colloquial conversation, adds to the impact. Findings from He Kawa Oranga suggest that engagement in kawa is more enthusiastic when participants can comprehend the literal and symbolic meanings and can fully appreciate the significance of ritenga to a particular occasion.

Apart from preserving the integrity of kawa and ensuring the faithful transmission of mātauranga Māori between generations, leaders will be increasingly called upon to recommend or lead kawa in novel situations. For Māori leadership, that expectation will give rise to at least two challenges. First, predictably, the post-modern context will not be based around Māori worldviews or values; it is more likely to be driven by global trends and universal concepts. A kawa that is developed to ease the transition from one environment to another will be valuable to whānau who might struggle to engage with a new situation.

A second challenge will be to develop a kawa that can be relevant and sustainable in a wider context in situations where being Māori is not necessarily afforded high priority. For example, students and staff at Te Wānanga o Raukawa have been enveloped within an environment where being Māori is the norm and where the application of kawa is a normalised experience. Commitment to a kawa where being Māori is not the norm (as became the case when English land law replaced Māori land tenure, for example), will require leaders to create prompts and cues that can be employed once outside a Māori responsive environment.

It may be decided that because an environment is entirely incompatible with Māori values, instituting a kawa might create a conflict that could hinder rather than facilitate engagement with a new situation. Leaders in that situation might advise against instituting a kawa, not only to reduce conflicts for

would-be participants but to also safeguard the integrity of kawa and to prevent the potential devaluing of mātauranga Māori.

CONCLUSION

This paper has presented five major conclusions regarding kawa (Durie, 2011, p. 363):

1. That the foundation of kawa is mātauranga Māori;
2. Kawa enables human dignity to be maintained and human potential to be realised;
3. The impact of kawa is intensified by kaupapa and ritenga that convey both secular and spiritual messages;
4. Kawa facilitates engagement through a process that inspires commitment, guides behaviour and generates confidence;
5. The maintenance and ongoing development of kawa depends on effective leadership.

Underlying all five conclusions is the theme of engagement; engagement with people, place, objects, innovation, learning and discovery. The value of kawa as a vehicle for guiding social encounters and facilitating environmental connectedness is well illustrated within iwi oral traditions and practices. He Kawa Oranga suggests that kawa has immense potential as a way of engaging people within new environments.

Over the next few decades those environments will often be part of a global cultural expansion within which tikanga Māori and mātauranga Māori will play relatively little part. The strength and significance of kawa can be heightened when it occurs within a wider context where Māori values, kaupapa, and worldviews, āronga, prevail. There is, however, also a suggestion that kawa might be useful to Māori in situations where the wider context is shaped by other values and beliefs.

As waves of settlers from Europe took up residence in Aotearoa during the 1800s, Māori were exposed to entirely new situations and lifestyles. Alienation from land, language and culture occurred in quick succession with serious consequences for survival. Within half a century the Māori population declined from an estimated 200,000 to less than 42,000 (Durie, 2011, p. 364). For many of the subsequent years it seemed that Māori ways of life and the associated cultural knowledge would be irrelevant and would confer no advantage in the new order. But by the latter half of the twentieth century, the evidence suggested

that cultural values, knowledge and practices could actually facilitate engagement with health, education, technology, broadcasting, defence and commercial practice. Although the wider societal environment was still largely driven by Western ideals, the application of tikanga could nonetheless increase Māori participation in contemporary fields. That observation has been confirmed in He Kawa Oranga. The application of kawa to future environments which are as different as tertiary education and climate change, the use of kawa to guide whānau during times of increasingly rapid change, have been seen as distant possibilities.

To be effective though, kawa needs to retain a theoretical and philosophical base that is derived from mātauranga Māori. Impact will not only depend on the ways in which kaupapa are maintained and ritenga are used, but also on a type of leadership that can mediate between yesterday and tomorrow. While some doubt is raised about the sustainability of kawa in environments that are indifferent or hostile to Māori values, kawa based on mātauranga Māori can contribute positively to those same environments.

In brief, kawa is a concept and a practice that has the potential to guide Māori into 21st-century environments while at the same time retaining strong connections with Māori values and worldviews. The applications of kawa and the values that underpin kawa are not bound by time, technology, place or global imperialism but are derived from ancient knowledge and are built around principles that have withstood change in the past and will be relevant to change in the future (Durie, 2011, p. 365).

The challenges that face Māori communities and future generations of tamariki and mokopuna are significant. By sharing information and by creating new knowledge relevant to Māori futures, whānau will be well-equipped to navigate their own life pathways within a rapidly changing environment. The application of kawa in this context can enhance outcomes for whānau across multiple scenarios provided that the intentions are right and that adequate leadership is provided.

In order for Māori aspirations to continue to advance, grow and flourish the development of a research base beyond the parameters of post-colonisation discourse will also be increasingly important. Research that focuses on new Māori endeavour

and creative innovation will perhaps set in place an emerging research theme for the next decade and beyond. Empowering Māori to break free of the shackles and imposition of the past requires sights to be fixed firmly upon new horizons. The examples of transformative initiatives discussed in this paper, including Ngā Purapura and Te Kawa o Te Ako, illustrate a growing number of future-focused kaupapa Māori initiatives.

This conference, Kei Tua o Te Pae, has demonstrated a significant shift away from research as a means of highlighting inequities in areas such as Māori health and education and modelled a shift towards sustainable and innovative solutions grounded in the values of our tūpuna. Innovation, bold leadership and the application of mātauranga Māori will become the hallmarks of Māori transformation and engagement in the 21st century. Tēnā koutou katoa.

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HUI REFLECTIONS: THE POWER IN OUR TRUTH, THE TRUTH OF OUR POWER

Moana Jackson

First of all I would like to thank the wānanga for looking after us these last two days and for giving us living examples of tikanga. I'm sure everyone appreciates the efforts and contributions made by you all. Secondly I would like to thank Ani and Jessica and the rest of Te Wāhanga at NZCER for all the work that they have done to ensure that we came together. Finally, a special thanks to all of you for simply being here, because I think that what we have been part of in the last two days has been something quite special, something remarkable. I'd like to try and describe what that remarkable thing is and then try to pull some threads together.

Over the years when our people have tried to deconstruct and discuss what colonisation has done and continues to do to us as a people, we sometimes use the phrase "talking truth to power." In telling our stories, we are telling our truth to those like the colonising Crown that now hold power over us. I can understand why our people have used that term, especially when our truth has for so long been denied. Yet I have always felt a bit uncomfortable with the saying because it seems to me that in placing our truth before them we are actually further privileging their power by asking them to understand us.

What has happened yesterday and today I think is something quite different because rather than talking truth to their power, I think that what we have done is talk "the power in our truth". I believe that in doing that we have also, in a small way, taken back the truth of our power. Indeed in my view simply to talk about and question what we understand tikanga to mean is to reclaim some of the power to define that was inherent in our intellectual tradition, and in the exercise of our mana and tino rangatiratanga. And for us all to simply come together as Māori and talk ourselves—not talk to the Crown, not talk what people out there do to us—but talk ourselves,

has been both inspiring and enlightening. By taking the time and space to think about those things we have also of course been compelled to think about what makes us who we are or what we might yet be, something which we do not often have enough time to do in the stressed and stressful world that we have to inhabit. So for me these last two days have been very precious as well as very special.

They have been particularly special because trying to discuss the very idea of a changing tikanga is not just a chance to wānanga about it as a "normal course of events" occurrence but rather an opportunity to reclaim what it is for ourselves. And I think that is something really necessary, partly because tikanga is, among other things, a product of our intellectual tradition, and in taking the chance to discuss it as a potentially vibrant and changing construct, we are rejecting the fundamental colonising dialectic that we did not have a "real" intellectual tradition. That presumption was of course an integral part of the colonising rhetoric that we were not civilised, not intellectual enough to have developed any sense of moral or legal or philosophical refinement. Because of that alleged incapacity we were then taught that "real" knowledge was developed somewhere else, and many of us even learned to think that maybe Elsdon Best was right when he said in one of his books that "[u]ncivilised folk, such as our Maori, may not do any great amount of thinking, or purposely indulge in metaphysical studies" (1995, p. 31).

However the fatuous racism of such a statement is obvious if only because all peoples have an intellectual tradition, because everyone has a naturally profound ability to think. In our case we simply thought tikanga into being out of the mind-fields of our imagination, and at this hui we have continued that process. It has been absolutely necessary and tika that we should do so.

It has also been necessary for us to discuss and even critique tikanga because we continue to face very real tikanga issues every day. For example, most of our people are now justifiably angry and concerned about what is happening to too many of our mokopuna and the dreadful if media-exaggerated statistics of child abuse among some of our whānau. Many of you here have worked for years trying to find strategies to remedy the situation, and there are many effective programmes now in place, each of which acknowledges that there is a tikanga about the care and protection of our mokopuna, and that any instance of abuse is not due to failings or shortcomings in the tikanga itself. Instead it is simply further evidence of how it has been taken away or corrupted as part of colonisation's on-going power to redefine or destroy who and what we are.

For our tikanga, like everything else in our world, has been damaged, distorted and denied in the process of colonisation. I will return to that point later because I have been asked to do more than just be inspired and moved by the kōrero or angered by what colonisation does. Instead I have been asked to reflect upon and come up with some understanding of tikanga based on what I've heard and the discussions I have been party to in the workshops and so on. I do apologise for not getting around to all of the workshop groups but I'm afraid my Ngāti Porou side kept surfacing and I felt the need to say something wherever I went which meant that I got delayed in some groups longer than I had anticipated. But from all of your contributions I do hope I have been able to distil something that is worthwhile.

Perhaps the best place to start is with one of Ani's many wise and profound sayings that tikanga is the first law of this land. And like any law it is underpinned by values and kaupapa, and gives expression to both a sense of place and a sense of social purpose.

Within that sense of tikanga as law it is possible to identify what may be called the five essential characteristics of tikanga, the ideas and values that encapsulate its origins, its purpose and indeed its very essence. I have identified these "rationales of or for tikanga" as follows:

1. Tikanga as the measure of intimate distance.
2. Tikanga as the ethical or moral imagination.
3. Tikanga as the jural expression of what ought to be.

4. Tikanga as the voice of dreaming.
5. Tikanga as the reality of power.

TIKANGA AS THE MEASURE OF INTIMATE DISTANCE

When our people first came to these islands we travelled across the greatest ocean in the world at a time when people in Europe were still too frightened to travel too far from the Coast in case they sailed over the edge of the earth. We held no such fear and navigated this vast ocean called the Pacific to land in a place that was shockingly new yet strangely familiar. For even though the land was much bigger and quite different (as well as colder) than the places we had known, it was still part of the Pacific. These were, and still are, Pacific Islands.

Bearing that in mind I must say that one of the many things that does upset me about what colonisation has done to us, is that it has taught us to separate ourselves from the Pacific Islands and its peoples. We are constantly reminded for example that we are New Zealanders and Pacific Islanders are those others out there—Tongan, Samoan, Rarotongan, and so on. Yet if these islands aren't islands in the Pacific, then I don't know what they are. They are not islands in the Mediterranean, they are not islands in the Black Sea; they are Pacific Islands and we are peoples of the Pacific. And when you are an island people, it necessarily creates a sense of intimate distance.

Thus although Te Oneroa a Tohe (the stretch of coast that Pākehā call Ninety Mile Beach) was much longer than any other beach we had seen before, it was never so long that you couldn't see from one end to the other. The mountains we named and took as our own were generally much higher and much bigger than any mountains we had seen before but they were never too big to be forbidding nor too far from the sea to seem isolated in their splendour. Rather they were close and small enough to be comforting so that we could name them in our pepeha. And the rivers that veined through Papatūānuku were much colder than any rivers we had known before, but they still flowed to the sea with the same certainty as any awa on other islands and they still fed us and gave us highways across the land.

Indeed in these islands we understood that distance was relative and intimate. Animate and inanimate beings were never too far away to touch or see, and

the sounds of the land itself were never too far away to hear. Tikanga was shaped by that sense of intimate distance and was devised, developed and lived by our people to create a safe place where any foreboding or fear of a distant space could be reduced in the intimacy of relationships. It enabled us to shrink distance in reality and philosophy through the matrix of whakapapa, and constantly drew every horizon near so that we could become who we have become. So to me tikanga can be seen in part as a measure of the intimate distance that comes from the stories in this land and the idea of being close to and part of it.

TIKANGA AS THE ETHICAL OR MORAL IMAGINATION

Tikanga is like any law in that it is derived from and gives expression to the ethical and moral imaginings that our people have drawn from whakapapa and the sense of intimate distance. There are of course no limits to the human imagination but in terms of tikanga I think its ethical and moral dimensions consist of two parts, of two different imaginings if you like.

The first I call the wondrous imagining, or to steal from Kim McBreen this morning—the awesomeness imagining. It is based on a recognition that there is wonder in the world, that there is a beauty in this intimate distance that we have come to call home. Such wonder can be manifest in many ways. It manifests itself for example in the knowledge that our ancestors who have gone before are still with us and will be with us in the future for our mokopuna. There is awe in that knowledge because it can banish alone-ness in the certainty of collective identity and provide comfort in the face of adversity—the sort of comfort that also comes with, say, the awesomeness of holding a newborn baby and accepting the responsibility to care for it in a loving and indeed a tika way. Tikanga has shaped that certainty and wonder into the prescriptions and proscriptions of whakapapa in general and thus all of the relationships it entails, whether among ourselves, for a baby, or with the universe.

There is a sense of awesomeness too in the feelings that we can experience in the land itself if we know its intimacy. Sometimes they are simply evoked by what we see, as happened when I went for a walk this morning to compile my literature review from

the stories that seep through this rohe. Although the beach and coastline here are different to those in the east where the sun first touches the sea and land, I could still work out what I might say to you because it had its own ineffable comfort that helped clarify my thinking. The moon reflected off the water, the phosphorescence tipped the waves and there was a beauty almost beyond description. In that context “awesomeness” and a sense of wonder are the underpinnings that enabled our tipuna to develop tikanga by translating the basic awe and appreciation of beauty into a reason to protect and safeguard it as part of the exercise of our rangatiratanga and the consequent responsibility to be kaitiaki.

The second ethical or moral imagining is what may be called the intellectual or philosophical determination of what is right and wrong or acceptable and unacceptable. Our people learned to define the tika and non-tika through experience and a deep understanding of the land, which in turn led to a moral sensibility that was also predicated upon the intimacy of distance and the whakapapa-based ideal of relationships. It was in a sense an internalised morality inherent in the reciprocity of belonging and was therefore quite distinct from say the Christian moral sense which is based upon some externalised notion of divinely ordained good and evil.

This dimension of tikanga (and the contrary Christian discourse) can be seen in the recent and on-going debate over the Marriage Equality Bill that is currently before Parliament. As you will know Hone Harawira copped a lot of flak a few months ago for equivocating and not appearing to make a firm stand in support of the Bill. I received a call one day from his staff asking if I could go and talk with him as a friend about the issue. I was a bit reluctant to do so for a couple of reasons. I don't like going to Parliament first of all, not just because I think it is an illegitimate site of power, but perhaps because of its illegitimacy I often feel it is a very toxic place to the wairua and tikanga of our people. But I was also reluctant because I had been thinking for some time about how I would approach the issue with him and I couldn't find a hook to hang the kōrero on. I wasn't sure how to discuss the topic in a way that could navigate the politics he was having to consider.

However the day before I agreed to have dinner with him there was an interview in the *New Zealand*

Herald in which he said “people may not realise that I am politically radical but morally conservative.” Although it was a comment he had made several times before I thought it might provide the hook I was looking for because the words “morally conservative” are culturally weighted in the texts of colonisation. I also thought that they might be relevant because Hone’s father was a very devout and conservative Anglican Minister, and the moral conservatism he was referring to was shaped by an ethic sourced in Christian ideas of sin and purity and similar evangelical teachings. While I never thought that he thought gays were objectionable or whatever, there are clear biblical prescriptions that say homosexuality is an abomination, a sin, and so on. There is a Biblically-derived moral abhorrence of homosexuality that actually conflicted with Maori definitions and understandings.

So when his staff left us after a good meal and he asked in his usual straight-forward way “What do you want to tell me about gay marriage?” I responded by asking if he could define where his belief that it was a moral issue might have come from. We then went on to discuss how within our own unique moral sensibility (our sense of what is tika), the idea of a moral or immoral relationship did not derive from a notion of externalised “sin” but rather from the question of whether there was honour and love and respect in the relationship. That was the question demanded by whakapapa (and the sense of intimate distance). In tikanga terms, the moral judgements that our people made about any particular relationship were not therefore “is it homosexual or heterosexual?” (or even is it sinful) but is it mutually respectful, is it loving, is it nurturing, does it preserve what is best about who we are? On that basis, I felt that there could be no tikanga opposition and therefore no moral objection to the Marriage Equality Bill.

I do not know whether his subsequent decision to support the Bill was influenced by our kōrero. However it does seem to me that tikanga as the product of our ethical and moral imagination reflects a perception about how we should view the world and the relationships within it—whether they are ones inspired by the beauty of the sea or ones heartened by the possibility of tenderness and care between any of our mokopuna.

TIKANGA AS THE JURAL EXPRESSION OF WHAT OUGHT TO BE

Law as a practical means of maintaining order necessarily draws together morality and place as a way regulating how humans ought to behave and what sanctions or redress might be available if they break the law. It thus moves from the purely moral injunction to be “good”, to the messy business of everyday life, and seeks a way to back the injunction with the promise or threat of action. It also gives the reasons why people should behave in a particular way, and grounds any consequences in a philosophy that reflects both the practicalities involved and the realisation that humans will err.

The jural component or essence of tikanga then is the translation of the intimacy and morality of relationships into guidelines for giving practical effect to them. The guidelines were not finite rules however but the principles, goals and values that the ancestors devised as they brought the wisdom of centuries to bear on changing circumstances, so that reason and tapu could be used to mediate emotion and unreason through an understanding of cause and imbalance. Whether it was the breach of tapu and damage done to a relationship through an act of rape or the imbalance caused when the land and water was misused, the jural essence of tikanga defined how life should be lived in a construct of relational entitlements and obligations.

It began with the presumption of interdependent relationships implicit in whakapapa, and overlaid it with the realisation that humans are not perfect beings but have the potential for an illimitable perfectibility. It was thus all-encompassing and defined what we ought to do in order to strive for perfection in the way we treat each other, in the way we treat the land, in the way we become part of who we are.

It was also premised on the profound insight that if an imbalance occurred (if something non-tika obscured the quest for perfection) then the immediate causes and motives were always complicated and many-sided. There was in effect a whole whakapapa of possible causes, and any redress needed to find a corresponding whakapapa of steps to restore the balance. The “law of the land” was as complex as the people and the land.

TIKANGA AS THE VOICE OF DREAMING

Because there are no limits to the imagination, and because whakapapa itself has no limits, tikanga gave us the opportunity to dream dreams and think the unthinkable. Indeed I often refer to whakapapa as being a series of never-ending beginnings because even as someone dies another baby is born, and that capacity to think for the time of the mokopuna made tikanga infinitely timeless. And because we knew there was always a future in the past that lay before us, we nurtured the possibility of dreaming, which meant that the voice of what we dreamed became essential to the vibrancy of tikanga.

In that sense tikanga is fundamentally developmental. It draws on timeless values such as manaakitanga and aroha but it has never been frozen in some smug or unchangeable certainty. Rather it has always had the potential to adapt and to measure new circumstances against the unchanging measure of intimate relationships simply because our tipuna knew that no mokopuna would ever be exactly the same as them.

TIKANGA AS THE REALITY OF POWER

In the end, law and the values of any people are only effective and only survive with resilience if the people to whom they belong have the moral, the political and indeed the constitutional power to ensure they are protected. What you think ought to be only has potency if you have the ability and authority to enable the dream to become a reality. Indeed for our tipuna, tikanga was real only because the effective exercise of mana and rangatiratanga provided the political, constitutional (and of course the moral) authority to protect it. Tikanga in turn legitimised the authority by providing the values and guidelines to ensure that political decisions were themselves tika. In very simple terms the reality of power was essential to the full expression of tikanga, and tikanga was necessary to the proper exercise of power. Political authority without law leads to a lawless society, and law without political authority creates a vacuum where values and dreams and the possibility of change become limited and constrained. In that case the inclusiveness of an intimate distance can become an exclusionary narrowness where relationships are thrown out of

balance, and flexible complexity can become an inflexible fundamentalism. Tikanga helped ensure openness, and in doing so also guaranteed the basic equality which relationships need to flourish.

I think that the papers that have been delivered at this conference, and the kōrero that has taken place, have tried to grapple with that sense of equality, especially between men and women, as well as with the potential of what tikanga was and might yet be. I mentioned earlier that the conference has also sought to reclaim our truth and power from the misappropriations of colonisation and I would like to briefly consider that task in the context of tikanga as the voice of dreaming. For what colonisation does among other things is stump the ability to dream. It limits or defers the ability to dream and replaces dreaming with nightmares until the only dreams that are permissible are those that the colonisers define. In particular it limits tikanga to some safe, constrained almost esoteric sidebar that is limited to the marae, when it once was the law for the whole land. The dream then becomes a cultural artefact rather than an expression and vehicle for the independence we once had.

The consequences of that imprisoning of the dream was once summed up by one of my favourite poets, the African American Langston Hughes who wrote in the period that's become known as the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s. It is perhaps appropriate to quote from a poet because there has always been a certain poetry in tikanga, and in one of his works Hughes wrote:

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
Like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore—
And then run?
... maybe it just sags
Like a heavy load.

Colonisation has dried up who we could be like a raisin in the sun, and has festered on our wairua like a sore dragging us down under the heavy load of oppression. Tikanga it seems to me was developed to help us dream of something other than that, something better, and hopefully the kōrero we have had together might help us find a way towards

healing. For if we pull these essences or rationales of tikanga together, the sense of intimate distance, the sense of an ethical imagination, of a jural expression of what we ought to be, as the dream of what we might yet become and the power that rests in us and in the tapu-ness of our relationships with each other, then we live as who we are meant to be.

Because above all, I think that the ideal of tikanga gave to us two fundamental and very human sureties. The first, as I have often referred to before, is that it gave us an absolute faith in ourselves. That we could sail any ocean, answer any question, meet any challenge because we knew within us that we could find the answers. The answers might not always be right, we might argue over the answers, one iwi might even think it's got a better answer than another, but the key attribute was that we had faith in ourselves to find those answers.

And if you have faith in yourself, then it seems to me you develop a reverence for others with whom you have relationships. Beyond awesomeness, beyond wonder, is a sense of reverence, not in some biblical notion of a divinely ordained construct, but as a deeply human belief that others with whom you relate, other humans, other animals, other parts of mother earth, are due reverence. They deserve to be revered. Thus for me the recognition of the tapu which we all have necessarily invokes a reciprocal reverence for the specialness of that person or that part of the universe.

I guess in closing I need to ask the inevitable question—where to now? I have some answers and suggestions for that as well.

What I would like to do, or suggest first, is that we make the time to have these spaces more often, when we can effectively wānanga about who we are, and what we could be. This busy world has little time for us, but if we can at least consciously choose to wānanga and even question tikanga or whatever else is important, then we help recreate and treasure that sense of intimate distance. We can then indeed use our ethical imagination to feel free.

The second suggestion I would like to make is that we acknowledge all the men who are here and I encourage us in particular to wānanga more about these issues. I think it has been an amazing programme of inspiring and gifted women speakers and I hope that in future we will have more men willing to participate actively in the kinds of debate

we have had over the last few days. In making that suggestion I am aware that often tikanga was redefined by the colonisers to privilege men over our women, and that some of our men now take that privilege to subordinate or silence our women. I am aware too that if I go to work for example with a group that is dealing with domestic violence, or the welfare of our mokopuna, or go to talk at a hauora hui, 90 percent of the people there are our women. However if I go to a hui about the latest possible deal with the Crown, 90 percent of people there will be our men.

That imbalance is one of the consequences of colonisation, and if we are to restore and rebuild tikanga, we need to restore that balance. We need to take back the ethical imagination which has long taught us that the essence of who we are in tikanga terms is the reverence due to everyone and everything in this world, including both our men and our women.

The third suggestion I would like to make is tied up with some of the work I'm currently involved in that I mentioned yesterday. A couple of years ago, as some of you will know, it was decided at a national iwi hui that instead of coming together to talk about the latest Crown policy, we needed to look at a more fundamental tikanga issue if you like, and that was the issue of constitutional transformation; that is how can we change the way in which governmental decisions are actually made. As a means of doing that the hui decided, and there were two to three thousand of our people at the hui, to set up a constitutional working group. I wasn't at the hui that day but when I arrived the next morning I found that in my absence, the group had been set up and I had been appointed co-chair, which is a very tikanga way of making decisions I guess. Margaret Mutu was appointed the other co-chair.

The reason I got here a little bit late yesterday morning was that our working group had its 45th hui with our people, as part of a process of travelling around the motu to discuss constitutional transformation. Our brief is very simple. If we could change tomorrow the way this land is governed, and if we could develop a relationship based upon what was envisioned in the 1835 Declaration of Independence, and in Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and most importantly upon tikanga, then what would that relationship look like and how could a new constitution reflect that?

So the suggestion that I have is really a request that you participate in our hui when the Working Group comes to your rohe. Because in a sense, if we can reclaim that constitutional authority, then in the end we are better able to protect what tikanga is and what tikanga might be.

The final suggestion I would like to leave with you is by way of two poems by two of my favourite Māori poets, both coincidentally from Ngā Puhi—I don't know if that means that people from the North are necessarily more poetic but certainly these men are gifted writers.

The first is from a collection of poems by Robert Sullivan and in a sense discusses what can happen when we see tikanga as the voice of dreaming, when we do not allow it to be corrupted or to have its dreams deferred. In the collection, our tipuna are called the holders of the compass who:

guide the waka between islands
between years and eyes of the Pacific
Out of mythologies into consciousness.

And as the waka journeys it becomes

feasible that we will enter
space ...
a space waka
rocketing to another orb
singing waiata to the spheres

(Sullivan, 1999)

That is the kind of dream that I believe inspired tikanga, and it is surely a dream still worth having.

The second poem is by Hone Tuwhare and although it is a nostalgic, almost sad reminiscence of childhood, I think we can draw analogies from it to understand tikanga, and what has happened to it. Perhaps more importantly it can give us hope that tikanga can live again in all its wonder and power.

Do you remember that wild stretch of land,
with the lone tree guarding the point
from the sharp-tongued sea?
The fort we built out of branches
wrenched from the tree, is dead wood now.
The air that was thick with the whirr of
toetoe spear succumbs at last

to the grey gull's wheel...

Allow me

to mend the broken ends
of shared days:

but I wanted to say

that the tree we climbed

that gave food and drink

to youthful dreams, is no more ...

Friend,

in this drear dreamless time I clasp

your hand if only for reassurance

that all our jewelled fantasies were

real and wore splendid rags.

Perhaps the tree

will strike fresh roots again

and give soothing change to a hurt and

troubled world. (Tuwhare, 1964)

To me what has happened to tikanga is like the tree. For there must have been times in our recent history when our people thought, worried, despaired that our tikanga might be reduced to dead wood. That the youthful dreams that gave rise to a sense of comfort in the intimate distance of this place might be no more. But we know that our jewelled fantasies are real, and that tikanga will always have strong and resilient roots giving shade to us, and to this hurt and troubled world. Reclaiming that kind of faith is a journey that I also think is well worth taking.

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SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP SESSIONS

INTRODUCTION

On the second day of Kei Tua o Te Pae two sets of facilitated workshops were held to give attendees the opportunity to reflect on and share their own ideas about tikanga.

The following summary highlights the rich dialogue from participants which is captured under the headings of three broad questions:

- He aha tēnei mea te tikanga?—What do you think tikanga is?
- Whakamāramatia he aha te tikanga?—Demystifying tikanga, and;
- He tikanga, he oranga—tikanga and everyday life.

We recognise that these and other questions around tikanga are interrelated. This was reflected in the workshops where in the process of answering the one question, many more questions were generated. The robustness of the debates and plethora of interesting ideas that were shared in the workshops leads us to believe that there should be more of these kinds of discussions, whether they are at wānanga like these, or at marae or whānau hui. Tikanga is alive and people need to talk about it.

HE AHA TĒNEI MEA TE TIKANGA? WHAT DO YOU THINK TIKANGA IS?

Ngā Pātai

- He aha tēnei mea te kawa, te kaupapa, te tikanga tuku iho? What is the difference between tikanga and kawa?
- Who defines tikanga and for what purpose? Is it a Christian or non-Māori belief system?
- Is tikanga about following rules, guidelines, theory, philosophy or law? If it is, then who defines the rules, guidelines, theory and philosophy?
- If tikanga is not working then why do we use it?

When tikanga does not serve us, when and how do we evolve it?

- How do you balance tikanga and kaupapa?
- What value does tikanga have for whānau who are urbanised, disconnected or who have faced intergenerational hardships?
- What are the roles of non-Māori parents and caregivers?

Ngā Whakaaro

- Tikanga are a set of lore such as tapu and noa that is living and relevant. These have been set down by our tūpuna and allow us to follow and carry out their mahi.
- Tikanga is embedded in mātauranga Māori and is linked to the past. It is an expression of self, whānau, hapū and iwi.
- Understanding tikanga as an individual is important when you are guided by your own personal power about why it is important to you. This knowledge will help to create an understanding about how you might talk about it with your tamariki.
- Tikanga provides the guidelines that drive the values we live by.
- Tikanga is about being honest and working within the correct set of methods.
- Tikanga is the practical application of a process through giving meaning to kaupapa based on kaitiakitanga, wairuatanga, manaakitanga, whāngai manuhiri.
- Tikanga is a process of survival.
- Tikanga is about using common sense to keep people safe and restores balance.
- Tikanga is not just reserved for marae. It applies in our homes and reinforces cultural rituals.
- Tikanga provides a way of being able to reframe

and take a position of influence.

- Tikanga is about survival and adapting to change when appropriate.
- When we don't adhere to tikanga our protection mechanisms are at risk.

WHAKAMĀRAMATIA HE AHA TE TIKANGA? DEMYSTIFYING TIKANGA

Ngā Pātai

- There is a fear of tapu—tapu is a protective mechanism—but how does this relate to the present? What is the role of tapu?
- In Nelson there is a lack of kaumātua and native speakers so can anyone mihi or practice tikanga?

Ngā Whakaaro

- Kia hoki ki te hōhonutanga o ngā tikanga, o ngā tūpuna, me hoki ki te kawa ora o ngā atua.
- Kia whakaitāpapa i ngā tikanga/kaupapa. Kia puta i ngā tikanga i ēnei rā. Kua whakatangatahia ngā tikanga. Kāore e hāngai ana ki te kawa.
- Kauae runga, kauae raro.
- Ka heke iho ngā tikanga o te wahine hoki.
- Ko te mana o te tikanga, ko te tapu. Me kawē i roto i ngā mahi o ia rā, o ia rā.
- He whai oranga nui kei roto.
- He wairua tō te tikanga, me whai wairua. Kua ngoikore tēnei taha i ēnei rā.
- He kawa, he karakia hei whakawātea i te taumahatanga, ngā mate, me ērā atu.
- Ngā matakite, te rongo-ā-tinana i ngā atua, ngā karakia.
- Tikanga involves a set of expressions that derive from manaakitanga, aroha, whānau and kaitiakitanga. Kawa derives from ngā atua Māori and aranga sets the context for tikanga as it stems from te timatanga o te ao.
- Tikanga is about Māori reclaiming themselves and Pākehā letting go.
- We need to stand on Papatūānuku to claim and know tikanga.
- Kei ia tangata tōna ake māramatanga ki ngā tāngata.
- Kei roto i te reo, te waiuatanga o ngā tikanga.
- I ēnei rā he nui ake ngā ritenga i ngā rerekētanga.
- There is no “one size fits all” model for tikanga. This is evidenced as each iwi has their own

interpretation about what tikanga is for them.

- Tikanga is about ensuring that a code of behaviour, customs and protocol are followed.
- It is about the upkeep of tapu, to ensure people are safe.
- Tikanga involves applying logic and practical solutions to problems.
- Tikanga is about understanding how we as a people can live to ensure the reciprocal relationship between all things including ngā maunga, taiao and tangata is upheld.
- It is about tau-utuutu the ability to converse and share ideas in a reciprocal respectful manner.
- He mātauranga, he tikanga ō ia hapū, ō ia iwi.
- E kore e tīni te kawa, engari ka tīni ngā tikanga, me ngohengohe ngā tikanga.
- Ko ngā tikanga o tō iwi, ko tō hauoratanga ake.
- I tipu ake i roto i ngā mātatorutanga o ngā tikanga a kui mā a koro mā, hei manaaki, hei whāngai atu ki ā tātou tamariki mokopuna.
- Ko te oranga o te iwi kei ā tātou tamariki mokopuna. Ko te oranga o te iwi.
- He mea tukituki ngā tikanga whānau / hapū me ngā whakahaerenga a tau iwi.
- Me wānanga tātou, ngā whānau / hapū / iwi.
- Me pēwhea te whakahoki wawe mai ngā tikanga tūpuna.
- Me whakanui te mana o te wahine. Kua mahue iho i ngā tāne. Ko te tangata tuatahi, ko te puna tangata, ko te puna mātauranga, tūturu a te iwi, ko ngā kuia.
- Tikanga—ehara i te whāiti, kei a tātou te tikanga ki te whakatō i ā tātou tamariki mokopuna.
- It provides opportunities for increased dialogue and creating spaces where tikanga can be explained to ensure there is shared understanding.
- There is a relationship between tikanga and tapu and we need to āta haere / tread slowly and carefully.

HE TIKANGA, HE ORANGA: REFLECTING ON WHAT TIKANGA MEANS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Ngā Pātai

- How do we create tikanga? To move forward we must acknowledge where we have been and the tikanga bestowed upon us that derives from ngā

Atua Tipuna.

- Should tikanga be a shared understanding or do we take it from someone older/wiser, or does it depend on the depth of your own knowledge?
- How can we ensure our tino rangatiratanga is respected?
- Can tikanga exist without the reo?
- I question my own tikanga, tikanga ā-tangata, tikanga ā-whānau, tikanga ā-hāpū, tikanga ā-iwi, tikanga ā-marae.
- Who holds the knowledge and who will they share it with? Is it with the elders on the marae?
- Is it possible to move in and out of tikanga? If so how is this practiced?
- What are the frameworks, tools and strategies that non Māori speakers raised on a marae can share with Māori who have not been raised on the marae? Can they give expression to tikanga without te reo?
- It is difficult to shift mainstream models so what solutions are there to ensure our tino rangatiratanga is respected?
- How much of our tikanga is colonised/Christianised?
- How can tikanga be applied to virtual spaces?
- How do we keep it relevant for rangatahi who have no relationship with their marae?
- What is the place of Pākehā in supporting Māori to reclaim their culture?

Ngā Whakaaro

- It is important to learn about tikanga by being engaged and involved in reo in order to normalise tikanga. This can be achieved by practicing tikanga and te reo in the home.
- Tikanga is a constitution for living well as Māori.
- Kawa is what we do and tikanga is how we do it.
- Tikanga is the first law of actions and processes. The processes and policies we follow are the right way of doing things for a particular people in a particular place. But tikanga may be different for different marae.
- It is important to keep teaching pūrākau and mōteatea.
- Tikanga controls the way we live and sets the parameters for everyday life.
- There are different tikanga for different occasions

such as pōhiri, taiao, marae, wharekura.

- We need to stop talking about rules and more importantly model tikanga.
- Tikanga is embodied in kaupapa, tikanga and aronga. For example kaupapa is about how we shape the world, tikanga refers to how we live in the world and aronga reminds us about how we see the world.
- E hoki ki tō maunga kia purea e ngā hau o Tāwhirimātea.
- Tikanga as a process is necessary for helping our communities and whānau to raise our children in happy, sociable environments.
- Tikanga is about adapting our environments to suit our tikanga.
- For many whānau the loss of tikanga is evident due to the increased rise of family violence and dysfunction. However through tikanga we can make a difference as individuals.
- This kōrero has given me the framework to go back to my own whānau to kōrero with my daughters and their partners about what tikanga is and how it can be practised in our whānau.
- This is a great opportunity to start creating Māori spaces in schools and marae as safe spaces for tamariki and whānau to hui in.

REFLECTIONS: HEALING VOICES TRANSFORMING FUTURES

Sophronia Smith

Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, Rakaipāka,
Ngāti Moe, Ngāti Porou

Squirming discomfort due to questions posed never before uttered which have sat in the seat of the puku scared and hidden, perhaps out of fear of slathering retorts to such ignoramus disrespectful positing. Perhaps afraid of what the response might be if I question the role of tikanga in the multiple contexts I navigate in.

Within the space of discomfort a voice is becoming, is being freed from its self-imposed cocoon, which has been locked away by the dogma “you don’t ask those question they are rude or just too uncomfortable”. And I realize discomfort and liberation cannot exist without each other!

Ani Mikaere speaks of Christianity and tikanga and I shift in my seat feeling somewhat threatened. Will I have to defend myself for being a Mormon? But my curiosity, in conflict with these emotions, is piqued and I listen attentively. A few of her thoughts prevail in my mind:

- Christianity has distorted tikanga through distorting ideologies of creation.
- Christianity is not ours.
- Ridding tikanga of Christianity is a first step in respecting tikanga.

I later admit to myself that I have asked myself those questions and similar ones. The tensions have been there and taken me on highs and lows, making me aware of my schizophrenic self. I enquire deeper within, and realize that being born and raised Mormon has helped me understand what tikanga is. How? To me, being a Mormon is a way of life, an expression of my personal values. And being Mormon has taught me to try to love and serve people. Is this not tikanga? Is tikanga not a set of behaviors reflecting personal values, and is tikanga not supposed to be about the well-being of all? The pieces of the puzzle don’t fit perfectly, and the aphorism “nobody is perfect” rings

so true. Nobody is perfect and nothing fits into boxes perfectly. So it appears I will exist in this conflicting reality. For now anyway!

Ngahuia Murphy speaks of Te Awa Atua: The River of life—menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world. Once again I feel awkward as she asks us to shout out loud two words “menstrual blood”. Am I feeling awkward because male are there or is it just I feel awkward? Outwardly I appear composed, but inwardly I am yelling, and with vigor and anger. I am reminded of those voices and words that educated me about the flow; “Paru, Yucky, Gross”. The blood has flowed month after month and has stained my psyche with self-hate, self-disgust. And I wish to scream and swear at the top of my voice.

The reality of the far reaching impacts and effects of colonisation becomes evident as I consider colonial constructs of menstruation which has bastardized its spiritual and divine essence. Those constructs have taught me, and my sisters of other mothers, to hate the disgustingness. On the other hand I celebrate in the kōrero which demystifies menstruation or Te Awa Atua as it is so rightly called. The following points are etched in my mind:

- In Ngāti Kahungunu, during times of battle the menstruating female warriors were sent to the front with blood slithering down her legs. Psychological warfare at its best, as the frightening and mighty sight of Te Awa Atua intimidated foe.
- Weapons were consecrated and made tapu through Te Awa Atua.

As I write this, and read this out loud to myself, at first I try to hold back tears, and then I allow them to flow. Tears emitting self-hate flow intermingled with tears of my sister’s pain. Almost as if the tears are cleansing me of pent up emotions, I later acknowledge I am not paru after all. I feel fortunate to know this information. But how many of my sisters do not know this? And how many more will there be that will bleed monthly, but bleed pain of self-hate because of their paruness? Enough of this!

Knowledge carries with it huge obligatory responsibilities to carry messages to people's minds, ears and spirits, but more importantly to transform people's hearts, and in doing so heal hearts, heal nations, and heal the future. Mereana Pitman reminds me that colonisation still exists. An example of that is the perpetuating of misogynous ideologies, which attempt to destroy the Mareikura essence, and in doing so it has attempts to threaten A and O, for A and O (Mareikura and Whatukura) need to exist in balance with each other.

Through attending Kei tua o te Pae my thinking has been challenged, some shifts have occurred, and deeper exploration of who I am in relation to the multiple roles I move in and out of has been required. Presently I have the kaitiaki responsibility to facilitate learning of the hearts and minds of future social workers studying at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa. I now understand the responsibility I have to ask the hard questions about tikanga, and whether tikanga in different context is good for the whanau we serve? In doing so I will cause some discomfort, cause myself further anguish, but as I stated before discomfort and liberation cannot exist without each other. The Mareikura who spoke during Kei Tua o Te Pae were role models of having courage to say that which is hard to say.

So what's next? I am reminded of the sentiment of my tipuna Te Whatahoro, "Kia heke iho rā i ngā tūpuna, kātahi ka tika"; which suggests if it is handed down by the ancestors, then it would be correct. Āe, tika! Furthermore, I am reminded of the words of Dr Whatarangi Winiata, that the application of tikanga is contextual. As we consider the changing world we exist in, the multiple contexts we navigate in and out of, and the positions and needs of the people with whom we serve and work with, admittedly the application of tikanga is not any easy one. However, an open heart and mind is necessary for I believe that tikanga is about the wellbeing of all people.

"Te Awa Atua—menstruation in the pre-colonial Māori world" by Ngahuia Murphy

This kōrero was powerful that had me shifting in my seat, and inspired me to submit a personal reflection of my own lived experience. I was also inspired by Moana Jackson's kōrero below to frame my reflection. Thank you both for helping me to be...

Brave

... to know who we are
... to know where we are at
... to know what we have to think
... to know where we go now and what we need to do to transform. (Jackson, 2011)

The bold women who spoke of blood and birth illuminated a broad spectrum of balance through colonial practice and tikanga.

Fiery red hair echoed the reo of our tipuna rang through me remembering the gifts of life that grew inside me, and the removal of reproductive organs to end my pain and suffering.

The astute minds of such learned people stirred my anger as I anguished over where I fit in this adaptable world between a Christian God or te atua .

A mental view of my Ngāti Kahungunu tipuna wahine with vaginal blood that flowed at the head of battle, also runs through my veins has me questioning my own values in this variable changing world.

How do I express my feelings of the effects I have had through the experience of being a woman? How do I evolve and rid myself of the once sharp agonising pain of menstruation blood and be at one with the moon and the earth?

I return to my ūkaipō and enter the ewe of my tamariki.

B—Blood – Birth – Balance – Bold – Broad

R—Reproductive – Red – Removal – Remember
– Reo (voice)

A—Adaptable – Astute – Anguish – Anger –
Atua (god)

V—Values – Variable – Veins – Vaginal – View

E—Evolve – Effects – Express – Experience –
Ewe (placenta)

REFLECTIONS

Te Ara Groot

Having attended this conference this is a summary of my impressions of the conference.

MY INITIAL IMPRESSIONS

Arriving on the first morning of the conference was a bit confusing because I assumed this was another Te Wānanga o Raukawa staff “thing”. However, I was pleasantly surprised to discover our staff were outnumbered by people from various tertiary education providers and community organisations, making this conference more intriguing than I could have hoped and I looked forward to hearing different perspectives.

Days leading up to this I was so excited because the subject interested me and I was hoping this conference would reveal something new, or perhaps be made privy to something only a select few get to know was an enticing prospect.

PRESENTATIONS

There were four presenters that really impressed me, and made me think about what is this thing we call truth. Each presenter supplied a version of what I identified as a truth:

1. Ngahuia Murphy—unearthed a segment of ngā taonga tuku iho providing traditional truth and balance. The strength of her kōrero was about providing the untainted and un-sanitised truth of our tupuna. Though I had not heard this before it did not feel like it was new information because it made sense and that is the beauty of truth, on some level we know this, we just need to be reminded.
2. Ani Mikaere—to shun the safety net of borrowed family truths. The strength of this kōrero was realising how bound we are to family expectations and loyalties and having the courage to break away.
3. Mereana Pitman—the destruction to individuals, families, hapu and iwi trying to live a truth that does not belong to them. The strength of this kōrero was seeing a false truth at its most insidious.
4. Kim McBreen—an individual’s right to their

unique truth without judgement, ridicule or threat.

The strength of this kōrero is realising the courage it takes to be who we really are without shame.

The truth they each refer to is the deplorable nature of colonisation that we have been brainwashed to believe is our truth. They each expose the various levels at which this false truth exists further identifying how infected each fibre of our cultural fabric has become, and how important it is to investigate and live by “our truth”.

WHAT THESE PRESENTATIONS ENABLED ME TO LEARN

Even before having time to process what I had been privy to through such eloquent and forthright speakers, each break meant mixing with people at the conference and either over hearing comments or being offered someone’s thoughts was both encouraging and annoying.

The encouraging aspect was that there were people on a similar par as myself but also open to another view. The annoying aspect was hearing comments like “It would have been better if there were an even mix of male and female speakers to get a more balanced account of the subject.” That annoyed me, but I was not sure why and even worse I knew this annoying and frustrating aspect would force me to find an answer.

An answer did not come until I got home to Rotorua the heart of male-dominated Te Arawa and then it struck me, having mainly female speakers at the conference was allowing the opportunity to get the balance back. For too long as a young female adult (after my kuia and koro passed away) right through to today most of my bosses and people considered knowledgeable have been men.

This had not always been the case growing up and raised by grandparents witnessing their walk in life was a shared responsibility. So too, were their roles in the hapū. However my father’s generation have certainly taken to male dominance like ducks to

water. Not all of them, I need to add, but certainly the majority, in Te Arawa that is. This was the generation that were part of the urban migration and taken away from their whenua and from what they know and into a new way of living, presenting the final piece to complete the colonisation and assimilation processes.

This conference was great hearing the depth of each speakers years of research put out for all to hear with confidence and it was their confidence and belief with which they spoke “our” truth that made me take note. The information and speakers reminded me of my own resolute belief that our tūpuna would not abandon us they each were proof of this.

WHERE TO NOW?

I am involved with marae-based studies in Rotorua and each year our base enrolls students heavily influenced by the American celebrity and gangster lifestyle. They come with literacy concerns, poor time management, a poor attitude and commitment toward work and study. They are largely second chance learners who did not have a positive learning experience when they were last at school. Every year it seems to get worse. As much as I would like this information offered at the conference to be readily available for these students I know they are not ready or open to hear it and it leaves me wondering where do we go from here?

Even though I came away from the conference feeling really glad I attended, the weeks since mixing with people at work, in study and at whānau, hapū level and sharing my experience of the conference has revealed two things: 1. How limited our knowledge pool is; and 2. What it would take to reintroduce our “truth” when our people are already so entrenched in a “borrowed truth”. That alone I find quite overwhelming, though typical of me given my personality wants things to happen ten yesterdays ago!!

On the positive side we have had students come through totally changed by what they have been exposed to as well as what they have been able to discover through research they have undertaken. Unfortunately they are the minority, the majority over the last eight years I have been involved with our MBS (marae-based studies) revealed a preference for things to be fun and easy with very little work or thinking. It appears our people do not see this kind of

study as important as getting a job to pay the bills. Or that a degree at a Māori university is not as exclusive or beneficial to them as a degree with a Pākehā university. We get too many enrolling because it keeps WINZ off their backs.

“Changing Worlds, Changing tikanga—Educating history and the future.” That is certainly the task ahead.

REFLECTIONS

Moko Morris

The conference began in a very masculine climate and slowly, over the course of the two days, was claimed by the feminine voices in the presentations, during the workshops and furthermore in the general atmosphere.

The presentation which has the potential to wield the most impact on our institution was Ani Mikaere and her challenge to reclaim an authentic understanding of ourselves. Her analysis of the influence on tikanga by the church, I enjoyed, as she challenged thought patterns and made light of situations that some hold dear. As a kaupapa-based organisation with the branding: “see the world through Māori eyes”, this is essentially where the challenge could be helpful.

Kim McBreen delivered a presentation which made me look at her in a different light. I watched her powerful presentation style in complete awe, as she recounted events and thoughts from her life and delivered them to us in a way which encouraged us to challenge ourselves and our behaviour. Formally adopting her awesomeness scale and proudly referencing her, I am thrilled to have access to a person of such ability, humour and humanity as a work colleague.

During the kōrero of Mereana Pitman, experiences and feelings emerged for me which I had thought were deeply buried. As I struggled to keep them hidden, her statements began to gnaw at my throat. Through the laughter from the audience, there is also a deep sadness. Having been in similar positions to women who she described, I recognised that place of powerlessness, of complete hopelessness, of trying to get out of a situation and, worse, of knowing that I was the designer of my own catastrophe. A common mistake people make is to assume that everyone has a choice, which is a nice theory, but as Mereana Pitman said, “context is everything”.

As I listened to her knowledge, I admired not only her understanding, but her deep desire and commitment to portraying the events which lead to

the cause. I also celebrated the decision I had made to remove myself and my children from that place. I have not forgiven myself for allowing violence into my whānau, for allowing my children to witness their mother unable to function as a mother should, and for exposing them to an environment which, if continued, would have probably modelled the norm for their children. This was, ultimately, the driving factor for me leaving. When I reflect on her kōrero, I have reached the conclusion that in a way I am exercising a modern-day form of muru, that is, I treat that person as though they are dead, by giving no acknowledgement, ignoring their presence and generally allowing no more energy to be expended willingly on those negative intrusions. In the future I would suggest having an 0800 number available for people who require follow up counselling sessions, as it can often be difficult to hold together when these unexpected feelings emerge uninvited. People think that “kei a koutou te ara tika” is sufficient, but it isn’t. Access to people like Mereana Pitman, who are knowledgeable, is.

Discussing and providing in-depth references regarding Māui and the menstruation cycle, was an empowering presentation, which created the most energy during the conference. Ngāhuia Murphy left the audience wanting more of her energy and passion to celebrate mana wahine, and wanting to make our contribution to ensuring that the next generation of wahine Māori are fully equipped emotionally and empowered to know their special place and significance in our creation stories. I looked at my daughter differently when I got home that night. I know that I will need to ensure she gets this message from me which, if I get it right, could create a memory for her to pass on to her children also. I thank Ngāhuia for reminding me of this.

Meihana Durie, as always, was captivating. He delivered his kōrero surrounding kawa and encouraging healthy lifestyle advancement, using the whare tapa whā model and the application of

our guiding principles. Te Whare Oranga has a huge contribution to make towards supporting our institution to actively engage with the kaupapa at a practical level, by honouring our atua with food choices which come directly from them, with no interference from outside influences, and which are grown with the health and wellbeing of our atua in mind.

Conferences like these are pointless if there is no institutional change that follows. The change needs to come from the top down and the bottom up at the same time. It is a general comment, but I would imagine that everyone who attended the conference has sown the seed for change within their immediate whānau. Perhaps this is enough. However, leaders and managers who can influence change are best able to assist our institution when environments are created which support trust, allow freedom of speech and thought but, most importantly, direct the change to occur.

In conclusion, there were many issues, items, and ironies that arose during the two-day conference, providing the opportunity for change within our institution. This prospect excites me the most. If I was to compile a list of recommendations, they would look like this:

1. The removal of karakia which support any reference to there being only one god.
2. A presence at theory and understanding of Te Wānanga o Raukawa for students, which encourages the idea of changing tikanga and changing worlds, and how TWoR provides a supportive environment for this to occur.
3. A yearly seminar for all our Māori rangatahi to hear Ngāhuia Murphy and be inspired and acknowledged.
4. Te Whare Whakatupu Mātauranga to provide a journal each year, documenting our institution's responses to situations and indicating where we could have done better.
5. Kai provided for at TWoR is prioritised by those producers whose values support our own eg: Hua parakore / Organic / Fair trade.
6. A yearly Kei Tua o te Pae seminar.

REFLECTIONS

Monique Lagan

Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira, Ngāti Kahungunu

Below are summaries of three presentations from Day 1 of the Kei Tua o Te Pae Conference held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in September 2012. Comment was made on these presentations as I found they particularly challenged my thinking and opened my mind up to whakaaro and pre-colonial practices and tikanga that I never knew existed. They also form the basis of three whāinga identified in this paper that I have set for myself and my whānau as a starting point in our personal journey that is the reclamation of tikanga Māori.

ANI MIKAERE

Ani's presentation really challenged the audience to analyse the origins of tikanga that we have always taken as a "given" and never questioned where and when they came to be. If we are to remain authentic to who we are then we must peel back the layers of our tikanga to discover its true source and its reason for being. This is no easy task as our main proponents and sources of guidance for our tikanga and protocol are our kaumatua. It goes against all we are taught to question the authority of our kaumatua and their knowledge on the validity of tikanga which has been closely guarded and held onto for generations. We need courage and faith (in our ability to separate our own tikanga from those of our colonisers) if we are to re-stabilise our tikanga and secure our survival and our identity as Māori.

I found Ani's kōrero inspiring and extremely thought provoking. I had never thought to even wonder about the origins of our tikanga—although I had heard murmurings of discontent in various circles and contexts, I personally had never questioned tikanga. Like many of us, I assumed that they were all legitimate practices and expressions of our philosophical framework.

NGĀHUIA MURPHY—TE AWA ATUA: THE RIVER OF LIFE—MENSTRUATION IN THE PRE-COLONIAL MĀORI WORLD.

Ngāhūia's presentation on Ikura and the implications of colonisation on our practices and beliefs around menstruation really blew my mind. The entire kōrero was new to me. I had never heard that "atua" is an ancient name for menstrual blood denoting an ancient river and continuum of whakapapa. Ngāhūia's kōrero about how menstrual blood was used to restore courage and offer protection for hapū and iwi was not one that is found in our kōrero tuku iho.

To then realise how devalued menstruation has become since colonisation genuinely shocked me. Now it could be argued that we are adhering to the colonial beliefs around menstruation that menstrual blood is dirty and a taboo subject that lays all kinds of restrictions on our women.

I learnt that Pākehā arrived to Aotearoa not long after the infamous witch hunt period where thousands of women were murdered. To think that ancestors of our colonisers were involved in the practice of burning women alive in some whenua far away has influenced at some level the ethos, tikanga and belief system that we have created post-colonialism around this sacred time is disturbing.

I am now starting to think more about some of the tikanga we have prescribed for our wāhine during menstruation such as refraining from bathing in the sea and entering urupā. I am not at the stage where I would ignore tikanga that have been put in place but I am interested to learn more and to ask questions of others whom may offer alternative views on these tikanga and the "tapu" of women during this period. Having a young daughter has me thinking often now about what I want her experience of menstruation to be and the kōrero we have about this as a whānau.

MEREANA PITMAN—VIOLENCE AND THE DISTORTION OF TIKANGA

While I found Ani and Ngāhuia's presentations challenging and hard-hitting, I found Mereana Pitman's kōrero equally powerful in terms of how emotionally I reacted to it. Her description of colonisation as an invasion on the mind, body and soul that not only claims individuals but spreads itself across generations was not foreign to me; however the different ways it has impacted on our tāne and our wāhine was something I had not thought about or recognised before.

Mereana spoke about her work with men and domestic violence and the loss of mana that they have experienced personally and at an inter-generational level. There is little outside of the home that reflects who they are and what is good about Māori.

The inter-generational impact for us as Māori is that we have tamariki who are not being born into the spirit of who they are, they are inheriting the attack on their mana that their whānau before them has experienced.

She believes that if we want to reclaim our tikanga we need spaces that are safe to define or redefine our tikanga. Learning how to redefine ourselves is also an important tool in reclaiming our identity and restoring our mana as both individuals and as a people.

NGĀ WHAINGA

Below I have identified some challenges for myself and my whānau involving tikanga. The first two have stemmed directly from attendance at this conference; the third was something that we have been thinking about for some time which this conference helped in terms of my thinking and commitment to reclaiming our own tikanga:

1. To act on the notion that we may be limiting our application and experience of tikanga to the marae. As Ani mentioned during the conference we tend to regard our marae as the main bastion of tikanga, thereby ring fencing tikanga to the boundary of the marae. I would like my whānau to investigate and identify appropriate tikanga (or possibly adapted versions) that we would like to practice in our day to day lives and work hard to explain to our tamariki why this is an important practice for us

(as opposed to advising them not to engage in a particular activity). This might be an exercise where we create our own tikanga for certain occasions and situations as well as reinforcing through practical application tikanga our tūpuna deemed appropriate for te iwi Māori.

2. I would like myself and my partner to discuss Ngāhuia's presentation on Ikura and how we could restore the mana of this particular time for women. This could be through the language we use and how we speak about menstruation and what tikanga we might put in place for wāhine in our house. The logical place for us to start is with our daughter. This will be an ongoing kōrero for us but as a start I would like to introduce the kupu "ikura" to our home as well as sharing stories about our pre-colonial menstruation practices.
3. Ani's kōrero about the impact of Christianity on redefining our tikanga and the infiltration of our coloniser's patriarchal concepts into our tikanga and indeed our cultural practices was particularly relevant for me as my hoa rangatira and I are planning to marry towards the end of the year. We have decided that we would like to move away from some aspects of the more traditional, Christian wedding that we see today. We are currently looking into how we might go about this. Conferences like these play a critical role in creating a space where we are safe to discuss, analyse, question and create tikanga that are most appropriate for us and that express our kaupapa and contribute to new knowledge for our mātauranga continuum.

What I found most valuable through my attendance at Kei Tua o te Pae, was that our tikanga practiced today should be open for discussion, debate and scrutiny, within a safe environment, if we are to decolonise ourselves and our minds.

Nā reira, ka nui taku mihi ki Te Wānanga o Raukawa mō te tautoko i ēnei momo huihui mō tātou katoa.

REFLECTIONS

Kahukura Kemp

This is a summary of my impressions of the hui Kei Tua o te Pae, that took place at Te Waananga o Raukawa on 4–5 September 2012.

The hui's purpose was to explore the impact that colonisation has had on tikanga Maaori and challenge our thinking about tikanga Maaori.

Within the first ten minutes of the poowhiri came the first “challenge”. One of our speakers was a representative of Te Waahanga, NZCER (the organising group had been welcomed the previous day and so were part of our tangata whenua group). I was asked by a member of our staff to enquire within their roopuu if they had a waiata tautoko for him at the end of his speech. They did indeed have a waiata to sing but when one of our women heard that it was a modern song, she was adamant that it was not to be sung and that we needed to uphold our tikanga of waiata tawhito as waiata tautoko in a poowhiri setting. It was good to have the reminder and to be aware that even when we think we are following tikanga it is not necessarily so. It was also food for thought about a clash of tikanga i.e. (manaakitanga, whanaungatanga, kotahitanga) wishing to include those who were present as one of us, and (rangatiratanga, puukengatanga, kaitiakitanga) ensuring that we uphold our tikanga properly.

It was sobering to hear the reality of our situation through statistics. According to Whatarangi Winiata “we cannot be sure our tikanga will survive in the global society”. He backed up this comment through statistical information: today in Aotearoa the general population is over four million; the Maaori population is 673,000 (15 percent). Compare this with the population balance in 1840 (98 percent Maaori). Therefore there are major implications and complications for our future, especially if we want to continue as Maaori. It is absolutely essential for us to look to our inherited values (kaupapa), and to do all that we can to maintain and increase the desire of our people to believe in the Maaori worldview and accordingly to behave in ways that give expression to

those kaupapa.

Hemi Toia remarked that he had a concern about economics becoming the driver of iwi planning, based on cost benefit analysis and that it was time to tune down the focus on economics and tune up the focus on tikanga. This theme recurred throughout the conference with a range of speakers referring to the select group of “iwi representatives” who get “consulted” by the government about resources, for very little gain by the wider iwi members, many of whom are displaced, dispossessed, disenfranchised and disengaged. A term newly heard by me, “iwi insultation” seemed, unfortunately, most appropriate.

Ani Mikaere commented on why tikanga matters to us, threats to tikanga through replacement of our cultural framework by another and the need for faith in ourselves and courage to assert our beliefs. She indeed showed great courage herself in professing her own beliefs that are possibly in conflict with those of her kuia and koroua, some of whom were present. I believe the purpose was not to be disrespectfully defiant, but, to paraphrase one of her matua's earlier statements, “to align tikanga to kaupapa and draw from our imagination as to how best to express kaupapa”.

Te tuu tama wahine was another recurring theme throughout the hui. Speakers included Ani Mikaere, Jessica Hutchings, Ngahuia Murphy and Leonie Pihama. The main thing that I picked up from all of these speakers was the still prevalent effects of colonial trauma on us, and our responsibility to challenge accepted views and promote change.

As I listened to Ngahuia Murphy's presentation about celebrating womanhood I was enlightened and saddened at the same time. Enlightenment came through maaramatanga about what menstrual blood is: a potent, powerful symbol of mana that connects us to atua through our creation stories and the reasons for celebration. I remembered one of my friends whose daughter had begun menstruation. Her mother was ecstatically pleased about the event and

saw it as something to be celebrated, but I couldn't for the life of me see any positive element, apart from the fact that she would in a few years' time be able to conceive children. All I could see was a monthly cycle of pain and discomfort and a huge financial contribution to the supermarket for the next forty years. Well I now have the understanding of why my friend held the view that she had. I could not however help feeling just a little saddened that I did not hear this presentation before my own daughter reached this stage of her life.

Mereana Pitman reminded us of the value of aroha, through her experience of working with Maaori men who have become self haters through internalisation of pain caused by colonisation by [her words] the "Holy Trinity" (the church, State and Private Enterprise) which cut off our links and which manifests itself in violence. Her message was for us to reclaim and redefine ourselves based on our experiences. Moana Jackson picked up on this in his final comments to the hui: that we need more men willing to actively participate in the debate about who we are and might be, and to restore the balance.

I really liked Kim McBreen's presentation about relating kaupapa to oppression and trauma, and Ani Mikaere's comment about making tikanga live up to the rhetoric of inclusiveness. Kim's presentation had a very simple message for me. Do intolerance, tolerance, acceptance and celebration fit in with kaupapa? The first two don't; the last two do. Simple.

I found Meihana Durie's presentation about tikanga and kaupapa to be similar to my own understanding i.e. that tikanga arise out of kaupapa organically, and that as culture evolves, so does tikanga. I found his way of describing the difference between Atua and God to be most enlightening and I now have a much clearer understanding about the difference between the two.

The hui achieved exactly what it set out to do: explore the impact that colonisation has had on tikanga Maaori and challenge our thinking about tikanga Maaori. However, from my own experience it did much more. It not only challenged thinking but provided pathways to follow through on the discussions. It reflected the bravery and courage of presenters to open up discussions about what we might become in the future. Kia kaha taatou.

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REFLECTIONS

Willie Ropata

On Tuesday September 4 and Wednesday September 5 2012, I attended a conference facilitated by the New Zealand Council of Education Research (NZCER) in conjunction with Te Wananga o Raukawa at the Wananga's main campus in Otaki. The title of the conference was, "KEI TUA O TE PAE—Changing worlds, changing tikanga—educating history and the future". It was a presentation of research findings regarding aspects of tikanga and an opportunity for attendees to clarify/change/enhance their personal understandings of tikanga—and how it has been corrupted (and therefore how our personal understandings of tikanga have been corrupted) by colonisation.

The conference started with a powhiri for the attendees, of which there were (at the start) approximately 100. It is kawa (customary) at Te Wananga o Raukawa that all occasions such as the conference begin in this way. TWOR paepae consisted of three of the five male "purutanga mauri"—the kaupupuri (holders of the mauri/ mana) of the wananga. These three men are extremely taumata and well-respected kaumatua of Te Wananga o Raukawa and the local iwi that are associated with it. I have a very close whakapapa association with them and consider them all my uncles. So it was with some trepidation that I accepted the responsibility of speaking on the paepae for the manuhiri. I took the occasion to acknowledge my uncles and pose a question for the course facilitators: "He aha te huarahi tika mo nga rangatahi?—what is the true (learning) pathway for our young people?"

I suggested that the answer is in our tikanga. Professor Whatarangi Winiata, one of the kaikorero on the paepae for Te Wananga o Raukawa was moved to agree.

Six kaikorero, a collection of academics or researchers (or academic researchers) presented papers on a variety of aspects of tikanga:

- Professor Whatarangi Winiata—Building Maori futures on kaupapa tuku iho
- Ngahua Murphy—Te Awa Atua: The river of life—

menstruation in the pre-colonial Maori world

- Mereana Pitman—Violence and the distortion of tikanga
- Dr Leonie Pihama—Te Ao Hurihuri
- Kim McBreen—It's about whanau—oppression, sexuality and mana
- Dr Meihana Durie—He Kawa Oranga—Enhancing Maori achievement in the 21st century through the application of tikanga and kawa

A panel session took place each day. Each panel comprised three presenters who spoke on the topic of either "Changing worlds, changing tikanga" or "Tikanga as liberation". Panel members were a collection of PhD holders (or PhD students) who shared a variety of learnings:

- Whakapapa is central to tikanga
- Tikanga allows us to live as Maori
- Threatened by colonisation
- Colonisation is overcome by faith, relevance & courage
- The philosophical foundations of tikanga
- 4 Aspects of bravery
- Heteropatriarchy and the corruption of tikanga
- The subordination of women through tikanga
- The internalisation of colonial idealism
- "Me huri whakamua, ka titiro whakamuri"
- The failure of co-governance (ropu tuku iho and Pakeha governance organisations)
- Searching for self-determination on how our world might be managed
- The 7 elements, 5 states of being and 4 boundaries of mana kaitiakitanga

Attendees also participated in three workshops:

- Workshop 1—What is tikanga?
- Workshop 2—Demystifying tikanga
- Workshop 3—Tikanga in everyday life

At the conference, there was also a presentation from Ako Aotearoa, the national centre for tertiary teaching. It was an opportunity for attendees to be aware of the services Ako Aotearoa offer as well as an opportunity for Ako Aotearoa to remind interested

parties of their contribution (funds accessible via application) to ongoing tertiary research initiatives.

The first evening culminated (just before dinner hakari) with the launch of two publications from the Wananga's publications service, one a report on kaitiakitanga entitled "Te Wananga o Raukawa—restoring matauranga to restore ecosystems" and the other a sharing of writings by academics and staff members of the Ahunga Tikanga (Maori Laws & Philosophies) Faculty entitled "Ahunga Tikanga"

THE KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Professor Whatarangi Winiata—Building Maori futures on kaupapa tuku iho

Uncle Whata's presentation was an explanation of the guiding kaupapa of Te Wananga o Raukawa and a description of the *Whakatupuranga Rua Mano*¹ capacity building initiative as an example of Maori's determination to be Maori now and in the future. He reminded us that Maori are determined to survive as a people and explained how the 10 determinants of tikanga for the Wananga (Nga kaupapa tuku iho o Te Wananga o Raukawa) are their measurements of performance:

1. Manaakitanga
2. Rangatiratanga
3. Whanaungatanga
4. Kotahitanga
5. Wairuatanga
6. Ukaipotanga
7. Pukengatanga
8. Kaitiakitanga
9. Whakapapa
10. Te Reo

Professor Winiata gave a descriptive theory of Maori and explained how kaupapa is a framework for tikanga to explore Maori activity. He affirmed the idea that tikanga work within a context and a Maori worldview contributes to the development of kaupapa which determines the methods, actions, processes and policies aligned to the kaupapa—or in other word(s), the tikanga.

¹ In 1975, the ART Confederation of iwi [Te Atiawa, Ngati Toarangatira me Ngati Raukawa] determined that the three tribes were in a very poor state. No person under the age of 30 could speak Te Reo, the marae were in a poor state and the histories of the iwi were in danger of being lost. The leaders were determined to change this situation before the Year 2000

Ngahua Murphy—Te Awa Atua: The river of life—menstruation in the pre-colonial Maori world

Ngahua Murphy's presentation was a reclamation back from coloniser indoctrination that convinced Maori that the menstruating woman was somehow unclean. It was the first of a number of mana wahine presentations that provided a number of challenges to many of the male attendees (and some of the women). It was an impassioned presentation that wove tikanga and traditional practices, learnings and behaviours with the belief that menstruation was not a handicap for women (or men).

For 150 years, we have been encouraged to believe menstruation is a 'mea paru' (a dirty thing). We have been led to believe our wahine tupuna thought the same. (2012, Kei Tua o te Pae conference)

The consequence of colonisation was a theme throughout the conference

Misogynist, Victorian, colonial ethnographic misrepresentation (2012, Kei Tua o te Pae conference)

Murphy also discussed the idea of a Maori construct of womanhood and how that had been corrupted by colonisation. Some catch-phrases she offered included –

- Cultural annihilation
- The politics of knowledge sharing
- Medium of evolutionary expansion
- Christian indoctrination

Mereana Pitman—Violence and the distortion of tikanga

Mereana Pitman is a well-known and respected activist whose presentation was an impassioned discussion of the distortion of tikanga, the intergenerational consequence of cultural loss and violence perpetrated by men over their whanau.

This was another presentation that affirmed mana wahine and challenged men to make changes.

Pitman made a strong case, laying the blame squarely at the feet of the colonisers. A feature of her presentation was the impact of colonisation of our country

We are not in a post-colonial state. Be very clear colonisation is going on right now

I call it the wedge of colonisation, but I've (also) come to call it the holy trinity and it's not the father the son and the holy ghost—it's the church, the state and private enterprise. They arrived with their agenda

of colonisation, which by the time they reached Aotearoa was six hundred years old they knew how to do it... they moved in and immediately began to dispossess our people.

Her concern was the impact of colonisation on Maori men and how well they took to it.

our people have suffered from generations of
dispossession and marginalisation
men wanting to be white
men wanting to have power and control

when Maori men have no mana, no job, no way forward ... of course it's going to get violent at home because that's the only place where you are somebody—even if you're a prick!...you have power and control even in that little space

the self-hatred we have learnt from colonisation,
we have learnt to dish that out to each other.

A key feature was a discussion on the reclamation of Maori to be able to define themselves.

Dr Leonie Pihama—Te Ao Hurihuri

Day 2 began with a presentation from Dr Leonie Pihama, a member of the Auckland University Maori Education Team. Her presentation was a discussion on colonisation and the trauma that comes about because of our colonisation context.

She discussed historical trauma, massive cataclysmic events that target the collective. It is transmitted intergenerationally and when it is not resolved in the lifetime of the people suffering the trauma, it is inconceivable that the trauma will not be transmitted intergenerationally.

if we don't understand our world within a political context, then we operate in a vacuum.

Within an historical context, Dr Pihama discussed how the intent of colonisation was to attack the extended whanau structure and a re-construction towards the nuclear family. The mission and native schools were an attack on whanau. Whereas whanau were the building block of Maori relationships, the nuclear family offered no accountability and the gender relationships became violent.

She also discussed the practical implications that are associated with changing tikanga and how there

must be balance between all kinds of relationships. A changing tikanga in line with our original instruction. Change is a part of whanau life and it is inevitable.

Kim McBreen—"It's about whanau—oppression, sexuality and mana"

Kim McBreen is a member of the Maori Laws & Philosophies faculty of Te Wananga o Raukawa. As a gay woman, she discussed the importance of tikanga as an expression of everything we do and a way to ensure our survival.

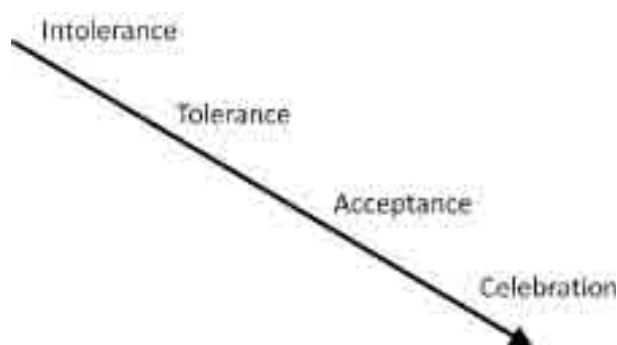
Colonisation = oppression = trauma = cultural imperialism

Sexual discrimination originates from colonisation

The roots of sexism and homophobia are founded in cultural imperialism

McBreen discussed how colonisation gave the colonisers a divine authority and unwavering belief in their society's rules. She identified the two places where our children should feel safe are the home and in the school. Sadly we are beating our kids into conformity (homophobic abuse) and when schools fail to address hate of any sort, they contribute to that hate.

McBreen offered a model—"The continuum of Awesomeness"



In this model, we work to create a society that celebrates diversity (cultural & sexual etc):

The Crown assumes everybody is white. They acknowledge other cultures exist, but they are expected to conform into society's cultural & political norms.

Dr Meihana Durie—He Kawa Oranga—Enhancing Maori achievement in the 21st century through the application of tikanga and kawa

Dr Durie was the last speaker before closing comments from Moana Jackson. Dr Durie is Academic Director of Kawa Oranga Studies at Te Wananga o Raukawa. His presentation discussed elements of tikanga and kawa within a future context and in particular, the importance of the role of innovation, creativity and knowledge growth in helping shape new tikanga that align to contemporary Maori realities.

The context that he discussed tikanga and kawa was the Te Wananga o Raukawa framework and how the ten kaupapa tuku iho o Te Wananga o Raukawa work as an indicator of well-being.

Dr Durie discussed how the origins of tikanga are believed to have been passed down from the divine, although he is more drawn to the theory that tikanga have their origins from Papatuanuku and have an organic origin from the land. He suggested tikanga arises from whanau aspirations and cultural relevance, validity and tikanga constantly evolve and are dynamic and can be a vehicle for social justice.

Dr Durie was the only presenter who offered any reasons (apart from “colonisation”) to the appalling failure rates of Maori (and Pasifika) at secondary school. Whilst (whare) kura have good achievement rates, mainstream (education) schools have such low expectations for Maori learners that what is expected to happen, ie, poor achievement for Maori learners—does actually happen.

Kawa is not about how far back you go, but how far you can take it

Moana Jackson —Closing Comments

By the time of closing comments, many attendees had left. However, Moana Jackson did make those who chose to stay to the end, happy they had made that choice. Amongst his acknowledgement of the speakers and their presentations, he offered a way forward and a “where to now”. This he suggested consisted of making the time & space to wananga the kaupapa further, work to restore & re-build tikanga by restoring the gender balance and for people to consider a constitutional transformation.

He also outlined what he called “the 5 essences of tikanga”.

1. Tikanga is a measure of intimate distance

2. Tikanga is the ethical imagination of our people

3. Tikanga is the legal expression of what ought to be

4. Tikanga is the dream that nestles in our heart as to what we might be in the future, and

5. Tikanga is the reality of the power that resides in the people and the land

As is customary, the conference finished with waiata and karakia.

REFLECTIONS

Kato Ropata

A Personal Agenda

Before the start of the conference, I was eagerly anticipating attending. It is with regret that I have to say that I was generally disappointed with it. There was new information for me which was rewarding, but my personal agenda was vocalised at the powhiri when I posed the question, “He aha te huarahi tika mo nga rangatahi?—what is the true (learning) pathway for our young people”. In the twelve or so hours of presentations, workshops and panel sessions, only one speaker (Dr Durie) addressed Maori (non) achievement in mainstream secondary schools and only for a couple of minutes and offered no practical solutions or applications aside from the notion of tikanga. Whilst I was confident in the kaupapa of Kia Aroha College and not expecting (or wanting) validation for what we do, it was disappointing that the conference was quite narrowly focused (for me). I would have very much preferred to have heard the sharing of realistic strategies to have tikanga, kaupapa, tuku iho, kawa and the ideals within cultural and political conscientisation delivered within relevant learning frameworks. Clearly this was not a focus of the conference, which seemed more concerned with the sharing of research findings without clear guidelines as to the usefulness of those findings for our whanau.

Mana Wahine

There was clearly a Mana Wahine focus to the conference. The topics of many of the speeches were about women reclaiming their mana. There was plenty of evidence provided that colonisation had corrupted tikanga behaviours and had led to a malignant male dominance and behaviour. This did challenge the males—and some of the females who were present. It was quite full-on and I was personally quite affected by it.

I pondered the thought that as Māori our expectations are that Pākehā people now, assume a level of responsibility for the wrongdoings of their

colonial ancestors. This can make many Pākehā quite intimidated, guilt-ridden, fearful, confused, over-burdened etc. In that light I wondered, should men feel the same for the sexist, violent, oppression other men have inflicted on women, children and their whanau. Whilst personally content with my relationships and attitude toward women, children and my whanau, I am as yet unable to resolve this dilemma.

I did not meet any person who was offended or upset by the level of strong female-focused thinking. But in one of my workshops, a woman commented that the neo-liberal feminist predominance of the conference was lumping all aspects of mana wahine together, which was a dangerous move.

The Attendees

Approximately 100 registrations were present, with about over half staying till the end. I did not meet one other person who was currently a practising secondary school teacher. Some backgrounds of people I met included health managers, Early Childhood teachers, Learning Media website developers, Te Wananga o Raukawa personnel, Tertiary Institution Managers, M.O.E. Psychologists, managers of NGOs, Parliamentary staff and Tertiary Students. It's probably presumptuous of me to suggest I was the only secondary school teacher present but it was further proof that perhaps this was not an appropriate forum for us.

Attendees were generally very eager to hear about our Kia Aroha College kaupapa and I took the opportunity to express my disappointment that the forums and focusses of the conference were not going to address rangatahi achievement in practical frameworks for secondary schooling.

The Presenters

The presenters were a collection of very learned and esteemed academics (mostly). Their intent did seem

to be to just share their research findings. I was left quite often at the conclusion of their presentations with the thought, “Well so what does this mean? What can we do right now to make it better?” Quite often I felt, by being eager to share their research findings, they had neglected to clarify the significance of those findings to shaping our society. They spoke about marginalisation etc but failed to suggest practical strategies to mitigate the effects. I would sit (quite smugly), confident that Kia Aroha College was a true model for whanau.

Te Wananga o Raukawa & NZCER

I have no prior knowledge of NZCER, but it did seem they were determined to deliver a conference on time and according to schedule. They had an agenda that was dominated by a discussion of tikanga and its corruption by colonisation and a strong focus on Mana Wahine. Clearly, many of the attendees were in strong support of that kaupapa.

I have had a close and intimate association with Te Wananga o Raukawa for many years as first a student completing a master's degree and then some years as a kaiawhina lecturer. It was disappointing that preparatory measures, such as sleeping and kai arrangements for those arriving the night before the hui, were not clearly articulated to attendees. Such information would have been useful.

HE KUPU WHAKAKAPI

Thank you to the Tumuaki and BOT for allowing me to travel and attend the “KEI TUA O TE PAE—Changing worlds, changing tikanga—educating history and the future” conference at Te Wananga o Raukawa. Whilst some of my thinking and understanding of tikanga has changed and developed, I am left with a level of frustration as to the worthiness and value of the conference, particularly to Kia Aroha College. I am unsure what, if anything, will be achieved by conferences such as this. They were presentations to the converted and I can't imagine that any significant societal change is going to come from it.

Clearly we remain a leader of education reform within a cultural (tikanga) context and it was frustrating that the conference was more fixated on other kaupapa. The fact that, for me the conference turned into a hui with no clear directions for real change has been a real disappointment. I would

suggest that a close scrutiny of the parameters and content of future conferences be undertaken before we decide to attend them.

No reira

Kia ora tātou katoa

SUMMARY OF EVALUATION RESPONSES

Kei Tua o te Pae attendees were encouraged to complete a one-page evaluation form that was included in their hui packs. Thirty-two forms were received. This information has provided the following data to inform future hui planning.

HOW DID YOU HEAR ABOUT THE 2012 KEI TUA O TE PAE HUI?

The list below ranks how people heard about the hui. People came to know about the 2012 Kei Tua o te Pae hui by:

- imera / email
- kārere ā-rorohiko / Internet
- word-of-mouth
- colleagues, friends, whānau and wider networks
- tertiary institutions
- workplace settings
- NZCER website
- iwi pānui.

HOW USEFUL WAS THE KŌRERO AND DISCUSSION FROM THE HUI?

A number of participants commented on how the hui had inspired them to think about their own tikanga, where it came from and where it is now. Other participant's shared the following views:

- Arā noa atu ngā hua, ngā painga ngā māramatanga, ngā wero, hai whai whakaarotanga. Te mīharo mārika ki ngā kai tuku kauhau. E kore e mutu te mihi.
- Kāore he kupu mō te mātauranga i akongia e au mai tēnei huihuinga. Nei aku mihi maioha ki ngā kaikōrero, ki ngā puna mātauranga i whakaputa he mōhiotanga ki a mātau.
- The kōrero was a good reminder of the diversity among Māori.
- The hui provided confirmation of what is practiced in some realities.
- The kōrero validated the knowledge I know and has helped me see the state some of us are in.
- The hui provoked opinions and thoughts about

what I know about tikanga, but had not thought about consciously.

- The hui has provided insight for me about how I might be able to tautoko my tauui workmates.

Some good suggestions also emerged from this pātai, such as:

- Ka rawe te nuinga o ngā kōrero engari he aha te kaupapa o te hui nei, tikanga, mana wahine rānei?
- The kōrero was interesting but I thought there could have been more kōrero around tikanga and its practical application on marae and within homes.

WHAT WAS THE MOST VALUABLE OR INTERESTING ASPECT OF THE HUI FOR YOU?

Most participants valued the hui workshops mō ngā kōrero, kanohi ki te kanohi. Others valued the hui in other ways for example:

- He mīharo rawa ngā kōrero katoa, tana whakaahuatanga o ngā tikanga o mua, he uaua te whakapono kāti te oki tonu tērā tikanga wepua kia rere.
- Te hōhunutanga o ngā kōrero, ngā rangahau e pā ana i te kaupapa o te hui. Te tutukitanga o colonisation.
- Ko te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero.
- Ko te mana, te ihi, te wehi, te mauri o ā tātou tikanga, ngā taonga tuku iho a Kui mā, a Koro mā. Whāngaia ki ngā whakatupuranga.
- Variation of individual speakers.
- The ability to link theory and practice.
- Whanaungatanga.
- Ngāhuia Murphy's kōrero on dispelling the "paru" or "pollution" of menstruation.
- Reaffirming the idea that tikanga has many facets and is flexible and adaptable.
- A high standard and quality of presentations.
- A good mix of young, old and diverse positions.
- Great networking opportunities.
- Opportunities for self reflection.

Further suggestions for improvement included:

- Encourage waiata to break up sitting down.
- Having more male perspectives on tikanga.
- More workshop time and activities.
- To have presenters give suggestions around practical application of tikanga. The next step could be about learning how to transfer abstract ideas of philosophy to practice in education and other contexts.

LIST OF HUI PARTICIPANTS

Name	Organisation
Āneta Rāwiri	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Alex Barnes	<i>New Zealand Council for Educational Research</i>
Andrenah Kākā	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Ani Mikaere	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Ani Rolleston	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Ann Motutere	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Awhina English	<i>Massey University</i>
Cora-Allan Wickliffe	<i>Auckland University of Technology</i>
Damin Groot	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
David Kingi	<i>Ministry of Education</i>
Debbie Broughton	<i>Human Rights Commission</i>
Denise Flavell	<i>Te Wānanga o Aotearoa</i>
Ema Moore	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Emma Whiterod	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Freda Moffitt	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Glenys Hauti Parapara	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Hannah Mooney	<i>Massey University</i>
Heitia Raureti	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Helen Potter	<i>Mana movement, Leader's office</i>
Herearoha Skipper	<i>Te Kotahi Research Institute, Waikato University</i>
Hohaia Collier	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Holly Weir	<i>Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology</i>
Hone Taimona	<i>Hokianga Health</i>
Jesse Pirini	<i>Pencil Case Limited</i>
Jessica Hutchings	<i>New Zealand Council for Educational Research</i>
Jocelyn Wilding	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Kahukura Kemp	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Katarina Edmonds	<i>Learning Media Limited</i>
Kato Ropata	<i>Kia Aroha College</i>
Kim McBreen	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Maewa Kaihau	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>

Name	Organisation
Marley Matamua	<i>Te Kotahi Research Institute, Waikato University</i>
Meihana Durie	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Mera Penehira	<i>Māori and Indigenous Analysis Ltd</i>
Michael Hancock	<i>Ministry of Education</i>
Mike Paki	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Moko Morris	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Ngawati Parangi	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Nicola Bright	<i>New Zealand Council for Educational Research</i>
Patariki Grace	<i>Learning Media Ltd</i>
Paula-Maree Paranihi	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Pauline Tahau	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Rachael Kearns	<i>New Zealand Council for Educational Research</i>
Rachael Selby	<i>Massey University</i>
Raina Ferris	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Rangihurhia McDonald	<i>Te Kotahi Research Institute, University of Waikato</i>
Rawiri Tinirau	<i>Massey University</i>
Sarah Boyd	<i>New Zealand Council for Educational Research</i>
Seann Paurini	<i>Wellington Institute of Technology</i>
Sophronia Smith	<i>Te Wānanga o Aotearoa</i>
Sue Abel	<i>Māori Studies, University of Auckland</i>
Takuta Ferris	<i>Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology</i>
Tane Rangihuna	<i>Kites Trust</i>
Te Ara Groot	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Te Atawhai Mataira	<i>Universal College of Learning</i>
Te Awaawa Firmin	<i>Te Wānanga o Raukawa</i>
Te Mako Orzecki	<i>Learning Media Ltd—CWA Unit</i>

Name	Organisation
Te Taite Cooper	<i>Wellington Institute of Technology</i>
Tirisa Betham	<i>Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology</i>
Vyletta Arago-Kemp	<i>Komihana Ā Whānau/ Families Commission</i>
Dr Kathie Irwin	<i>Families Commission</i>
Dr Mere Skerrett	<i>Canterbury University</i>
Heather MacLean	<i>Universal College of Learning</i>
Sarah Jane Heeney	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Tina O'Carroll	
Arthur Savage	<i>Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa NZCA</i>
Giovanni Maihi Armaneo	<i>Waitemata District Health Board</i>
Hare Paniora	<i>Unitec Institute of Technology</i>
Keri Takao	<i>Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology</i>
Kim Workman	<i>Rethinking Crime & Punishment</i>
Luke Katu	<i>Nelson Bays Primary Health</i>
Shane Wilson	<i>Te Rau Matatini</i>
Te Ariki Wineera	<i>Te Rau Matatini</i>
Carol Ngawati	<i>Unitec Institute of Technology</i>
Elizabeth Waldron	<i>Education Review Office</i>
Gladys Soper	<i>Te Whare Aroha O Ngā Mokopuna Early childcare centre</i>
Ngaropi Cameron	<i>Tu Tama Wahine o Taranaki Inc</i>
Sonja Garrett	<i>Te Whare Aroha O Ngā Mokopuna Early Childcare Centre</i>
Christine Piper	<i>Nelson Marlborough Institute of Technology</i>
Dahleen Ah Chee	<i>Te Puna Kōhungahunga - University of Auckland</i>
Emma Haruru	<i>Nelson Tasman Kindergartens</i>
Janelle Murphy	<i>Hineteiwaiwa Te Kohanga Reo - University of Auckland</i>
Justina Webster	<i>Te Rau Matatini</i>

Name	Organisation
Karen Liley	<i>Te Puna Kōhungahunga— Faculty of Education, University of Auckland</i>
Robyn Browne	<i>Waitohu School</i>



WELLINGTON AND ŌTAKI, 2013