



TE WĀHANGA
HE WHĀNAU MĀTAU HE WHĀNAU ORA



NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH
TE RŪNANGA O AOTEAROA MŌ TE RANGAHAU I TE MĀTAURANGA

KEI TUA O TE PAE HUI PROCEEDINGS

– THE CHALLENGES OF KAUPAPA MĀORI
RESEARCH IN THE 21ST CENTURY

PIPITEA MARAE, WELLINGTON

5–6 MAY 2011

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EDITED BY TE WĀHANGA
DR JESSICA HUTCHINGS, DR HELEN POTTER, KATRINA TAUPO

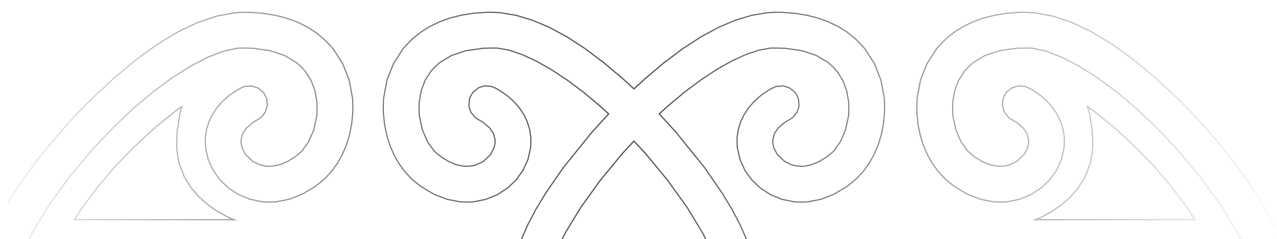


NEW ZEALAND COUNCIL FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

TE RŪNANGA O AOTEAROA MŌ TE RANGAHAU I TE MĀTAURANGA



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KUPU WHAKATAKI

E harikoa nei, e ngākau iti nei mātou ki ngā whakahaere mai i te hui a Kei Tua o Te Pae, 2011, i tū ki te marae o Pipitea i Te Whanganui-ā-Tara. Ko te whāinga o tēnei hui he karanga i te hunga kairangahau kaupapa Māori, me te tiroiro ki ngā wero o te rangahau kaupapa Māori i te rautau 21.

E mihi ana ki ngā kōrero hiranga a ō mātou kaikōrero matua arā: ko Linda Smith rātou ko Ani Mikaere, ko Wally Penetito, ko Ngahiwi Apanui, ko Leonie Pihama, ko Moana Jackson, me ā mātou kaiwhakataki ā-pae: ko Āneta Rāwiri rātou ko Kathie Irwin, ko Percy Tipene, ko Glenis Philip-Barbara, ko Moana Mitchell, ko Alice Te Punga Somerville hoki.

I roto i ngā rā e rua, nā ngā awheawhe me ngā kōrero a ngā kaikōrero, i hua mai i te hui ngā whakaaro whakahirahira e pā ana ki te huarahi e mahi ai mātou (e whakatau rānei kāore e mahi) ki roto i te anga nei o te rangahau kaupapa Māori. Kāore ngā kairangahau i whakahau kia whāia tētahi momo taunoa o ngā pae maha, pae taurangi hoki. Otirā i tirohia, i werohia ngā whakaaro e hāngai ana ki te tuakiri Māori, ā, i karanga tonuhia ngā kairangahau Māori kia wetekina ngā here o te ao Pākehā ki ō mātou whakaaro, kia werohia ngā mana e pēhi nei i a mātou, me te whakawhanake huarahi e taea ai te tautoko i te panonitanga tōrangapū. I te hui i matapakihia te mātauranga Māori me te hononga ki ngā mahi rangahau i hua ake ai ngā take haumaruru i ngā rōpū hapori Māori kei te rangahau kaupapa Māori. He maha anō ngā kōrero mō ngā wāhi e noho nei mātou i a mātou e rangahau ana i ngā kaupapa Māori, me ngā take e hāngai ana ki te mana me te whakaawe mana ka kitea atu ina mahi ai ki ngā whare wānanga.

He mea whakaohoho te hui i te hinengaro. I whakapūmautia te hiahia mō mātou ngā kairangahau kaupapa Māori kia ako tonu, kia kawē tonu i ngā ariā kia mārāma pū, kia arotake hoki tātou i ngā mea e rangahau ana, e tuhia ana hoki. Mārāma ana te inoi a ngā kaikōrero matua kia pānuitia ngā mātātuhi, kia werohia ō mātou whakaaro, kia kaua hoki mātou e kiriora, engari kia hōhā tonu i ngā mahi pēhi e noho tonu ai ngā mahi rangahau.

Nā Moana Jackson te inoi whakamutunga. I whakahau ia kia māia mātou i roto i ā mātou mahi rangahau. I tohua e Moana ngā wāhanga e whā o tēnei mea te māia: tuatahi, kia mōhio ai mātou ko wai mātou, tuarua, kia mōhio ai kei hea mātou, tuatoru, he aha ngā mea hei whakaaro ake, tuawhā, kia mōhio ai he aha ngā mea hei panoni. E tika ana te inoi kia māia whai muri i te whakatewhatewha i ngā wero me ngā take e pā ana ki te rangahau kaupapa Māori kei mua i te aroaro.

Ko te tūmanako he rauemi whai hua ēnei whakahaere, ā, ka tohu hoki i ētahi o ngā wero me ngā huarahi kei mua i a mātou te hunga kairangahau kaupapa Māori, kei tua o te pae. Mauri ora ki a koutou.

Dr Jessica Hutchings

Manager, Te Wāhanga



FOREWORD

It is with pleasure and a deep sense of humility that we present the proceedings from the Kei Tua o Te Pae hui, 2011, held at Pipitea marae in Wellington. The purpose of this hui was to call together a community of kaupapa Māori researchers and explore the challenges of undertaking kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century.

We are very grateful to the inspirational kōrero of our keynote speakers: Linda Smith, Ani Mikaere, Wally Penetito, Ngahiwi Apanui, Leonie Pihama, and Moana Jackson, and to our panel presenters: Āneta Rāwiri, Kathie Irwin, Percy Tipene, Glenis Philip-Barbara, Moana Mitchell, and Alice Te Punga Somerville.

Over the two days, through the participant workshops and the kōrero of the speakers, the hui generated critical insights into how we work (or choose not to work) within this frame of kaupapa Māori research. Rather than prescribing a standardised version of kaupapa Māori practice, speakers challenged its multiple and fluid boundaries. The hui explored and challenged notions of what it means to be Māori, continuously calling on us as Māori researchers to decolonise our thinking, challenge colonial patriarchies and hierarchies, and to develop pathways that can support political transformation. The hui also discussed mātauranga Māori and the relationship with research practice which raised issues of safety for non-research-based Māori community groups engaging in kaupapa Māori research. There was also a lot of kōrero around the different spaces that we occupy when undertaking kaupapa Māori research and the common issues of power and dominance we face when working in institutions.

The hui was intellectually invigorating. It affirmed the need for us as kaupapa Māori researchers to keep learning and engaging with theory so that we can deeply understand and powerfully critique what we research and write about. There was a clear call from our keynote speakers to read the literature, to challenge our thinking, and to not become complacent, but to keep being irritated at the colonial dominance that continues to frame research.

The final call of the hui was from Moana Jackson, who urged us to be brave in the kaupapa Māori research work that we do. Moana identified four components of bravery: the first, to know who we are; the second, to know where we are at; the third, to know what we have to think about; and the fourth, to know what we need to transform. A call to bravery seems most appropriate after exploring the challenges and issues for kaupapa Māori research that lie before us.

We hope that these proceedings are a useful resource and mark some of the challenges and ways forward for us in the 21st century as kaupapa Māori researchers look, *kei tua o te pae*. Mauri ora ki a koutou.

Dr Jessica Hutchings

Manager, Te Wāhanga

INTRODUCTIONS

Dr Jessica Hutchings

Ko Rangī, Ko Papa ka puta Ko Rongo, Ko Tane Mahuta, Ko Tangaroa, Ko Haumie-Tiketike, Ko Tumatauenga, Ko Tawhirimātea. Tokona ko Rangī ki runga ko Papa ki raro. Ka puta te ira tangata ki te whaiāo ki te ao marama. E Rongo whakairia aka ki runga. Kia tina, hui e, taiki e.

Te whare e tū nei, te marae e takoto nei, tēnā koe, tēnā korua. Tātai whetu ki te rangī, mau tonu, mau tonu. Tātai tangata ki te whenua ngaro noa, ngaro noa. Ki ngā mana whenua ngā uri o Taranaki whānui, Te Ati Awa, ngā kaitiaki o ngā taonga tuku iho, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. Ki ngā kaumatua me ngā taumata o te hui nei, ngā mihi aroha kia koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. He tino pōwhiri, he mihi manaaki tēnei ki te manuhiri tuarangi te hiki i te wairua o te kotahitanga, haere mai, haere mai, haere mai. Nau mai ki te kura te hāpai i te waiora ki te nuku o te aorangi, haere mai.

Ko wai ahau? Kaore au i te mōhio ko wai tōku iwi engari he Māori tōku pāpā ko te iwi whāngai o tōku māmā ko Kai Tahu ia, ko Kāti Huirapa te hapū. Kei ētahi atu taha nō India au, nō Gujurati au. He wahine takatāpui ahau hoki, mihi atu ki te whānau takatāpuhi kei waenga ia tātou i tēnei ra. Ko Jessica Hutchings tōku ingoa. Ko au te kaiwhakahaere o Te Wāhanga, te tari Māori kei a NZCER.

He tino hari koa te ngākau ki te kitea koutou i tēnei ata, he tino pai rawa atu tēnā. Haere mai koutou ki te whakawhitiwhiti whakaaro me whakawhitiwhiti kōrero e pa ana ngā momo kaupapa o te rangahau kaupapa Māori. Ko te tino pātai o te hui nei, he aha ngā ara kei tua o te pae mo te rangahau kaupapa Māori?

It is a pleasure to be here today to open this hui, Kei Tua o Te Pae, and to welcome you all here to collectively explore the challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century. We have an excellent line up of speakers, panel presenters, and facilitators and we hope that the next two days will at times be challenging, will stimulate you to think about things that you might not have thought about before, and will lead you to be inspired by the possibilities we can achieve and conceive of collectively when undertaking kaupapa Māori research.

The high interest in this hui 10 days ago led us to shift venues to accommodate you all and it is great to be here today under the whakaruruhau of Pipitea marae. We obviously totally underestimated the interest from kaupapa Māori researchers in the kaupapa of this hui. What this tells us is that there are many of us in wānanga, universities, Māori providers, iwi, Māori communities, as well as Māori research units like Te Wāhanga, who are working towards achieving Māori development goals of tino rangatiratanga and decolonisation through the vehicle of kaupapa Māori research.

It is timely that we come together at this point to examine the critical issues and challenges we face in working in a kaupapa Māori research paradigm. How do we ensure, for example, that the marginal spaces which many of us occupy in undertaking kaupapa Māori research remain critical and do not lose their edge and become mainstreamed. I am very much reminded of the work of the black American feminist writer, bell hooks, whose words have resonated with me over the years in thinking about my own positioning as a student and a kaupapa Māori researcher; feeling isolated and marginalised within both Māori and non-Māori institutions and in deep need of a Māori research community that is also in the margins. bell hooks writes ... “this space of radical openness is a margin—a profound edge locating oneself there is difficult yet necessary. It’s

not always a safe space. One is always at risk. One needs a community of resistance”.¹

It’s been a long time since a kaupapa Māori research has been called, and in that regard I want to acknowledge the wāhine in particular from the University of Auckland in the mid-2000s who convened the last formal kaupapa Māori research hui—Leonie Pihama, Glenis Phillip Barbara, Linda Smith, and many others. I also want to acknowledge the Te Wāhanga Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau—Moana Jackson, Kathie Irwin, Lee Cooper, and Ani Mikaere—for working with us to vision and build the idea for this hui. Ngā mihi māhana ki a koutou te Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau.

Ki ngā kaimahi o Te Wāhanga, Trina korua ko Helen, he mihi aroha ki a korua. Te Wāhanga is the Māori research unit in the New Zealand Council for Educational Research (NZCER) and we have a deep interest in making a critical and positive contribution to Māori education and development through kaupapa Māori research. Our current work programme includes kaupapa Māori evaluation, Māori adult learning, researching a kaupapa Māori education agenda for STS—science, technology, and society—as well as beginning a project around supporting schools in whānau, iwi, and school engagement. We’re a small team comprising 2.8 full time equivalents (FTEs) with lots of passion and commitment, far too many ideas, and I speak on behalf of the team when I say that we feel very humbled to have had the support both from the organisation and from all of you in calling this hui. Thank you for picking up the rākau and for coming to join with us in this kōrero over the next two days.

At this time, I’d like to acknowledge Ako Aotearoa who have provided a financial contribution to the hui and with whom we are holding this hui in partnership. Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou Ako Aotearoa.

Heoi anō koutou, I would like to introduce Robyn Baker, the Director of NZCER, and to invite her to make some opening remarks. Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Robyn Baker

Ka tū au ki te mihi māhana ki a koutou ngā hau e wha. Nau mai, haere mai. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

It is a great privilege for me to say a few words at the beginning of this hui. NZCER has been supporting education in New Zealand for more than 75 years. We seek to contribute to education in ways that support all learners to be well equipped for the world ahead, and to support a society where everyone actively participates and learns throughout their lives. There are, of course, many organisations within New Zealand that are also seeking to contribute to this vision, but the particular niche of NZCER is that we are a purpose-built research and development organisation. We undertake research, we publish books and resources, we provide services to various sectors, and we give independent information and advice to anyone who has an interest in education.

Some of you we’ve worked closely with, but others will not know very much about the work of NZCER. You may know of NZCER through the ground-breaking work of Richard Benton in te reo, or you might know a little about NZCER through our regular national surveys in the school sector which elicit the views of principals, parents and teachers about education and schooling. Or you might know something about the Competent Children, Competent Learners project that has tracked about 500 young people through from age five to 20, seeking to get insights into their identity formation, their educational experiences, and their learning.

We have worked with some of you here in the assessment arena. NZCER has long supplied the Progressive Achievement Tests in literacy and numeracy to New Zealand schools, and recently our programme has expanded into the tertiary sector where we, on contract to the Tertiary Education Commission, developed the adult literacy and numeracy assessment tool. There are a number of you in this audience who helped contribute your expertise and critique to this ongoing project.

Last month we published a couple of reports in the adult literacy space written by the Te Wāhanga team—those are on our website if you are interested,

¹ hooks, b. (1990). *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* (pp. 149). Boston: South End Press.

and we have copies as well. Some of you would have heard of NZCER as a publisher of journals—such as *set: Research Information for Teachers*—and of books. Tonight we will be launching one of this year's titles, so there's more than the hui to celebrate and we hope that you will join us.

NZCER operates under its own Act of Parliament and we have an elected board that has an Electoral College. Many of you are from institutions that have representatives who vote in the Electoral College. In the 10 years that I've been Chief Executive, I have been privileged to be guided and supported by a number of leading Māori educators who have been members of the NZCER board. Graham Smith was on the board when I was appointed, and since then I have worked with Arohia Durie, Russell Bishop, Brendon Puketapu, and most recently, Tahu Potiki.

Along with many other New Zealand educational organisations, NZCER is committed to strengthening its work in Māori education. For us, as I said before, the vehicle is research, evaluation, research-based books, journals and resources, and the innovative dissemination of advice and information. We see this as our collective responsibility and we also acknowledge the importance of supporting Māori-led work.

The host for this hui is NZCER's Te Wāhanga, and I want to acknowledge this team and the vision they have had to organise this hui. The hui has a focus on kaupapa Māori research; re-examining its potential to be a forum for educational and social change. It also provides a forum for sharing, learning, and building our individual and collective expertise and knowledge about research. These issues are all central to the mission of NZCER.

Given this hui is about research, I wanted to take an opportunity to mention the Teaching and Learning Research Initiative (TLRI). This is a government research fund designed to support researchers and practitioners working together to build new knowledge about teaching and learning. NZCER is contracted by the Ministry of Education to co-ordinate this fund—which means we're responsible for organising the selection of projects, monitoring the projects, and building the programme. This year's expression of interest closes next week and we'll be short listing soon, so this message isn't for now because it's too

late. While the programme has many strengths, we have not done so well at attracting and funding Māori-led research projects. Jessica and I plan to visit some institutions and groups in the second half of the year to seek advice and to share knowledge about this initiative. So if you're interested in knowing a little bit more, please talk to us during the hui or send us an email. I know this is a bit like an advertisement, but I think it's very important because research funds in education are rare and precious, and although this initiative has a very specific focus on teaching and learning, I know that this is very important to many of you.

I said this hui was about research, but just as important is something that Jessica alluded to—it's about learning; our learning. At NZCER we acknowledge that we've got much to learn. We need to learn new things, new ways to think about education, and new ways to think about engagement and achievement. We need new ways to think about learning and we need new ways to think about success as learners. We deeply believe that critical, quality Māori education research is an essential strategy in shedding light in these vital areas. We look forward to learning with you over the next two days. Welcome.

OPENING KEYNOTE: STORY-ING THE DEVELOPMENT OF KAUPAPA MĀORI—A REVIEW OF SORTS

Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Tuatahi, kei te tautoko ahau ngā mihi kua mihia. Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

There are three things I want to cover today. One is my version of kaupapa Māori; my version of history. The second is the space in which we are engaging in kaupapa Māori research and what that looks like globally, and the third is the challenges ahead for us. Along the way I'll tell you some anecdotes and stories that illustrate both the good things about kaupapa Māori and the challenges about being in a kaupapa Māori space.

The first challenge for me when looking at the title of 21st century is that every now and again I encounter undergraduate students who are surprised I'm still alive. I'd hate to think that kaupapa Māori is just a 20th century thing. It has definitely opened doors to new generations and to the unfolding of the 21st century.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

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. For me, I love these sorts of spaces because there's a sense that you can continue to create what it will be.

The other thing about kaupapa Māori is that it's not my creation, or Graham's creation, or any single

individual's creation. It is ours. It is our language, our terminology, and we will make it what it will be. When I think about kaupapa Māori research, I see it really simply: it's a plan; it's a programme; it's an approach; it's a way of being; it's a way of knowing; it's a way of seeing; it's a way of making meaning; it's a way of being Māori; it's a way of thinking; it's a thought process; it's a practice; it's a set of things you want to do. It is a kaupapa and that's why I think it is bigger than a methodology.

I have written about it as a methodology, but I can listen to scientists who talk about their research with incredible passion—and if they were trying to be mainstream scientists they would never describe themselves as being kaupapa Māori researchers. They would describe themselves as scientists. But I see in what they talk about, a kaupapa Māori approach, although it's often a submerged and subjugated part of what they do. It's the silent part, the part they often don't acknowledge because it is not acknowledged in the systems in which they have been socialised. It is often in a passion, in the selection of their topic and their research; it's in their belief that what they do will have a beneficial outcome for Māori, that it will have something positive to say, that it's worth doing for Māori, that it's worth doing because potentially there's something in it for Māori. I think kaupapa Māori research has tried to make all of those things explicit.

For instance, many of you go out there and conduct interviews. There is a huge literature that would fill several library shelves about what an interview is, and you can take it on and say, "Yes, I'm going to do an interview." Anyone who has tried to interview Māori will know immediately that most of the skills you need are not in those books. They don't tell you it's hard to find them, even if they have a phone. The

books don't tell you they say, "Yes please, come at 3 o'clock", and then they may not be home. You might design a one-hour interview, but it's going to take you six hours. Or you might design an interview with questions, and instead they tell you, "No, we're not going to answer those questions. We're going to tell you a story, but first you've got to listen to the karakia, the whakapapa, and then, if we feel like it, we might answer some of your questions." There is so much in who we are, and what we are. Kaupapa Māori has tried to draw out those things as part of a dynamic; part of an approach to doing research for Māori. And so, for me, that is a commonsense way of being when working in an interview space with Māori.

But also, in a research sense, it tells us something about how we think about knowledge—what counts as knowing and what is inside that process of coming to know. Often, in the mainstream methodologies, many of those aspects are of little interest. They're not picked up, they're not seen to matter so much. People want to extract a certain kind of nugget through an interview process, whereas I think we have a view of knowledge where the nugget gets formed in the process. You don't go in and find it and fish it out. Instead, it is part of a dialogic conversational process; an insight process, in which knowledge is produced.

So there is a sense, I think, that part of what kaupapa Māori research has tried to do is disrupt the applicability of mainstream approaches for Māori. It has also tried to privilege aspects of who we are as a people now, rather than the idealised view of who and what we are. It has tried to privilege the complexity of who and what we are, the contradictory nature of that, the fun stuff, and tried to see that as a strength and not a deficit. Kaupapa Māori research has also tried to understand that we're not necessarily about finding the pure Māori voice, because the pure Māori voice—for example, in kapa haka—is not in a single voice. It is in the collective of voices that make this incredible harmonious, sometimes discordant, sometimes overbearing, sometimes kind of subtle voice. Kaupapa Māori research is about how we come to understand that.

I have a multidisciplinary background in my own education and that's probably why kaupapa Māori appeals to me in particular, because I think it transcends most institutional disciplines of knowledge. You can

apply kaupapa Māori to whatever the discipline or field that you're in. I've spent most of my life in health and education, but I meet with researchers who see themselves as working as kaupapa Māori researchers across a breadth of disciplines. It's also been my opportunity to work at the institutional edges of research and to try and use what I know and what I'm committed to, to create the spaces in which kaupapa Māori can flourish.

KAUPAPA MĀORI SPACE

When kaupapa Māori came to be coined—if you want to use that term in the context of research—it didn't just come out of a nowhere space. It came out of a particular struggle over the legitimacy of our identity, and the legitimacy that we as Māori want to do things. The whakapapa that I would draw around kaupapa Māori research, and how I have come to be in that space, is about the development of kura kaupapa Māori. That was the particular struggle that I was part of. I was in the room when we decided that we would use that term. We wanted to use that term to piss off the Department of Education quite frankly. We wanted to create a really long word that they would have to say every time they talked to us, because when we were in these hui they'd always get up and talk about "your bilingual unit" and we'd say, "No, we're a kura kaupapa Māori." Every time they tried to say it, we'd crack up—it was our little joke. Our intention was to change the legislation because we wanted it to be on the lips of every person in New Zealand; that they would have to say the words "kura kaupapa Māori" school.

But of course it also meant something to us, and that's why I say it's more than and less than. At the time of the development of kura kaupapa Māori in the late 1980s, the going research space was around bilingualism, bilingual education, and bilingual schooling. That was the dominant paradigm. In that paradigm, we couldn't have a kaupapa Māori school—it was to be a bilingual school, and in New Zealand what bilingual schooling meant was what might be called a dual process of English and Māori. The schools practising it at the time were basically using English in the morning and Māori in the afternoon. Any primary school teacher knows that by the time you get to the afternoon, your opportunities for learning are pretty much diminished—and that was

not what we wanted for our children in terms of a different approach to bilingual education.

We wanted immersion in our reo but we also wanted our philosophies of learning; our philosophies of knowledge in our identity to be the driving framework of all aspects of the school; our philosophies to be the driving framework of the school curriculum, the driving framework for relationships between whānau, parents, children, and teachers. We wanted our philosophies to be the driving framework for teaching practice, the driving framework for assessment and evaluation and reporting, the driving framework for the ethical conduct of our schools. We wanted all of that to be grounded in the schools that we were hoping to design. That was our approach and that's why the term was so important to us. It was important in the struggle for that space. All the time we were told, "No, you've got a biligual school." That's not what we wanted. We wanted something different.

There was that opportunity in the late 1980s. It looked like it could be something different. But actually we didn't get this because what we got instead of a whānau process for the management and governance of our schools, for example, was a board of trustees as part of coming in under the state via the Education Amendment Act 1989.

Coming in under the state meant being funded by government which at one level was a wonderful relief. We could pay our teachers, we could buy real equipment that we didn't have to tahae and borrow off other people. What came with that, however, were the constraints of public education. Trying to work within those constraints has been a major challenge in the kura kaupapa Māori movement. Trying to be something different, trying to be round in a square space, trying to do something round with square money, trying to create a round curriculum with a square guidebook, has been really hard. It's been a constant struggle.

It's no different when talking about kaupapa Māori research. It's great to see all of you in one room, and I absolutely agree with Jessica about the need to build community. I work in that world of funding bodies. I'm on the Health Research Council and now the Marsden Council, and I'm in environments where you see really clearly how particular approaches to research totally dominate the practices and belief

systems of our country and internationally. I also see how small the space is for those working in kaupapa Māori as an approach to research to actually be recognised and be funded in those bodies. They're really conservative.

What interests me often is not the behaviour of my colleagues who I don't expect to necessarily support kaupapa Māori, but the behaviour of other Māori in relation to a kaupapa Māori research approach. That's what often disappoints me. If you don't agree, you can do two things: you can say you don't agree, or you can shut your mouth because there's something bigger at stake. That's a choice you make often in the sorts of environments I'm talking about. The reason you might shut your mouth is you may not necessarily like that individual or whatever, but there is a bigger kaupapa at work which is to try and create the capability to do the work that needs to be done by our people.

To me, kaupapa Māori is a practice; it's a way of thinking about everything that we do in research. It's a way of supporting Māori researchers. It's a way of supporting our community researchers who are not attached to an institution to do the kinds of research they want to do. It's a way of supporting people who are exploring sometimes quite scary, edgy-type knowledge, to do that; to support them to do something in a Māori space.

That can be rather risky. It can lead you to anxieties about: Is this person really Māori? Does their identity really matter? Often you don't know that; you get a feel for it but you don't necessarily know it. Is this the person really doing the research or is there a behind-the-scenes team who are not Māori who are governing the direction of that research? How much say do the Māori around this particular project have around the methodology? Is the research good research in a richer ethical sense? Is it worth doing? Will it have a benefit? I think the kaupapa of kaupapa Māori research is a wider set of practices and theories and approaches that govern behaviour and that govern how we might operate in situations when no one really sees the impact of our work—unless you get a letter that says sorry you did not get funded or well done you did get funded.

Let me come quickly then to the notion of community. It's good to see people coming together

today as part of a community; it's really important. I've always seen our community as very global and I think it's very necessary to protect ourselves by having allies and friends in the global arena. I've always worked in the indigenous space and Māori space and see the different ways in which we can expand our legitimacy in the kaupapa Māori area and expand our circle of friends and allies, and also test the claims, approaches, and ideas we have with others who support the kaupapa but who might have different views about how to do things. You don't have to defend your indigenous identity when you're in those environments, but you do have to defend the quality of your ideas and whether those things really work. It's always challenging in other indigenous contexts where people have really good ideas that you haven't necessarily thought about before. Often we have had those ideas but in a different way, or it's not really been a priority for us, or there are other things at work.

Kaupapa Māori research is widely cited by other indigenous researchers around the world in journals and academic domains that might surprise some of you. I was recently part of a collaboration on a handbook of communication and ethics and something else. The team I was working with was an Indian from India and one was American, and they were doing the post-colonial critique stuff and had got to the point where they realised that while you can critique up the wazoo, it doesn't necessarily give you tools to help you go forward. What kaupapa Māori does is do both. It does the critique and it provides a way to proceed; a pathway forward. And it also provides a sense of optimism that you can go forward; that it's not all bad where the only option left is to give up and go home and stick your head in an oven. A lot of critique does this, and what happens is that you just go and die—intellectually I'm talking about, and spiritually and emotionally. I do believe in the critique, but it has to show a way forward; there has to be a solution, a transformative component. If you don't like this part then how would you do it better? How would you improve it? How would you make it possible? That I think is also part of what a kaupapa is meant to do. It's meant to take you forward, and not just have you look at your own navel and think, "Well that sucked. I'll go on to something else now." So those are my random thoughts on kaupapa.

In terms of the institutional environment, increasingly I've been interested and engaged in looking at research as an institution. This is not so much about research as method, or research as methodology, or research as finding knowledge, or research as theory, but is instead about the institutions of power that define and sustain particular ideas about research. Those institutions of power are incredibly powerful and they're supported by the entire education system in a sense because the system legitimates particular understandings of knowledge. Those understandings go all the way up to our universities. I'm part of that system. I supervise theses and I teach about research, so it's really quite hard when you're implicated in that system to look at how you transform that.

I think at one level what kaupapa Māori research has been really effective in doing is producing new generations of researchers who are coming to Master's thesis research and PhD research. We can do that because there's a sense of universities being spaces of academic freedom, and of PhDs being spaces for novel or new ideas producing knowledge, so there's a lot of space to do that there. But there's also the real-world space where, if you're working in other environments, to what extent does kaupapa Māori travel into, for example, contract research or blue skies research or other ways you might get funded to do research? I've a mixed sense about how that works.

I think some people have been really successful, but they're mostly successful because they're able to draw on both kaupapa Māori and other methods and are able to draw those together to create an exciting proposal or because they've been able to show how kaupapa Māori will develop a richer way of gathering data with Māori. So I think those are two areas that can help, particularly in the health area where they get funded.

One of the differences between health and education is that in the health area it's much more explicit in some of our funding that we do expect Māori methodologies if you wish to get money that's tagged for Māori health. That's a criteria that we use very transparently and very subtly to ensure that the proposals we get are led by Māori researchers and are grounded in our communities and our providers.

It's more obvious in health and it's a battle that has to be fought every year at the council level in the governance domain. It's not a safe space but it's the space we constantly have to work with. I don't know how the funding works in the new Ministry of Science, but I suspect that there's probably limited opportunities to work with Māori methodologies.

I think there's a struggle to be had still in the wider institutional environment and so I congratulate NZCER for having the courage and the foresight to bring us together to think about ways to empower kaupapa Māori researchers and enable that research methodology to expand and be applied across more and more contexts. I don't see it as being any different from the challenges around action research, participatory action research, and some of those other methodologies which are gaining more support. But we're all still in this little pile, and all the funding goes to what we might call science or sciences, because there's no single science. They don't necessarily get on with each other so they have their own committees because otherwise they'll fight. They get all these committees and we get one and we have to fight against all these other methodologies, so the insitutional environment still has a lot of work to do.

I encourage all of you to put yourselves forward as referees, reviewers, and committee members so that when you are at a gateway, you can close a gate and keep it closed or open a gate. That's a really powerful position. A lot of people on committees find it hard to recognise there is a gate, and then they're looking for the lock, and then they've got to figure out the combination to unlock the lock. By the time they've learnt that, they're off that committee and then someone else comes in. But if you have a kaupapa in terms of a practice then you go straight for the lock, what the combination is, and open the door to create the space.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

Is there anyone here who attends the iwi leaders forum? No? One of the challenges for us is the disconnect between what we do and what many of our corporate iwi organisations are interested in and who they engage with when they want research. It's the same as with fisheries and who gets quotas. Is it the ones at home who've been doing the fishing

for generations or is it the corporates who come in flash and who can do a business case? It's a similar metaphor for where our iwi are going and the kinds of research that they're wanting and who they're prepared to pay for.

So one challenge is connecting with where iwi are going in terms of the research we need. Sure, many of them are still in the Waitangi Tribunal contesting grievances. But I bet many of you aren't doing tribunal research because if you analyse who is funded by the Crown Forestry Rental Trust, there are not many Māori researchers consistently employed in that domain. It's particular kinds of mainstream historians who do most of the work. Even when iwi do their own research, it's often contested at the tribunal level. So in what should be our own space, our approaches to research are also not safe. Now it might be because we're not doing well in that space; maybe we're doing crap work. I don't know, but I suspect we're not even getting an opportunity to prove ourselves. So a challenge ahead is connecting our approaches to research and the usefulness and the robustness of our approaches to the range of entities and providers coming out of the settlements process.

I get really angry and appalled because I know what happens when research goes belly up. Some of the non-Māori consultant researchers who are brought in are doing a crap job and our people have paid for that. The result is that nothing happens out of the research. Not only is it a waste of money and a waste of effort, but the ones at home have to clean up the mess. Sometimes we ourselves don't learn from the lessons of the past. I wouldn't rather clean up the mess of a Māori researcher, but it's a preference to cleaning up what tends to be a way bigger mess by non-Māori researchers.

I think the other challenge ahead is about a quality of thinking. With my students, I'm noticing that those coming through into graduate and postgraduate research haven't necessarily done the substantial thinking work that's required to do good analysis and robust interpretation. It's partly because the nature of degrees has changed. Whether you are writing in Māori or in English, your language needs to be able to describe and explain either complicated or simple things. This is because, in the end, your research

stands on your ability to communicate and for what you communicate to measure up as credible; that at a commonsense level it makes sense. What I'm sensing with many of our undergraduates coming in to Honours is that they haven't done the reading—apart from the fact that they might think I'm dead. They haven't done enough reading, for example, in the kaupapa Māori research area where there's now a substantial body of knowledge. A lot of it's available online. There's some really good work and examples of research projects that have used kaupapa Māori.

What I want to see more of is our students really thinking about and having a deep knowledge about our world and not taking it for granted and not being comfortable in it. You can be comfortable as a Māori, but, quite frankly, the reality is that to be Māori in this country at the moment is still an uncomfortable thing. It's still not a comfortable space. It's quite good to be irritable; to be irritated by our country; to be irritated by the systems that we work in. You don't have to be an out-and-out-activist, but being irritated is good for our thinking. We've got to be able to think about how we get through this; to use our minds. To me, that is ultimately the power of kaupapa Māori research. It has provided us a space to genuinely use our thoughts, our values, our theories, and our thinking skills, to think and imagine our way through—the two are equally important.

If there's a barrier or a wall you can be limited by saying to yourself, "I'll just stay on this side of the barrier. I'll just make my world here." You begin to fear what's on the other side of the barrier and people will tell you big lies and say, "Don't go over there—there's lots of taniwha, it's not a safe world." But our minds can transform that anxiety because they can travel to the other side of the world and see through the barriers. We've got to emancipate and liberate our imaginations so that we can create what's on the other side of that barrier and so that we can leap it. It's so important not to be constrained or to constrain ourselves. As a teacher I tend not to make a lot of rules and regulations about kaupapa Māori. I know some students want me to just tell them what it is, and I say, "No, figure it out" because in figuring it out you free your own thinking. Your mind creates a pathway, so life is easier when you're not constrained by other people's constructs.

I want to leave you there. You've got a fabulous line up of speakers and panelists and I really like the idea that this is a conversation. I just want to reinforce that what kaupapa Māori research will be in the 21st century is what it will be, and you will make it that. Kia ora koutou.

PANEL: DIVERSE EXPERIENCES OF KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Chaired by Moana Jackson

MOURI TŪ MOURI ORA: MY EXPERIENCES OF IWI-BASED KAUPAPA MĀORI COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH—AN INHERENTLY TRANSFORMATIVE ACTIVITY

Āneta Hinemihi Rāwiri

He muka tēnei nō Te Taurawhiri a Hinengākau, he maramara hoki nō Rāhiri. Kō Ngāti Rangi, nō roto i a Whanganui iwi, ā, ko Ngāti Hine, nō roto i a Ngā Puhi nui tonu, ngā iwi. Ko Ngāti Rangiteauria me Ngāti Kōpaki ngā hapū. Ko Ngātokerua, ko Tiorangi, ko Ōtiria ngā marae.

In 2002 I moved home to Raetihi after studying and working in Wellington, and became involved in a range of iwi projects for Ngāti Rangi and Whanganui Iwi. For us, collaboration means undertaking projects in partnership with external participants. The key components of partnership projects are:

- Whanganui Iwi ancestral ways of life
- iwi collective wellbeing
- iwi self-determination
- respectful partnerships.

Our iwi goal in entering into collaborative projects is for these components to become the overall shared goals of all project participants. The role of external participants is to contribute to these fundamental goals. We've had some important successes applying this model, as well as times when we haven't been successful. Regardless, we'll continue to use it as the basis for collaborative engagement.

This model is not new. It represents a continuation of very old iwi ways of life into today's world. And these ways of life are based on fundamental life principles such as *mouri*, *mana*, *tapu* and *ihi*.

To briefly explain this model: iwi ancestral ways of life and tikanga connect us to our tūpuna, our iwi, and our whenua. When we live these connections, we experience a deep sense of belonging and respect; so much so that we don't separate our individual wellbeing from the wider collective wellbeing of iwi and whenua.

These ways of life can only be maintained where we can maintain ourselves as whānau, hapū, marae, and iwi. Respecting iwi to be self-determining is the only effective way to assure this. Where this is respected, equitable and respectful relationships can be forged.

IWI-BASED PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS ARE A MODEL FOR WELLBEING

This model promotes wellbeing for the individual and the collective. The key determinant of this model is our pahake, our old people. We gathered together kōrero from the first collaborative project I was involved in, for a short publication called *Mouri tū mouri ora*.² I'd like to read an extract from that book, which describes the role of our pahake in collaborative projects:

Our old people speak in a very special way. They convey deep insights without revealing ancestral knowledge to be kept within the community. Our old people are highly respected. They are often very

2 Rāwiri, Ā. H. (Ed.). (2009). *Mouri tū mouri ora, water for wisdom and life: Ngāti Rangi, the Tongariro Power Scheme, and the Resource Management Act 1991—reconciling indigenous spiritual wellbeing, corporate profit and the national interest*. Whanganui: Te Atawhai o Te Ao—Independent Māori Institute for Environment and Health. Available at: <http://www.wrmtb.co.nz/>

unassuming and people from outside communities may have difficulty in recognising or understanding the vital leadership role they play. Pahake are both men and women, and their respective roles are held in equal regard. Their knowledge has been passed on to them orally, and they have gained deep insights from living it. They are not all aged and often have a keen sense of humour.

Not all people are recognised as pahake; their recognition comes from the fact that they speak wisely, and act with integrity. Integrity means living and passing on a deep respect for all that is sacred and precious, connecting the land with the people. Whakapapa, names, places, kōrero tuku iho, tikanga and waiata continually remind us of who we are. If the depth of their meaning is lost, we will lose our sense of responsibility for our ancestral homelands and each other; and both will quickly be reduced to commodities to be bought and sold. Our old people understand the difference between beneficial or inconsequential changes, and those that affect community integrity. Our pahake are understood to be guardians of the future as much as they are of the past. They are cherished for their wisdom and leadership.

At home now, the generation of pahake is my Dad's generation. They speak very little te reo, but were brought up by their pahake to be tāngata tiaki of the iwi, and the whenua, and they carry those leadership responsibilities for us. So I would add, too, that not all pahake are fluent speakers of te reo.

Since the 1980s, we've maintained a determined effort to hold regular iwi wānanga. In our iwi wānanga, we come together, we visit wāhi tapu and wāhi tūpuna, to learn kōrero tuku iho and to observe tikanga. *E kī ana te kōrero, kua e kōrero mō tō awa, engari me kōrero ki tō awa.* Probably our most well-known iwi wānanga is the Tira Hoe Waka. We have our own iwi wānanga within Ngāti Rangi. Three years ago, my cousins, with the support of our pahake, started the first tikanga Whanganui wānanga in 20 years, to be conducted completely in te reo. The continuation of Te Reo o Whanganui into today's world is also a key iwi activity.

The overall purpose of wānanga is for tikanga to remain the basis of day-to-day iwi life, in all aspects of iwi life. The progression from knowing, to understanding, to wisdom, is achieved through the

collective living of tikanga. In collaborative projects, it is this wisdom that is at the forefront of activity.

IWI-BASED PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS PROMOTE CRITICAL CHANGE IN EXTERNAL FIELDS OF EXPERTISE

This model is a very sophisticated approach to collaborative engagement because it involves more than mere intellectual, academic engagement. It also requires a subjective experience of, and deep respect for, iwi spiritual understandings in its totality. For many academics it's too difficult to shift from their entrenched training into this model. But there are some who are open to it, and more importantly, they welcome the opportunity to bring about critical change in their respective field of expertise.

Our first experience of this came from my uncles meeting with scientists commissioned to undertake environmental impact assessment reports on the Whangaehu River. The Whangaehu is one of our key tūpuna awa within Ngāti Rangi. It's unique because it's partially sourced from Te Wai-ā-moe, which is an active volcanic crater on Ruapehu. Because of that, the water in the main stem in its upper reaches sometimes has a very high sulphur content.

For eight years my uncles met with scientists and explained that seasonal snow melts on Ruapehu, our Koro, causing freshwater flushes. These freshwater flushes create corridors for tuna to move up the main stem, into the upper tributaries. And still, for eight years, scientists concluded that, according to their modelling, there could be no fish life in the upper tributaries because of the sulphur in the main stem. This was until my uncles spoke with a freshwater ecologist who responded to our kōrero by saying, "Well, that means I'm going to have to change the modelling I apply in my analyses."³

That was our first experience of collaborative engagement (in the work I've been involved in), and it encouraged us to go on to develop our model, and apply it in subsequent projects. We've had some wonderful experiences working with external experts who are committed to working within a partnership

³ Environmental impact assessment discussions at the Whangaehu River between Colin Richards (Ngāti Rangi), Keith Wood (Ngāti Rangi), and Dr Mike Joy (now Director, Centre for Freshwater Ecosystem Management and Modelling, Massey University).

model, and in truly mutually respectful and mutually enhancing ways.⁴

Iwi-based partnership projects promote indigenous nationhood

This model also promotes indigenous sovereign nationhood. I'd like to read another extract from *Mouri tū mouri ora* which comments on this. In that project, we brought together a collaborative team to present evidence before the Environment Court, at a hearing held at Tirorangi Pā:

Over the course of the hearing, the Court witnessed an affirmation of indigenous nationhood. To recognise indigenous nations as distinct peoples within a nation-state is widely considered to be separatist and divisive. Yet, forcibly denying us our ancestral heritage is not cohesive. A nation-state that embraces pluralism and cultural diversity is richer than one that denies it. Difference is not the problem, but rather a lack of respect for difference.

Sovereign indigenous nations can coexist within the nation-state. Respecting the right of indigenous communities to be self-determining is not only viable; more importantly, it forges a pathway ahead toward a just and equitable relationship between tāngata whenua and the nation-state. Not only will this facilitate respectful engagement between different peoples, but it will also assure sustainable futures for all communities.

Worldwide, tāngata whenua are advocating for respectful engagement with outside communities to build a world that affirms our dignity and presence. At the same time, we are engaged in whānau, hapū and iwi activities to retain our collectivity and integrity. Through community we come to know connectedness. We experience the totality of life because we live whole-life philosophies. These provide meaning to life and enable us to find our spirit within and nurture our wellbeing more completely. This is critical for effective action—within and outside community.

Community and spiritual wellbeing is at the core of indigenous sovereign nationhood. Community wellbeing begins in our homes and our marae. Caring, loving families are critical to the survival of indigenous communities. As we have learned from our pahake, so too will our children and grandchildren come to understand how *mana* and *tapu* are to be approached with care and respect through their experiences, through observation, and when they are treated this way. Self-determination will only be assured where our tamariki mokopuna continue to cherish and believe in their ancestral heritage and themselves.

IWI-BASED PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS ARE INHERENTLY TRANSFORMATIVE

Iwi-based kaupapa Māori collaborative research is an inherently transformative activity;⁵ at an individual level, at a collective iwi level, and at a societal level.



Koro Ruapehu

In this valley is the Wahiānoa River, part of the Whangaehu River catchment, which was one of the rivers at the centre of our Environment Court hearing at Tirorangi Pā.

4 See also: Rāwiri, Ā. H. (2008). Embedding adult literacy in a sense of community: Literacy and employment within Whanganui Iwi. Whanganui: Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui—Whanganui Iwi Education Authority. Available at: http://literacy.org.nz/files/file/documents/Publications_Research/Aneta_Rawiri_EmbeddingAdultLiteracy.pdf. In this Foundation for Research, Science and Technology-funded kaupapa Māori research project (MAUX0308) we successfully research partnered with Dr Judy Hunter, School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University.

5 Adapted from Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press; at p. 193, “When indigenous peoples become the researchers and not the researched, the activity of research is transformed. Questions are framed differently, priorities are ranked differently, problems are defined differently, people participate in different terms.”



Tiorangi Pā, Karioi



Ngāti Rangī welcoming the Environment Court to Tiorangi Pā on 10 November 2003. From left to right are Environment Court Commissioner Kevin Prime (Ngāti Hine), Keith Wood (Ngāti Rangī), Environment Court Judge Gordon Whiting, and Turama Hawira (Ngāti Rangī).

STRUCTURING IWI-BASED PARTNERSHIP PROJECTS

Unfortunately, I don't have time to talk about how we structure iwi-based kaupapa Māori research projects. Suffice it to say the ways in which we organise and manage ourselves are almost the exact opposite to academic processes. I've been living away from home for a couple of years now, and in that time I've been involved in a couple of Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST)-funded, so-called iwi-based kaupapa Māori projects outside my iwi.

However, those projects were organised by senior researchers in such a way that there was no considered approval sought from or given by iwi, there was no genuine accountability to iwi, the iwi did not play any real leadership role, the funding allocated to iwi was token in comparison to the support they were asked

to provide, and cursory attention was given to iwi intellectual and cultural property rights.

I'd like to see a kaupapa Māori research code of ethics drafted for researchers, and for iwi. I'd also suggest that accountability to other Māori academics may not be sufficient.

Ki te tino hiahia tātou ki te aro atu te titiro ki tua o te pae, kia kua tātou e tiro noa iho ki te pae tata, ko tātou tēnā, ko ngā kairangahau Māori. Engari me tiro atu hoki ki te pae matua, ko ō tātou iwi tērā.



Uri attending the Tira Hoe Waka, an annual, two-week iwi wānanga held on our tūpuna awa, Te Awa Tupua Whanganui

Finally I'd like to acknowledge my aunts, *nā rātou a au i poi poi i roto i tēnei mahi*, Aunty Lynne Richards, Aunty Nancy Te Nape Wood, Aunty Morna Taute, and Aunty Joy Ngāhuia McDonnell. *Ahakoā kei ngā tūpuna i te pō, kei konei tonu e ārahi ana, e tiaki ana. Huri atu te pō, nau mai te ao.* I'd also like to acknowledge my Aunty Rangimārie Ponga in Raetihi, *ko a ia taku pou whirinaki.*

*I rere kau mai te awa nui, mai i te kāhui maunga ki Tangaroa. Ko au te awa, ko te awa ko au. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, mouriora ki a tātou.*⁶

⁶ Grateful thanks to Te Wānanga o Raukawa for supporting this presentation; and to Andrenah Kākā (Ngāti Hine; Pūkenga Reo, Te Wānanga o Raukawa) for her peer feedback, encouragement, and support in preparing this presentation.

METHODOLOGICAL HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE TRENCHES

Dr Kathie Irwin

Rau rangatira ma, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou,
tēnā koutou katoa. He uri tēnei o Rakaipaaka,
Ngāti Kahungungu, me Ngāti Porou.

I've been asked to look back on some of the projects that I've worked on over the years and I've called it "highlights from the trenches". I'm glad that Linda's keynote address made it quite clear that it has been a bit of a war at times. What I'd like to share are reflections and insights. Would I do some things differently if I were doing them now? Probably. How do the insights sit with me? Often in a very irritated way. But we're reminded that one of the most beautiful taonga from the Pacific, the pearl, starts as a piece of grit, and as a young researcher I was nothing if not gritty.

The insights are about trying to make sense of what we might call our own sense of Māori knowledge and how we work with that. You might want to call it Māori epistemology; cultural knowledge that is ours. I want to also talk about cultural practice. We're not the only culture in the world in which the gaps between our knowledge and our practice are sometimes a little wider than we may want them to be. Colonisation made sure that that was a reality for many of our whānau. I want to also talk about the methodologies used. In the insights I share, what I'm going to try to do is find that spot marked "X"—the spot when Māori cultural knowledge, method and practice are integrated.

MĀORI EDUCATION FOUNDATION (CAMERON-CHEMIS, 1981)

The first project was a formal one conducted in 1978. It was my Honours dissertation at Massey University and it was a study of the Māori Education Foundation. The history bit was fine. You read the papers, you find the books with cobwebs on them that no one else has read before, and you write the story up. However, the analysis got me into a different space. Gerald Grace (1988, 1990), in a critique of the Treasury position regarding the case for user pays (on the grounds that education was a commodity rather than a public

good), argued that the Treasury was proposing a very clever *ideological manoeuvre*. They did this through proposing that responsibility for resolving an issue identified at the structural level—Māori educational underachievement—was being shifted to the personal level. The Māori Education Foundation's position was: "Give us 10 years and we'll solve the disparities through scholarships."

What I learnt from that was that if you have the wrong analytical frame, you are not going to be able to make good sense of the data you have. As we are all too aware, the educational statistics today show similar patterns to those reported in 1960 when the Hunn Report was released.

TE KŌHANGA REO 1987–1988 (IRWIN, 1990; TAWHIWHIRANGI, IRWIN, RENWICK, & SUTTON, 1988)

The second project I want to reflect on is the *Government Review of Te Kōhanga Reo*, 1987 to 1988, led by the late John Rangihau as the chair, and which also included Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi, Frances Sutton from the Treasury, and Rosemary Renwick from Massey University where I worked at the time.

What was significant about this review was going around the country, holding hui on marae, and listening to Iritana (and the team kaumātua) speak for hours—seemingly without breathing. Who wouldn't be spellbound? I certainly was as a young researcher and had huge respect for them in so many ways.

What I also saw was John Rangihau taking the original terms of reference and saying "I'll be seeing Geoffrey Palmer tonight because there is no way we're accepting these." The lesson I took from that as a young researcher was that if you get the frame and the boundary of your research question wrong, then again, you're probably going to head down a pathway that's not going to be very fulfilling. And also that you have the power to push back, to renegotiate, and to ensure that the frame is right from the outset.

We thought that the real agenda was that the Treasury wanted kōhanga reo targeted to a particular

economic group in our community. John Rangihau wouldn't have it, and neither would Iritana, so he took those terms of reference and came back with a more focused set. So you learn things about being in the company of people who are our kaumātua, who have the mana to be able to say this is the way it's going to be, and then to be able to work with them to implement their vision.

I also learnt some scary things about kaumātua during that research. When we started it, I was carrying my son and I thought, okay, I'm not sure how long this is going to take, but I do know how long this pregnancy is going to last and this boy is due in March. The review started to take longer and longer and I was taking maternity leave and having three months at home with my boy. Iritana's response to that was, while you're on maternity leave, the meetings will be at your home and you can start drafting the report while having the leave with your son. So between feeds and at about three o'clock in the morning, I started drafting the final report.

PRACTISING PARTNERSHIP PRINCIPLES 1993–1994 (IRWIN & BROUGHTON, WITH KARENA & ROBINSON, 1994)

When I look back on all the significant pieces of research I was ever a part of, to work for your own iwi has its own demands and has its own requirements. To be asked to work with another iwi, however, is a whole new ball game.

I was at Victoria University when Max Karena and Len Robinson, Te Kete o Taranaki, came down with Mahara Okeroa, who was the Te Puni Kōkiri (TPK) Regional Director, to ask us to be a part of a research project. The issue that Len and Max had was that they believed the Crown had a monopoly in the review of education. The Ministry of Education developed the policy, the Ministry developed the regulations, and the Education Review Office came along and reviewed it. They were all on the same team. Len and Max went to TPK and said that what is needed is an independent iwi authority which reviews education alongside the Education Review Office and gives an iwi view of what's going on. Our job was to create the pilot. TPK had a policy pilot concept called Manu Tukutuku, which would take a policy idea, pilot it, and then see if it could be grown into a major Crown initiative.

When they came down to Victoria University and asked us to be involved in this work I said we'd only consider it if there was a Taranaki researcher whom we could grow in the project because you don't go up to Taranaki if you're not from Taranaki to do this kind of work. So Robina Broughton was the person who became the researcher through this project. She worked with her own people and graduated with a Master's degree out of what she finished.

In terms of the methodological innovation trialled during this project, the main tool we sought to develop was a robust method of collecting "the collective voice" of the hui. We wanted to capture the collective voice through all of the hui that we had. Through the research we asked a whole series of questions of the schools of how they had gone about working with Māori to create their charters. Then we had hui in each community and we asked the whānau, hapū, and iwi the same questions that we asked the schools. We got two different discourses in response. This gave us a way to enable two groups to be able to talk to each other about their responses and issues. We did that by having a hui at the end that we called our *best practice hui*. Both groups were asked, knowing what they knew now, what they would do differently if they could. There had been some pretty significant raruraru that had gone down, and that process enabled them to create a platform to be able to talk to each other about how to move forward. So there was a nice dispute resolution process that came out of it too.

The method to collect the iwi voice was just three people in the room taking the minutes of every hui in different places. At the end of the hui, we triangulated those minutes and created one set from the hui and sent it out to all the people who were there. We asked them to sign the minutes off as the collective voice of that particular hui, if they agreed that those were the things that were said. When you go to Waitangi Tribunal hearings you see the technology that is involved in capturing that collective voice—microphones everywhere that must cost thousands of dollars. We had three women with exercise books and pens and that's what it cost us. This is not about a research methodology that needs to break the bank. Some of the skills in listening to what our people are saying, and actually being an effective advocate on their behalf, are not resource intensive.

MĀORI EDUCATION: FROM WRETCHEDNESS TO HOPE (IRWIN, 2002)

The piece for me that was a big piece of personal work, was my PhD. In my undergraduate and postgraduate research, one of the critical things for me was that I had read volumes of research which theorised Māori failure, like Bourdieu, the French sociologist, who theorised how the New Zealand education system had failed Māori. But the research, including Bourdieu, offered little by way of theorising Māori success.

And yet, in our own whānau narrative, and in our own hapū, and iwi narratives, I knew many many people, as you do, who were highly successful bilingual, bicultural, internationally recognised, kaumātua who were not failures. Māori people who had succeeded. They had gone through the school system and obviously engaged in it in a way that Bourdieu could not account for. Our Māori knowledge code is built from the *bottom up*. Every whānau, every hapū, every iwi, has localised narratives built from the local, to the regional, and the national. Bourdieu's theoretical analysis missed out our whole sociocultural dynamic which is oppositional to Western epistemology in critical respects. When we allow international theory to do that to us, we are the architects of our own intellectual impoverishment. I've spent a good number of years trying to work out exactly how to describe the things that were happening so that people could make sense of them. It is one thing to have that understanding, and as Linda rightly said this morning, your next job is to communicate it in ways that enable others to understand.

One of the works that helped me was an American sociologist, Giroux (1992), who talked about *border crossing*. There is a whole Māori world that we are still in control of. The Crown has some links, through various compliances, but Māori remain in control. That world revolves around the Māori cultural infrastructure.

What I argued in my PhD was that what we've done in our lives is to cross borders between the Māori world and the mainstream schooling/education system, with varying degrees of ease. I've seen my own kaumātua cross them without even blinking. The challenge for the Crown is not to move the borders closer together.

The challenges of education are to create more spaces in which we can become better border

crossers, and learn the skills and the knowledge that we need to be able to do that; to be successful in both the Māori world and in the education/schooling system. What's happening at the moment is that our people are saying leave the border between the Māori world and the education/schooling system where it is—in fact, we may shift it a little more to the left, not to the right.

TE KŌHANGA REO AND THE UNITED NATIONS (IRWIN, BLACK, & MARSHALL, 2003)

In 2003, Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust was invited to address the first Permanent Forum in the United Nations on indigenous issues on the portability of the kōhanga reo model: Was it indeed something that could be a global exemplar of leadership and indigenous development? When we got there, that was exactly how it was perceived around the world—a place where indigenous cultural knowledge, cultural practice, and cultural method come together in a really powerful model.

One of the interesting things about that trip with Titoki Black and Phil Marshall was that it got no media coverage in New Zealand. On the way back we happened to hit Los Angeles airport the day after Ruben Studdard won American Idol. We saw him and Titoki and I went, "Aahhh, Ruben Studdard", as you do. We got a photo with him, and when we came back to New Zealand we sent it around the kōhanga network. One of the whānau sent it to *The Dominion Post*. The photo of us ended up on the front page with the whole story of how we ran up and got a photo with him. There was nothing in the story about why we were in New York until the last line where it noted that the representatives of the Kōhanga Reo National Trust addressed the United Nations.

What do you have to do when you leave New Zealand to get kaupapa Māori on the front page? Obviously be in the company of an American idol.

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING: THE MARAE/SCHOOL INTERFACE (IRWIN, 2005)

In 2005, the Ministry of Education tendered out some think pieces to inform the new curriculum development. They wanted to have some genuine brainstorming about new ways to perceive education.

I set out the notion of the Māori cultural infrastructure in that piece and its significance in terms of understanding Māori education in its widest sense. The paper argued that there is a whole infrastructure in our society that sits under the horizon of the Crown and its influence, and that is why we have been able to engage in the Māori renaissance in the way we have. It is why our language is still here despite not being supported in the schools for generations, because we have private domains over which we still have control and mana.

WHĀNAU YESTERDAY, TODAY, TOMORROW (IRWIN ET AL., 2011)

The last project I want to talk about is a piece of research that we've just finished at the Families Commission, which is about to be published and is called *Whānau Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*. If I look back at some of the things that we've been wanting to do in research, this is one of the examples where everything has come together. We argued with the Families Commission that the research needed to be kaupapa Māori-based, written from the inside of our world looking out because so much research on whānau is undertaken from the outside looking in, and done by non-Māori researchers using Western frameworks. We argued that it should tell narratives of whānau success because the discourse on deficit is so well covered elsewhere. We also argued that this would be where you could come to find stories of what people are doing that are actually working.

We had the dream research team: Lisa Davies, one of the first Māori demographers trained under Ian Pool at Waikato University; Whetu Wereta, who until recently was manager of the Māori section at Statistics New Zealand; Colleen Tuuta, a Taranaki wahine toa who could well have been one of the research subjects in the report, such is her standing, not only in her own community but nationally as well; Huhana Rokx, former CEO of Te Taura Whiri and a kōhanga mum and activist in the reo from way back; Sandra Potaka, who told the story of iwi development and strategy around her own people, and Vervies McCausland, who worked with her on that; and Dave Bassett, who was the only non-Māori researcher in the team but who's married to Katarina Mataira's daughter and whose children are Māori, so it kind of felt like he was an insider in a sense.

Whetu and Lisa have given us a very powerful overview of the demographic and statistical profile of whānau. We interviewed 12 stunning Māori women of Aotearoa about their experiences of whānau development and their views of New Zealand society and of the role of Māori women and the renaissance, including: Iritana Tawhiwhirangi; Rose Pere; Naida Glavich; Areta Kopu; Kyla Russell; Barbara Greer; Papārangi Reid; Moe Milne; Ngaropi Cameron; and Mereana Pitman.

There's a case study on the Winitana whānau who created Ahorangi Genesis with their children, and who not only raised their children in the reo but also created a stagershow performing the story of the Māori creation story in te reo rangatira. Dave Bassett's done a chapter on the role and status of te reo Māori and Māori cultural knowledge in economic transformation, with case studies of four Māori businesses where the Māori brand has been the defining difference.

These papers have been brought together in a paper that enables us to give a social, cultural, economic, and environmental view of what whānau success looks like. It's been told by the people, for the people, and for anyone else who wants to help us on the journey of nation building.

Looking back, the lesson is that the journey towards the development of the kaupapa Māori research paradigm has been one of enlightenment—where the light gets much brighter. I actually really appreciate the years we had in the trenches when it was dark, because not only do we need to be able to say what we have got here, we've got to clearly say in our research what we're going to do with it once we've got it.

To be able to have a critical mass of Māori researchers like yourselves, whom we can call on to work in projects like this is really about creating our dream teams, our dream kaupapa, and through them creating the dreams that our tūpuna had for us.

That outcome is what makes this journey through the kaupapa Māori research paradigm worthwhile. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

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PROTECTING THE KNOWLEDGE TAONGA OF HUA PARAKORE

Percy Tipene

Kia ora mai tātou. Koina ki te mihi tonu ki ngā kōrero he whariki he ai mai te timata mō tēnei kaupapa. Ara taenoa ki tēnei haora hororia ki te hōhonutanga o te mea whakawhanaungatanga a tātou i tēnei ra. Nō reira, huri noa Kia ora mai tātou. Tēnei kaupapa e pa ana ki tēnei waka e ki a nei ko te Waka Kai Ora.

If you don't know what that means—Te Waka Kai Ora—it means that you are going to get healthy if you jump on our waka. I've been working at different levels of the primary sector for the past 35 years until I was asked to go home to a place called Motatau to look after 800 hectares of "rubbish" grass. When I looked at the "research" on the grass species on the property it was identified there were 28 species of weeds and four rye grass species. My challenge to the researchers was: How come my cows eat everything? They don't leave out the weeds and eat only the grass. So that has given me a title for how I farm. I'm the only one in Aotearoa who farms vegetarian cows, so kia ora. That's the first paradigm I think we need to look at: How can we change the language? It's about changing the language of research to suit us.

TE WAKA KAI ORA AND REALISING A VISION THROUGH ENGAGING IN RESEARCH

Te Waka Kai Ora is the National Māori Organics Authority of Aotearoa and we represent Māori interests in the organics sector in Aotearoa. For so long, Māori have been colonised in the organic sector and the key role of Te Waka Kai Ora is to bring a kaupapa to organics. As the National Māori Organics Authority we have a Te Tiriti partnership with the umbrella organisation, Organics Aotearoa New Zealand (OANZ). We work with them to look at how they operate and how our people can benefit. What we have found is that they are very different in terms of how they operate, which led us, over 10 years ago, to begin a kōrero at Ratana Pa about the

development of a Māori organic verification system. This has been a vision for the organisation ever since. What I will share with you today is how we engaged with the paradigm of research to assist us in delivering the vision of a Māori organic system—Hua Parakore—how our engagement as a Māori community group in research didn't go according to plan, and what we learnt.

RESEARCHING IN BETWEEN MĀTAURANGA AND WESTERN KNOWLEDGE SYSTEMS

In the words of Apirana Ngata—Ko ngā tohunga hei hao i taua waenganui nā, ko te rōpū i whakatapurua tahitia i roto i te mātauranga Pākehā, i te mātauranga Māori. Ngata's words illustrate a couple of things in relation to our research project, the first being that he identified the importance of how Māori and Pākehā knowledge systems and the spaces in between these two worlds are rich spaces for innovation to occur. Secondly, he also illustrates the importance of Māori worldviews and their holistic nature as being integral to the solution. This is very much where the Te Waka Kai Ora research project to develop a Māori organic system, Hua Parakore, sat. It is innovative, it draws on different bodies of knowledge, but primarily, it is located and centred within the holistic frame of mātauranga.

As an organisation, Te Waka Kai Ora is very passionate about our people and the kaupapa of Kai Ora Kai Atua. Why? Because as an organisation who loves ourselves, when you get to that stage, it's part of the affirmation in terms of having a good look at who you are and where you come from. Within Te Waka Kai Ora that affirmation is drawn from individuals themselves; it is not imposed on them. It is through these sorts of affirmations that we have people coming up with kōrero; that they have a real belief in that which is intuitively tika. It is those beliefs that have drawn us to where we are now.

As an organisation we took the strong beliefs and affirmations we had in the potential of the Hua Parakore system, partnered with an independent

Māori research institute, and successfully applied for Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST) funding. We pitched our project as working across and in between knowledge spaces for the wellbeing of our whenua and our people. All of this fitted with the criteria of the funding agency that invested over a three-year term in the project through our “trusted” research partners.

PROTECTING OURSELVES IN RESEARCH PARTNERSHIPS AND COLLABORATIONS

Our story is not a good one. We thought we had all of the safeguards in place to protect Te Waka Kai Ora and the knowledge taonga of Hua Parakore, but that was not the case. Our Māori research partners were the contract holders with FRST due to the fact that they fitted the Crown criteria of being a host institution. We, Te Waka Kai Ora, signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), a decision-making protocol, and an intellectual property agreement with our Māori research partners and were even written into the FRST contract milestones as needing to validate the final Māori organic system. So as good disciples we read everything to the letter that was given to us, we trusted and engaged Māori researchers whom we thought were Māori and could assist us by upholding tikanga in a kaupapa Māori research project. However, despite all of this there was a breakdown in the collaboration that to this day has not been resolved. It has resulted in Te Waka Kai Ora being closed out of the project by the Māori research partners, and being told by FRST they couldn't do anything to assist us in a resolution as we were not the research contract holders.

You know sometimes in your own relationship with your partner—it could be a good one, it could be a bad one, it could be a platonic one—and these are some of the aspects of relationships we need to look at when we think, “Shit, that bed looks good and we want to jump in it.” This one looked really good. The korowai was tikanga based, so we thought “Let's go.” Now the kaupapa that I'm talking about is when your mate kicks you out of bed and, you know what it's like—it's hard. I'm not here to give any institution a bashing because if I run any Māori down in here, all I'm doing is running myself down, and we need to remember that we need to empower ourselves and

we're not here to run anybody down. It is important for me today to share this kōrero and the lessons learnt in terms of how we trust each other.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF OPENING DOORS TO MĀORI COMMUNITIES FOR RESEARCH ACCESS

Te Waka Kai Ora opened up doors throughout the organic sector for our researchers and research partners to go in there and milk the cows. You know what I'm saying when I say milk the cows: they go in there and draw all that body of knowledge. This is when our people give over their knowledge and place it in the hands of researchers.

Because of the role we played in opening the doors and then the breakdown in the research partnership, Te Waka Kai Ora felt we had a responsibility to go back to our people who provided the information to the research project and say that we are no longer involved in the project; we cannot guarantee or safeguard what will happen with their kōrero. We suggested that they may want to withdraw their information out of the research for safety, and that's all we've actually done. We've informed our communities and ensured our people were aware of the option to withdraw all the information themselves so it doesn't get used for other kaupapa or agendas.

We made enquiries with legal counsel, who initially assisted us explore our legal options, and you know, we were going to take them to the cleaners. I ngā ra o mua, how did they settle differences? They'd go and have a fight, but today we have to pay lawyers to have our fight. We're not in a position to do that sort of thing nor were we interested in generating that sort of energy so we didn't follow through on the legal path.

The other decision we made as an organisation was that we needed to continue the development of the Hua Parakore system outside of the research project. That is what we have done. So I'm just giving you examples in terms of what the options were for us when the research relationship broke down half way through the project. I looked at myself and looked at what some of the people were saying: “Bro, use it, otherwise you'll lose it.” So in our endeavours we thought, “Ka pai, we'll just leave the research partners and FRST to close us out of the project.” We took a case to the Office of the Ombudsman and are

still waiting for an outcome and we have carried on working with our Te Waka Kai Ora communities to continue on the journey of developing the knowledge taonga of Hua Parakore that belongs to whānau and hapū. I guess when I'm talking about a knowledge taonga belonging to the whānau and hapū, it's the knowledge they provided of the integrity to say, "This is a pure product. This is what constitutes a Kai Ora Kai Atua." It was the relationships with our communities, and their willingness to tautoko this kaupapa outside a broken research project, that has enabled us to continue on our kaupapa in looking at how we can create our Hua Parakore tohu.

It is through taha wairua of Te Ao Hua Parakore that we really understand what it means, and it means a whole lot of things. It means whatever you think it means. Why I say that is because, *he Māori koutou*; you know that whatever it means to you, that is what it is. So there's no prerequisites in terms of what this kaupapa is and what it means. So it means whatever you say, and the only definition belongs to you. It doesn't belong to me or a certain group of people; it belongs to our tipuna. We can't preserve our taonga by owning it.

Firstly, before I share with you the lessons that Te Waka Kai Ora learnt with regard to research collaborations and the protection of intellectual property, I want to tell you a bit more about the Hua Parakore so you can understand this kaupapa and the lessons learnt within that context.

WHAT IS HUA PARAKORE?

Firstly, Hua Parakore is not an organic product. It goes beyond that. Hua Parakore is a pure product, it is Kai Ora Kai Atua. Where did the words "Hua Parakore" come from? In the Paipera Tapu Māori they talked about the "parakore" as being the olive oil used in its purest form. It was in that particular context that we picked up this kupu for us to use.

Because Organics Aotearoa New Zealand has its own organic standards and its own systems for certification, it was not appropriate for Te Waka Kai Ora to work solely within Western organic frameworks to develop a Māori organic system. So we looked to our own kaupapa. We had to look at the standards that were available and we thought, what we're going to do is to create a korowai that can overlay all the organic standards here

in Aotearoa. We said all along to Organics Aotearoa New Zealand that there wasn't a framework amongst their system that suited Māori organic producers. So we've actually added value to the kaupapa of organics in Aotearoa through the development of Hua Parakore. We've added te taha wairua, te taha tinana, me ngā atua katoa into organics.

One of the examples of the properties that recently became Hua Parakore verified and validated is Biofarm, in Palmerston North. Cathy Taite-Jamieson applies tikanga to produce her products. She owns her own processing plant and milks 120 cows. Her property is certified with Assure Quality and her factory is certified for making yoghurt and has been certified by the New Zealand Food Safety Authority.

When Te Waka Kai Ora did our first Hua Parakore validation interview with Cathy she said, "I don't know how to kōrero Māori." I said to her, "Well, how come you know how to say Māori?" I could tell the wairua. So I thought, okay, this will be a challenge for us—how do we validate a Hua Parakore grower and producer who doesn't have the reo? Very simple. I asked her to tell me her story. So she told me her story: as a mother, grandmother, wife, and kaitiaki. Throughout that kōrero, I managed to extract 23 principles of tikanga, and that was the process. In the factory, the same thing happened. We went through the factory where she processed the yoghurt and it's all been inspected and meets the requirements of the New Zealand Food Safety Authority. She overlaid her tikanga into her production—and what a wonderful way to go, because these are the products that are on the shelf, imbued with tikanga.

Last year I went to Australia with Cathy to promote Biofarm. She was talking about the products and I was talking about the Hua Parakore labelling—what the labelling meant and the story behind it. Hua Parakore products are made with hands and wairua. Her husband told me that sometimes if he's in a bitchy mood, the bacteria won't work. That's a reality; that is a fact. He has to move out of the factory until he's calm or until his wife goes in and does the culturing of the bacteria. So these are the connections of wairua and this is what I call Māori science. He aha ngā kupu? So while we look at Western science, there is a space there for Māori science. We know what it is. I know how to manage my 800 acres just by looking at the signs.

LESSONS LEARNT

So I guess in looking at the lessons from our broken research journey, we learnt a lot. We learnt to be humble, we learnt the importance of one another because there were, unfortunately, some people who went out to try and stop our kaupapa of Hua Parakore. As the Chair of our organisation I thought, “I’m alright. I know who I am. Our energy as a community was solid, there was kotahitanga; it wasn’t fragmented.” This is a key element when we’re talking about research. I’m talking about the unity not only of us as people but also what’s within us.

We have also learnt that as a community group you need to be the contract holder. We now know that unless you hold the contract, you have no relationship with the funder—even if you have MOUs, decision-making protocols, and intellectual property protocols. The other important lesson that I have already talked about is the need to, “use it or lose it”. When the research project broke down we were concerned about protecting the intellectual property of the Te Waka Kai Ora communities that had contributed to the project. We found that the best way for us to protect our knowledge and the Hua Parakore was to use it! That is what we have done. We have finished developing the Hua Parakore outside of the research project and we have disseminated it and ensured Te Waka Kai Ora collective ownership and community uptake.

Moving forward and thinking about community groups like Te Waka Kai Ora participating in collaborative research, I see the need for a kaupapa Māori research charter that allows Māori community groups like Te Waka Kai Ora a position of entitlement in research projects, rather than having to partner with institutions. We have no control as a community once institutions take ownership of the kaupapa and become involved in the research. This is one of the sad things we need to have a good look at and I thought this would be a good forum for us to have a think about it. Kia ora mai tātou.

KEYNOTE: FROM KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH TO RE-SEARCHING KAUPAPA MĀORI: MAKING OUR CONTRIBUTION TO MĀORI SURVIVAL

Ani Mikaere

INTRODUCTION

I should begin with a confession: kaupapa Māori research is not something that I consciously think or write about very much. On occasion, when forced to consider my work in terms of what kind of research methodology it might employ, I have thought that it probably falls within the general ambit of kaupapa Māori research, but I have never been too sure—nor have I devoted much energy to investigating the issue in any depth. So when I was asked to present at this conference, my initial reaction was reluctance, even ambivalence. I decided, however, that this might be a good time to explore that response.

The first thing that I realised, when I thought about how prominently or otherwise kaupapa Māori research features in my thinking, is that there was a time when my work colleagues and I discussed it regularly and saw it as important to our work. This was when I was working as a university academic during the 1990s. Since moving to Te Wānanga o Raukawa in 2001, however, I have found that we rarely, if ever, talk about kaupapa Māori research. Our work there is motivated primarily by a desire to re-search (re-investigate, reacquaint ourselves with) kaupapa as a means of contributing to the long-term survival of Māori, as Māori. I propose, then, to explore each of these ideas in more depth—kaupapa Māori research as opposed to re-searching kaupapa Māori—as a way of considering the challenges that face us as we do our work, whatever we may choose to call it.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH: SURVIVING THE ACADEMY

At the time that kaupapa Māori research was first emerging as a counter to the cultural arrogance that typifies the research process within the Western academic world, I was one of a very small group

of Māori academics struggling to survive in the stiflingly monocultural atmosphere of a law school which was battling for national recognition within an unfavourable educational environment.⁷ For us, the assertion of a “by Māori, with Māori, for Māori” approach to research was, almost literally, a lifesaver. Linda Smith has referred to “ethical horror stories” that emerged from the accounts of young Māori researchers who had been employed as “token” research assistants⁸ within various research environments and I could certainly regale you with my share of horror stories—in fact, writing this paper has caused me to revisit some of those experiences and I have been surprised by how traumatic it has been to do so, even some 15 to 20 years later.

During my early years as an academic the racism and colonialism I encountered in the university system came as a shock. I had not realised that educated people were capable of being so ignorant! Our Pākehā colleagues saw no problem with conducting research “on” Māori, regarding as churlish our disinterest in their “findings” and expecting universal acknowledgement as indigenous experts. They appeared genuinely surprised when we rejected invitations to join their research teams on projects over which we had no control. That surprise, it should be added, rapidly turned to irritation and even anger when, on occasion, they required nominal Māori involvement to lend credibility to a research proposal but found us uncooperative. They used their already well-established reputations to secure access to contestable funding, thereby cementing their own privileged positions as

7 Waikato School of Law, established in late 1990 with the support of a Labour government, had its establishment funding slashed by an incoming National government at the beginning of 1991 and there were real doubts about its value or its long-term future during its early years of operation.

8 Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (p. 192). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

senior researchers while denying opportunities to more junior colleagues to gain experience through the pursuit of their own research interests. The self-serving nature of standard research practice, which demanded that any new project begin with a literature review, ensured that the work of these established researchers not only defined the parameters of new research but also assumed an ever-increasing degree of authority each time it was referred to by later works. These people couched their writing (and even their conversation in some instances) in a language that was unintelligible to all but a select few. This effectively precluded the subjects of their research from making any comment on the value of their work—not that it occurred to them that the research subjects ought to have the opportunity to comment—and simultaneously bolstered their own sense of self-importance. I had never before seen language so expertly or blatantly wielded as a tool of self-elevation through the purposeful silencing and demeaning of others.

In that environment, the emergence of kaupapa Māori research offered Māori academics like me a glimmer of encouragement. Here was a Māori-authored body of work that asserted the requirement for Māori to be participants in, rather than merely the objects of, research. It demanded processes that were empowering of Māori and it questioned the validity of research that had been conducted by those outside the culture, pointing to inaccuracies and misinterpretations that had marred their work. It foreshadowed the development of distinctively Māori research principles and practices which, it insisted, would be developed by Māori for Māori.

The impact of kaupapa Māori research on our daily lives within the university was significant. We were able to utilise the concept to formulate our own research proposals in ways that challenged our Pākehā colleagues' assumed monopoly on the definition of research. We were provided with a vocabulary with which to voice our concerns about their ill-conceived assumptions and their unethical practices. Our recalcitrance in the face of their relentless attempts to incorporate us into their projects could no longer so readily be dismissed as the resentful response of an over-sensitive group of underperforming academics who had failed to establish credible track records as researchers.

Of course, kaupapa Māori research has not been a magical cure-all. As Graham Smith has pointed out, achieving “the whole social transformation and the utopian dream in one step”⁹ is unlikely. Inevitably, considering the oppressive contexts within which kaupapa Māori research has been designed and practised, and given the fact that the very notion of research is hemmed in by Western definitions and standards, kaupapa Māori researchers continue to face numerous challenges.

Many of these difficulties are a direct result of the fact that, regardless of whether we call ourselves “kaupapa Māori” researchers or not, we have largely been trained to perform the activity of research in a “Western” way. This can stifle the transformative potential of our work. By way of example, beginning one’s work with a literature review still appears to be very much the norm in kaupapa Māori research. It is helpful, of course, to build on what others have already done, when that process enables us to delve into issues raised by others more deeply or to pursue a particular angle that has not been considered before. It also provides a sense of safety for those who might find the prospect of venturing a theory or an opinion a little intimidating and who may prefer to cushion the impact of potential criticism by suggesting their position to be a mere extension of what others have already said. However, beginning all research with a literature review can so easily have the effect of predetermining the direction that subsequent work takes, narrowing the boundaries of what might be possible. In some instances, the seemingly innocuous practice of building on what has gone before can be downright dangerous.¹⁰

It can also be surprisingly difficult to resist falling into the same patterns of behaviour exhibited by Western researchers. As mentioned earlier, one of the hallmarks of Western research has been the deliberate use of language to privilege some while excluding others. If one of the driving imperatives of kaupapa Māori research is the empowerment of Māori people then, as a bare minimum, its findings should be accessible—which means that they should be readily understood. Kaupapa Māori researchers

9 Smith, G. (2000). Protecting and respecting indigenous knowledge. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (p. 222). Vancouver: UBC Press.

10 Examples of this will be discussed later in the paper.

need to remain mindful of the fact that the main function of language is to communicate: there is little point, therefore, in couching research findings in terms that, for many, are incomprehensible—or that can only be understood by a select group of fellow Māori researchers. We should guard against producing a kaupapa Māori research elite, thereby simply proving that we can “do research” in the same rather smug, self-congratulatory way that Pākehā do it and in the process replicating their exclusionary practices.

Probably the greatest limitations on what can be achieved by kaupapa Māori researchers are created by the wider research culture within which many are forced to work. Those who formerly enjoyed a monopoly over the activity of research have no intention of relinquishing their privileged position easily, and in applying for funding or seeking recognition for kaupapa Māori research projects there is no guarantee of success. The Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (FRST) guidelines, for instance, are still generally couched in the language of researchers needing to “consult” with Māori where relevant, rather than requiring Māori control over projects that concern us. The Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF) system, which is utilised to measure the value of research conducted by academics and to reward (or penalise) their institutions accordingly through the allocation of funding, still cuts across the fundamental principles underpinning kaupapa Māori.¹¹

One of the effects of working in such an environment is that we risk becoming programmed to believe that acceptance of kaupapa Māori research might be the best that we can hope for. If and when a kaupapa Māori approach to research eventually becomes more widely acknowledged by the “mainstream” research community, there is the danger that what was initiated as a starting point could come to be regarded as the final destination. What started out as a radical and inspiring departure from the constraints of former research practice could so easily be reduced to a checklist of criteria on an application form, which aspiring researchers will simply “tick off” in

order to qualify for financial and other support under the funding category “kaupapa Māori”. The threat of losing our critical edge is very real.

We should remember that kaupapa Māori research was developed, in the first instance, as an attempt to “retrieve some space”¹² within an arena which, until that time, had been completely dominated by Western research practices. It was essentially reactive, as it had to be, but I doubt that its architects intended locking us into response mode indefinitely. Such an approach would have the effect of limiting our horizons, rather than expanding them. Our long-term survival will not be ensured by restricting ourselves in this manner.

RE-SEARCHING KAUPAPA— SURVIVING AS MĀORI

After 13 years of working in the university system I moved to Te Wānanga o Raukawa, where I have been for the last 10 years. I have realised—but only since sitting down to write this paper—that “kaupapa Māori research” is a term that I have rarely used during this time. This is not because I have ceased to engage in fields of endeavour that, in my former working life, I may have called “research”. I have continued to think about issues that I consider interesting and important, to investigate them, and to write and speak about them when the opportunity to do so has presented itself.

Nor could it be suggested for a moment that kaupapa Māori are not considered relevant or significant at Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Far from it. Some 10 years ago Te Wānanga adopted an organisational framework that requires us to give expression to 10 foundational kaupapa in everything that we do. Since that time we have striven to increase our understanding and use of kaupapa throughout all aspects of our daily work. By way of example, the template for the required three-yearly internal programme review process has been redesigned so that the kaupapa guide the activity. Similarly, the staff annual discussion process, applications for conference leave and the format for our annual reporting have all been aligned with the kaupapa. There are numerous other examples.

¹¹ See, for example, Tawhai, V., Pihera, K., & Bruce-Ferguson, P., *Does the PBRF need reshaping? A New Māori educational institution's perspective*. Available at: <http://www.herdsa.org.au/conference2004/Contributions/RPapers/PO35-jt.pdf>

¹² Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (p. 183). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

It occurs to me that one of the reasons why we don't talk about kaupapa Māori research at Te Wānanga o Raukawa is probably that the principles it prescribes are simply taken for granted. Work being undertaken by Māori, for Māori and with Māori is the norm: many of our students are on a journey to find out more about themselves, which means that they have to negotiate a series of relationships with members of their own whānau, hapū and iwi in order to complete their assessments. In conducting such work, they are under no illusions as to who holds the power in those relationships. Similarly, much of the work undertaken by staff is regulated in quite a direct way by the imperatives of whakapapa, which render discussion of such principles as accountability or reciprocity unnecessary. The goal of rangatiratanga is one of our foundational kaupapa and is therefore a given; none of us needs to explain or justify it—although we might have to explain ourselves in the unlikely event that we engage in work that somehow undermines that objective!

More than that, however, I think it would be true to say that at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, we are suspicious of locking our scholarly pursuits into any kind of definition of “research”, even one that includes the words “kaupapa Māori” within it. There is, of course, the age-old problem of definition, which by its very nature tends to limit and confine. But I suspect that there is more to our unease than that. Linda Smith famously observed that “[t]he word . . . ‘research’ is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary”.¹³ Perhaps that is why, at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, we try to avoid using it altogether, preferring to develop our own terminology to describe our work: both “creative activity” and “whakatupu mātauranga” have enjoyed currency in recent times. There is a sense that the very concept of “research” is such an inherently imperialist activity that we should leave Western researchers to it and focus instead on naming our own activity in our own way.

Are we simply being precious? Some might argue that we are. There is nothing preventing us from doing as Muscogee poet Joy Harjo has suggested and

“reinventing the enemy’s language”.¹⁴ Utilisation of the term “kaupapa Māori research” can logically be regarded as exactly that, a conscious refinement of the word “research” to suit our purposes. Nevertheless, in discussing Māori attempts to reinvent the colonisers’ language, Moana Jackson has noted the need for caution, describing that language as “dangerous”, and as expressing “a peculiarly odd and vicious view of the world”.¹⁵ Choosing to avoid the term “research” altogether, as having been too heavily contaminated by the racist practices of the past to bother saddling ourselves with it, is clearly a credible option.

Another reason for our resistance against employing the word “research” to describe our activities might be a feeling that by adopting it we almost imply that this pursuit is something relatively new for us and further, perhaps, that it is something that we can do as well as Pākehā if only we try hard enough. In fact, however, our tūpuna have always been philosophers and theorists, explorers and empiricists. As Whatarangi Winiata has observed:¹⁶

With the ability to conceptualise one set of phenomena, namely, the environment, an irresistible activity for our tūpuna was to apply their minds to other domains including the world at large in all of its dimensions from creation to extinction . . . With a language available to them to convert concepts (and conceptualisations) into words then waiata, karakia, whakatauki and so on, a huge oral literature, became outlets for the fertile mind triggered by experience and invigorated by its own latent energy and creativity . . .

Our people have been developing what he calls the mātauranga continuum since time immemorial, each generation drawing on the collective wisdom of generations past and building on it to meet present needs.¹⁷ As we carry on this work we contribute to its ongoing expansion, as our tūpuna have done before us and as our mokopuna will continue to do in the future.

14 Cited in Moana Jackson’s Preface to Mikaere, A. (forthcoming). *He Rukuruku Whakaaro: Colonising myths, Māori realities*. Wellington: Te Takupu and Huia.

15 Jackson, M. in Preface to Mikaere, A. (forthcoming). *He Rukuruku Whakaaro: Colonising myths, Māori realities* (pp. xii–xiii). Wellington: Te Takupu and Huia.

16 Winiata, W. (2005, January). *The reconciliation of Kāwanatanga and Tino Rangatiratanga* (p. 3). Rua Rautau Lecture, Rangiatea Church, Ōtaki.

17 Winiata, W., cited in Mead, H. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (p. 320). Wellington: Huia.

13 Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (p. 1). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

This leads us to a crucial question: What is the purpose for our engagement in this activity? Why is it critical that we continue to expand the mātauranga continuum? The answer to this enquiry concerns the matter of survival, although not the individualised battle for existence that I experienced while working within the university system. This notion of survival is a collective one and it is assessed by the extent to which it can be said that “a substantial number of Te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea [are] living according to kaupapa and tikanga that are distinctive in the global cultural mosaic”.¹⁸

The last 200 years or so have witnessed major disruption to the intergenerational continuity that we enjoyed prior to contact with the Western world. In light of this experience, what we do now really is critical. What we are engaged in is the reclamation and ongoing development of a uniquely Māori conception of reality. This is a task that cannot be undertaken by anyone else. When recently asked to comment on the role of scholarship at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Whatarangi Winiata responded that it is simply to contribute to the maximisation of the survival of Māori as a people. He went on to suggest that this commitment requires us to deepen our understanding of the kaupapa that we are seeking to express in all aspects of our work. To hark back to the title of this paper, what we are doing is re-researching the kaupapa in order to preserve our distinctiveness as Māori.

One challenge that we are faced with is how best to recognise and attribute value to the work that is currently being done to advance our understanding of ourselves. We are presently working on the development of a model that will enable us to assess this activity more thoroughly, thereby helping us to support the culture of philosophising and theorising that is so necessary if we are to play our part in preserving and revitalising mātauranga for future generations. While the precise form of the model is yet to be finalised, it is almost certain to revolve around our 10 kaupapa.

As an aside, I should add that while the principal focus of our kaupapa framework has been to learn more about ourselves, an interesting (and

18 Winiata, W. (2005, January). *The reconciliation of Kāwanatanga and Tino Rangatiratanga* (p. 32). Rua Rautau Lecture, Rangiātea Church, Ōtaki.

perhaps unanticipated) development has been the growing acknowledgement of the framework by groups external to the wānanga. The New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA), for example, designed a new audit tool so that its audit team could measure our performance against the kaupapa agreed to in our charter and profile documents. This process has been conducted twice now and the External Evaluation Review which is to replace the NZQA audit will similarly seek to measure our performance against the kaupapa. Communications with both the Ministry of Education and the Tertiary Education Commission also show a growing acceptance of the framework.

Lest I sound smug, however, I should note that even as the daily expression of the kaupapa becomes more natural to us in our work, there remains the constant need to guard against complacency and to resist the inclination to implement the framework in a mechanistic fashion. To return to the examples I listed earlier, for example, when conducting our programme reviews, applying for conference leave, completing annual discussions or complying with annual reporting requirements, it would be all too easy to reduce our level of commitment to mere compliance with a checklist of the 10 kaupapa rather than reflecting more fully on how the various aspects of our work can be seen as providing opportunities to engage with and give expression to the kaupapa.

It would also be simplistic for me to suggest that by labelling our work something other than “research” we automatically avoid all of the potential pitfalls that I identified earlier as confronting kaupapa Māori researchers. My own work is a case in point. I am presently engaged in a programme of study at Te Wānanga o Raukawa known as Te Kāurutanga. The name refers to the tree-tops and it was chosen to symbolise the fact that this is the highest degree offered by the wānanga. It is supervised and monitored by Ngā Purutanga Mauri, a group of kaumātua who are regarded as the principal repositories of the accumulated mātauranga of the three founding iwi of Te Wānanga o Raukawa—Te Ati Awa, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Toarangatira (the ART confederation). The degree is to be conferred by the founding iwi and by the wānanga. It stands apart from NZQA and is independent of the Crown. For me, one of the attractions of pursuing this degree is

its consistency with my own personal commitment to rangatiratanga: Ngā Purutanga Mauri are working out the supervisory, accountability and assessment processes, all of which must reflect the fact that the iwi are the final examiners. It has been agreed that the project should represent a contribution to the way in which the ART confederation sees the world, and that the process by which the project is completed should also add in some way to the mātauranga continuum.

Groundbreaking as this might seem at first glance, my initial steps towards enrolling in Te Kāurūtanga were far from innovative. I began somewhat tentatively by submitting a proposal—and dare I say it, I even called it a *research* proposal. Worse still, it looked indistinguishable from a doctoral proposal, consisting of an abstract, a discussion of my prior research experience, a section on research methodology, a proposed thesis structure, a timeline and a list of source materials. My thesis topic was highly compartmentalised and strangely disconnected, both from myself and from the ART confederation. It took me quite some time to analyse the source of my discomfort with the way that I had framed my topic. I have since managed to refocus it so that it is explicitly grounded in the experience of my own iwi, having reached the somewhat obvious conclusion in the end that the only perspective that can I possibly bring to any subject is that of a Ngāti Raukawa woman. Nevertheless, the experience has been a sobering reminder for me of the extent to which I had internalised Western ways of approaching research, and of how readily those habits surfaced even as I was in the very act of striving to do things differently.

One of those habits that I referred to earlier is the compulsion to build on work that has been done before; for example, by beginning a new piece of scholarship with a literature review. While there are often good reasons for adopting this approach, it also carries with it some very real dangers. The fact is that when it comes to “research” about Māori, the existing literature often constitutes the very reason that it was necessary to develop the idea of kaupapa Māori research in the first place. Much of it is imperialist, dehumanising, racist, distorted or just plain incorrect.

No body of work is more aptly covered by this list of descriptors than that of early ethnographers

such as Elsdon Best and Percy Smith, upon whose many publications numerous subsequent Māori “textbooks” have been based.¹⁹ One has to wonder why we would uncritically acknowledge the work of these people as authoritative representations of who we are. While the theories of early Pākehā writers are sometimes so obviously racist that they are easily disregarded as nonsense (for example, claims about the inferior intellect of Māori based on measuring the size of our skulls), others have had the effect of normalising some quite outrageous interpretations of our tikanga—with devastating long-term effects. One example of this phenomenon is the appallingly misogynist interpretations of Māori cosmogony that were published by Smith and Best in the early 20th century,²⁰ which led inexorably to patriarchal characterisations of tikanga. Over time, and in response to overwhelming pressure from our colonisers to conform to their demeaning perceptions of us, some of our practices have evolved to mimic the colonised theory, thus embedding the patriarchy that stemmed from Western philosophy deeper and deeper within tikanga itself. The task of disentangling colonised notions about the role and significance of women from our tikanga is one that is likely to consume the energy of many of us in the years ahead.

A closely related problem has been the importation of hierarchy as a pivotal element within Māori thought and practice. Whakapapa is central to Māori philosophy, establishing the interconnection of everything in the natural world and thereby prioritising the acknowledgement of interdependence and the maintenance of balance through the nurturing of relationships. I cannot see how a conception of reality with these defining characteristics can possibly be reconciled with rigid notions of dominance and subservience.

In stark contrast to Māori philosophical thought is the principle of hierarchy underpinning Western conceptions of the world. Paula Gunn Allen argues that “the systemic belief that dominance is synonymous

19 See, for example, Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (p. 170-172). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

20 For example, Smith, S. P. (1913). *The lore of the whare wananga or teachings of the Māori College*. New Plymouth: Thomas Avery; and Best, E. (1995). *Māori religion and mythology*. Wellington: Te Papa Tongarewa.

with superiority and that superiority is a reflection of the divine” has lain at the root of “the entire apparatus of Western civilization since its infancy”.²¹ Robert Yazzie has explicitly applied the Western concept of hierarchy to the structure of colonialism, describing it as “a triangle of power” in which those who deemed themselves superior (European colonisers) assumed the right to control the multitude of lesser beings (Indigenous Peoples who were inconveniently located in parts of the globe that Western colonisers claimed a god-given right to possess).²²

When confronted with Indigenous Peoples for whom notions of hierarchy were foreign, European colonisers had to devise strategies to convince them of its benefits. The solution lay in giving a significant proportion of the target population a stake in the hierarchy. What better way to convince a group of people (in this case, Māori) to buy into a system of rank than by reassuring some of them (those who the colonisers perceived to be leaders) that their rightful place in the pecking order was higher than that of another group (those who did not fit the colonisers’ preconceived notions about what a leader looked like)? To relate this discussion directly to the preceding comments about the importation of patriarchy, what more effective divide and rule tactic than convincing half of the Māori population (men) that they were inherently superior to the other half (women)? As Cherokee writer Andrea Smith has noted in the North American context, instituting patriarchy proved to be the perfect first step to naturalising hierarchy, thereby facilitating the colonisation of a people whose society had not formerly been hierarchical.²³

Examples of the distortion of Māori theories of existence by the importation of Western notions of hierarchy could be rehearsed endlessly, but for now I would like to focus on a small sample of illustrations to show how insidious, and therefore how dangerous, these colonised representations of our most fundamental precepts have become.

The concept of whakapapa, as I have indicated earlier, is absolutely central to our understanding of

the world. It is my view that whakapapa is inherently nonhierarchical in structure and purpose, serving to link all facets of creation in a complex web that extends in all directions and into infinity. However, a disturbing thing has happened to the representation of whakapapa since literacy came to these shores. The Western practice of reading and writing from the top of the page to the bottom means that written whakapapa is almost always represented on the page in a form that to the Western mind implies hierarchy; that is, from top to bottom and from left to right. It has even become common for speakers to use phrases such as “ka heke iho” when reciting whakapapa to indicate notions of descent from ancestors reflecting, I suspect, the way that they visualise what they have learnt in written form. This is despite the fact that the word “whakapapa” literally means to build one layer upon another which, if anything, suggests that we stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us rather than the other way around. It is also pertinent to note that using terms such as “ka heke iho” as a substitute for the more appropriate “ka puta ki waho” neatly avoids acknowledgement of the fact that each new addition to the whakapapa is born from a woman.

Other worrying developments abound. In my view, the modern-day tendency to focus on the males in whakapapa—ludicrous when one considers that without both female and male there would be no whakapapa—stems directly from the inculcation of patriarchy into our philosophies. Even concepts such as tuakana and teina, denoting the specific roles and responsibilities of individuals depending upon their position within a whānau, have become horribly deformed by the imported notion of primogeniture²⁴ which, we are now assured, is authentically ours.

None of this is to assert that we had no such concept as “tuakana” or “teina”, but rather that we should regard with extreme suspicion any attempt to translate these ideas into inflexible notions of rank

21 Gunn Allen, P. (1998). *Off the reservation: Reflections on boundary-busting, border-crossing loose canons* (p. 68). Boston: Beacon Press.

22 Yazzie, R. (2000). Indigenous Peoples and postcolonial colonialism. In M. Battiste (Ed.), *Reclaiming indigenous voice and vision* (p. 42). Vancouver: UBC Press.

23 Smith, A. (2005). *Conquest: Sexual violence and American Indian genocide* (p. 23). Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

24 The concept of primogeniture has its roots in medieval times, and is Latin for “first born”. It established the ancient rule in feudal England that the eldest son would inherit the entire estate of his parents and the intent was to preserve larger holdings from being broken up into smaller holdings, which might weaken the power of the nobles: <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/primogeniture>. It is the product of a particular cultural context, in which the accumulation and maintenance of property as a means of retaining power over others was celebrated. It has no relevance to a Māori philosophical framework.

that mirror the obsessive views about dominance and subservience which coloured the way our colonisers saw the world. It is the translation of our concepts through colonising eyes and then having those distorted ideas fed back to us as authoritative versions of who we are that causes us major difficulties.

If I might provide a final example of this phenomenon, we are often told that it was common for rangatira to have many wives, and that this was a sign of their status. The implications as to the secondary status of women stemming from this portrayal of male–female relationships are clear. However, the truth is that many of our tūpuna, both female and male, had multiple partners. We know this because the whakapapa tells us so—or should I say that it tells us so when the females within the whakapapa haven't been rendered invisible. We also know this because the earliest Pākehā commentators recorded it, albeit through the lens of their own warped understandings of gender roles. On the one hand, they noted with a mix of envy and feigned disgust the men who had many wives, surmising that because in their own culture a wife was a man's property and the accumulation of property was a sign of status, these men must necessarily have been "chiefs". On the other hand, they observed with a combination of horror and excitement the apparent promiscuity of Māori women. One does not have to be a genius to figure out what was really going on; that in fact it was not uncommon for women and men to have multiple partners and that women enjoyed a degree of freedom that Pākehā men found entirely foreign (and more than a little threatening). Yet how many of us have internalised these white male characterisations of our ancestors' behaviour? How often, for instance, have we heard male tūpuna being spoken of in admiring terms for having had many wives while the fact that our kuia had multiple partners is played down, implied as having been instances of successive rather than concurrent relationships, or spoken of almost apologetically?

Further examples of the damage done by colonised representations of our tikanga resulting from acceptance of material written by self-appointed indigenous experts such as Smith and Best (and there are many others) are too numerous to investigate in the time available to us. We should remember that while these people often claimed affection for the

subjects of their research in the same way that one might express fondness for a pet, they had no respect for the people or the culture that they were so intent on cataloguing and describing for a Pākehā readership. Best, for example, described us as "uncivilised folk" who "may not do any great amount of thinking";²⁵ considered it possible that explanations about the growth of the brain in "negro" children being arrested by their skull development were applicable to "the Māori, who seems often to lack incentive with regard to the acquisition of knowledge as he approaches manhood";²⁶ and also opined that "the communal habits and lack of privacy so marked in Māori life would have considerable effect in retarding advancement, inasmuch as they would impede the development of personality, and prevent introspective thought to a serious extent."²⁷ George Grey described our traditions as "puerile" and our belief in those traditions as "absurd."²⁸ As we strive to repair the interruption to the mātauranga continuum posed by two centuries of foreign influence, why would we have any confidence in the work of men who regarded our ancestors with such contempt? The extent of our continued reliance, both conscious and unwitting, upon the views of such writers constitutes a serious threat to our survival.

CONCLUSION

Engaging in the work of reclaiming an authentic understanding of ourselves—whether we call that activity kaupapa Māori research, whakatupu mātauranga or something else—is difficult. One of the most pressing obstacles confronting us stems directly from the entirely understandable appreciation that our very sense of who we are has been under attack for the last two centuries. A significant effect of this has been the development of a siege mentality, whereby we feel compelled to defend whatever is left of our tikanga at any cost, emphatically rejecting any suggestion that some of what we are protecting so stalwartly has already been corrupted

25 Best, E. (1995). *Māori religion and mythology* (p. 31). Wellington: Te Papa Tongarewa. My thanks to Moana Jackson for drawing my attention to this comment.

26 Best, E. (1995). *Māori religion and mythology* (p. 34). Wellington: Te Papa Tongarewa.

27 Best, E. (1995). *Māori religion and mythology* (p. 37). Wellington: Te Papa Tongarewa.

28 Grey, G. (1956). *Polynesian mythology* (p. vii). Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.

by Western influence. Inevitably, despite our bluster to the contrary, we are plagued with doubts as to the authenticity of that which we claim to be tikanga. One of the consequences is the propensity to accuse anyone who questions the validity of particular assumptions underpinning tikanga of disloyalty or even of being “un-Māori”. We also seem to have suffered a loss of confidence in our ability to make practical adaptations in order to meet our needs while retaining the heart of what it means to be Māori. We refuse to countenance the possibility that we could just do as our tūpuna clearly did and choose to change the implementation of tikanga, trusting in our ability to do so while maintaining conformity with the foundational kaupapa that make us unique in the world. This, despite our certain knowledge that our ancestors were among the most adaptable and innovative people in the world—had they been anything less, we would not be here.

Bearing these comments in mind, what is needed more than anything is courage: courage to question genuinely held but deeply colonised assumptions about what it means to be Māori; courage to determine whether dubious interpretations of tikanga serve us well or whether they further an agenda that puts our long-term survival at risk; courage to confront those of our own who might have a personal stake in perpetuating such damaging interpretations. Whether we are conducting kaupapa Māori research or re-searching kaupapa, I believe that our principal concern should be to play our part in the struggle for Māori survival. By necessity, this will involve challenging much of today’s accepted wisdom, because the path that we have been set on as a result of the disruption that we have experienced over the past two centuries has been leading us steadily towards cultural disintegration. To quote the words of Cherokee, Ward Churchill:²⁹

[A]s long as we define realism, or reality itself, in conventional terms—the terms imposed by the order of understanding in which we now live—we will be doomed to remain locked forever into the present trajectory. We will never break free, because any order, any structure, defines reality only in terms of itself.

It is our task, then, to break free from our present trajectory, realigning ourselves with the foundational principles that our ancestors formulated as an expression of a conception of reality that enabled them to journey across the Pacific, to adapt to a radically different environment and to thrive. If we commit ourselves to reclaiming and reinvigorating that philosophical framework, we will be making our contribution to our long-term survival.

29 Churchill, W. (1999). *Struggle for the land: Native North American resistance to genocide, ecocide, and colonization* (p. 397). Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring.

KEYNOTE: KAUPAPA MAORI EDUCATION: RESEARCH AS THE EXPOSED EDGE

Professor Wally Penetito

Kia whakarongo kau ki ngā hau e wha i awhio nei i te maunga purehurehu. Ko Tangi te Kio, ko Matairangi i te Upoko o te ika a Māui. Kia maharahara kia Ranginui e tū nei, kia Papatūānuku e takoto nei, kia pikihia ra te tihi, tihei mauriora.

Kei a koutou ngā marae maha, ngā waka, huri noa te motu, ka nui te mihi ki a koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou.

E mihi hoki ki te hau kainga mō tō karanga mai ki a mātou, tēnā koutou.

From the workshop I have just come from, the title of my kōrero has changed because they have said there is no need for the word “Māori” in the middle of kaupapa Māori education. They are right. The word “kaupapa” has to be Māori, so “Māori” becomes redundant in the title—which sounds fair enough to me. Perhaps we need to do the same thing with mātauranga Māori. After all, what are we talking about when we say the word mātauranga is Māori? What else could it be?

Before I go any further, I want to make a connection to the last session from Ani Mikaere. I like to do that in presentations that I make, just to provide some kind of thread to what went before. First of all Ani, I would like to say that I love the stuff that you write and to hear you talk about it today was an added bonus, so tēnā koe, kia ora. I also have something else I want to say about the content of what Ani talked about. Ani said that one of the neat things about working at Te Wānanga o Raukawa was that kaupapa Māori is the norm and can therefore be taken for granted.

I have had a book published recently, in the last year or so, and the whole purpose of it was to challenge the

Pākehā education system for the way it takes itself for granted. In fact, there are nine chapters in the book and eight are dedicated to that idea. The last chapter is really to say, “Okay now what?” Where does Māori fit into this and vice versa? So the book is called *What’s Māori about Māori Education?* on purpose. It is a rhetorical question; the answer is, “Not much.” The same thing applies here. As Māori researchers we need to consider the Pākehā world that takes itself for granted, and we need to challenge it. Research is one of the ways to make that challenge. There are lots of other ways: politics is one of those ways and education is another. But we are here at a research conference so this is what we are thinking about at this time.

It is important that we do challenge the taken-for-granted worlds in which we live, and it does not matter which worlds they are. We need to challenge the taken-for-granted Māori world as well, or the hapū world, or wānanga world. That is because different people have different views about what the reality is within any one of those institutions; with any one of those ways of thinking about the world.

Research as the exposed edge is kind of a summary statement of what I want to say. The four key summary points are:

1. It is a fallacy to research Māori as though they are a homogeneous entity. The question we need to ask is what are the ways to be Māori? That is the question at the heart of what I want to say this afternoon.
2. You wouldn’t think there are lots of ways to be Māori if you only relied on what journalists, researchers, or politicians tell us about ourselves. You would think we are all the same—“those Māori”, in inverted commas, underlined, written in italics, made bold; you know what I mean?

3. A pre-occupation with questions of identity continues to endorse the whakapapa definition of what it means to be Māori, to the detriment of other discursive formations. In my university classes I use words like “epistemology” and “ontology” and the students say, “Uhhh ... can’t you say it in plain English?” and I usually answer, “Get over it. Learn what these words mean because when you learn what they mean, you have power and control over them.” If you think about it, whakawhanaungatanga is a pretty big word, and rangatiratanga is a fairly big word too. The point I wanted to make is that there is a dominant or pervasive view or paradigm of what it means to be Māori and that view is based around the idea that unless it is whakapapa defined then it is not really real, it is less than authentic.
4. Research on, for, and by Māori is critical for Māori advancement because:
 - a. It helps to explain the way things are. That is the great thing about research. There is a whole lot of different sorts of research on single topics—you can go and look in the library in the education section about how to teach reading and there are hundreds of books on it. I hope one of them has it right. The point about all these books on reading is that in some ways they are all right, and they are also all inadequate. They are still searching for something that cannot fail in teaching reading. Books like these will always be inadequate because there will never be one way to *learn* to read and that is the crux of the problem on how to teach anything—learning not teaching.
 - b. It gives us confidence in current and future developments. Why are kōhanga reo kids leaving kōhanga reo? Why are so many kura kaupapa Māori students leaving kura and wharekura? Why is that? One of the reasons, I think, is because parents have not had research to give them confidence to make the right decisions. If I am a parent, I want to know what researchers think about what is going on in the kōhanga reo, not just what I think, and what my neighbour thinks, and what the teacher in the kōhanga reo thinks. I want to know what somebody else who has not got a vested interest in kōhanga reo can tell me about how well it is operating, whether the mokopuna are enjoying

being there, whether the kai ako are confident about what they are doing, whether they are well resourced and safe places to be, and whether the children can speak Māori when they move on to primary level. These are the sorts of questions all parents want answers to no matter where their children are.

- c. It is the means by which Māori generate our own research scholars. I want Māori scholars to be highly developed academically; we need them. We need to have the best researchers to do the work that needs to be done. We need researchers who are philosophers and want to know why some knowledges are acceptable and others not; researchers who question the conventional wisdom. We need researcher practitioners of the highest standard who understand why some methods for gathering “data” are reliable indicators and others are not, and why this is the case.

Research only does those three things if the methodology is right, and if we ask the hard questions. This is what I mean by the subtitle “Research as the exposed edge”—it is asking the hard questions which are often located at the boundaries of our practices.

THERE ARE MULTIPLE WAYS OF BEING MĀORI

The first summary statement here is that it is a fallacy to research Māori as though they are a homogeneous entity. What are some of the ways to be Māori? Here is the popular answer: those who know their Māoritanga, those who are the faces of our tūpuna. If you are somebody who knows their Māoritanga, wear it, as Tā Apirana Ngata says, “as a plume for you head”. It is important that you also take responsibility for that knowledge by being humble and in helping others to acquire some of that which you have got. It is not wise to use that knowledge as though it was a banner behind you saying, “Here I am, I have all this mātauranga and if you want it, come and get it.” I am not saying that is what people do either, but that acknowledgement is an important part in identifying this group. The first way to define what it means to be Māori is to identify those who know their Māoritanga. Statistically, they make up a distinct minority within Māoridom and this is their power.

There are also those who know their iwi and hapūtanga. At this juncture I have done the academic reductionist thing by taking something whole and splitting it up into component parts. You can judge if I have put it back together at the end of this session. There are those Māori who define their Māoritanga as being grounded in knowledge of their iwitanga and hapūtanga. Most of them think the idea of Māoritanga is an abstraction, a generalisation, that there is really no such thing. I had the good fortune as a youngish teacher to have heard John Rangihau of Tuhoe talk about this topic on several occasions. He was asked to talk to teachers and administrators about Māoritanga and he usually completed his session by saying, “You know, at the end of all this, well I haven’t really been talking about Māoritanga at all. I’ve been telling you about my Tuhoe tangā. Māoritanga is a construction, an invention. It is something made up by some people who try to understand us by putting us all into a tidy box. But really I am a Tuhoe person.” So for this group of people, those who have this view of themselves, my statement to those who know their iwi and hapūtanga is to require of them an education about the broader context. It is not enough to restrict their knowledge to iwi and hapū as though that was the beginning and the end. As I see it, they then need to take responsibility for the broader learning (Māoritanga) and the more finite learning (whānautanga).

The third category is about those who know their whānautanga. The Penetito family is a close family. Despite the fact we are physically spread around the North Island and Australia, we still manage to meet relatively frequently. We apparently enjoy being together, we seem to like doing things together and, in most cases, the collective family understanding of the Māori world is mainly about the concept of whānau. Most do not really know that much about hapū. There are some individuals, of course, who know a great deal about hapū and iwi, and there are some individuals who believe in the more abstract Māoritanga understandings. Generally speaking, however, what seems to interest the family most is whānau. That is what motivates them, that is what gets them up in the morning, that is what makes them go to hui, that is what makes them take money out of their pockets for all of those things that are part of everyday shared living. To those of my family who

prioritise whānau over hapū, iwi, and Māoritanga my plea is to educate themselves about the wider context, to take responsibility for that learning from all the others. I have got this idea of responsibility built in all the time. It is my educational background I suppose. I take responsibility to mean knowing it and owning it. It is yours. It might belong to a few other people as well, but I am talking about psychological ownership, sociological ownership, and a Māori sense of ownership.

Another way of thinking about being Māori pertains to those who know they are Māori but are not sure what that means. They say they don’t really know what their Māoritanga is; that they don’t talk about it because they don’t know what it is; that they don’t know how to join in or how to belong. They want to know the next step to take, and they argue that there is no use in somebody saying to them, “Go and learn your reo or go and learn your whakapapa.” They do not know what that is, where to get it if they want it, or even whether it is something worth wanting. The people who are saying “Go and learn your reo” sound like those who are asking you to do something because they have done it. This is not taking responsibility. I think we have a society where most Māori fit this latter category; they know they are Māori but they want to make their own minds up as to what that will mean for them and not have it imposed by any others. What are we trying to disqualify them from? Being real Māori? What are we doing about it? What responsibility are we taking if we think we know more about it than they do? Are we holding them by the hand and helping them forward? Is it going forward?

The fifth and last category is about those Māori who are Māori but who choose not to affirm it publicly. I have a photograph of a primary school class—it is actually my primary school and I am in it. The school was in the middle of the Waikato and the school roll was about 20 percent Māori. That is about the national average today for rural primary schools. I grew up with this legacy of being at primary school and having caring, competent teachers who would still say to our class at different times of the year, “Okay boys and girls, will all the Māori children please stand and quietly go out to the corridor. The nurse wants to check your heads for kutus or to see whether you have sores.” The Māori kids usually responded by

shuffling to their feet when the teacher said this and with heads down, making sure not to catch any other kids' eyes, headed for the cloak room. Even though the teacher may have been smiling, and may even have been affectionate and caring, it still makes a knot in your gut when you hear something like that, and that is only one of the many unthinking things that were said by usually well-meaning professionals. I grew up with that. That is the sort of school I went to. The primary school was pretty good all round for me in many ways, but I do know it did nothing to enhance me as a Māori. If I could actually have turned white, I would have been no different than most of the other children in the room—and all the Māori were not going to do that because they knew where the problem really lay. This is real racist remembering, it is the genetic imposition above all impositions that gets under one's skin and festers.

The point I want to make is that I could do a few more of these categories. I can redefine what it means to be a Māori. All I have to do is to live in the world, be familiar with this country, know the literature, read the newspapers, and I would be able to recreate lots of different kinds of Māori. I have only just shown you five kinds. Most of you here who are Māori can easily put yourself into one of these categories.

THE WHAKAPAPA DEFINITION OF BEING MĀORI

The whakapapa view of being Māori is our legacy, it is our inheritance, it is our tāonga tuku iho. Who is going to argue with that? Nobody. This is what gives us our mana āhua ake. This is what makes us unique in the world—our Māoritanga, what it means to be Māori. Nō kōnei ahau, koina, ka ora (I belong therefore I am). I do not speak *about* my maunga (mountain), I speak to it. I don't speak *about* my awa (river), I speak to it. That is what makes me Māori. Ki te kore te iwi, e kore koe he tangata (without the support of your people you are nobody). That to me is a whakapapa way to define what it means to be Māori.

Other discursive formations are about change—that our culture is changing all of the time, so I have to change as well; that it is no use living in the past. We have all heard that from some people; they are usually our relations. We no longer live on the marae, in the marae complex. I am a city Māori now. We have to learn to live with each other. We have

intermarried with every ethnic group that has made Aotearoa New Zealand home. Now as far as I am concerned I didn't even have to think hard to come up with these categories. On the other hand, I didn't make them up either. They were common. I have heard these lots and lots of times. I have read about them. They are something that I know. They are familiar to me but research on the topic of multiple identities and cultural change is relatively negligible in New Zealand.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Research in the hands of the politicians

At the moment, we have a policy from government, through the Ministry of Education, called *Ka Hikitia*. Its first claim is that it represents a shift in thinking from the idea of describing Māori education as a problem to it being an opportunity; a shift from ideas of intervention to investment; and a shift from policy informing to collaboration. It is meant to signal a new mood from focusing on the negative; for example, why Māori students disproportionately underachieve in the system, to a more positive frame such as how to realise Māori potential. This shift in thinking is critically important. The question we have to consider is, "Will Māori student achievement be any better off as a result of the policy and the shift in thinking?" We can expect some improvement and not just because of the Hawthorne Effect. My guess is that *Ka Hikitia* is not enough in itself. *Ka Hikitia* is one way of doing it, but it is too limited because it perceives of Māori learners in very narrow terms; that is, as those who fit the mainstream profile. The affirmation of Māori students succeeding *as* Māori can only be substantive if provision is made for a kaupapa Māori within mainstream institutions. There is nothing in *Ka Hikitia* that even looks remotely like satisfying this provision. Without incorporating a kaupapa Māori within the mainstream, bias will always be present. Bias is still the biggest problem in both policy and practice. Bias is what we do to ourselves, as well, when we define ourselves in narrow terms.

Research in the hands of public servants

The policy about "Māori enjoying educational success *as* Māori" is the "in thing". How does a school do it? What is "it"? How do we know whether they are doing it or not, and is it making a difference? The

first question we have to ask is, “What does ‘as Māori’ mean?” Which Māori are we talking about when we talk about this policy? The middle class variety? But they do all right anyway, don’t they? Are we talking about those staunch go-get-em types? Are we talking about the nothing-has-changed brigade? Are we talking about those with their heads in the sand, or those Māori who are the class of have-nots? (My appreciation to Hazel Phillips for this last insight.) There is a whole category of Māori who are defined by having nothing. They don’t own anything, they are the unemployed, they are the sick, and they have become a class in themselves. The rhetoric of educational success as Māori is persuasive as a political slogan but rigorous research is needed from researchers who have a real sense of themselves as scholars, who have a feel for the game, and the capacity to produce the goods.

Research in the hands of teachers

Most Māori students in New Zealand are enrolled in mainstream schools. We know that as a fact. We don’t know why except anecdotally perhaps. Most people don’t ask why because they probably assume that most Māori are conservative and taking the line of least resistance is the norm for most people. Most teachers know very little about what it means to be Māori, and yet most of our kids are in mainstream. Over the last 30 years the education system has purposefully pursued policies to increase the volume of Māori knowledge in education, but the results are negligible. Why? One of the reasons is because the quantum of Māori knowledge disseminated through the official curriculum remains minimal. Where it exists it is universal, poorly resourced, and disconnected from its roots. Teachers may, if they choose, include a lot more Māori knowledge into their teaching but when they have to choose between resources already provided on a number of related topics compared with having to turn information on Māori themes into manageable knowledge packages in their own time the choices are simple in most cases and Māori knowledge drops off the agenda.

The system is currently supporting a professional development programme for a selection of secondary schools with the goal of improving Māori educational achievement while enhancing their identities as

Māori, but which Māori? What are the chances? Now I’m talking here about the Te Kotahitanga project. I am involved personally in that project as part of a research team that is evaluating it. In my opinion, the programme is better than anything else I have seen over the last 50 years. But I am not going as far as to say it is going to solve our problems, because we are back once again picking up one little bit of the whole to check on and gauge what difference it is making.

Kaupapa Māori research

Kaupapa Māori research is not a one-stop shop. It is participatory and action oriented. It is about getting out there and doing something, and combining and collaborating with people on the ground. It has a strong ethical commitment to social justice. It is bigger than just our whānau or our hapū or our marae. It has got a cross-iwi perspective to it. In fact, it is part of an international movement among Indigenous Peoples. It enacts a sophisticated critique of mainstream policies, practices, and institutions.

Getting out there and finding out about the way things are is only part of the deal. You need to provide a critique of the way things are happening first, otherwise you will end up repeating what has already gone before—the only difference being it is now a Māori doing the repeating. The best way to colonise the people is for them to colonise themselves. Kaupapa Māori research sets out to integrate politics, economics, education, etc. within theoretical and analytical frameworks that derive from the Māori world.

Tertiary education

My message to Māori students is you are not there to prepare yourself only for some profession. You are also there to learn to think, to learn about the world you are in, to read and understand what is going on in that world and to talk to people who can make a difference, that is, who can help to make the world a better place; all of those things. Tertiary education involves and engages the spirit, the intellect, the emotions, and the physicality of human beings in a complementary relationship. Amster Reedy often says that the problem is not how far we can refer back in our culture, but how far we can bring what we had before into the present and project it into the future. I think he is absolutely right.

I think we can talk about a “kaupapa academic research” that needs to be done; that is, research Māori or research looking at academics and the way academics research. There is a “kaupapa iwi research”, which is the sort of thing that some hapū people and some marae people do now as part of Treaty claims. Some collect up the kōrero that belonged to our marae, and are doing “kaupapa marae research”. There are some people researching at the level of whānau; there are some people researching at the level of hapū.

Here again is the idea about researchers as scholars. Again, there are no excuses for this. I am in the university and my job is to create and develop scholars. This is not just people who can go out there and “do it” as practitioners, but practitioners who know what they are doing and why they are doing it. They understand the history of what they are doing. They understand the role of theories associated with it.

Wiremu Tamehana, one of my tūpuna from Ngāti Haua, was one of our first real scholars. He was deeply imbedded in his whānau, hapū, and iwi culture and became steeped in the wider context of his and other iwi. He was a prolific writer and was prepared to communicate with anybody to ensure justice and fair play. He was prepared to theorise his stance rather than merely relying on self-help advice through his position as rangatira or authority figure. One of the reasons I have mentioned this is because I have heard it too often—Māori university students saying, “Oh I hate the theory, I hate the reading, when do we get to the real substance?” My response, like I said at the beginning of my kōrero, is “Get over it.” If you want the tohu at the end of your study, this is what goes with it. You need to learn these things. You need to be able to put it alongside what you have learned in other contexts like your home, your marae, your hapū, and your iwi. But don’t say you don’t need it, because it belongs to somebody else’s world. They live in the world just like you, and they aren’t going to go home—this is home.

Nō reira, ka nui te mihi kia koutou. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, kia ora tātou.

PRESENTATION: TE TARA ITI, TE TARA NUI—DEFINING THE MĀORI SPACE

Ngahiwi Apanui

Tēnā tātou. Tēnā tātou i runga i te karanga o te rā, me te mihi anō ki ō tātou mate, rātou kua hinga i te kāinga, rātou e hinga atu nei i roto i ngā taone nui. Nā reira, huri noa me mihi ka tika ki ō tātou mate. Tukua rātou kia haere. Nō reira, ngā mate haere, haere, haere atu ra. Hoki mai ki a tātou, o te ao ora nei, tātou te hunga ora e pai nei, tēnei te mihi ki a tātou, tēnā tātou huri noa.

I'm going to talk about defining the Māori space and the experience that I've had at Ako Aotearoa as the Kaihautū Māori. When I got there the title was Te Kaihautū Whakawhanake Māori, ki au nei he nui rawa ngā kupu, nui rawa te "wh" nē? Kāore e roa ka tapepe kē te arero. Kua tini te karangatanga. Ka mea kē au ko Te Kaihautū Māori te ingoa tika. Nō reira, e kōrero ana au mō te tara iti me te tara nui. Ka tae atu koe ki te marae, ka noho te manuhiri ki te tara nui. I wanted to apply this to what we're doing at Ako Aotearoa because I think it's really important. When someone like me moves into an organisation like Ako Aotearoa that has bicultural aspirations, and I'm working with a group called the Māori Caucus who basically define the rules of the Māori space and what that is, if we were to compare it (to a marae) and call it Te Ātea Māori, where do we sit? Ko tēhea te wāhi ka hoatu mā ngā manuhiri?

In this presentation we're going to look at *Te Tauākī Ako* which is the foundation document. I want to acknowledge Mereana Selby and Te Wānanga o Raukawa too because our kaupapa Māori framework is based on some work she did with us for the Tertiary Teaching Excellence Awards. Then I'll talk about Te Ātea Māori, the Māori space in Ako Aotearoa and how I see it, and how the Māori Caucus sees it. I'll also talk about the Māori Caucus because it's a pleasure and a privilege to work with that group

who give me sterling support and who give me so much inspiration. Every time I feel like dropping the ball and resigning, somebody will say something that makes me feel a bit silly and I just get on with it. I'm also going to talk about He Matapihi, our staff professional development programme, which is the first step in giving Ako Aotearoa staff, all of whom are non-Māori, some tools to work in the Māori space. Ki te haere rātou ki a koutou, kāore pea e hoki mai ngā amuamu mō ā rātou mahi nē? Then I'll talk about what we've got coming up and how I see that space in the future.

TE TAUĀKĪ AKO

We call our framework *Te Tauākī Ako*—a statement of ako; what it means to us, the Ako Aotearoa Māori Caucus. It's based on previous writings by Graham and Linda Smith, and also Leonie Pihama, Charles Royal, Whatarangi Winiata, and Mereana Selby. It's also an opportune moment to acknowledge Ani Mihaere who was one of the senior students when I got to university at Victoria, and who introduced me to concepts like racism and revolution and protest. Along with Tony Davis Waho, these were two of the warmest, most welcoming, and educating senior students we could have had. I was very privileged to be at university at that time.

Back in the 1980s I used to think to myself, what would it be like to have Māori universities? What would it be like to have our kids go through a totally Māori system and end up at a Māori university? Of course now we have a Māori educational infrastructure that goes right from kōhanga reo, te puna reo, kura kaupapa, wharekura, and into wānanga. Last year at Tuia Te Ako, it really struck me that we have a Māori tertiary infrastructure. In order to deal with that tertiary infrastructure, the Māori Caucus said we need a kaupapa Māori framework and we need it to be as wide as possible to cover all the interpretations of

kaupapa Māori in the tertiary sector. So that is what has come about, but it's also commonsense too.

It also matches up with Ako Aotearoa's aspiration to be a bicultural organisation, a Treaty-based organisation. I think, for most of the staff, it is yet to really hit home what it means to be a Treaty-based organisation—in terms of the principles of partnership, protection, and participation, which, as we all know, have been boiled down from a whole lot of other things. It's the foundation of all the work that we do with and for Māori in tertiary education. It goes right across everything: research; our annual hui, Tuia te Ako; strategic development; relationship building; staff professional development; and the Tertiary Teaching Excellence Awards. It will go across a lot more too. It is a strategic document which will always go out with our Māori strategy and our mainstream strategy, and importantly, it's a living document. It's a document that is not meant to stay the same; it's actually a document that is continually reviewed to ensure its relevance to all of us.

There are 14 principles, each of which have the whakamārama on the right hand side. I've come across frameworks in other organisations and faculties that have a similar statement to this, but which may describe (translate) those things differently, and that's cool. I get really hōhā when I hear people say, "Māori people are really divided." I say, "So are Pākehā people. If every one of us thought the same it would be a very boring world. We all have different interpretations of our culture." For instance, I remember when I first went home from university and I sat down with one of the koroua and said to him, "E Pā, i karakia koe ki te atua, te atua Pākehā. Ka mutu tēnā ka huri koe ki ngā mate, ki o tātou tipuna, ki a Tangaroa mā. How do you reconcile that?" He looked at me and said, "What's that boy?" They don't (reconcile it) because kaupapa Māori to them is kaupapa Māori, or what they decide is kaupapa Māori. Or sitting there with my Mother and asking, "What's the Māori word for good morning?" I was expecting something flash, but she says "Mōrena." If you look through those principles, we all know what those things are. There is another column on the far side which explains how you can express those things. For us, it's really important that everybody feels free to express them in their own way, but we need to capture all of those things so that we can be relevant; so that our programmes are more likely to work for our people.

TE ĀTEA MĀORI

Te Ātea Māori is the Māori space. It's a space that moves; it's a space that's dynamic. It doesn't stay the same. Te Rūnanga Māori, the Ako Aotearoa Māori Caucus, is a dynamic group and they would never allow kaupapa Māori to stay in the same place. The Ako Aotearoa Māori Caucus has a governance role. It's the only standing committee of the Ako Aotearoa Board and it has oversight of all work for, and with, our people in the tertiary sector. Three of the Caucus members are on the Board so when things do come out of the Caucus meetings we have three people who can go there and represent and talk about those things properly. If Māori things are discussed in the boardroom, they come back to the Caucus meetings as well. *Te Tauāki Ako*, our framework, is the foundation. It's also partnered up with *Te Hiko Whakamua* which is our Māori strategy from 2010–13. Te Tiriti o Waitangi is another important part of that space—partnership, protection, and participation, as three general principles. Also in the Māori space is the Māori Initiatives Projects Fund for research into aspects of teaching and learning. All of the advisory groups have Māori members as well. That's where it stands at the moment but it is expected to be a lot bigger than that as we start claiming back more and more of our territory over the next couple of years.

THE MĀORI CAUCUS

It's a pleasure to work with the people on the Māori Caucus and I'm continually inspired by the things they bring to the table at our meetings. They are:

- Anania Randall, the co-chair of Aotearoa Māori Providers of Training, Education & Employment (AMPTEE), along with Samantha Lundon. Having those two on the Caucus cements the relationship with AMPTEE who were co-tenders for the national centre for Ako Aotearoa when the request for proposals went out around 2006–7
- Trevor Moeke from Te Wānanga o Aotearoa
- Kathie Irwin, who's sitting at the back there
- Rawiri Taonui, who is newly independent
- Iritana Tawhiwhirangi from Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust

- Khyla Russell from Otakau Polytechnic
- Jacqualene Poutu, who is the Tumuaiki of Te Mana Ākongā; she's the student voice
- Turoa Royal from Te Taihū o Ngā Wānanga.

It's a really good, dynamic, and strong group who give great guidance and great direction to me and my work.

HE MATAPIHI

The general purpose of the professional development at Ako Aotearoa is to equip our kaimahi with the tools to work in the Māori space. It's not to turn them into Māori. It's to give them the tools to work in there effectively; it's the first step in increasing organisational capacity to work with and for Māori, and understanding how to express *Te Tauākī Ako*—because that's our statement of what Ako Aotearoa is all about. We also address *te reo me ōna tikanga*, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and identify and communicate with Māori stakeholders—understanding what *kanohi kitea* is, and why I spend a lot of time at hui maintaining and keeping that presence there.

THE FUTURE

So what's next on the agenda? One of the things that I really want to do is to more widely express *Te Tauākī Ako* and to gradually increase Te Ātea Māori. At the moment we sit under Massey University—it's where we're sited and we're locked in to all of their systems. With that organisation, one of the things I can't do at the moment is get right into the operational policy and make sure that *Te Tauākī Ako* is expressed there. However, on the table at the moment is a proposal to the Minister that we become an autonomous organisation. That is when we can really start to work on the operational policy and the foundational documents to get *Te Tauākī Ako* expressed in there.

One of the problems that we had when I first sat with the Māori research selection panel to look at the expressions of interest to our research fund, was i puta katoa ngā kōrero i te reo Māori, arā ngā amuamu mō ngā paearu e pā ana ki tēra putea. I listened to the selection panel complaining, *kei whea te wāhi Māori? Kei whea te wairua Māori o ngā paearu?* Afterwards I sat down with Kirsty Weir, the research manager, and said to her, “Do you know what they said?” She

didn't and so I told her they were complaining about the criteria, that it was not Māori enough. So we sat down and developed some criteria based on *Te Tauākī Ako*. You know what happened as a result? They said, “That's wonderful, we've got some Māori criteria”, and then went back to the old criteria in their deliberations at the following year's sitting.

I think it's really important that if we're going to have those (kaupapa Māori-based) criteria, those criteria are there to allow our people to have a fighting chance. If you start to look at the tertiary sector, and in particular, research, it's being dominated by the universities and to date we've made only one grant to a wānanga. The mana for those decisions sits squarely with the selection panel and I've had a bit of a problem with it because *ka noho puku aha me taku whakarongo atu ki ngā kōrero and kei te ngaro ētahi o ngā āhuatanga*. One of the things that we were absolutely determined about last year was that if a mainstream provider did not have a Māori partner for their project, then they shouldn't go ahead. If they couldn't show to us that there was benefit, not only to the learner, but also to their whānau, hapū, and iwi, or to Māori people generally, then it didn't go ahead. If the project leader wasn't Māori, it didn't go ahead. For this year, I've sat down with the director and said I want to take a more active role in managing that group. I don't want to make their decisions for them, but I do want to point out to them some of the global and local issues that need to be considered when they're doing their business. So that's the first thing, *ki a koutou kāore i waimarie i tērā tau, ehara nōku te he! Ehara! Nōku te he, because nāku tonu i mea. Ko au te mea i noho puku, kāore kē he paku kōrero āku.*

We're also looking to our second step of the professional development which will be really important. I'm really keen to increase the numbers of Māori staff at Ako. I think there are two ways to build your organisational capacity. One of those is to bring new Māori staff on and, you know, *kāore kē he tāne, he wahine rānei hei kōrerotanga māku nā reira ka pā mai te mokemoke. Ka pēhi mai te ao Pākehā ka huri au ki a Jessica mā.* I think an important part too, is constant self and organisational review—never saying, “Okay I've got it sussed, I know everything”, because once you do that, you get in trouble. I think there's a perception out there in the sector that Ako Aotearoa has it sussed because of all the stuff we put

out there, but we're a way off. We're at stage one, we're at step one, so I expect that, through the constant self and organisational review, we will know when we've actually moved things ahead. A really important part of that too, is to *kōrero mō te mahi tahi, me ōku tūahine, me ōku tūakana*; it's getting out to talk to you guys, putting our stuff out there so you can give us feedback and say, "Rūpahu katoa ēnā Ngahiwi? Pai tonu ēnā Ngahiwi" and keeping up the presence at hui like this and others around the country is a part of it.

Heoi anō, ki a tātou katoa, huri noa i tō tātou whare, kua mutu te wāhanga ki au. Tēnā tātou katoa.

Dr Jessica Hutchings

Kia ora Ngahiwi, ngā mihi māhana e hoa mō tō *kōrero nei, ae, he tika tēna tō whakaaro.*

I want to come from a different perspective in defining the Māori space. I want to talk briefly about the multiple spaces we occupy as kaupapa Māori researchers and to reflect on the notion of personal and political spaces and to talk a bit about the Māori unit, Te Wāhanga, in NZCER.

I want to start off by making the point that, for me, the personal is the political and the political is the personal; that there is no separation of these spaces for me as a kaupapa Māori researcher because I'm doing what I am politically driven to do. When I'm thinking about what's political and what's personal, they're one and the same. I bring a political agenda to kaupapa Māori research. For me, it is a conscientising activity with a clear rangatiratanga and mana motuhake agenda.

One of the things that's really important to me is my identity as wahine takatāpui and in my expression of the personal and the political to not feel marginalised. Unfortunately, my experience of marginalisation as wahine takatāpui has been most pronounced within Māori spaces and not necessarily within Pākehā spaces. So I bring that right to the forefront whenever I can in Māori hui. Even to say the word "takatāpui" in Māori hui is a good thing to do, or else we end up perpetuating the colonial heteronormative dominance when, actually, it's very queer out there and there are a lot of us around.

In terms of Māori space and kaupapa research, I am constantly aware of the need for us to grow and develop the critical skills to peel back the colonial

layers of oppression and to decolonise definitions and analyses outside of our own paradigms. In this regard I am very grateful to people like Ani Mikaere for helping me form and shape my critical thinking skills to reveal the impact that colonisation has had on gender roles, on patriarchy, on the role of mana wahine, and, of course, on how we approach research. This type of decolonising work opens space to think about constructing our own critical analyses and, for me, is the first step we must take personally when thinking about "defining a Māori space".

CLAIMING A KAUPAPA RESEARCH SPACE IN NON-KAUPAPA ORGANISATIONS

I want to talk briefly about some of the issues and opportunities when claiming a kaupapa Māori space within non-Māori research organisations. I'm interested in this idea of the negotiated space, the third space, or what is sometimes described as the mediated space; a space to transform ideas collectively, where power is shared, and dominance is deconstructed. In NZCER, the Māori unit, Te Wāhanga, traverses space sitting both amongst the wider non-Māori research team and as a separate unit. We work hard to hold the fluidity of our space, and at times this is very challenging. It seems that it is often the Māori research unit that is crossing the space. I am interested in how a small Māori research unit of 2.8 FTEs can make gains for Māori in a non-Māori organisation, and how we can work across the organisation to ensure that the wider work of the organisation also has benefit for Māori. We have a role to keep the organisation accountable in this regard.

CAPACITY AND CAPABILITY BUILDING

As a small research unit, we take seriously the role that we have to build and develop Māori capability and capacity in kaupapa Māori research. Not only is it about having more financial resource to bring on more staff, but also thinking about how we can build capability. We have a belief in the unit that as Māori researchers who have done our time completing our Masters' and doctorates and conducting research projects, there is an onus on us to start opening pathways for emerging Māori researchers and we are constantly looking for ways to do that.

SELF-MARGINALISATION AS SURVIVAL

Furthermore, for us in the unit there is the issue of being isolated and being marginalised within our Māori space inside the wider organisation. I do, however, think this is a double-edged sword as I think sometimes as Māori working in predominantly mainstream or Pākehā organisations we self-marginalise and self-isolate for our cultural survival. There are many layers of complexity around why we self-marginalise and how we experience marginalisation.

In finishing, I want to recap very quickly on some points that Matua Percy made yesterday in his presentation about the Te Waka Kai Ora research project. I worked as a researcher with Te Waka Kai Ora on that project and it was really good yesterday to hear Matua Percy kōrero about what happened in his own words. It was a really rough time when the research project fell over and part of the healing has been in talking about it in a way where we do not trample on the mana of others, despite what has happened.

One of the big lessons for me was that, when the project fell apart, all of a sudden nobody was accountable. The breakdown occurred over one year ago and we're now in a process with the Office of the Ombudsman to try to find out the official status of that project. In other words, we don't know if our ex-research partners, who were playing the role as the host institution for the project, are still being funded or not. We don't know what has happened with the research data. Even when requesting this information under the Official Information Act we had replies with all the important information left out.

So now our process has been to go with Matua Percy to the Office of the Ombudsman, to meet with kaimahi Māori and explain the whole situation again—and we still don't have any clarity. What is concerning is that the then Foundation for Research, Science and Technology incentivised Māori community groups to partner with Māori research institutes to undertake research, and yet there were no safeguards for us at all in that. When we talked to the Māori manager at the Foundation about our concerns the standard line was that, "It's now sitting with our legal team. I'm sorry, we can't help you." There are some big

issues for Māori community groups like Te Waka Kai Ora when engaging in research collaborations that access public money. I am not sure if, after our experience, Te Waka Kai Ora would go back to accessing government research funding as it sets up a framework which can't ensure community safety or accountability. All in all, it has not been a good experience.

BEING GROUNDED

My final whakaaro in thinking about Māori space is to think about what keeps me grounded in the personal so that I can be actively engaged in the political. For me it has to be the maara kai that we grow up in Kaitoke, about 50 minutes north of here.

The other knowing that grounds me is that I feel really hopeful and I'm really inspired by the fact that the solutions to all of the mahi that we're doing lie with us. The solutions are within our own communities and that gives me hope and that is what keeps me grounded; that we've got the solutions. We're not looking elsewhere as the solutions are with us and the idea of being grounded enables us to work in multiple, fluid and often contradictory spaces. Kia ora anō koutou.

KEYNOTE: A CONVERSATION ABOUT KAUPAPA MĀORI THEORY AND RESEARCH

Dr Leonie Pihama

Helen Potter: *Ka nui te mihi ki a koe Leonie. Nau mai, hoki mai ki Aotearoa.*

Leonie Pihama: Ko te tuatahi, tēnei te mihi atu ki a koe, Helen, ki a koutou o NZCER, nā koutou tēnei hui i whakatu. He mihi hoki ki te hui, ki a koutou ngā kairangahau kua tae mai nei ki te whakanui i tēnei āhuetanga, āra, ko te kaupapa Māori. Nō Taranaki ahau, ko Te Atiawa, Ngā Māhanga a Tairi, Ngāti Māhanga ōku iwi, ko Ngāti Rāhiri tōku hapū. Kātahi ano, kua hoki mai ahau i te motu honu nui (Great Turtle Island). Ahakoa kei te hiamoe tēnei, ko tōku tino hiahia ki te tautoko te kaupapa o te rā nei, nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

Helen Potter: *In calling the hui Kei tua o te Pae—the challenges for kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century, the idea was to have a collective conversation, not just about responding to challenges but also about determining the directions for kaupapa Māori research. As people registered for this hui we asked them to note down their key areas of interest, and a lot of people were very interested in the relationship between kaupapa Māori theory and kaupapa Māori research. Perhaps that's a good place to start.*

That's a big question. Being away from home has given me a bit more time to reflect on what we're doing and how we're doing things. One of the things I've been thinking about a lot in the past few weeks is how kaupapa Māori theory relates to research practice, and the kind of research intent and agenda that we have as Māori people. I've been thinking a bit more about whether we have a really clear understanding of the development kaupapa Māori theory. I think it's really important that we start there and that we have some knowledge around how even that term was coined.

One of the things I've been talking about overseas has been around recognising that theory is not new to us. As Indigenous People, theory is something that our tūpuna have always done: we've explained things; we've tried to frame things; and we've tried to analyse and interpret things—for generations, for thousands of years—so the whole notion of theory is not a new thing. In the early nineties when we started talking about kaupapa Māori theory, it was grounded in that idea that our people have always been engaged in knowledge, knowledge expression, articulation, interpretation, and analysis. We're a navigational culture so we had to be able to theorise the world, and how we would get here, in really complex ways.

Even though the term “theory” is an English term, a coloniser's term that comes from the West, they don't own the concepts that underpin it. They don't own the philosophies that underpin that word. The term “kaupapa Māori theory” is exactly what it says it is. It's a theory that is underpinned by Māori philosophies of the world, that has Māori foundations, that has Māori understandings. It is a theory that is about working for our people. I think that probably in the current generation of newer researchers there hasn't been a lot of reflection on that. People who have come into kaupapa Māori theory, and into the framework that I guess some of us have written about, have not necessarily done that kind of reflection and forethought themselves in terms of how to get to that point of understanding the depth of it and understanding the use of it.

The term “kaupapa Māori theory” grew out of a need for us to say, “We have theories of the world. What can we call them in an academic context and a research context?” It basically happened in a Master's class at Auckland University, Māori Education, in 1990. I can still see the room; this group of people

in a room in the kaupapa kura policy paper that Graham was running at the time. I can see us having this debate around, “What do we call our theory?” and then coming to the point of, “Well, we’ve called our schools kaupapa Māori, so why don’t we call our theory kaupapa Māori theory?” The term was born from that context.

That was a really cutting-edge moment. Critical theorists, for example, have a framework called critical theory that encompasses hundreds of different types of theory. We envisaged a kaupapa Māori theory that could encompass hundreds of types of theory too, and it does. Kaupapa Māori theory is not a singular theory. In the conversations we had, it was never about having one theory. It was about opening a gate, or opening a space, where we could then begin to develop theories that fitted under a kaupapa Māori banner. I’ve kind of gone off a little bit from the original question, but it’s really just setting a scene.

In terms of the impact of colonisation on our knowledge, on our beliefs, our reo, our world views, epistemologies, everything has been disrupted. What kaupapa Māori theory does generally, philosophically, is seek to return to old ways of thinking in order to interrupt some of those processes. It brings our ways of thinking forward into a contemporary context where we can draw upon the deep knowledge that our people have had for many generations, and understand the messages and the meanings in that knowledge to then be able to transform the colonised reality within which we live.

There are not a lot of people who actually write in kaupapa Māori theory. There’s very few who are trying to expand it. That’s what I was trying to do in my PhD work, which was 10 years ago now. It asserted mana wahine as a theoretical framework. One part of it was about asserting the positioning and mana of our women in a way that I believe aligns with kaupapa Māori. The second part of it was about saying there is no singular formula kaupapa Māori theory. There are many and here’s an example of one theoretical framework that focuses on the way in which Māori women see ourselves, the way in which we were located, what our status was, what our position was, the way in which that has been disrupted by colonisation, and how we can reply to that. It’s only one mana wahine theory. It’s very generic and every hapū, every iwi, has its own way of understanding mana wahine. Some

may not even use that term. If I was going to relook at that term in a more iwi-specific way, I’d look at the notion of “tu tama wāhine te wā o te kore”, that goes back to Parihaka and is also about tu tama wāhine. It’s more conceptually a Taranaki framework. So there’s a whole range of other theories that come off even a discussion of mana wahine. I had a student not long after I did my PhD who then looked at the representation of Māori men in film. He used what he called a “mana tane framework” to understand how Māori men were being framed in film.

I have so much belief in the depth of our knowledge. I have a really strong belief that we have thousands of theories and we need to be bringing them forward. There are things that need to underpin that development though. It’s not just like a free-for-all. It’s not that just because you’re Māori, and you happen to be writing about theory, that it’s kaupapa Māori theory. There are those elements that underpin kaupapa Māori and other speakers in the conference will also talk about those fundamental things: that it’s grounded in being Māori; that it’s grounded in te reo; that it’s grounded in tikanga; that it’s grounded in mātauranga Māori. All those things are important to us. It’s organic. It grows from Māori experiences and from Māori communities. I’m borrowing a term here, a Gramscian term. It’s okay to borrow terms—as long as we borrow them from our own place; as long as we use them from our own place; and that it’s decolonising.

Helen: *I know from your PhD work that one of the really strong threads through it is that a foundation platform or pou of kaupapa Māori theory is about transformation and decolonisation; and that if research doesn’t have that purpose, then how can it be kaupapa-based?*

Leonie: Within the context we are in now, kaupapa Māori theory and research is really about bringing change to that context. As Māori, we live in our own whenua that has a colonial experience and that has ongoing colonising events and practices and governments. A decolonising intent and a transformative intent are not the same thing. They can be the same thing, but they’re not necessarily the same thing.

Decolonisation has a lot to do with our thought processes; with how we look at interrupting

colonisation; how we question; how we reflect; how we question and challenge some fundamentals that we may hold that may not be ours, that may have derived from a colonial context or from colonial Western understandings and views. We are decolonising all the time, which has a strongly political intent.

The other political intent is transformation. We don't theorise for theory's sake. We don't assume some kind of neutrality; that we do it just because we do it, and it has no impact on anything. There is no theory in the world that has no impact. Every theory, every piece of research, has an impact. We're saying our impact is to make change in a positive sense for our people. For example, in terms of Māori achievement or underachievement in education, if we're going to do the same old same old research that doesn't change that, why are we continuing to do it? What use is that? If it's not actually making a key impact in terms of transforming those realities, and not just for our tamariki and rangatahi, but for whānau as a whole, why is it being done? We don't have the time, we don't have the resources, we don't have the funds, we don't have the energy to be doing research that means nothing. It has to have some kind of transformative meaning; it has to intend to make some kind of change. Transformation can come in many forms too—sometimes what we think is a smallish thing can have a really huge intergenerational impact.

One of my biggest concerns is the depoliticisation of kaupapa Māori theory and research. There's been a real move to leave the political stuff and just take a bit of the cultural stuff. That's just not good enough because our realities remain the same. Increasingly, for example, I have seen agencies and ministries ask for kaupapa Māori research. But when we begin to have a conversation with them about kaupapa Māori research—that the kura or the community has to be present, has to own it, has to define it, that the research has to be part of their aspirations, has to be something that whānau or hapū or iwi or organisations want—all of a sudden the tino rangatiratanga principle is not the principle they want in kaupapa Māori research. We've had examples where we've developed resources with various Māori organisations and then had the agency that funded the research say they owned the resources. You can't ask for a kaupapa Māori research approach and, at the end of the day, turn around and say, "We want to hold the control. We want to define

it." That's not a kaupapa Māori research approach. That's a different approach. I don't know what kind of approach that is, but it's not a kaupapa Māori research approach. If it's not benefiting our communities, if our people don't want to do it, it's not kaupapa Māori. The old "research-on" Māori communities' approach is gone. If any Māori researchers are participating in that, they have to question why they're doing that.

When Graham wrote in the 1980s about the elements that are a part of kaupapa Māori, such as the tino rangatiratanga principle, he talked about how self-determination, autonomy, and the ability to be sovereign was inherent in the development of kura kaupapa Māori. It has to be part of everything we're doing that we put under the kaupapa Māori banner. It's difficult when you're funded by a ministry, but you have to have those arguments with them. As a consequence, many of us don't get funded. But that's okay because the aspirations of our communities is what our research should be growing.

I've been looking at the current literature around Māori education (I'm talking about published empirical research), and there's still a huge lack of research in the areas defined by us. Most of the research is still being defined by the Ministry of Education and most of it is still being focused in very narrow areas. When you talk to kaiako or whānau or Māori communities about what they want to know about in terms of Māori education, these things are not on the agenda and they're not being resourced. So even within the educational research community we're still tending to be an appendix to mainstream research. Mainstream research has never done a lot for us in terms of changing the current experience of our children and whānau in education.

I think it's always interesting that when we make space, all of a sudden the coloniser wants to be our partner or friend. Kura kaupapa Māori and kōhanga reo were really good examples of that. They were Māori-driven, organic, active, reo-based, tikanga-based movements, with tino rangatiratanga. As soon as the power of that became evident, the Ministry of Education wanted to pull it back inside the state fence and create legislation around it. I'm not saying that's necessarily something that has to be a bad thing. I think the intent around legislation for those people who were driving it was very clearly about maintaining control. Over the years it's become

more difficult to operate in a kaupapa Māori way in that system. That's why I think people are thinking about 25 years down the track, and are asking "Is this how we want to be?"

In terms of research process, probably the best example of how kaupapa Māori political research can be done is discussed in Linda's book, *Decolonizing Methodologies*. That book was cutting edge and still is. It's still the best read I've had since it was written in 1999. Last year we had whānau ora come to the table. Many Māori health providers across the board have been really supporting the developments that Tariana has pushed for and have been waiting for this to come. When it comes, it's a limited, constrained version, but it comes to the table. There is also some discussion around an evaluation or research component. Māori researchers are thinking that it's potentially a really exciting framework for kaupapa Māori research because it's all driven by us, the intent is ours, it's about transformation, it's about change. You start to get excited about the possibility of working with providers, working with your own iwi, around this—and then the tender comes out and it's action research.

I personally felt like it was a slap in the face to kaupapa Māori research development; that the one opportunity that is so grounded in whānau, grounded in oranga, grounded in mātauranga Māori, was not there. We had this great opportunity for kaupapa Māori research to really work alongside the practice of these interventions and the ministry (Te Puni Kōkiri) tendered for action research. I think that's a really strong indication of where kaupapa Māori research is being located. It's been totally marginalised. If participatory action research models worked for us, we would not have had to develop kaupapa Māori research methodologies. If those models worked for us, we would have been totally fine to have continued to work with them, but they didn't work for us. They continue not to work for us.

So that tender alone was a really good indication of how marginalised those who advocate for a really strong political viewpoint are. Those who advocate for a transformative, decolonising, and healing practice in terms of methodology and method and theory continue to be marginalised within the academic and research sectors.

Helen: *So where to from here? I'm aware that at the conference there are a lot of students so who will go on to bid for contracts and negotiate the terms of those contracts, and obviously a lot of current practitioners too. From what you've said so far, it's important to frame and ground a kaupapa Māori research project as strongly and as appropriately as possible when negotiating that project. What are some of the ways that people can do that or do it better?*

Leonie: It has to be framed and grounded before the contract. We need to get to a point where it is us who are doing the defining. By "us" I mean Māori organisations, whether that's whānau, hapū, iwi; whether it be Māori providers or Māori urban communities; that it's actually us who are defining our research agenda. That's a step that is pre anything to do with any funder or any contractor. It's about us taking control of the research agenda.

It's like what I was saying in terms of looking over some of the literature on educational research. There's this real obsession with teachers at the moment and it's probably been that way for the last six or seven years. At some point, John Hattie at the School of Education, Auckland University, said, "Teachers are the key"; and we now have this huge influx of funding into ideas of quality teaching, of effective teaching; teaching, teaching, teaching. John has done great work, but that's only one part. We know teachers have a role to play, but they're only one part of the bigger picture for us. So my question around that is, "At what point do we get to define these things?" At what point do Māori teachers get to say, "What qualifies as effective teaching in a Western framework may not be the most effective teaching for us."

Russell Bishop's done some of that work in Te Kotahitanga. But, primarily, the teachers Russell is working with are non-Māori. So that's actually dealing with the deficit thinking of non-Māori teachers. Te Kotahitanga is fundamentally an anti-racist programme as opposed to a kaupapa Māori programme, and that's good. We need that. We also need to ask the question of how people are getting through teachers' college to be able to get out there with these deficit theories. But what I want to ask is, is that where we want Vote Māori Education research money to be going? When do we get to say what's important? Again, it comes down to who gets to

define, who gets to determine the pathways across a whole range of areas—research, theory, professional development, and so on. We have really limited resources available to us and so we really need to question when those resources are going to places that are about the anti-racism education of non-Māori teachers. We know there can be a benefit for Māori students. But is that where we want limited Māori educational resources to go? I would say it's not where we would want them to go. If there's going to be some funding around teacher professional development we may have a totally different view in terms of what constitutes a focus for that funding.

So often when you get to the contracting stage it's too late. The question is already set. You go into a whole different kind of argument because the assumption that that is a valid and legitimate question has already been made. If the question hasn't grown from those who are involved in that area from the community, from us, from Māori, then it's being imposed. There are many examples of research tendering processes that really, to some degree, come from nowhere. You wonder where these things come from and why. That's happening across every sector—whether it's justice, education, health, corrections, a whole range of areas. We need to be determining the areas of research that we want to see done. What are our aspirations? What are the outputs we are interested in? That's something that is going to continue to take a long time to do.

What do you say to future Māori researchers who want to work within a kaupapa Māori paradigm? I think, first and foremost, it's about being grounded in yourself. In the last 10 years or so I think there's been a kind of book-learning kaupapa Māori. That's not necessarily a bad thing in terms of theory and research if you're grounded in yourself. But we really need to know who we are, where we're from, what our position is and how we see ourselves and how our whānau, hapū, iwi are. We need to be able to connect. We need to be able to have those relationships because central to any form of kaupapa Māori research methodology is relationships. They're inherent and they go through all of the work that's been done around kaupapa Māori methodology and research.

It's about forging really strong relationships that are lifelong. They're not partnerships that you walk

into and out of some time down the track when you don't require that partnership any more or we're separated or the contract finished or whatever. That's not how it works. One of the things that came up at an indigenous research forum that I was at a couple of weeks ago was the centrality of relationships to indigenous researchers and everything that we do. We can have these contractual relationships with ministries that end when the contract is finished. But when you go home, you go home. My ties to Taranaki never finish. Even when I'm not here they never finish. They go on through my tamariki, and hopefully when my children give me mokopuna, they'll go on through my mokopuna. Those are lifelong, whakapapa, endless relationships. We need to make some really deep calls around which relationships we prioritise.

In kaupapa Māori research we need to be prioritising those whanaungatanga relationships, those whakapapa relationships, those iwi relationships, and those Māori organisational relationships. They're here forever. Ministers and ministries come and go every three years; sometimes faster for some, sometimes a little bit slower for others. You don't get a lot of long terms in this country. Ministries, political parties, Ministers, they come and go. Your relationships with our own people—those relationships are here, they precede us, they're with us now, and they will be here when we're gone. How do we want those relationships to be? In terms of the relationship between theory and research practice that you asked about at the beginning, when we talk about kaupapa Māori research methodology and approaches within it like whanaungatanga—if we don't understand what whānau means, if we don't have a theory of whānau, or an understanding of whānau, or an analysis of whānau, or an interpretation of whānau, or a world view of whānau, then we're not going to know how to operate whanaungatanga. They're interwoven. Theory and research methodologies and approaches, they're the same thing. It's like whakapapa; they're continually layered with each other.

Helen: *And, like you said, the research question doesn't come from nowhere. There has been a genesis. It's come out of relationships and has been generated by the people on the ground as a new direction of what we need to know.*

Leonie: If 200 years of Western colonial governmental rule was asking the right questions, we would not be where we are today. Obviously somebody's not asking the right questions. We haven't had that space, and that power, and that resource to ask the questions that we want to ask. Instead, we've had a history of being researched on and theorised about—all of those activities that are part of colonial domination, because that's what we're talking about. We're talking about other people saying what questions are important. Why? Because they want to know about us; they want to know how to deal with us. They don't want to know what we want to know. It goes way back to the very first recorded attempts to try and work out how big our brains were in the evolutionary cycle. That had nothing to do with us. Those questions had nothing to do with us. It's entirely about a colonial belief system and a racial superiority that they had to prove, and so they did everything they could in terms of their approach to prove that, and called it science. Similarly, a lot of the research questions asked today are not driven by us; they actually have nothing to do with us. They're to do with how people want to work with us, or deal with us, or deal with us, and so it is about turning that whole thing around. It's not an easy thing to do. It's a hard thing to do.

I think there is some misconception that people who are willing to speak up politically and really push politically for a very strong decolonising agenda in kaupapa Māori theory and research are supported. Generally, people who push the line are not supported, whatever area you're in. One of the things that has really hit me being away from home has been watching the anti-drilling and deep sea mining developments and particularly the place of East Coast iwi, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and Ngāti Porou, at the moment. It's something that West Coast iwi around Taranaki, and others, have been dealing with for some time. Our people are again taking a position based around traditional rights—around defining for themselves how they are practising their traditional right to fish, their traditional rights to kaimoana. That's really important. Kaupapa Māori theory is really important in terms of thinking around these issues because what's really clear and what's been very strongly said by Te Whānau-ā-Apanui is that, "We're not protesting. We're asserting our traditional rights.

We're asserting our mana moana. We're asserting our tangata whenua status. We're asserting our iwi right to fish." That's such a strong kaupapa Māori position to take because the Western position is that they're protesting and therefore should be arrested.

Everything can be framed in a really strongly political way. One of the things I believe is that if we have faith in our knowledge, our language, our tikanga, our kawa, our tūpuna; if we have faith in the fact that we have a right to research who we are and every context that we're in—and that includes an academic and research context—then we just continue on doing what we're doing. There is a real power in asserting kaupapa Māori frameworks; there's a real excitement about it. I've read a lot of theory. When you read a lot of Western theory you realise the gaps in it, you realise its limitations, its constraints. You also realise that they wrote for their context. Foucault didn't write in Aotearoa, he wasn't Māori. He wrote in his context and what he wrote was right in his context. Just as he was able to be cultural and political in his context, and be affirmed by academics around the world, so too can we be cultural and academic and grounded in our context.

I see huge potential for anyone working in this area. Kaupapa Māori theory, kaupapa Māori research methodologies—the general framework is there. People just need to pick up and run with it and start formulating those many strands that are a part of that; formulating iwi theories, hapū theories, women's theories, theories of anti-violence, and formulating a whole range of theories that come out of that general framework. That's the exciting part. When I read work that is doing that, like Jenny Lee's work around ako and purakau which is giving us another line of method, another line of methodology, another framework of mātauranga Māori, it's really exciting. We've got a long way to go yet, but the development path is already there in terms of research methodologies. Linda cracked it open with *Decolonizing Methodologies* and we need to all acknowledge and appreciate that. She had to go offshore to get it published, and that's a real indication of where our views are located in this country. She's opened a pathway for us to look at a whole range of iwi, hapū, whānau, organisational methodologies that underpin that, and also methods.

One of the things that I've been thinking about is the whole idea that transformation is an outcome; that if we do all of this then, poof, there's this change. That can happen, but I don't think it's necessarily the only way it can happen. Transformation is multiple and can happen in a whole range of places along a research process. There are times when you can see the change that's about to happen—whether there's a new intervention developed, or there's a new practice, or whānau say to you, "It changed my life." There's different ways in which transformation is an outcome of something. But a transformative approach to theory and research goes all the way through the process. The fact that we can define our own questions, the fact that we can assert our aspirations and say this is what's important to us, that's already a transformation; that's already about interrupting some kind of power relationships that exist. The fact that there are Māori research organisations out there that are seeking to do that with funding, to open it up, to make it more community-based, to have definitions coming out of our communities; that's transformation already in practice.

Transformation comes in many forms. Sometimes it's 50,000 people on the street for the takutai moana. That is transformation. For every 50,000 people on the street, there's 10 people they carry who are here physically and a thousand tūpuna, so there's millions of people on the street. That's transformation. We know that and we see it and it's big. But on another side, it can be that a whānau has worked out ways to be healthy and that in doing that, every other generation that's about to follow in that whānau will also experience healthiness. It's about being really clear about the intent of what you're doing. In terms of whānau ora, there was huge research potential in that programme which I don't believe will ever be fully met because it will be evaluated from a Western framework.

So how do we know? Part of me says we know because we know, and we have faith in that we know. The other part of me says our communities know, and they tell us. I have never worked with a Māori organisation, community, whānau, hapū, or iwi that has not had the ability to say, "This is what we see is happening."

We can think of a research project in terms of an anthropology model: there's a researcher here, and there's a whānau here, and we all go down in a line. Or we can say that the research operates within whakapapa frameworks, which means there are many layers within which we participate and what our roles are in those layers. It's a very Māori whakaaro I think.

Helen: *Like you said, it's sometimes organic, and so roles may evolve. It's not always going to be set.*

Leonie: Yes, and sometimes our little academic research self doesn't like it. That's part of decolonisation—where you kind of catch yourself and say, "Okay, what's happening here?" So it's very exciting. I wouldn't work any other way. I wouldn't want to be any other way. I love being Māori, I love working Māori, I love thinking Māori, I love decolonising the bits of me that have a fight with being Māori. I also like to hope that the work that we do, and I'm talking about the collective we, in the area of kaupapa Māori theory and kaupapa Māori research is transformative and makes change. It may not be change that we see in our generation, but it's change that our children, their children, and their children's children will see.

PANEL: THE ROLE OF TE REO AND TIKANGA MĀORI IN KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Chaired by Ngahiwi Apanui

A KŌRERO ABOUT TE REO, TIKANGA MĀORI, AND KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Glenis Philip-Barbara

E te whare tēnā tātau. Tuatahi, kā mihi tēnei kā tika ki tēnei whare āhuru mō ngā iwi katoa o te motu kua tae ki te Whanganui a Tara i ngā tau kua pahure, e ngā kaitiaki o tēnei whare, tēnā rawa atu ki a koutou. Tēnā hoki koutou ngā kaiwhakahaere i te kaupapa nui nei, Jess, Helen, koutou. Tēnā koutou kua kōkiri te kaupapa hirahira nei hei kaupapa kōrero mā tātau. Huri noa ki a koutou ngā ringa raupa o te āo rangahau, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

I'm from a place that doesn't have the power on yet, and our current population is three on the weekends and two during the week. I say that because, during the week, Aunty Nat heads off into Gizzy to do her thing and returns home on the weekend. My point of reference for living is embedded in this little place called Reporua. It's where my heart lives, it's where my tipuna loved and laughed and created the people who created me. It's where I go when I get heartily sick of the struggle that comes with the reality of living in a colonised world. It's where I go when I need to recharge the batteries and recharge the ngākau. Once I'm home I can go and have a grizzle to my nanny up in the urupa, go and try to catch some fish, and go and see if I can find those paua because they're moving around all the time. I notice that the longer I live in town, the softer I get and the less capable I am of actually finding the little suckers—mostly because none of my kids will come and hold the bag and I can't cope with the cold nearly as well as I used to.

When I go home, and when the whānau is there, the primary language of communication is te reo Māori, and we take everything around us for granted.

Our whare, our whenua, our kai, our essence of being, our relationships with each other, and our relationships with our neighbours are built on the basis of our needs, wants, and desires. Following in that trend, Ngāti Rangi has been getting married to pretty much everybody on the coast for a very long time—and in doing so provides for the hapū and the whānau. The point I'm making in this little story about me is that there is a place in this world where I can escape to, where I get to take being Māori for granted. I know and understand that such spaces are rare, and I lament that fact. I lament that because there was a time in Aotearoa when we were able to take those spaces for granted, wherever we were.

I heard Leonie talking earlier about “te pae”. The kaupapa of this conference is “kei tua o te pae” which begs the question of us all: What does the pae actually look like? There's a joke doing the rounds on the Internet at the moment that captures the essence of what I think about when I reflect on the pae, and it goes something like this:

Mr Key is talking to Mr Brash. Mr Key says to Mr Brash, 'I hear you have this flash machine that can tell you about the future of any of the world's economies.' Mr Brash says, 'Why yes, what do you want to know?' Mr Key says, 'Well, tell me what it's going to be like in Canada in 50 years time.' Mr Brash pushes the flash buttons on his machine, and a piece of paper comes out that says their economy is booming. Mr Key reckons that's pretty cool, and says, 'So Mr Brash,

tell me what it's going to be like in Australia in 50 years.' Mr Brash pushes the buttons and the paper spits out of the machine. Mr Brash turns to Mr Key and says, 'Well, Australia's dug so many holes in their whenua, everybody's living in Sydney—but they're happy because they're fabulously wealthy.' Mr Key says, 'New Zealand's got to be doing better than the Aussies in the future. Ask the machine if we're better than the Canadians and Australians. I'm desperate to know.' Mr Brash puts in the numbers and this paper spits out. Mr Brash looks at the paper, looks at Mr Key, looks at the paper, looks at Mr Key and says nothing. Mr Key says, "Come on Mr Brash, tell me what the story is, I need to know.' Mr Brash says, 'I can't read it, it's all in Māori.'

When I think about what the pae looks like in the future, in the time when my mokopuna will be running around, that's what the pae looks like to me. The pae looks like Aotearoa that our tipuna created with some technical advancements and adjustments from the modern world, because, let's face it, as Māori we have always been technological innovators. I don't know about you but I've got an iPhone in my bag and I'm quite addicted to it. I use it to communicate in Māori on Facebook. I use it to text my mother in te reo Māori to let her know what I'm up to today. I use it to find out when the tangi is. I use it to find out who's saying what about who on the news.

What makes the pae distinctive from the place we're at now is that our tikanga and our reo are the norm; that our reason for existing is embodied in the way that we live our lives, and the kicker is we get to take being Māori totally for granted because, ladies and gentlemen, it's normal. Imagine being normal. Imagine walking down the street and not have people make these terrible assumptions about your person because you look like me.

So, when I think about the pae, that's what it looks like. It's a bit like going home. It's about being in a space where we get to be who we are without any fuss or bother. The responsibility for us, and particularly for kaupapa Māori researchers, activists, and kaimahi, is the slog that it takes to create that reality. As for me, I'm really satisfied with being a part of that slog and doing what I can on a daily basis to contribute.

I recall that when the notion of kaupapa Māori research was emerging the academy doubted our validity as Māori and that our knowledge had any

kind of basis in fact. It has always been fascinating to me that in the Western paradigm most of the kōrero about history Māori is spoken of in terms of myth and legend. That always affected me very personally as a descendant of Maui. You can't tell me that Maui's a myth if he's my tipuna. As a child going to school—and going to mainstream schools because that was all that was on offer then—when the teacher would tell us that Maui was a mythical creature, I would stand up and say, "No, my Nanny said he's our tipuna and we whakapapa directly from him. Ngā uri a Maui, that's us; those people that live up the valley in Ruatoria. That's us." I'd get in trouble for that. But you know, trouble becomes your middle name when you're determined to be a Māori in a Western world.

As the idea of kaupapa Māori grew, some of the research projects that I was involved in talked about the fundamentals; the things that set our research methodology apart from the rest. Basically they were these: that whakapapa Māori determines and defines us as Māori; tikanga Māori embodies the manner in which we live as Māori; and that te reo Māori is the medium by which we as Māori offer our most profound expression. In saying this, I'm not saying that if you don't speak Māori then you're clearly not a Māori. I'm not subscribing to that at all, not at all. But I do know that when we bear witness, as Māori, as carriers of whakapapa, to Māori and all of its beauty, when we bear witness to te reo Māori with all of its power, our ngākau is moved.

It's like watching haka. I don't know anything about the technicalities of haka except that I love it, so I judge a group using my cryometer. The group that makes me tangi hotuhotu is my favourite. By utilising their presence, in the practice of tikanga, their history, their knowledge, by the medium of te reo Māori, my heart is captured. My ngākau's been moved and it fills up my heart in a way that makes all the tears spill out. So for me, that's my measure of what makes a haka performance awesome. To me, a sound knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori are some of the things that enable us to live fully as Māori. They help give us an all-access pass to every aspect of being Māori.

Once you start exploring our history and engaging our moteatea, you are immediately blown away by the brilliance of our tipuna. It's a very humbling experience. We all think we're clever—we go to

university and we think we're clever—but there's nothing more humbling than engaging the works of our tipuna. The language is profound, their development of concepts and ideas is far reaching, and they're beautiful. Every time I engage old scripts, I find a new word or am introduced to some other idea that came from the time before—and I'm in love all over again. That's the joy of having an all-access pass to te ao Māori. You get to feel like that as often as you choose to engage our reo and our tikanga.

My experiences as a kaupapa Māori researcher, however, taught me some really important lessons about where we're at as a people. So I've described the pae and how beautiful it is and how fluffy it is and how it makes you feel like a katrillion dollars. The reality is that, as Māori, we're not running our own country; not yet anyway, but we're working on it. This reality constantly challenges our ability to take being Māori for granted. That's a real pain in the bum, to put it mildly. As a kaupapa Māori researcher working in our communities with our people, it's generally the manaaki principle that applies. It's not for me to take my university knowledge, my wealth of experience from Reporua, population three, and go into somebody else's community and make judgements about where they're at. Linda has written about this a lot and so has Graham—in fact, so have all the early kaupapa Māori researchers. They talk clearly and succinctly about kaupapa Māori research being emancipatory in its intent; that kaupapa Māori was established in order to transform our reality; to transform that reality where being a Māori is actually quite a difficult thing to do. When you take your kaupapa Māori research self into somebody else's community, you approach your mahi with humility and you respect the dignity of the people with whom you are engaging. You do your best to have an honest conversation about what's going on. For me as a kaupapa Māori researcher, everything in the project is absolutely centred on its purpose: What is this piece of research going to do to support the transformation that this community desires for itself? The last time I checked I wasn't Superman or Wonderwoman, so I'm not cruising around in my university car looking to save the people in the community. You generally find if you go out into our communities with that attitude you get a short, sharp slap upside the head.

I remember the first metaphorical short, sharp slap upside the head I received as a young researcher fresh out of the University of Auckland—and it was Matua Percy who delivered it. I was working on a Māori and GE project. As a Ngāti venturing off into Ngāpuhi land I was a little bit nervous. I'm ringing up this fella for an interview, and instead of answering my questions he said to me, "Do you know what a BA is? Have you got a BA?" I thought, oh, what's a BA? I said, "Yes Matua, I have a Bachelor of Arts in sociology and Māori studies." His reply was, "Well I hope you have a black arse." So now, instead of being a little bit scared, I was absolutely bloody terrified. But it was cool. I got up to Kaikohe, we had a big kai, we talked about Matua's work, and we got down to the kaupapa which was about a Māori perspective on genetic modification. But it was a very valuable introduction into the world of kaupapa Māori research. Time and time again I've been reminded of the importance of humility in dealing with our people and the reality of where we're at.

So, I guess the point I'm making is this: kaupapa Māori research, kei tua o te pae, takes our tikanga for granted; it is created from a space where being Māori is normal; and, most importantly, it is delivered in the medium of te reo Māori. I'm really looking forward to the day that, as a nation, we get to the place where te reo Māori is an ordinary language of communication; where we have a choice about the way in which we engage with each other and that reo Māori is a real choice; that not only do we speak Māori, but that tikanga is the ordinary way that this great nation rolls—and everybody's on board because it's good for everybody.

As I consider the place, the work to do, and the important focus of kaupapa Māori research, my challenge for us all is to consider your personal commitment to the kaupapa alongside your professional commitment to the kaupapa. The way to fast forward is to take those two things and intertwine them so that your lived reality becomes your professional reality, and that that reality is wrapped up in tikanga and te reo Māori.

Nō reira e hoa mā, kia kore au e whakararu i aku hoa kei taku taha e tatari ana ki te kōrero, ka nui pea mō tēnei wā. Nō reira, tēnā ra tātau katoa.

ATTENDING TO THE (UN)COMFORT ZONE: A STUDENT EXPERIENCE OF TE REO ME ŌNA TIKANGA IN KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

Moana Mitchell

Kia ora tātou.

Like Ani Mikaere yesterday, I too, questioned my inclusion in this panel, but like her and probably like a good student, I felt the need to question that question. So this is my exploration of that.

I thought I'd begin my part of the discussion by attempting to qualify who I am, and what I want to talk about today. So, like what I've written in the programme, today I wear my student hat. I particularly like this hat because it allows me to express who I am and what I'm about as emerging ideas.

My studies thus far have been about finding my own voice—my authentic self, my truth—and I've been privileged enough to spend that with Māori academics at Victoria University and through He Pārekereke which is the Māori and Pacific Research Unit with Te Kura Māori at the Faculty of Education at Victoria University. I'd like to acknowledge Kathie Irwin who helped found He Pārekereke, and Wally Penetito, Joanna Kidman, Hazel Phillips, Kabini Sanga, and Cherie Chu who nurtured me through my undergrad and postgrad studies, Pania Te Maro from Te Kura Māori, and also Jessica who lectured in and actually taught into these Māori education papers a few years back. Ngā mihi aroha kia koutou.

I have also been privileged to do some studies at Te Wānanga o Aotearoa and as part of a graduate diploma I completed there last year, I created a drawing of three panels that really captures the taura within me, in wanting to express the many facets of my learning, especially as it relates to te reo me ona tikanga, within kaupapa Māori research.

I also want to qualify the (un) in (un)comfort. Personally, I think there's a rawness of emotion in the (un) which really needs to be addressed—te reo me ona tikanga should be the comfort zone for all Māori; that it isn't is pretty much why I'm talking about it today.

To me, plain and simple, the (un) in (un)comfort is about the level of te reo and tikanga I don't think I

have. Is this of my own choosing? Well, no, it isn't. The (un) in (un)comfort signifies the difficulties of learning te reo me ona tikanga for a whole lot of Māori people and for a whole lot of reasons. The (un) in (un)comfort also asks hard questions about what it means to be Māori in the 21st century, with so many Māori not being native or fluent speakers of te reo Māori. Would it be feasible to take a leaf out of the experiences of African American academics who, at a conference in the mid-70s, coined the term “ebonics”? Perhaps I can even offer one term up as a suggestion for a Māori version?

Anyway, I was either going to get looks of horror or laughter or blankness, all good!

I wanted today to look at some of my (un)comfort experiences when it has come to te reo me ona tikanga and I will finish with how I have attempted to address the uncomfot by relating it to kaupapa Māori research.

So here's my first (un)comfort narrative. Funnily enough, it is an experience that comes from another conference, where some people decided that the Māori caucus from the conference should split into te reo Māori and non-te reo Māori-speaking subcaucuses to discuss the critical issues that had arisen from the sessions. No problems at all. However, it was in drawing this line that the fun and games began. Who measures the level of te reo one has? Who was in and who was out? What eventually happened was that people self-selected themselves into the non-te reo-speaking caucus by default really, in deficit, and at times with whakamā, and there was a distinct difference in the assertiveness levels from both groups.

I have a photograph of a beautiful piece of land; the motu Oroī which is in Anaura Bay in Te Tai Rawhiti. My grandmother, Mereana Wharehinga, grew up there in a bach beside Hineta matea, the whare tipuna there—it is so beautiful. It really is hard to imagine a more beautiful place, and last year in April was the first

time that me and my daughter had ever been there.

I have another photograph of the waterhole at Ohawe Beach in Taranaki, which is where I was brought up. I spent many, many years swimming in this awa, and probably more as an adult I was to come to know this awa as part of my pepeha. Ko Waingongoro te ingoa o tēnei awa. It wasn't until sometime this year that I saw on Māori Television that our little river in the south of Taranaki was the worst polluted river in New Zealand for nutrient enrichment due to the many dairy farms that our awa crosses through to get to the sea. And the plot thickens, as my own whānau own a dairy farm, and the biggest farm holders in Taranaki are a Māori subsidiary named Te Paraninihi ki Waitotara which my whānau are also shareholders in.

In my final narrative I want to talk about a cultural theorist, an American psychologist by the name of Phillip Cushman and his understanding of the empty self. Let's take a look at a quote of his:

[the empty self is] a self that experiences a significant absence of community, tradition, and shared meaning and experiences these social absences and their consequences 'interiorly' as a lack of personal conviction and worth; a self that embodies the absences, loneliness, and disappointments of life as a chronic, undifferentiated emotional hunger. It is this undifferentiated hunger that has provided the motivation for the mindless, wasteful consumerism of the late twentieth century. The [...] self thus yearns to acquire and consume as an unconscious way of compensating for what has been lost, the self is empty, and it strives, desperately, to be filled up. (Cushman, 1995, p. 79)

So that's what Phillip Cushman has to say about the empty self. Cushman suggests that Western culture had a traditional sense of self which was buoyed by its connectedness with family and community. The move away from these centres of family and community into the isolation of the cities resulted in a disconnect away from responsibilities to family and community and opened people up to individualism, detachment, and the evils of consumerism to help fill the void.

So what does any of this have to do with te reo me ona tikanga in kaupapa Māori research? What I wanted to capture in these brief snapshots are spaces

of (un)comfort as they relate to te reo, tikanga and an identity of the empty self which has come with modernity.

These narratives highlight very real issues, many of which are subtle undercurrents that change the way we perceive kaupapa Māori research. These issues make up the silences that exist for some Māori when it comes to te reo me ona tikanga and kaupapa Māori research. In saying that, I now want to turn to what I have phrased as "attending to the (un)comfort zone". I thought one of the ways to do that was to develop a strategy!

So I turned to a very unconventional theory from the School of Architecture called "the natural evolution theory". I will quickly run through it. There are three evolutions: one is tradition, one is exemplar, and the other is a theoretical model. In terms of tradition, tradition is based on tacit wisdom. But tradition is quite rigid by nature. For change to happen to traditions there needs to be a "misfit" which instigates change and creates a new tradition. However, changes are incremental and new traditions do not veer very far from their original state. What has become tradition? Deficit thinking, and adopting universalising truths about what it means to be Māori? I really took note of the challenging part of this conference. What I wanted to share was about misfits providing an incentive to change. Evolution two is the exemplar. It's based on the guru, the expert, the master, the teacher—but the expert is unable to pass the knowledge on because it's intrinsically theirs. So whoever is taking off the exemplar—the guru—has to rely heavily on imitation and therefore makes the example hard to replicate. For me, evolution three, the theoretical model, is a bit of both really. It helps create opportunities for transformation, innovation, and creativity—and perhaps especially in light of the misfit about being Māori in the 21st century.

So how does this relate to kaupapa Māori research in relation to te reo and tikanga? Well, I like the idea of a theoretical model and I have proposed to look at Taina Pohatu's takepu as a model which incorporates tradition and the exemplar. I believe such strategies are helpful to Māori who can use these principles in kaupapa Māori research as a way to develop a comfort zone for using te reo me ona tikanga.

Finally, regardless of the kaupapa, the language, the

tikanga or the Māori person, I personally believe that it is wairua which determines a successful outcome for those pursuing kaupapa Māori research, and so I will leave you with these apt words from Māori Marsden:

By meditation in the heart, the centre of one's being, illumination comes suddenly in a moment of time, and the unorganised sets of ideas suddenly get together to form an integrated whole in which the tensions and contradictions are resolved. Knowledge is transformed into wisdom. (Royal, 2003, p. 59)

Nō reira, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

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NEITHER QUALITATIVE NOR QUANTITATIVE: KAUPAPA MĀORI, METHODOLOGY AND THE HUMANITIES

Dr Alice Te Punga Somerville

Ngāpuhi/Kai Tahu poet Robert Sullivan's poem *The Crackling Page* reads: "My poetry is a fire/if I close my mouth I will die".

In Aotearoa at least, although in some other places too, the bulk of research and writing about the relationship between indigenous knowledges, research methodologies, and the colonial project has been produced by scholars who are trained in and/or based in the social sciences, including (and especially) education. A number of conversations are also building up in other parts of the university: law, business, management, health sciences and so on. What about the humanities?

Few Māori scholars based in the humanities have engaged in discussions about methodology in these terms; perhaps because relatively few Māori are engaged in those areas of the university, perhaps because scholars researching and teaching within the humanities are already engaged in discussions of methodology elsewhere and perhaps because "methodology" is something we tend not to talk about, or at least not by that word.

HUMANITIES

The areas of knowledge represented by the humanities are those which are interested in pursuing questions about humanity: philosophy, literature, cultural expression, history. Rather than using scientific or social scientific methods in the process of research, achieving a data set for analysis (however that data is collected and whatever form it takes), scholars and students working in these disciplines use analytic and critical approaches.

The idea of the humanities comes from Greek/Roman "liberal arts", although most of the disciplines in the humanities (in Anglophone universities) today are drawn from a much more recent period: the 19th century, a century which Foucault described as being obsessed with time, and which we who know about histories of imperialism also recognise as being inextricably tangled with the European

colonial project. Departments of history and English appeared for the first time along with the new social sciences like anthropology.

My own "discipline of origin", as I like to call it, is English. I work, to use Aroha Harris's terms, with "the Māori past" or "Māori pasts"—but I am not an historian. I am fascinated and excited by Mowhee, the first Māori writer who published in English, in London in 1818, but I am not—as are Kuni Jenkins and Allison Jones who are also fascinated by Mowhee—an educationalist or an expert in literacy. I pay close attention to language and how it works but I am not a linguist.

I am on a mostly unsuccessful mission to rebrand my discipline; I usually try to say that what I do is literary studies because I am a little bit embarrassed about the way "English" the discipline too easily slips into "English" the language (which is, I suspect, why I am on a panel about language) and into "English" the culture and perhaps "English" in terms of the nation and, I can't help but think, finally, the blood on England's hands, including the blood of my own tūpuna and all of yours.

As you can imagine, the job of analysing a poem or teaching a novel or writing about a writer can get a bit paralysing when you're doing it while parked under the name of a department which reminds you of early deaths and irreparable destruction. In this context, you can see why I'd want to say "English? Not me—I do literary studies." On the other hand, it is quite productive to reflect on "English" the misnomer and "English" the monster, because English is absolutely tangled up in the colonial project of the 19th century. It turns out that "English" is more about "Englishness" than we might imagine.

Europeans theorised about literary cultural forms and aesthetics, and we Māori theorised about other kinds of cultural forms and aesthetics, long before the 19th century. But the development of English as a discipline has very specific roots—at least according to Gauri Viswanathan—and the ground in which

these roots are planted is not where you might expect. Until the 19th century, literature was taught in England in the form of “classics” for the upper classes and “religious instruction” for the lower.

However, when the English started to take the colonial project in India a little more seriously and for the longer term, they started to realise that there was a cultural argument (a particular assimilationist cultural argument) for teaching the Indians about Englishness and a key way to teach about culture, of course, is through literature. We know this in a Māori context, when we teach Māori literatures (histories, purakau, kōrero tahuhu, whakatauki, oriori, ruruku, and so on) at least partly in order to teach culture. So, after a very specific and perhaps unanticipated series of events, it turned out that English was first taught as a subject in India.

KAUPAPA MĀORI, INDIGENOUS STUDIES, AND THE HUMANITIES

And yet, English as I first experienced it was at the University of Auckland, where my main undergraduate lecturers were Albert Wendt and Witi Ihimaera and where my MA supervisor was Kahungunu scholar Professor Terry Sturm. I was ruined by this introduction to literary studies, of course, because it meant that by the time I realised that in the big bad world of English things usually operate a little differently, it was already too late. A nasty, unintended, and endlessly generous trick had been played on me: I was hard wired to assume that English could have Māori, Pacific, indigenous voices and scholars at its centre.

My PhD is in English but it's also in something else: American Indian studies. I did my doctoral studies in the US, where the relationship between indigenous scholarship and English is configured in an almost inverse way to how things are here in Aotearoa: in short, if you are on a university campus in the US and there's no Department of Native Studies, you're most likely to find the Indian scholar in English. Unfortunately, but again also fortuitously, this meant that my views of my discipline continued to have indigenous texts, concerns, students, and scholars at their centre.

Literary studies more broadly has been asking tough questions of itself, especially in the context of technological, political, and social change. William Paulson writes about a possible future for my discipline

in *Literary Culture in a World Transformed; A Future for the Humanities*:

That we see literary culture neither as a burden to be cast off nor as a privileged or insightful space from which to criticize or reflect upon the world around us, but rather as a resource, as an extension of our collective sense organs, brains, and voiceboxes, near and far, then and now, which we can use as we participate in, and try to sustain, the life of the world.³⁰

I don't want this to sound like a case of disciplinary whakahihitanga. I'm not trying to suggest that anything you can do literary studies, or perhaps the humanities, can do better. Perhaps some of you work in the humanities too. But I'm going through all of this detail about my discipline because this is the place from which I engage with kaupapa Māori scholarship. And the kaupapa Māori scholarship I read and hear *tends to take the social sciences as the base building block of research*. I want to come back to this point, but I want to get there in a roundabout way.

Now, one of the great things about humanities scholarship is that it is not very interesting to research investors. No one will pay for a poem, and no one will pay for it to be analysed. There's no marketable value of my archival discoveries or the claims I make through engaging with the most contemporary and luminal of Māori literary texts. My work exists outside of money; a perilous place in the neoliberal university and yet also a comfortable place, because it means I don't have to fret about whether I should be doing work that sells my soul or anyone else's down the river. This isn't because of any innately moral position that I hold with great dignity and impressiveness, but because even if I wanted to sell my work (and my soul) down the river, no one would buy it. No industry partners, no room in the new Ministry for Science and Innovation, a narrow band of only the broadest fellowships or scholarships because no one would actually invest in a literary scholar. And yet, like the fat kid who needn't bother packing their sports gear because they won't be picked for a team anyway, this means I can just get on with my research and teaching, not being distracted by great fortunes or business plans.

30 Paulson, W. (2001). *Literary culture in a world transformed: A future for the humanities*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

It's not hard to see how this is a productive situation, and yet there's another step to make here. And this is an important step in relation to this idea of kaupapa Māori research: research which responds to specific research needs and desires as articulated by the community, which is engaged in the transformation and decolonisation of the community, which busily draws lists of culturally-derived "to dos" and "not to dos" and troubles the values at the core of scholarly practice.

Not only is my research priceless (as in, no one would bother putting a price on it because no one would pay), but it also fails to meet up with "the real world" in the terms that many people are calling for Māori research to do. No one has come to me and asked me to do my research. (Perhaps there is an implied call from Māori writers for me to read their work, but I'm not sure that call is to me any more than it is to anyone else in this room.) There is no health or living standard which can be directly addressed through the application of poetry, fiction, or a nicely crafted essay about an archival text I haven't actually found. My community didn't ask me to do this, and a lot of the people who kind of know what I do are very pleased that, whatever strange things I spend my time doing, at least there's someone on call and who's happy to do whatever for the kaupapa (that word again!) when there's a question of grammar or some writing in English to be checked.

My work isn't directly interested in "identity work" either. I am not really actually doing psychology or sociology or anthropology or even history, but just using poems and novels as de facto interviews. As I have written elsewhere:

... my own work is often described by other people as being 'about identity' and yet I ponder why this is not a description I use myself. For some reason, describing my own work as being about identity feels more like an accusation, a narrowing, a marginalising, than it does an affirmation, an extension, an engagement. It's as if 'identity' is something that's fixed and in my work I just pick it up and prod it a bit, turning it from side to side, peering, evaluating, measuring. It feels like researching 'identity' is something for those of us whose experiences of being Māori do not suit the easy monoliths of authenticity—reo, tikanga, turangawaewae, ahi ka—and were instead raised speaking English, in urban spaces not our own, and so

on; doing work 'about identity' is necessary for those who didn't get an identity the first time around.³¹

And don't even get me started on people who have drawn similar conclusions about my proximity to my Māori-tanga, or Atiawa-tanga, when they've helpfully explained that we ("we") come from an oral culture. (As Arini Loader would say, what about the thousands of pages of Māori-written manuscripts sitting in archives and homes all around the motu?) That Māori people don't read. Which presumably implies that those of us who are—are—well, you get the picture. But, the point here is, if I'm not even interested in talking about my work as being something as abstract (but potentially helpful to Māori people) as "identity" then, really, what am I doing?

No, it's okay, you don't have to say, "But, Alice, you're down with the kaupapa and you're Māori and you're doing Māori stuff and that's all that stuff really means." That's not what I'm not looking for either. I already know those things about my work. I know what my research does, I know the kind of space I create in my classrooms, and when I dropped out of law school to focus on a BA in English and History my grandparents said to me, "Well, we don't know why someone in your generation has been born with a love of poetry when we thought a lawyer in the family would be more helpful, but if this is who you are then who are we to tell you to be someone else."

And, no, you don't have to make me feel better and say, "Yes it does Alice. What you do is so crucial to the survival of the Māori people—of te reo, of tikanga, of literal bodily physical survival—that you are going to spend the two hours of research time you've carved out from teaching and admin next week working on an essay about two Sydney-based Māori poets no one has ever heard of and no one will publish." Actually, even Alita Morgan and Jean Riki, the poets, are a bit dubious about whether I should be writing the essay: they're not sure they're proper "poets" and think it's flattering but kind of odd that I'm so interested in them. Because, to be blunt, my actual research probably doesn't scratch many itches. And how can *that* be kaupapa Māori?

31 Te Punga Somerville, A. (2010). My poetry is a fire. In B. Hokowhitu, N. Keramoal, C. Andersen, M. Reilly, A. Petersen, I. Altamirano-Jiménez, & P. Rewi (Eds.). *Indigenous identity and resistance* (pp. 41–42). Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

And, I have to say, some days of the week I feel as ambiguous about kaupapa Māori scholarship as it seems to feel about me. Or at least, sometimes it feels like the phrase “kaupapa Māori” has become a diminishing rather than a space-opening thing, at least for me and the research in which I am involved. It claims to be about all Māori research, but its own disciplinary roots are, although invisible to some, paralytically writ large to others.

To be honest, (get bulletproof vest), whenever someone waves the little magical continuum with “kaupapa Māori” at one end and “research not involving Māori and not relevant for Māori” at the other, I tend to do all I can to avoid being herded into the “kaupapa Māori” end. Maybe it’s just because I’m stubborn. But I find the continuum—which was, as I understand it, originally designed as a diagnostic, as a way of perceiving, a way of looking—is now trotted out like a progress narrative, or perhaps a salvation narrative, in which everyone secretly wants to be doing “kaupapa Māori” research and as far away as possible from doing research which is “neither relevant to nor involving Māori”, whatever those dastardly latter projects might be. (A footnote in one high-profile kaupapa Māori text suggests that, for Māori, physics is irrelevant, a phrase that made me stare at the page and then cry the first time I read it.) I have been asked many times to indicate which of the five flavours of research mine is: kaupapa Māori, or something further removed, far away; the list of possibilities feels like a list that allows me to choose to describe my work as a decolonised fantasy, a good-enough, a meaninglessness, a problem, an abomination.

When did this happen? When did “kaupapa Māori” turn into a phrase that suggests it’s an inoculation that prevents one from conducting dodgy research? What good—for “the kaupapa” if you don’t mind—does it do for me to circle the words “kaupapa Māori” on the list of possible options? What does it enable? But importantly, what does it shut down? When did “kaupapa Māori” become this phrase which meant an enthusiastic and smart young wahine told me within the last year that because she is using kaupapa Māori research methodologies for her PhD she is only reading scholarly work by Māori writers. Aue, what have we become?

Or, what *might* we become?

RESEARCH BEYOND THE PROGRESS NARRATIVE

At its best, kaupapa Māori is like postcolonial studies at its best: malleable, dynamic, unfixed, unfixable, a network rather than a structure—indefinable and yet clustered in such a productive configuration that it produces space for connections beyond checklists, self-aggrandising, or mere “stances” rather than engagements. This is kaupapa Māori at its best: when it means what it’s meant to mean, what it denotatively means, what it means on the first surface of the words—a kaupapa which is Māori. A Māori kaupapa can never be fixed or predetermined and this is precisely its strength. We use phrases like “down with the kaupapa” and “do it for the kaupapa” and we know what we mean as long as we don’t define it.

And perhaps this is where I’d like to argue that maybe this is what makes humanities research “kaupapa Māori” after all. My work on writing in English is not going to bring back te reo into my family. My teaching about literary representations, J. C. Sturm, the difference between a sonnet and a cento, and the importance of *not* getting in touch with an author to check what they really meant in their writing is certainly tikanga of a different kind. But it’s all pretty untouchable. I’m not talking about it being too fabulous here: I’m talking about it being so financially worthless that it’s ethically meaningful. It’s so “unhelpful” in the urgency of the here and now that it enables us to imagine the there and then.

If you take out the heart of the harakeke, what will the komako cease to do? Robert Sullivan echoes this question by providing a kind of answer: he says, “My poetry is a fire—if I close my mouth I will die”. We die if we are shut down, if our mouths are closed, if we are forced to burn the insides of our own mouths with our fire instead of breathing it where it can productively warm or destroy.

Perhaps kaupapa Māori really is still about the kaupapa. Perhaps I’m committing the worst scholarly sin of all: a misreading, an overreading, a “didn’t-do-her-reading”. Perhaps it’s about ethical practice, about transformation, and recovery and healing and justice. Perhaps it’s about connection and reconnection. Perhaps my humble little, strange little, odd little, nonscratching, unhelpful, unasked-for, unurgent (maybe even physics-like?) research enabled me to

travel a crooked little path over a few years to finding a flimsy book of poetry published in Fiji in 1979 by a Māori woman based in Sydney. Evelyn Patuawa-Nathan writes about taking her school students on a class trip, and describes the place and power of written language (yes, I know, real Natives are oral and don't read—whatever) in our journeys to who we have been, who we are, and who we might be. I'll let her have the final word:

EDUCATION WEEK

Education week
in a North West country town.
My class of twenty four,
Aboriginal boys and girls
and I,
visit the local jail.
In a small concrete cell
bare
but for the humour of wall graffiti,
they reach among comments
for names of cousins
and brothers
and fathers.³²

³² Patuawa-Nathan, E. (1979). *Opening doors* (p. 23). Suva: Mana.

SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP SESSIONS

Dr Helen Potter

Three workshop slots were included in the hui programme so that attendees could participate in small-group discussions. The idea was to provide sufficient space for attendees to talk and think together—both in terms of what came up for them from the speakers' and panelists' kōrero, and in terms of their own research work and/or studies.

As people registered for the hui, they were asked to note their particular areas of work and interest. This information was used to (loosely) cluster people together in workshop groups, by sector—including community development, schooling, tertiary education, rangatahi, health, mana wahine, and te reo Māori. Different coloured stickers on name badges were used to identify who was in which group.

While there was a topic or focus provided for each of the three workshops, they were more starting points for discussion rather than a “must do”.

Te Wāhanga thanks the seven workshop facilitators who did such a great job in creating safe, stimulating spaces for people to participate in: Dr Jenny Lee; Dr Adreanne Ormond; Dr Mera Penehira; Āneta Rāwiri; Gareth Seymour; Veronica Tawhai; and Erica Te Hiwi.

WORKSHOP ONE: CRITICAL ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

The focus of the first workshop was to identify and discuss the critical issues and questions that had arisen so far or that people had brought with them to the hui. The kōrero from the workshops is recorded under thematic headings.

Defining kaupapa Māori

- There is a risk of essentialising and stereotyping kaupapa Māori research.
- Do we need a model of kaupapa Māori research practice?

- Who polices kaupapa Māori theory and research? Do we need someone to police it?
- What will kaupapa Māori be in the future? What will be the new sites of struggle? What will be the new forms of colonisation?

Kaupapa Māori research practice

- A body of knowledge is no less important if it has not been published or has not been “authorised” by a panel of expert “others”.
- How do we unlearn our indoctrination in the Western research process?
- How do we (continue to) create processes and structures to navigate our own research path?
- Who sets the agenda for kaupapa Māori research?
- Who benefits from our research? We need to constantly challenge and ask ourselves why we are doing it.
- Is there a formula for the protection of the intellectual property of iwi?
- We need to kōrero and wānanga i te reo Māori, but so much gets lost in translation. We have a limited pool of speakers which impacts on our collective development and understanding. What can be done?

The research terrain is quickly changing.

- Critiquing Māori research using Western models of research is problematic.
- Contract research can be compromising.

Identity

- Who am I in kaupapa Māori?
- What does it mean to be Māori? Who defines? Who decides?
- How we define ourselves is important.
- Internalising stereotypes and stigma.

Organisations, institutions, workplaces

- Feeling isolated within your discipline and/or organisation.
- Feeling marginalised as Māori and dealing with racism.
- Frustrated by the ignorance and misunderstandings of Te Tiriti o Waitangi. While the Treaty is now in many education spaces, it is constantly watered down, distorted, and misrepresented.
- The wide-ranging discomfort with the colonising history of Aotearoa is oppressive in workplace contexts.
- Māori institutions, departments, rōpū, are always the ones that have to compromise. We respect other people's kaupapa, but non-Māori don't do the same.
- PBRF doesn't recognise kaupapa-based research as it's an individualistic measure rather than a collaborative one.
- Kaupapa Māori research is still not validated or acknowledged in (some) institutions.
- Capacity for kaupapa Māori supervision of thesis work?
- What is the relevance and/or suitability of current research funding models?
- Do we continue to engage in mainstream institutions or create our own?

Decolonisation

- How do we know what (tikanga, concepts, constructs) belongs to us and what comes from the coloniser?
- We need to decolonise our thinking, including how we think about hierarchies, and suss out what is not ours.

Transformation

- How can we enact change? What do we need to progress and evolve?
- What role do we see for Pākehā?

WORKSHOP TWO: ADDRESSING ISSUES OF CONCERN

The focus of the second workshop was to discuss ways in which to address the issues and questions raised in workshop one. Kōrero from the workshops is recorded under thematic headings.

Defining kaupapa Māori

- We are still creating spaces; reclaiming knowledge spaces.
- The importance of framing research around a kaupapa which is Māori.

Kaupapa Māori research practice

- Being accountable and transparent to our communities, keeping a critical lens, reaffirming our position as kaupapa Māori researchers, and using accessible language.
- Develop and build a Māori research community with a collective voice and strength. What would this look like?
 - Use technology to communicate
 - Relationships with whānau, hapū, and iwi
 - Meet regularly
 - Select excellent leadership
 - Widen scope from research institutions
 - Allies with Indigenous Peoples internationally.
- Taking ownership of the research process.
- Funders dictate research. We need to be setting our own research parameters and kaupapa.
- Make ourselves available to be included in iwi research.
- Pursue excellence; demand excellence. What does that look like?
- Knowing and writing for a Māori audience.

Identity

- We need our own dialogue as opposed to having to respond to others' critique of Māori.
- The importance of seeking a diversity of voices and experiences.
- We shouldn't always have to agree.
- We need to not judge or be so harsh on ourselves.
- The silencing power of kaumātua—managing intergenerational challenges.

Organisations, institutions, workplaces

- Address institutional isolation by:
 - getting support from other disciplines, and from whānau, hapū, and iwi
 - forming rōpū with other Māori to be safe and have a strong presence visually (he kanohi kitea)
 - building relationships through hui
 - building capacity—document processes and develop new and upcoming Māori researchers
 - drawing from tikanga and the stories of our tūpuna
 - developing mentoring relationships, inside and outside academia.
- Have more Māori-initiated research and a wider scope for funding.
- We need strong leadership—not just someone to fill a space.

Decolonisation and transformation

- There is a need for more conscientisation. We need to be irritated and be the bearers of discomfort.
- Ask ourselves, “Should I participate in this kōrero?”
- Asking the tough questions and seeking to answer them.
- Being transformative, and placing Māori at the centre of being transformative.
- Make time to ask ourselves questions and focus on where we as Māori are at.

WORKSHOP THREE: A KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH CHARTER

The focus for the third workshop was to discuss and debate the value of having a kaupapa Māori research charter which was put forward by some speakers on the first day of the hui.

Reflecting on kaupapa Māori theory and research

- “It is what it is, and it will be what it will be.”
- Organic, dynamic, fluid.
- Don’t define, don’t box.
- It can’t be pinned down.
- Defined by the communities in which we live.
- Has a positive and collective benefit/outcome for Māori—politically, socially, institutionally.
- It is a journey, it is groundedness, it is integrity.
- It’s a tool and a process to challenge Western narratives, to decolonise our own thinking, and transform our realities.
- We need to stay on the critical edge, through dialogue, reflection, and reflexivity; not taking anything for granted.
- We need to continually reflect on our own practices and challenge and question ourselves.
- Tikanga has to keep evolving or it will become stagnant. It is made by us, for us. It is a respectful, reciprocal relationship, with the capacity to question, challenge and adapt it as we determine.

A kaupapa Māori research charter?

- Precautions about, and dangers in, defining kaupapa Māori research in a charter. We don’t want it to become a tick-box checklist.
- Kaupapa Māori is constantly evolving and organic, so how can it be described or defined in a charter?
- What would its purpose be? Is it a line in the sand to show tauwiwi what we’re about? Or is it for us? Or is it both? Will it be able to do what we need it to do?
- Is “charter” the terminology that we want to use? It comes with its own colonising history. Is “declaration” a better concept? What concept could we use from te ao Māori?

- Kaupapa Māori allows me to be who I am. Could a kaupapa Māori research charter restrict this?
- It is not an easy “yes” or “no” answer. On the plus side, it can’t be assumed that we all “simply know” in terms of conducting kaupapa Māori research.
- A charter does not have to be rigid and could instead evolve over time.
- A charter might be seen as an ongoing conversation.

Where to from here?

- More whakawhitiwhiti kōrero is needed.
- It might be useful to construct or develop a charter, project by project, by the communities involved.

FEEDBACK

Some of the participants who filled in evaluation forms told us that the workshops were helpful in generating whakaaro and enabled everyone to make a contribution to the collective kōrero and energy of the hui. Some also felt the workshops were important for whakawhanaungatanga and building a sense of community for kaupapa Māori researchers.

A few suggested that future hui include writing-based workshops, and that the membership of the groups could change around for some of the workshop sessions, such as by having separate tane and wahine sessions.

HUI REFLECTIONS: RESEARCH AND THE CONSOLATIONS OF BRAVERY

Moana Jackson

Tēnā ano tatou.

May I begin by thanking the team at NZCER for asking me to speak to you today, and thanking all of you for being here. I have found it an inspirational couple of days: catching up with people I admire and whose work I really respect; meeting exciting, bright young people who sometimes make me feel all my 30 years of age but nevertheless make me feel good. It has indeed been a pleasure to be here.

About two weeks ago I began seriously thinking about how I might be able to perform the job I've been given today: to try and pull together or synthesise some of the ideas that have come out of the hui, and perhaps provide some sort of framework that hopefully will be of some value to you. To do that, I began as I always do whenever I am in that situation—I conducted my own literature review.

I went home. I took a walk along the beach that curves around Te Matau o Maui in Kahungunu, towards what Pākehā call Cape Kidnappers. It was a lovely sea-breezed walk but I call it a literature review because where the cliffs tumble down to the foreshore (remember the foreshore?) there are actually stories in the land. Stories are knowledge, and knowledge is literature. Then I clambered up one of the cliffs to a little hilltop called Tiromoana. Like its name suggests, it looks out across the sea from where our ancestors came and it is the site where our people built one of the first pā in that area, not long after one of our tipuna called Taraia brought some of Kahungunu down from the Mahia Peninsula. There is no pā there now but when I reached the summit I sat for a while where you can still see the indentations of the old palisades and the round circle holes in the ground where the supporting posts used to be. I found stories in the land there as well. Stories are knowledge, and knowledge is literature. Then, when

I came back to the Hutt Valley where I live, I went for another walk one morning. Without thinking where I was going I passed through Wakefield Street and other streets named after ships that brought the “early settlers” here—like the Tory and Cuba—so there were stories in the land there too.

After about a week I had some ideas sort of bubbling away in my head but was still trying to crystallise the framework that might help pull together the kōrero from our hui, so I conducted the second part of my literature review. I got out some old cassette tapes that I have of some of our old people—many of whom are long gone—talking about their lives. I listened to them and then delved into my filing system which is probably the most haphazard system in the world. However, among the collection of newspaper clippings and old magazine articles, I came upon some that my brother Syd had once written for the *Listener* magazine. One of them was about the first so-called protests at Waitangi in 1972 while another was about the arrests on the Raglan Golf Course in 1978. They too, as history, became part of my literature review.

I then turned over the last of the articles and on the back was an advertisement for a film which many of you will be far too young to remember called *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*. It was a bit of a milestone movie in Hollywood history because it was the first commercial film that explored what Americans called the decades of promiscuity and free love in the 1960s and 1970s. As a young graduate I naturally rushed to see the movie with some friends but remember being disappointed because it was neither promiscuous nor free but really rather terrible. However, seeing the old advertisement and the movie title did act as an unlikely catalyst that helped me bring together all of the stories and ideas from my literature review into the framework and kōrero I wish to deliver today.

I have therefore called my kōrero, “Elizabeth and Osama and Elsdon and Irihapeti”. It is not a story of promiscuity and free love, but it is a story which I hope will provide an insight into the discussions of the conference. The first three names—Elizabeth, Osama, and Elsdon—and the stories I would like to share about them, illustrate some of what I call the colonising dialectic that I believe kaupapa Māori theory was developed to help address and which we still confront today. The fourth name, Irihapeti, conjures up the courage and liberation it could and should offer to us all.

ELIZABETH AND OSAMA AND ELSDON AND IRIHAPETI

The Elizabeth is a Pākehā academic who goes under the name of Elizabeth Rata. Many people think she is Māori (and she never disabuses that notion) but she has in fact been one of the most vociferous opponents of kaupapa Māori theory and constantly dismisses its intellectual validity. My favourite quote from her is in an article she wrote some time ago in which she attacked kaupapa Māori theory for being an example of “ethnic primordialism” that creates a separation between Māori and Pākehā based purely on ethnic pedagogies. In effect, she rejected both its approach and its ideals as being racist and, in so doing, rejected the very real way our people look at the world based on Māori ways of seeing. So far so predictable in terms of a colonising perspective. However, she then proceeded to point out what she thought were its inadequacies and “primordialism” but by making comparisons with the “universal” and therefore apparently nonethnic pedagogies and nonethnic ways of seeing pioneered by thinkers such as Immanuel Kant, John Locke, David Hume, Thomas Hobbes, and so on.

What I know of those men was that they were all highly ethnocentric, they were all white, they were all European, and thankfully, they are all dead. Yet their ideas have been promoted (as Elizabeth Rata still maintains) as some sort of universal knowledge of how one should do research, while the European intellectual tradition of which they are a part has been transmitted not as the culturally- (and ethnically-) specific construct that it is but as something that is somehow pure and superior and “race free”. In a perverse illogic she therefore ends up attacking

kaupapa Māori theory as being racist because it is based on a Māori ethnic way of seeing while justifying her critique on what is clearly a race-based tradition. She in effect dismissed kaupapa Māori by positioning the Western intellectual tradition as the work of thinkers who were not “ethnically primordial” but who were miraculously nonethnic in their way of seeing.

I wanted to talk about her illogic because I think her approach represents one of the major issues that kaupapa Māori theory has continually had to address and which came out in a number of the discussions held at this hui: the constant need to justify the legitimacy of the way we see the world. That is a battle which has been waged, I believe, with tremendous courage and foresight by a number of people. It is part of a greater struggle against the whole colonising ethic which actually sees little, if any, value not just in our intellectual tradition, but in our very existence as well. Kaupapa Māori theory has been part of the strategy that our people have developed to address that particular part of our wider struggle. It is a strategy to be honoured and preserved for that reason.

The Osama of my title is, of course, Osama Bin Laden. You may think, what on earth has he got to do with kaupapa Māori theory, but it is the presentation or image of him that I think is relevant to this kōrero. Recently, for example, I have been interested in the newspaper coverage of his death. There are a number of reasons for my interest. The first is that his death, and the media coverage of it, encapsulates what I call the hypocrisy that lies at the heart of the culture of colonisation, especially in the fact that when he was found and shot, his death was described as “justice being done”. Yet no matter how justice is defined, no matter how great a wrong a person is alleged to have done, the idea that he can be killed without the chance of some sort of proper legal process seems to me a gross perversion of the very idea of justice itself. But, secondly, and more directly, I have been interested to see that the Americans chose to call the operation to kill him “Operation Geronimo”. When Osama Bin Laden was killed, the message that was in fact relayed back to Washington DC simply stated, “Geronimo is dead.” Apart from the macabre triumphalism of the comment, it represents what I call a little everyday colonisation that took the heroic indigenous figure of Geronimo and demonised him by association, just as they had done ever since he fought for his people

and tried to protect their land against 19th century colonisers. Indeed, by deliberately using his name, the Americans besmirched his memory yet again by associating him with terrorism when he in fact died protecting the security of his indigenous homeland against the foreign colonising terrorists who were determined to take it.

In case I ever thought—which I didn’t—that in this country we were somewhat further down the trail of decolonisation than the United States, that idea was disabused the next morning when *The Dominion Post* headlined the raid on Osama Bin Laden as “utu”. The corruption of our notion of utu to describe a raid by the United States was, to me, yet another offensive, ignorant, and little everyday colonisation. It also illustrates the next point I wish to make—that if we are having difficulties wondering how kaupapa Māori theory might work, what it means, how we can define it, how we can do what it requires, it is partly because we are still having to deal with all of the reimagining of our people and our worth that the misuse of Geronimo’s name and the notion of utu implies. Indeed, all of the questions raised at this hui are actually questions about both the little everyday colonisations that manifest themselves wherever we turn in this country and the broader-based colonisation of our ongoing political, legal, and constitutional disempowerment. If kaupapa Māori theory helps us address such issues then again, for me, it is a theory that we should protect and honour.

The Elsdon in my title is obviously Elsdon Best, regarded by many as the great ethnographer and expert on our people. In one of his volumes called *The Mythology and Religion of Māori*, he writes in the preface, “uncivilised people like our Maori, are not given to much thought”. I’d like to just look at that statement for a moment if I may because it also illustrates one of the underlying problems that I believe kaupapa Māori theory seeks to address. The first part of the phrase that I think is relevant is the use of the term “uncivilised people” which raises a common colonising construct that we were not civilised like them and therefore not as good as them either. The second intriguing part is the use of the pronoun “our Maori” with its implication that they could somehow “own” us and we would become theirs. We were not independent peoples living in nations such as Ngāti Porou or Ngāti Kahungunu but some “other”,

some “object”, that only had meaning when defined by them. Part of the difficulty that I believe kaupapa Māori theory attempts to deal with is how we can actually break away from the belief that many in the Western academic tradition still have—that we have no right to what is ours (or even to think in our own way) because what is ours should also be theirs. I find that fundamentally colonising.

Best’s statement is also relevant, of course, simply because of the statement that, as uncivilised people, we were not given to much thought. It was a common belief in the 19th century among those great and ostensibly nonethnic thinkers that Elizabeth Rata relies on. Immanuel Kant, for example, described coloured people as no better than monkeys because their approach to intellectual thought is to chatter. He also claimed that so-called coloured people had no appreciation of the beautiful, the sublime, or the reasonable. We were not given much to thought. What I believe kaupapa Māori theory tries to reassure us about is that we have the capacity to think; that we have an intellectual tradition as ancient, as wonderful, as inspiring, and sometimes as wrongheaded as any other. It grew from this ocean, flourished in this land, and it is unique to us. If kaupapa Māori theory helps us to regain confidence in that intellectual tradition—that we not only have the capacity, but also the right to ask whatever questions we choose—then the theory should also be honoured and protected.

The Irihapeti is a dear friend whom I know many of you here will know, Irihapeti Ramsden, who sadly died seven years ago after a long and gracious battle with cancer. She was to me a great Māori intellect—fearless, imaginative, daring in the ideas she dreamed of. When she was really sick with cancer she had to have a mastectomy. After the recovery period she was due to get a prosthesis—a false breast—and the day before her appointment she rang me and asked, “I’m going to get my breast tomorrow, could you come?” I was happy to help her but was somewhat unsure what I could contribute to the proceedings but agreed to go with her. We met with the specialist and were then taken to this place where a lovely young woman had some artificial breasts on the table in three colours—beige, white, and pink. Irihapeti looked at them, and those of you who knew her would know that she was stunningly beautiful and could affect this air of what I’ve often called nonchalant arrogance. She surveyed

these three breasts and said, “I want a Māori breast” which clearly puzzled the young woman who asked, “What’s that?” Irihapeti responded with a gentle smile, “Well you have pink and white and beige breasts but a Māori breast is voluptuous and golden brown.” The young woman was completely flummoxed and stammered, “We don’t have one”, to which Irihapeti replied, “I would like you to get one.”

I marvelled that day at her bravery. As sick as she was, she took a moment—as she put it—to teach and learn. She got her golden brown prosthesis, and to me if kaupapa Māori theory means anything, it is about being brave. As a consequence, I have developed what I have called the four components of bravery, which to me underpin the theory. No matter how we choose to define it, no matter how we choose to apply it, it must, I think, reflect these four components of bravery. If they do, then we also might take consolation from being brave ourselves.

FOUR COMPONENTS OF BRAVERY

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.

I have often talked about this defining of the Māori self because it was captured and controlled by the colonisers very early in the dispossession of our people. Sadly, because this is what colonisation does, many of our people have been taught and have had to learn their definitions rather than our own. We accept the way that we have been defined by others, rather than the way our tipuna defined us.

In 1841, when the colonisers introduced the first native land regulations, they assumed the power to define who we were by implementing a pseudo-scientific doctrine developed in the United States called the “blood quantum” which defined Indigenous Peoples according to the amount of so-called indigenous blood they had. They then used it to give “rights” to Indigenous Peoples or define their “authenticity” according to the amount of that blood they had. Eventually it became what many Native American writers now call a means of statistical

extinction that allowed the colonisers to assume that one day there would be so little “indigenous” blood around the people themselves could be declared a dead or dying race.

The colonisers enthusiastically imported the idea here with definitions such as a “real” Māori only being someone with more than three-quarters native blood. They divided us according to this blood quantum, and if in that definition you had less than three-quarters, then, for example, you could not have an interest in native land. By redefining us according to a scientific untruth they effectively removed thousands of acres of land from our people and thus began over a century of defining and redefining who we are as a people. Between 1841 and 1990 there were in fact 33 different blood definitions of who a Māori is. Some said you were a Māori if you had a certain degree of Māori blood and lived as a native. Others said you could not be a Māori if you had a Māori mother and a Pākehā father because obviously the Pākehā man’s blood was quantifiably worth more than the Māori woman’s blood, and so you miraculously became Pākehā. From that legal process of definition developed a whole vocabulary of quarter caste Māori, half caste Māori, 1/58th Māori, and so on, as well as questions about who a real Māori is and what makes a Māori authentic. In my view, the imposition of that whole discourse is one of the most damaging things that has been done to our people because it has altered the very notion of our identity and worth.

Yet in our intellectual and cultural tradition it is an absolute nonsense and the damage has been done because of a lie. Indeed, in our way of seeing you cannot have half a mokopuna, you cannot have a 1/58th of a mokopuna. We defined who we were through whakapapa, not some mysterious notion of blood. Late last year my eldest mokopuna gave birth to our beautiful great grand-daughter. My moko wanted to have a home birth in Waimana, in the heart of Tuhoe where her mother is from, and at one stage I thought we were going to have to build a grandstand in the bedroom because it seemed that half of Tuhoe was coming to the birth. When that baby girl was born, she was born of a whakapapa that is Tuhoe, Kahungunu, Ngāti Porou, Te Aitanga-ā-Māhaki, and on her Mum’s Dad’s side, Yorkshire. In the Pākehā way of seeing, my mokopuna tuarua

is only part Māori, is only part of a mokopuna, but when I held her in my arms she was beautiful and complete and whole. She is made up of disparate, different parts, but is beautiful in her wholeness. How dare anyone tell us that our mokopuna are not whole, are not complete.

If kaupapa Māori theory can help us reclaim how we name ourselves, if it can help us reject the notion that we are only part something and instead respect and recognise all the bits that make us unique, then kaupapa Māori theory should be honoured and protected. Indeed, the vexed question of identity is something that I think kaupapa Māori theory can help us address because, as Linda said yesterday, it can be what we want it to be because it is ours. If it is ours and we have whakapapa, then we have the right to access it, to understand it, to develop it, and to express it in the best way that we know how.

The second component of bravery that I think is important as a papa or a foundation for kaupapa Māori theory is the bravery to know where we are at. Where we are at in the year 2011 is on a journey that for 160 years has largely been controlled by somebody 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. As a result, we have many of our people confused by that dialectic of part-Māori identity while others get caught up in neoliberal economic policies that confuse one form of development with rangatiratanga that actually creates a growing gap between a small group of quite rich Māori and a large, large group of our people struggling with poverty. What kaupapa Māori theory was developed to do, amongst other things, was to help us remedy the costs of that journey; to help break down and remove the suffering of our people. It was to ensure our survival. But to me it was not just survival in the sense of physical numbers: it was not just survival of our reo and of our tikanga, but it was the survival of everything that makes us unique. As Alice alluded to this morning, it was to survive if we wished to be a poet, to be a dancer, to be an academic or, like my mokopuna, to be an astronaut. In fact, to be whatever we wish. It is about our survival and we should never diminish the struggle to survive as full and complete and beautiful mokopuna. Part of being brave is knowing where we are at.

The third component of bravery is simply to know what we have to think about. Any intellectual tradition is about asking and answering both the easy and the difficult questions; the irritating and uncomfortable questions that Linda talked about yesterday. Our intellectual tradition is no different and it encourages us to traverse the momentous, the banal, and even the frivolous questions.

One frivolous question I have, for example, is why there is a perception that every Māori can sing and play the guitar. I can do neither. I'd like to see some research on that because, although there are 10 of us in our family counting two whangai brothers who grew up with us—so we actually had two Jackson Fives, minus the peculiarities—none of us can sing. When our Ngāti Porou side is on fire, man we can talk, but we can't sing. I think there's only one time, or I hope there's only been one time, when I disgraced our people. When I was working at the United Nations helping to draft the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the indigenous delegations would have a gathering at the end of the session. It was really a party but the Native Americans called it a gathering, and there would be waiata and various cultural performances. Native Americans danced and so on, and every year we had a good group of Māori who could get up and sing like our people do. On one occasion we had three real musicians among us—two who could play the guitar and one who could play the ukulele—so we were the hit that year. I contributed by standing in the back and miming the words while trying to look cool. Another year, however, all of the members of our delegation had to go home early for various reasons, and I was the only Māori left. I didn't even think about the music, I just wanted to go to the gathering. When it came time for the Māori to get up, everyone looked at me. I knew I couldn't entirely let our people down, so I got up and recited a couple of poems by Hone Tuwhare. Everyone politely clapped but I think they wondered why I didn't sing.

So whether it's frivolous or serious we have to be brave enough to ask the questions. Some of those questions will be uncomfortable to other people in this land and that's good, that's alright. But sometimes they will be uncomfortable for us, because we will have to ask some difficult questions of ourselves. If

an intellectual tradition can't interrogate the people and the culture to whom it belongs, then it is not an intellectual tradition. We have to be brave and honest enough with each other to ask the difficult questions. I don't mean honest in the Pākehā phrase of "brutal honesty" because there's enough brutality in the world. What I think we need is what I call "manaakitanga honesty"; honesty that comes from respect, and a willingness to acknowledge and share.

Some of the difficult questions that we need to address as a people are related to those little and big everyday colonisations. How honest will we be, for example, when our rangatahi begin to ask, as many have asked me in recent years, "Why can't we say *karakia* like the old people used to say rather than a Christian prayer?" That's a difficult issue for many of our people. But if some of our people, with genuine concern, are asking it, then we need to be brave enough to address it with *manaakitanga* honesty. However a culture defines faith, if faith is a system of belief that gives people faith in themselves, then we have to be honest and ask, "How can we have faith in ourselves if we deny our people the right to explore our way of having faith in ourselves?" That, I think, is one of the difficult issues that kaupapa Māori theory gives us some pointers to address.

Another difficult issue is one that Ani alluded to yesterday. If a boy baby and a girl baby both come from the *whare tangata*, if they are both *mokopuna* of the *Iwi*, if they are both beautiful and whole in their *whakapapa*, then why is it that so many of our women are being abused, our babies being violated, our women being oppressed in all sorts of ways? I think the answers lie in what a friend of mine, Steve Newcome who is Shawnee from the United States, calls the corruption of philosophy. We have been taught a corrupted view of what our relationships were and could be. It seems to me that if you look at statements in the bible by Saint Paul, where God created man in his own image but created women not in that image, and if you read other statements in the bible about how women are offensively unclean, those are cultural statements from a particular place that have been transported into and corrupted our philosophy of the relationships among ourselves. If *whakapapa* is to mean anything, then we must honour everyone who belongs to the *whakapapa*. It doesn't mean we don't recognise the difference,

because men and women are different, just as Ngāti Porou and Ngāpuhi are different, and just as a young boy skateboarding under a bridge in Auckland is different from a young girl growing up in the shadow of Maungapohatu. We deserve, if we are to survive, to honour the difference and we have to be brave enough to ask questions about it. If kaupapa Māori theory helps us do that, then it should be honoured and protected.

The fourth bravery that I think is essential is the bravery to know where we have to go; the bravery to know what we need to transform. If kaupapa Māori theory is transformative, what is it that we want to transform? For me, the issue is not so much *how* we go about the transformation, but *what* we need to transform. What are the things that will help our people survive and be whatever they wish to be? What do we need to transform so that every *mokopuna* will be treasured? What do we need to transform so that the only difficulties in the relationships between men and women will be the difficulties inherent in any human relationships—the problems of losing one's temper, to lose one's cool, to have momentary lapses of respect, and so on. There are many ways to transform once we identify what we need to transform, and we will each find our own way in which to do it.

At the moment I am excited about being involved in what I call a process of constitutional transformation. In the end, a lot of the institutional difficulties that have been discussed at this hui—difficulties in finding a safe space for Māori academics, difficulties in finding respect for what we wish to do—are issues that ultimately will not be addressed through the efforts of the people in those institutions finding space for them but through an overarching change in the actual constitutional framework within which the institutions operate and in which decisions are made. Indeed, until the constitutional framework of this country is returned to the base of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, we will not have the power to make that ultimate transformation.

So my way of trying to be a kaupapa Māori theorist at the moment is to work with others on how we can bring about that constitutional transformation. This transformation would mean, for example, that a decision about funding kaupapa Māori research

would be made by Māori, for Māori; that decisions about what peer reviews and literature reviews should be made by Māori, for Māori. Why shouldn't a Māori student be able to list a walk along the beach and stories in the land of his or her tipuna as part of his or her literature review? Let's be brave to identify what we need to transform and then dream about how we can transform it.

One of my tipuna, a man called Te Ataria, wrote a waiata, an oriori, for his eldest daughter when she was born. She was my great grandmother, and in this oriori he sang to her, "Baby do not forget to dream." For me, kaupapa Māori theory asks us to dream.

A CALL TO WĀNANGA

So how can I pull that all together? I'd like to suggest a couple of things that you as researchers, as people in various institutions of learning, might like to think about. As I said at the beginning, I think this has been a wonderful, wonderful conference and I would like to thank again Robyn and everyone at NZCER. But, if we only have a kaupapa Māori conference every three or four years it just becomes an event when what I think we need is a wānanga. Those of you involved in kaupapa Māori research could create, through technology or whatever means, a way of fostering an ongoing dialogue about kaupapa Māori theory. As part of that dialogue we could develop a *kaupapa* of kaupapa Māori theory; not a tick box of specific things that we have to do, but a way of clarifying what I call the journey to te kete tuatea, te kete tuauri and te kete aronui. What do we need to do to access the baskets of knowledge? What do we do when we find the baskets of knowledge? Can we wānanga and awhi each other to develop a kaupapa that will help us do that?

Perhaps one way that I might contribute to that journey is by telling another story which one or two of you may have heard. As many of you know, I was very lucky as my koro came to live with our family when I was very little and he was a wonderful storyteller and I recall today one of the many stories he used to tell about knowledge. Depending which Iwi we come from we all have a slightly different story on how those three baskets of knowledge got from the heavens to earth. The main difference is that we name a different heroic ancestor. Some Iwi talk about Tane bringing the baskets, others talk about Tawhaki. To

me, the name of the tipuna doesn't matter so much as the symmetry in the journey and the lessons the story conveys. The way my koro told the story was that one day Tawhaki decided he needed to know more, to look beyond the horizon and ask new questions. He looked to the sky for inspiration in the moving clouds and infinity of space and began to climb up a great vine that led to the heavens where he had been told the baskets of knowledge were. It was a long, difficult, and arduous journey because, as he climbed higher and higher, asteroids would whisk past and comets would zap by his head. He had to fend off flying rocks and other space debris but he persevered and carried on climbing higher and higher.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the world in a country called Greece, there lived a young man about the same age as Tawhaki called Icarus. He used to find inspiration in the sky too, and in particular he enjoyed watching the birds flying high above and one day he wondered, "Why can't humans fly? I'd like to fly." So for the next few weeks he tried all sorts of experiments and finally made these huge wings out of feathers glued together with wax. After some static tests he strapped the wings across his shoulders and ran along a cliff top flapping and waving until he reached the edge where he miraculously took off and he flew higher and higher into the heavens. As he whizzed up into the sky he eventually passed Tawhaki climbing doggedly up the vine to get the baskets. As he soared past he waved and laughed at Tawhaki, mocking his slow progress. He soon disappeared from sight but in his exhilaration he had got whakahihi and flew too close to the sun. As he did so the wax in his wings melted and he began to plunge back to earth, passing Tawhaki who was still climbing to the heavens. Tawhaki waved at him and said, "See ya bro" and then carried on until he reached his goal and found the three baskets of knowledge which he brought back to earth.

There are lots of lessons—morals if you like—in the story about the dangers of arrogance, the rewards of perseverance, and the difficulties of pursuing real knowledge. But what Tawhaki found is also, to me, one of the keys to our intellectual tradition and one of the keys that will help us unlock the components of bravery. For what he found when he carried the baskets back to our people was that each one was bottomless. And they had no bottom because they

were open to our people to delve into without end; there was no limit to the questions we might ask; no limits to the knowledge or indeed the type of knowledge we might seek.

It seems to me that if we wānanga, if we find a kaupapa that will take us on a journey to seek out that bottomless, endless wealth of knowledge, then I think we do honour and respect the idea of kaupapa Māori theory. If one person drags something out from one basket, and someone drags out something different from another basket, that doesn't matter. That's the excitement of seeking knowledge. It is part of what I call our people's journey to infinity, the journey to find whatever we may wish to be.

That is what I have got from your kōrero. Thank you for that and kia ora.

I will now stand by my whanaunga who will sing and I will mime.

REFLECTIVE CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PARTICIPANTS

HE WHAKAPAUNGA MAHARA

Nā Petina Winiata, Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Tēnā anō tātou i tā tātou kaupapa nui whakaharahara i tū ki te marae o Pipitea. He mihi maioha ki te hunga nā rātou te kaupapa i whakatū, arā, ki Te Wāhanga rāua ko Ako Aotearoa i whakapau i te kaha nui ki te whakahuihui i ngā mātanga, i ngā mātā waka hoki ki te whiriwhiri i te hanga nei, i a kaupapa Māori. Tēnā koutou.

[From the beginning, throughout, and at the end of the hui, participants were encouraged to contribute to the conference proceedings by way of a reflective journal or other means. I appreciate the opportunity to submit a small piece of writing for your inclusion in the proceedings. I have decided to challenge myself, and possibly the readers too, to present my thoughts in te reo Māori.]

Ka rongō i te reo karanga o te iwi kāinga o Te Āti Awa, kātahi ka huri atu ngā whakaaro ki te kaupapa matua i karangatia ai tātou. Whakarērea ngā take, ngā pōraru i te wāhi mahi kia ū ki a kaupapa Māori. Ka ea te wāhi ki te hongī, ki te whaikōrero, ki te waiata, ki te karakia, ki te kapu tī, ka huri tōtika atu ki a kaupapa Māori. E mihi atu ana ki ngā kaiwhakahaere i whakapūmau i te mana o Te Āti Awa. I whāia āna tikanga, i whakatauria tātou i raro i ōna manaakitanga. Kātahi te tīmatanga rangatira ko tērā. I whakakaupapatia a kaupapa Māori.

Pau te rā i ngā kaikōrero mō tāna kaupapa, mō tāna kaupapa. He huhua ngā whakaaro. Kī pai taku roro i ngā tautohitotanga o tērā, o tērā. Ko te kuia o kaupapa Māori, ko Linda Smith tērā i kōrero mō tana mokopuna. Mārakerake te kitea ngā pakanga kua pakangatia e ia i roto i ngā tau. I kōrero i āna tautohitotanga tuarea, ko te nuinga he kōrero nō te whatumanawa. Wetekina ngā here o te hinengaro kia

rewa ō whakaaro ki te takiwā. He akiaki nui tērā.

Ko te tino o te rā, ko te kauwhau a Ani Mikaere. He wahine humārie, he wahine mātau ki te whakairo i te kupu, ki te whakatakoto i ngā whakaaro. Ko “kaupapa Māori research” te ingoa o te hui engari ko tāna kē ko te titiro anō ki ngā kaupapa Māori, kia hohonu, kia whānui hoki te whiriwhiri i ēnei kaupapa tuku iho. Me kī “re-searching kaupapa Māori”. Hei aha? Hei oranga tonutanga mō tātou hei iwi Māori ki tēnei whenua, ki tēnei ao. Mā te rangahau, mā te ruku hohonu i roto i ngā kaupapa tuku iho e tūhura anō ai te oranga mō tātou hei iwi Māori ka tahi. Ka tūhura anō ai te oranga mō ngā tāngata o te ao ka rua. Ahakoa te aha, ki te mātau tātou ki ngā kaupapa Māori tuku iho, kātahi te puna mātauranga hei whakautu i ngā take katoa o te ao!

Ki ōku taringa ko ia anake te kaikōrero i āta whakahua i te aronga o te mahi rangahau. Tōna otinga. Mō te aha? Mā wai ngā hua? Mō te oranga tonutanga o te iwi Māori ka tahi. Mā te iwi Māori me ngā uri whakatupu ngā hua. Ko ā tātou tikanga, ā tātou mahi, ō tātou kaupapa tuku iho, tō tātou reo Māori, ō tātou whakapapa ngā taonga tuku iho. Me whai pānga atu ā tātou rangahau kia ora anō ai ēnei taonga. Kua e whakaitia ki tētehi anga mātauranga noa iho, whakatauritea ki ngā aronga o tauwiwi, whakawehewehengia kia whati tōna tapu. Whakatūria, whakapūmautia, kawea ake hei puna mātauranga e ora ai te iwi Māori, te tangata whānui. Arā atu anō ngā whakaaro rangatira o Ani; inā te mātotoru. Engari ki ahau nei, koina te tino whakaaro i puea ake i tana kauwhau – me tohunga ai tātou ki ō tātou kaupapa tuku iho. Koina te huarahi e Māori ai tātou, e ora anō ai tātou hei iwi Māori. Mā tātou tātou anō e kuhu.

Tērā kōrero tērā. Ka huri ki te rā tuarua, arā anō ngā kōrero huhua. Nei anō te maioha atu ki ngā kaikōrero katoa i whakaputa i ō rātou whakaaro hei kai mā te hinengaro. Kei whea mai te rangatira o ngā kōrero a Leonie Pihama, a Moana Jackson. Ngahoro mai ngā kupu mōhio i a rāua tahi. He pūkenga, he humārie, he mātau rāua ki ā rāua kōrero. Tangata akona ki te kāinga, tū ana tau ana. Nā rāua me ā rāua mahi i ngā tau i whakatauirā mai te tikanga pū o tēnei whakataukī. Haere ngātahi ai ngā mātauranga tuku iho me ngā mātauranga o tauīwi. Tuituia ngā muka mātauranga, whiriwhirihia, whatuhia hei korowai e ora ai tātou hei iwi Māori.

Ikauwhaumaia Leonie Pihama mō terangaratanga. Hei te mutunga iho ko te rangahau kaupapa Māori he huarahi hei whakatutuki i ngā moemoeā, i ngā tumanako o ō tātou iwi. He huarahi whakapakari, whakaora, whakaputa hua nui. Kaua e whakamahia a rangahau kaupapa Māori hei patu, hei whakaiti, hei whakaparāhako i a tātou. Whakamātauria kia puta ngā hua papai mō tātou. Mā tō mōhio ki ō ake kaupapa tuku iho e taea ai ngā hua nui te puta. Whāia ko tēnā; mā ngā kaupapa tuku iho e tutuki ngā hiahia o te iwi. Me ūpoko pakaru.

Kōrerotia anōtia e Moana Jackson i te wāhanga whakakapi i te hui. He akiaki i a tātou kia kaha, kia manawanui. Kia toa anō tātou te rite. Me mōhio pū tātou ki ā tātou ake taonga tuku iho. He mea homai e ngā tūpuna, kua oti i a rātou te whakamātau, kawea ake hei tūāpapa mō ā tātou mahi. Me mārāma anō hoki, kei whea tātou i tēnei wā? E ahu ana tātou ki whea? Mā te aha e tutuki ai ngā hiahia? Mā rangahau kaupapa Māori e āwhina, arā atu anō ngā āwhinatanga. Mō tātou, nā tātou, e pā ana ki a tātou; kia kaha rā tātou ki te mahi mō ō tātou iwi kia ora tonu ai tātou hei iwi, hei uri nō Porourangi, nō Whanganui, nō Ngāpuhi, nō Raukawa nō whea ake nei.

Nō reira koina ngā hua i puta nuitia ki ahau i te hui. Ehara taku whiriwhiri i te tokoiti i te kī, kāore i whai hua ērā atu o ngā kaikōrero. He mihi rā ki a Aneta Rawiri rātou ko Percy Tipene ko Kathie Irwin nā rātou ngā mahi i waenganui i te iwi i whakatakoto mai. Arohatia rā ki Te Waka Kai Ora me ngā raruraru kua pā atu ki a rātou. He tauira tērā mā tātou; me mau tonu ki ā tātou tikanga, ki ō tātou kaupapa hei arahi i ngā whakaritenga. Pakangatia te pakanga kia whitia ā tātou taonga tuku iho i roto i ngā whakaritenga katoa.

Ki te ū ki ngā tikanga me ngā kaupapa e matapae ana au ka puta ngā hua nui mō te katoa; mō te hunga rangahau, mō te hunga nā rātou ngā kōrero, mō te mātauranga tuku iho anō hoki.

Huri atu ki a Glenis Philip-Barbara rātou ko Moana Mitchell, ko Alice Te Punga Somerville. He wahine toa. Kei tēnā, kei tēnā o rātou, ā rātou pūkenga. Ko te reo me ōna tikanga tā rātou kaupapa, ā, he whakaaro anō ō rātou mō tēnei kaupapa. He pōhēhē nōku ka arotahi atu ngā kōrero ki te reo, engari ia i whānui te whiriwhiri i tēnei kaupapa. Tōna pai tonu. He wā tōna ka whāiti te titiro, he wā anō tōna ka whānui te titiro. Mōku nei, me kaha tātou ki te whakatairanga ake i te reo ki roto i tōna wāhanga kōrero ka tahi, ki roto hoki i ngā mahi katoa o te hui. Koina hoki tētehi whakaaro i puta i tētehi o ngā nohoanga puni; ki te wānangatia tēnei hanga a kaupapa Māori i roto i te reo, arā atu anō ngā whakaaro ka toko ake, ka puea ake, ka tuari ake. He painga tēnā mō te oranga tonutanga o te reo, o te mātauranga tuku iho. Ki te wānangatia mā reo kē, arā kē atu ngā whakaaro. E tika ana kia kōkiritia tēnei take i ngā hui e haere ake nei.

Nei tonu e mihi atu nei ki Te Wāhanga, ki Ako Aotearoa nā koutou tēnei hui i whakarite, i whakahaere hoki. Nā koutou mātou i whakahuihui ki te whakawhanaunga, ki te whakaratarata. He hui pai, he wairua pai hoki i waenganui i te hunga i ikapahi atu ki Pipitea. Nō koutou te kaha, nō mātou te whiwhi. Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātou katoa.

REFLECTIONS ON KEI TUA O TE PAE

Nā Krystal Te Rina Warren

After two days of processing conversations about “*kaupapa Māori*” research³³ and deliberating over what that phrase actually means, or doesn’t mean, I contemplate the future of “*kaupapa Māori*”. I reflect on the comments of the many presenters—irritation, quality of thought, manufactured thinking, re-search, space, capture, assistance, inclusion, story, bravery, and yet my train of thought returns to a mid-morning coincidental breakfast with a friend and previous colleague. Hine Waitere tells me she is in Wellington for a meeting about her current project He Kakano that builds on the work of Te Kotahitanga. She is working with principals across the country to facilitate better educational outcomes for Māori students. This vibrant and creative woman is working on her laptop and in our discussion she rattles off a series of statistics related to educational trends and proceeds to read to me excerpts of the piece she is writing about a principal involved in the project, Georgina Kingi from St Joseph’s Māori Girls’ College in Napier. I am moved by her eloquent description of an international singer who is nervous only because she is about to perform in front of her past principal and men of all ages who refine their posture in her presence. I affirm what Hine has written by drawing on my family’s schooling experience with Miss Kingi. Hine and I agree that Georgina operates within a *kaupapa* that is: far reaching, has definite meaning, requires students to succeed, and contributes to a larger picture.

Later in the day on my journey home I reflect further with a Masterate student about the hui and the amazing presentations that we have been privy to. I arrive home only to find that at 11pm in the evening I am inspired to write, prompted by a concept that comes to me from our final speaker’s waiata: “tangia te ruru, kei te hoki, hoki mai e ... te hokinga mai”, “the symbolic call of the sacred owl is heard, there is a returning ... a journey of returning home”.³⁴ I am aware that it is my gentle reminder that I must return

to a more simple aspect of “*kaupapa Māori*”.

KAUPAPA THAT IS MĀORI

Speakers of te reo Māori and those who are familiar with many different aspects of te ao Māori will refer to numerous practices derived from the Māori world as “*kaupapa Māori*” or *kaupapa* that is Māori. Such examples include: pōwhiri,³⁵ mihimihi,³⁶ taonga puoro,³⁷ mōteatea,³⁸ and hākari.³⁹ All of the presenters at the hui identified the many ways that they are involved with *kaupapa* that is Māori. Their involvements extend beyond the research itself and into the dimensions of whānau, hapū, and iwi. My morning conversation with Hine had also identified the many different ways in which Georgina Kingi makes significant contributions to various *kaupapa* that are Māori. Those *kaupapa* include: development, educational achievement, performing arts, religion, te reo Māori, leadership, research, and a bigger picture. With regard to all of these *kaupapa*, she creates a place that allows her students “to be Māori”.

In light of Kei Tua o te Pae, I am prompted to ask, “Has the term ‘*kaupapa Māori*’ been co-opted to mean something that presents only a glimpse of its original intent and possibility?” When we speak about “*kaupapa Māori*” are we only referring to some of the concepts that Graham Smith and Linda Tuhiwai-Smith have documented? Or are we only referring to the many pieces of research that have been completed under the mantle of this “*kaupapa Māori*” idea? Linda herself spoke of the genesis of “*kaupapa Māori*” and the desire to create a space where Māori protocols, practices, pedagogy, and epistemology could be validated for Māori education. Linda reminded us that “*kaupapa Māori*” extends beyond the realm of research.

However, *are Māori academics and researchers*

33 Note that the inverted use of “*kaupapa Māori*” refers to a concept.

34 This is my own translation of the words.

35 Formal welcome.

36 Introductions.

37 Traditional musical instruments.

38 Traditional poetry.

39 Feasting.

now being captured by the co-option of the terminology to the point where our actions become confined to the research definition of “kaupapa Māori”? A concern here is that when we, ourselves, buy into such co-options of Māori terms are we honouring the intent of those terms and; does this provide expansion or constriction to Māori development and education?

CRITICAL MASS

In June 2010, Mereana Selby presented at Te Wānanga o Raukawa for an iwi hui titled Our People, Our Way. In her address, she acknowledged the 2009 National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA) results for the lower north island.⁴⁰ The newspaper article suggested that school comparisons should be made between those of a similar decile rating.⁴¹ Below I have chosen to illustrate a range of schools from the newspaper article.⁴²

School	Decile	Pass Rate %		
		Level 1 (5th Form)	Level 2 (6th Form)	Level 3 (7th Form)
National average		71.7	76	69.9
Hukarere	1	88	90.5	100
St Joseph's Māori Girls' College	3	97.5	100	89.5
Te Aute	3	92.9	91.7	62.5
Hato Paora	3	97	85.7	96.4
Turakina	3	96.2	92.9	100
TKKM o Ngā Mokopuna	8	100	100	100
TKKM o Te Rito	3	100	100	100
TKKM o Te Waiu o Ngāti Porou	1	100	88.9	92.9
TKKM o Tamaki Nui a Rua	2	100	100	n/a
Wellington College	10	81.8	78	71
Palmerston North Boys	9	85.6	89.2	81
Wanganui Collegiate	10	96.5	98.2	90.1
Chilton St James School	10	96.5	93.3	93.4
Scots College	10	94.9	95.2	85.4
Samuel Marsden Collegiate	10	96.8	100	95.8
Ngā Tawa	9	100	100	97

40 NCEA results: How secondary schools fared. (2011, 19 April). *The Dominion Post*, A7.

41 School decile ratings are an indication of the socioeconomic situation of those attending the school. A decile 10 school indicates affluence.

42 I am aware that the 2010 results have been released. I have not been able to locate them.

Regardless of how the results were achieved, they were phenomenal. Mereana posed several questions which I would like to reiterate in paraphrase here:

- What research is currently being conducted with regard to the success factors of “kaupapa Māori” secondary schools?⁴³
- Given the results and the increasing Māori population, what motivates Māori parents to continually gamble with the educational success of their children in mainstream schools?

Linda's recollection of the development of kura kaupapa Māori illustrated the aspiration to create a space for Māori within Aotearoa education. An examination of the results shows that this has clearly produced amazing possibilities. Therefore, in order to really exponentialise the possibilities here: *How do we increase critical mass with regard to educational outcomes for Māori and what contribution can “kaupapa Māori” research make here?*

KURA KAUPAPA MĀORI

As we can see from the outlined results, kura kaupapa Māori and “kaupapa Māori” schools are producing fantastic outcomes in Māori education. Over 10 years ago the Hon Dr Pita Sharples spoke on an academic panel addressing the New Zealand “brain drain.”⁴⁴ In essence, his short comments noted the amazing educational outcomes for kura kaupapa Māori which are noncomparable to mainstream schooling. He simply posed that:

- If we are concerned with the number of qualified people leaving our shores, would it not make sense to simply create more qualified people?
- With such phenomenal educational outcomes being produced from kura kaupapa Māori, what are kura instituting that other schools are not?
- What is the purpose of not implementing such successful systems across the mainstream paradigms?

Over a decade later the achievements of kura

43 Recent research includes: Tākao, N., Grennell, D., McKegg, K., & Wehipeihana, N. (2010). *Te piko o te māhuri: The key attributes of successful kura kaupapa Māori*. Wellington: Ministry of Education.

44 This was from a television panel that was prior to the proliferation of Internet access to information. For this reason, I am unable to appropriately reference this address.

kaupapa Māori continue, for the most part, to not be acknowledged by government, other mainstream institutions, society and by Māori. Further disadvantage for kura kaupapa Māori is the lack of teachers available to enter immersion settings⁴⁵ and a concerning te reo Māori proficiency rate of those teachers.⁴⁶

It seems naively ironic that a space that was created so that Māori could “*be Māori*” is highly successful and yet disadvantaged and struggling in many different ways. Ask any teacher from a kura kaupapa Māori, a “*kaupapa Māori*” school, immersion class, bilingual class, or te reo Māori class about the challenges that they face in the classroom and you will admire their creativity, perseverance, commitment, and remarkable ability to produce positive educational outcomes for their students. Georgina Kingi will attest to the challenges faced in these environments and an examination of the educational outcomes achieved during her leadership confirms that she and her staff are to be admired. Therefore: *What contribution can “kaupapa Māori” researchers make to generating more awareness and support for “kaupapa Māori” learning spaces?*

In conclusion, this reflection piece may have only raised more questions than answers; however, I am sure that some new awareness may also have been shared here. So I pay homage to the genesis of “*kaupapa Māori*” as the many forms that it is as: theory, space, approach, methodology, research, world view, or philosophy. And I return again to the following:

If we are contesting space for the future to “be Māori”, as researchers, what contribution can we make to:

- kaupapa that is Māori
- critical mass
- the foundations and aspirations of kura kaupapa Māori?

E te kaupapa, kei te hoki, hoki mai e ...

45 Jahnke, H., & Warren, T. (2010). *Kia hao te rangatahi: Māori medium initial teacher education summit 2009. A report to the Minister and Associate Minister of Education*. Palmerston North: Te Uru Māraurau—Department of Māori and Multicultural Education, Massey University.

46 Murphy, M., McKinley, S., & Bright, N. (2008). *Whakamanahia te reo Māori. He tirohanga hōtaka—an exploration of issues and influences that effect Te Reo Māori competence of graduates from Māori medium ITE programmes*. Wellington: New Zealand Teachers Council.



REFLECTIONS ON BEING A MĀORI WOMAN POSITIONED WITHIN A WESTERNISED FEMININITY

Nā Jade Le Grice

My skin,
like the outside of a paua,
has barnacles.

Acne,
uninvited
occupy under the surface.

Bursting forth,
reassuring
me of their presence.


Western society,
says
beauty is for the young.

The thin, the unblemished, the non-unruly.
The docile subject.
The 'dolly'.

An object to be gazed upon.
A predictable, manageable, non-offensive subject.
A non-political subject.

Neutering our wahine toa,
our power to move, be moved, and stomp our feet,
to create change.

I don't mind my acne.



ACADEMIC RESEARCHERS VS. WHĀNAU–HAPŪ–IWI–TOHUNGA RESEARCHERS

Nā Apihaka Mack

I attend many conferences nationally and internationally. A question put to us was, “Yes, tino pai te hui, however, what changes will it make in the future?”

What I would like to see is a change in how Māori research is perceived in the future: academic researchers versus whānau–hapū–iwi researchers. Is it necessary to maintain Māori researchers’ dividing system? An academic researcher goes to the whānau–hapū–iwi–tohunga researcher to extract the material needed for the success of their academic papers. Once the academic obtains a degree or publishes a paper the tohunga research used is relegated to nonacademic, so of lesser value. I appreciate the necessity to use tohunga researchers; however, downgrading tohunga to a lesser value than the academic is unacceptable after one has taken the kai from their hinengaro.

BORDER CROSSING

Nā Huhana Clayton Evans

Curiosity pressed forward. It was important for her to learn more about the offerings of kaupapa Māori research. Her whanaunga—Instinct—told her it would benefit everyone. Her kuia—Wisdom and Understanding—told her they would be there for her to guide her, and her koroua—Reason and Knowing—said they would be there too.

Curiosity is Māori. To her the very word “Māori” has meaning. Mā means pure and ori means process, involvement, and evolving. It makes sense to her, therefore, that she is involved in a process that evolves and eventually emerges pure. She knows that there are many kaupapa but Māori research grabs her attention for now.

Curiosity attended a kaupapa Māori research hui. Kei Tua o te Pae te ingoa. Kei Pipitea marae te wāhi tapu. While there she saw Kotahitanga and felt the presence of Wairua. She heard the voices of Karanga, Karakia, Kōrero, Waiata and Katakata. Kai Reka enticed her to feast. She was embraced by Aroha, Manaaki, Awhi, and Tautoko. She was fully present.

Māori Genius at the fore
Challenging colonial hegemonic norms
Kaupapa Māori claiming space
Legitimising what is already in the knowing
Where thoughts, values, theories, dreams and
imaginings reside
Awaiting retrieval

Kaupapa Māori Research
Was what it was
Is what it is and
Will be what it will be
It is fluid and potentially produces Pounamu
It is required to benefit Māori
What is good for Māori is good for everyone.

Honour and Privilege joined together to celebrate the presence of the Brave Hearts and the Brave Minds. It is they who work from a decolonising paradigm where Māori and indigenous knowledge and wisdom are honoured, engaged, valued, and protected. Whanaungatanga is alive and well.

SUMMARY OF EVALUATION RESPONSES

Katrina Taupo

Each Kei Tua o te Pae hui pack included an evaluation sheet for participants to complete anonymously. Forty-one forms were returned and have provided the following data to inform the planning of future hui.

HOW DID PEOPLE HEAR ABOUT THE HUI?

The list below ranks how people heard about the hui. People heard about the hui through:

1. workplace settings
2. tertiary institutions
3. NZCER website
4. Ako Aotearoa website.

Other responses included:

- www.tangatawhenua.com website
- Nga Pae o te Maramatanga
- kumara vine (e.g., Facebook, social networks)
- whānau, friends, and wider networks.

HOW USEFUL WAS THE KŌRERO/ DISCUSSION FROM THE HUI?

Almost all of the respondents found the hui extremely or very useful:

- The hui allowed me to recharge and rethink.
- Enabled further discussion around improving research and future research.
- Been a good opportunity to hear new and different perspectives on kaupapa Māori research and what it means to people as individuals.
- Been useful to pull together research frameworks and ideas for teaching.
- Been useful for thinking about how to do things differently.

WHAT WERE THE MOST IMPORTANT THINGS (KAUPAPA) YOU LEARNED DURING THE HUI?

Participants particularly valued the presentations of the keynote and panel speakers. Some also valued the workshops sessions:

- Fluidity is okay. My anxieties about not really fully understanding a kaupapa Māori research approach have been eased, and I feel both comfortable and uncomfortable about feeling my way through it.
- That in my attempt to do things/research differently I tend to draw on my training. I need to ground myself—as Ani, Linda, and Wally noted—in who I am as a whānau, hapū wahine.
- That there are other emerging researchers who are struggling with research.
- To be confident in what I'm doing, and there are others out there who can help.
- That kaupapa Māori research is what we want to make it. It does not fit into a box. We validate it.
- The diversity in application of kaupapa Māori research is provocative and surprisingly emotional. It's about how I can do things differently in my roles.
- Kaupapa Māori is a fluid space, a bottomless kete, to reflect, to learn, to think; that Māori create our own space, a kaupapa Māori research dialogue.
- Whanaungatanga.
- Kaupapa Māori is organic and should not be pinned down too much.
- Being Māori rocks.
- We need to be brave. Kaupapa Māori brings back our original definition of Māori from our tipuna.
- Affirmation that kaupapa Māori is a space where, in some respects, not a lot has changed.

- That there is still a long way to go; that I can contribute; that others are isolated in the work/coalface of kaupapa Māori education.
- So many things—perhaps mostly that I can come into this space as Pākehā and be treated with respect and care crossing borders.
- Be grounded in yourself; communities/iwi need to drive research.
- Do you have any suggestions? (e.g., things we could do differently or ideas for future topics)
- Would liked to have had more time to digest whakaaro before the question times which followed the kōrero/presentations.
- Include discussions of empirical work/actual projects to complement and illustrate the discussions on kaupapa and tikanga.
- Would like to see regional hui organised.
- Would like to have separate tane and wahine workshop sessions.
- Regular hui to keep up an ongoing dialogue.
- Future topics to cater to sciences and how these approaches can assist Māori and Māori research.
- Keep healthy kai at Māori hui.
- Include kaumātua to kōrero about their beliefs of kaupapa, theory, and experiences.
- Would like to see more concentrated support for community-based researchers living in rural locations.
- Inclusion of writing-based workshops.

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