

KEI TUA O TE PAE HUI PROCEEDINGS

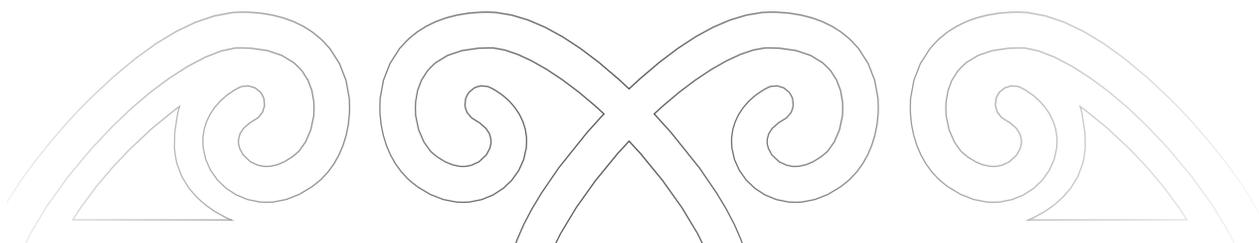
RE-SEARCHING RANGATIRATANGA
INNOVATING MĀTAURANGA

TE WĀNANGA O RAUKAWA
ŌTAKI
30–31 MARCH 2015

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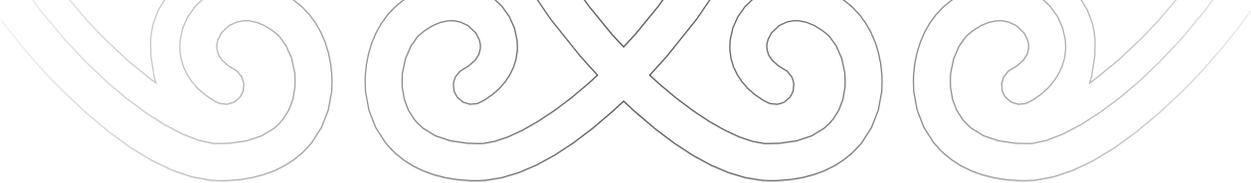


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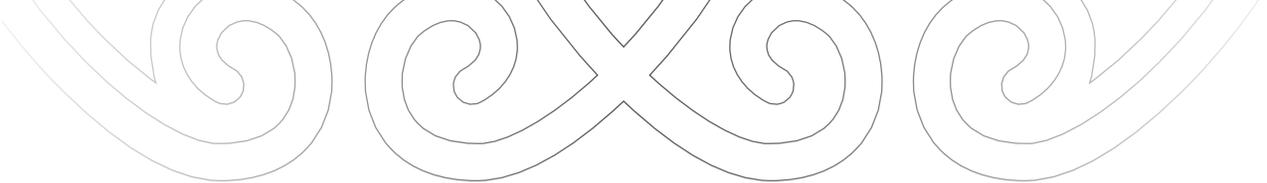
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ISBN: 978-0-9951011-9-7



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FOREWORD

It has been the broad aim of the Kei Tua o te Pae conferences to develop a community of critical thinkers who are committed to the reclamation, consolidation and expansion of the mātauranga continuum. The mātauranga continuum has been developed over millennia by our tūpuna as a way of theorising our existence and ensuring our long-term survival, but it has suffered significant interruption and distortion over the past two centuries. This makes our role as kaitiaki of the continuum particularly important. It requires us to scrutinise the validity of much ‘received wisdom’ about mātauranga; to challenge our assumptions about it; to pay attention to the way that we give expression to it; and to fully explore its innovative potential.

The first Kei Tua o te Pae conference, held in 2011, was devoted to exploring the challenges of undertaking kaupapa Māori research. The second, held in 2012, sought to stimulate debate on the history, meaning and place of tikanga in the 21st century.

The theme for this third conference, held at Te Wānanga o Raukawa in Ōtaki from 30-31 March 2015, was ‘Re-searching Rangatiratanga, Innovating Mātauranga.’ It was co-hosted by Te Wāhanga (New Zealand Council for Educational Research) and Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Over a period of two days, participants were treated to a range of perspectives on rangatiratanga and mātauranga—and on the relationship between them—delivered by a diverse line-up of keynote speakers and panellists. Presentations were delivered in both te reo Māori and in English, utilising a variety of styles.

Attendees were also encouraged to discuss the issues raised by the speakers in daily workshops.

Notes from the workshops reveal that the conference goal of creating a safe space, within which our people could feel free to express their views and engage in robust debate about the critical issues confronting us, was realised.

On behalf of the organising committee, our special thanks to the keynote speakers and the panellists who so generously shared their time and wisdom with us; to those who worked behind the scenes, ensuring that the event ran smoothly; and, most of all, to the participants, without whom there would have been no conference. We would also like to record our thanks to Te Wāhanga Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau, in particular Moana Jackson, Lee Cooper and Jenny Lee who provided support and guidance to the direction of these three hui, ensuring that they remained a critical and safe space.

We trust that these proceedings will serve to remind participants of the breadth and depth of discussion that was sparked by the speakers. We also hope that they go some way to fulfilling the wider goal of making a meaningful contribution to the mātauranga continuum.

Ani Mikaere and Jessica Hutchings

Co-convenors

INTRODUCTION

RE-SEARCHING RANGATIRATANGA, INNOVATING MĀTAURANGA: SETTING THE SCENE

Ani Mikaere

Nau mai ki tā tātou hui, ko Kei Tua o te Pae te tuatoru. Kua riro māku tēnei wāhanga e wāwāhi. Ka tika pea kia whakamārama i tā mātou i whakaaro ai i te wā i whiriwhiria te kaupapa mō tēnei hui. Anei e whai ake nei he paku whakamāramatanga.

In his concluding comments at the last Kei Tua o te Pae conference,¹ Moana Jackson left us with much to think about. One part of his discussion, in particular, caught my attention: it was when he spoke about the power in our truth; and about the truth of our power. With its focus on rangatiratanga and mātauranga, this conference presents us with an opportunity to explore both of these ideas in more depth.

Mātauranga might be regarded as a convenient term² to describe our truth. It embodies a philosophical tradition that stretches back through the ages, linking us to our past, enabling us to explain our present and providing us with the intellectual tools to envision our future. Here at Te Wānanga o Raukawa, we conceptualise mātauranga as a continuum. The mātauranga continuum is uniquely ours; and it is essential to our survival as Māori because without it, we cease to be ourselves. To understand these things is to gain an inkling of the power in our truth.

Rangatiratanga is one way³ of describing our power. Our understanding of rangatiratanga stems from the certain knowledge that our fires still burn on this land; that, as tangata whenua, we have a

particular relationship with this place that exists completely independently of the shabby, transitory arrangements that so excite the politicians of the moment. Rangatiratanga will endure so long as land, sea and sky remain and so long as we remember our relationships with them, and with one another. To know this is to understand something about the truth of our power.

You may wonder why we have chosen to focus on both rangatiratanga and mātauranga—why not one or the other? The answer, in part, can be found in the fact that we try to ensure that the theme of each successive Kei Tua conference flows out of issues raised at the conference before it: these two concepts provide a logical follow on from Moana's comments about power and truth. However, there is more to our choice than that. We have included both rangatiratanga and mātauranga in the conference theme because we think it is impossible to consider them in isolation, one from the other. In fact, I would go further, arguing that it is not just impossible to separate the two, but also dangerous.

Attempting to explain rangatiratanga as though it can be divorced from mātauranga, for example, is destined to produce a nonsensical outcome: a description of rangatiratanga that is cut off from the philosophical foundations that produced the concept in the first place. It is destined to result in definitions of rangatiratanga such as those that the Crown and the courts have long tried to foist upon us, which reduce the concept to a tawdry acknowledgement of property rights, coupled with a patronising notion of iwi 'self-

1 Jackson, M "Hui Reflections" in *Kei Tua o te Pae: Changing Worlds, Changing Tikanga – Educating History and the Future Hui Proceedings* (Ōtaki & Wellington: Te Wānanga o Raukawa & Te Wāhanga – New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2013) p 87.

2 Undoubtedly, it is not the only term that we might utilise. In fact, some might argue that mātauranga is not the most appropriate word for us to be using: see Ruakere Hond's discussion of the term at p 50.

3 Once again, there are other terms that we might use, such as mana.

management' that is as irrelevant as it is demeaning.⁴ That these attempts to define rangatiratanga are woefully inadequate should come as no surprise to us because they are grounded, not in our philosophical traditions, but in a set of beliefs and assumptions that is profoundly antithetical to our own.

Similarly, discussing mātauranga as though it can be dealt with independently of rangatiratanga is as offensive as it is ridiculous, resulting in descriptions of mātauranga that detach it from the people who have nurtured it since time immemorial. An example of this approach is the Crown's much-vaunted *Vision Mātauranga* document, which treats mātauranga as some kind of inferior subset of Pākehā knowledge, a collection of material which may be of doubtful worth but which is nevertheless freely available to anyone seeking to appropriate it in order to 'add value' to Western science or to 'contribute' to the New Zealand economy.⁵

For these reasons, then, it is both logical and important to consider mātauranga and rangatiratanga alongside each other. It may also be helpful to provide some explanation of the thinking behind the choice of the terms 're-searching' and 'innovating'.

Some of you will know that here at Te Wānanga o Raukawa we tend not to utilise the word 'research', preferring the term 'whakatupu mātauranga' to describe the activity that we engage in as we strive to make our contribution to the mātauranga continuum. I have spoken at length about the thinking behind this approach at a previous Kei Tua o te Pae conference⁶ so I do not propose to go into that discussion again here.

4 See, for example, the Treaty principles developed by the Court of Appeal in *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1987] 1 NZLR 641; *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1989] 2 NZLR 142; *New Zealand Maori Council v Attorney-General* [1994] 1 NZLR 513; see also *Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi*, 1989. Wellington: Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Historical Documents Series (H06), 2011.

5 Ministry of Science & Technology, *Vision Mātauranga: Unlocking the innovation potential of Māori knowledge, resources and people* (2007). See, in particular, p 16: "The concept of indigenous knowledge has been incorporated into RS&T systems around the world ... Scientific knowledge has superseded traditional Māori knowledge in many ways, however, mātauranga Māori contains suggestions and ideas that may yet make a contribution to RS&T."

6 "From Kaupapa Māori Research to Re-searching Kaupapa Māori: Making our contribution to Māori survival" in *Kei Tua o te Pae: The Challenges of Kaupapa Māori Research in the 21st Century conference proceedings* (Wellington: Te Wāhanga – New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 2011) p 29.

Suffice to say that as we have committed to the task of reviving, nurturing and extending the mātauranga continuum, we have found it helpful to focus our activity around a number of foundational kaupapa, one of which happens to be rangatiratanga. As an institution we strive to ensure that everything we do is an expression of the kaupapa.

This is not an undertaking for the faint-hearted. The kaupapa are complex, the ways that we might give expression to them are numerous, and it is not uncommon to discover that an approach that seems consistent with one kaupapa does not sit comfortably with another. The tensions between the kaupapa are not always easy to resolve.

To complicate matters, there is a great deal of misinformation about kaupapa, usually stemming from an alien view of the world—the Crown's transparently self-serving definition of rangatiratanga is a classic example of this.⁷ Sometimes we find, much to our surprise, that our perceptions of kaupapa have been unduly influenced by an understanding of the world that has nothing to do with us at all, but instead is rooted in the intellectual traditions of Western Europe.

Committing ourselves to reinstating mātauranga as the central defining pillar of our activity has therefore compelled us to re-acquaint ourselves with kaupapa. As new situations and problems present themselves, we find ourselves repeatedly examining the kaupapa in order to develop responses that, as mātauranga theorists and practitioners, we can have confidence in. This process of searching and re-searching the kaupapa, both challenging and rewarding, is an essential part of what we do here. And so the word 're-search' was deliberately chosen as an appropriate verb to accompany rangatiratanga in the title of this conference. We hope that the conversations you have here will inspire you to think about rangatiratanga, and how we might give expression to it, in new and exciting ways.

7 In 1989, for example, one of the Crown Treaty Principles announced by Prime Minister David Lange was "the Rangatiratanga principle", also entitled "the self-management principle". These principles stated that while the government had the right to make the law (under "the kāwanatanga principle"), iwi were entitled to manage their resources within that law: *Principles for Crown Action on the Treaty of Waitangi*, 1989. Wellington: Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit, Historical Documents Series (H06), 2011.

Linking the idea of ‘innovation’ with mātauranga was also deliberate. Thanks to years of erosion by Western influence, we have been encouraged to think of mātauranga as both limited and limiting. The very fact that you have chosen to come to this conference, of course, is a strong indication that you do not accept that characterisation of mātauranga – that you are already well aware of the power in our truth. However, we are keen to stretch our thinking on the limitless potential of mātauranga. Being free to let our imaginations soar is crucial to our future well-being. We want to provide an opportunity for like-minded people to delight in exploring the possibilities that mātauranga holds for us.

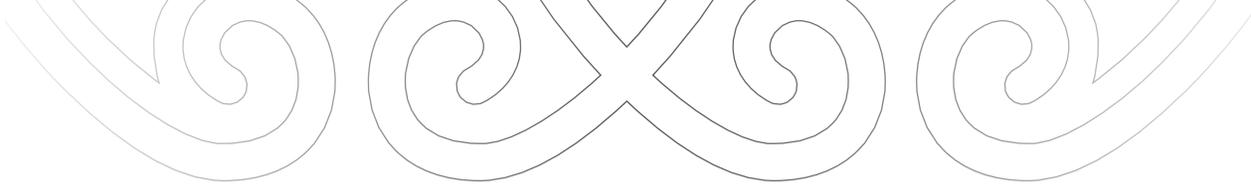
This leads me to a final few observations about the thinking behind the Kei Tua o te Pae conferences. Many of us do not have the luxury of working or living in an environment where everyone is committed to a common goal of reinstating mātauranga as the driving force in our lives. Many of us are forced to work and live in places that, deliberately or otherwise, are quite hostile to mātauranga. As a consequence, enormous amounts of our time and energy are spent explaining mātauranga, justifying tikanga or defending kaupapa. If we are lucky enough to have a few Māori colleagues around us, the importance of presenting a united front in an adverse environment may mean that we rarely get the opportunity to debate these issues amongst ourselves.

One of the goals of Kei Tua o te Pae is to provide a forum where we do not have to worry about explaining ourselves to others. We will not be expected to provide ‘the’ Māori response to every issue. There will be no compulsion to present a united front, no matter what. This is a space where we should feel free to admit that we may not know everything, or that we have doubts about the way that certain aspects of mātauranga are being expressed, or that we hold a view that differs from the Māori person sitting next to us. This is designed to be a safe space, a forum where we can ask difficult questions, where we can test theories, where we can risk getting things wrong in the quest to deepen our understanding of the mātauranga continuum. After all, this intellectual tradition is ours. We need not fear it. We need not pretend that we know everything there is to know about it. But we do have to pay attention to it. We cannot afford to be complacent about it. An intellectual tradition that

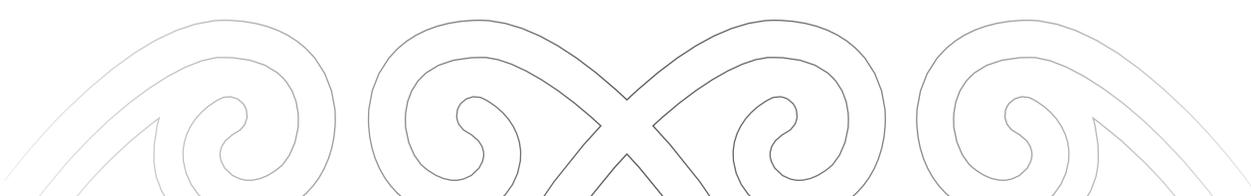
is not constantly being tested and expanded to meet our ever-changing needs is an intellectual tradition that is doomed to wither into obsolescence.

So, during the next two days, we hope that the speakers will spark your imaginations. We hope you take advantage of the workshops to engage in the kinds of conversations that you may not find anywhere else. We hope you leave here with answers but with even more questions. We hope that you will be challenged, frustrated, fascinated and enlightened. Most of all, we hope you find the experience to be useful and rewarding.

Nō reira rau rangatira mā, he rukunga whakaaro kei te haere. Kia manawanui tātou.



RE-SEARCHING RANGATIRATANGA



RANGATIRATANGA: GIVING LIFE TO THE DREAMS OF OUR MOKOPUNA

Dayle Takitimu

I want to start with a story from a man called Sri Sri Ravi Shankar. He's a guru from India and he is often asked about the meaning of life. He tells a story about people who ask him about enlightenment. When did he receive enlightenment? How can it be found? His story is about fish. Being from Te Whānau-ā-Apanui we like all stories that start with fish. He talks about these fish swimming around. One fish bumps into another one and says, 'Bro, have you seen the ocean?' He replies, 'Nah bro, but I'm looking for it.' Then their other whanaunga swims up and says, 'My Uncle has seen the ocean once. Come. I'll take you to see him.'

They swim over to where the Uncle is. They find that a whare has been built for him under the water. It is basically a shrine to this Uncle who once saw the ocean. They don't know how to see the ocean but they pray to this Uncle because as the only one amongst them who has actually seen the ocean he has now become a prophet. So they create this spiral where everyone is searching for something that they're actually swimming in all day, every day.

That's how I've come to think about rangatiratanga. We sometimes talk about it as a destination we want to reach without realising that it sits within us all day, every day. It is within our veins and it is within every cell we have, particularly if you hark back to whakataukī, waiata and mōteatea that have been left to demonstrate that for us. He kākano ahau i ruia mai i Rangiatea is a brilliant reminder that within each of us, from that common mauri, we have rangatiratanga.

The issue is that the Crown and others have had the arrogance to redefine our terms. Rangatiratanga has become a noun in that space instead of a verb. I think rangatiratanga is a verb. I think it's a way of being. It's a state of mind. It is not a destination. It is not somewhere we are going. It is essentially a

philosophy. It is a philosophical kupu. It has been allowed to become a political kupu, a political concept and a legal concept. It may include shades of those things but I think that rangatiratanga is primarily a philosophical concept that we should champion.

Where do Treaty negotiations fit in an intergenerational strategy for self-determination?

I'd like to move now to a conversation that we had with a tuakana called Chief Wilton Littlechild—they call him Willie Littlechild—from the Ermineskin Cree nation. Our conversation was about sovereignty/mana and self-determination/rangatiratanga. His kōrero which had been handed on from his tīpuna was, 'If you believe it, just *act as if*.' This may seem like just a few words but his comment was quite a profound moment in our iwi negotiations with the Crown.

Rikirangi Gage and I were appointed by our iwi, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui, as joint negotiators for the iwi in Treaty discussions with the Crown. We were honoured to carry the roles, but also knew that we had been tasked with something that would have an impact inter-generationally—both on the mana of our ancestors and the tapu of our mokopuna. With that in mind we decided to take ourselves off to some of the First Nations people around the world, to research our understanding of our inherent rights, and form a negotiating framework that respected both the mana of those before us, and the tapu of those yet to come. Our aim was to put together a kura on indigenous rights because we couldn't find, pre-packaged, some of the mātauranga that we felt we needed to guide our negotiations brief. So we went in search of it. There's a long history within Apanui of going outside the iwi to search for mātauranga. In fact it's where Apanui gets its founding proverb: Ko te kuti, ko te wera, ko

te haua. Our tipuna Apanui was getting his beans in battle quite a lot back in those days (uncontroversial, as he himself conceded that) and he wanted to know how not to get his beans quite so often. He went to a tohunga near Tauranga (by Ngā Kuri-a-Whārei) and asked him for his mātauranga to help out. His response was, 'Me tū koe, pērā i te toka tū moana.' That's become a mantle for our people in terms of being steadfast.

To return to Chief Willie Littlechild, he said, 'Act as if.' Don't ask permission to be sovereign if you think you are sovereign. Sovereigns don't do that. If you think you have self-determination then why are you waiting for the consent of somebody else to exercise it? Just exercise it. I don't think he was suggesting that it comes without a price; but that's where I've got to in my thinking about rangatiratanga. We have to have the courage and the bravery to exercise it.

This discussion took place in the context of preparing for Treaty negotiations. Negotiations have become a longstanding exercise in sitting on the opposite side of the table from people who are not interested in Treaty negotiations. We entered into a strategy session with our iwi about what it is that we were doing because you can't just stick people at the negotiation table and say, 'Go for it.' If you do that there is no measure; and we wanted there to be a measure against what we were doing. We looked at whether the Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples would give us an adequate measure. Our kaumātua and kuia said our mana is our measure. What we wanted to know, partly because I think it's an obsession of my generation, was how to unpackage that. One of my kuia responded, 'That's the problem, we are trying to put the package back together.' What we were really seeking was an intergenerational strategy towards self-determination for our iwi and we wanted to know where Treaty settlements may or may not fit. After quite a lot of kōrero we had some idea of what self-determination, fully flourishing, would look like for us.

We were unsure whether we could ever get the Crown to see what we needed them to see. Or indeed whether we could ever get the Crown to be honourable. I think that's a fair question having sat at that negotiation table for almost 11 years now. Are we actually engaged in an impossible task? If we want

a quick Treaty settlement, which has become about Treaty extinguishment and what is effectively an act of surrender, we can go and do that tomorrow. I can negotiate that overnight and there will be a nice cash sum attached to it. I think they've already ear-marked 15 or 16 million dollars for our iwi. Because we are tiny and we didn't have raupatu, they've decided that's fair, despite the fact that they've never actually looked at our claims against them. Somehow they have found out for themselves what they think fair redress will be. We could sign up for that tomorrow. That's always been on offer for us.

We wanted to do something a bit more meaningful. This is probably why we've made no progress. We wanted the Crown to understand us. We wanted our legitimate right to be ourselves to be respected. We're getting no closer to that goal. In fact I think we're getting further away. One of the Ministers of Parliament actually said to me, 'Look, just bring in a deposit slip.' Part of me in less resolute moments thinks, should we? Should we just get it over and done with? Should we do what was pitched to a Te Hunga Rōia conference, about 10 years ago, which is that we become an economic force in our own right and buy rangatiratanga back? I was naive and idealistic at that hui so I asked where they sold it. I wondered why we were going to Wellington to get it. Why were we going to Parliament to ask them for our rangatiratanga?

Is this settlement befitting of the mana of our mokopuna?

We've had to renew our courage and stick to what we wanted out of Treaty settlements from the get go, even though everything inside that space is geared toward Treaty extinguishment. We sat down with the iwi first and asked them, 'What will be our yard stick?' We'd intentionally disempowered our negotiators so we couldn't sign anything for the hapū on whose behalf we negotiated. Everything had to go back: terms of negotiation, agreement in principle, all of those sorts of things were taken back to the people. We wānanga'ed them to the hilt, to the point where people probably got hui fatigue. I almost considered just giving a broad brush summary instead of going through every clause until one of my Uncles said, 'Sweet as girl. If you tell us to sign it we'll sign it.' Then I thought—now you're going to get the whole lot.

Because, while I love the sentiment, that's not okay. It is not defensible. In 20 years or 50 years' time when your mokopuna ask you why you signed it (and they will), it won't be enough to say we listened to this squeaky voiced lawyer who told us to do it. You need to read every single clause and be comfortable about putting your signature on it because I'm not signing it—I do the mahi. Negotiators do the mahi; the hapū hold the mana. Mana, mahi—people always need to be clear about which lane they're in when they are operating for the iwi in a representative capacity. Are you acting as the mana of the iwi or are you acting as a kaimahi?

This is partly why, when we got close to a deal on the foreshore and seabed, we put it out for peer review. We sent it to other people whose opinions we respected asking them to assess it in terms of whether the deal was befitting of the mana of our mokopuna. We told them to spare no thought for the egos of the negotiators. If it's not good enough it's not good enough. We asked them to be upfront with our people about that. Some peer reviewers gave us some fairly candid feedback which we presented back to the iwi with our honest opinion that it wasn't good enough yet. One of the major outstanding issues that had been parked in the 'too hard' basket was minerals. The Crown just said, 'Well that's not part of our current negotiating brief.' I asked them, 'Well, why is that? And so what? Because it's part of our negotiating brief and if you're not prepared to discuss that then there's no such thing as a full and final settlement.'

We had issues with the concept of settlement anyway and this is part of what Willie Littlechild was talking about in terms of the 'Act as if' kōrero. We wanted our Treaty implemented. We wanted (and still want!) the Crown to honourably implement the Treaty. We felt that from there we would be able to realign what had become a dysfunctional relationship. What they were offering was the entrenchment of the dysfunction. We would have a nice signing ceremony with the korowai and the greenstone. We'd all do the haka and they'd be brought onto our marae. But the very next day, or in some cases that very afternoon, they would continue breaching our Treaty rights.

What that meant for us is that those Treaty negotiations were not an act of rangatiratanga.

Whilst they may have been resolving some of the issues in regards to the wrongs done to our tipuna, they would do nothing in regards to the mana and tapu of our mokopuna. They weren't going to result in forward-looking agreements. That's partly because the Crown has conceptualised this space to say, 'We'll get you so far by way of Treaty settlement. We'll provide you with the cash (hence the request for the deposit slip) and from there we'll all be New Zealanders.' We have some issues with that stemming from our understanding of our mana. It's within that understanding that we start to unpackage what our rangatiratanga means.

We must take our rightful place and occupy that space

We think that each of us as a people is distinct and has been placed on this earth for a reason. That is the ngako of the philosophy underpinning our understanding of our mana and our tapu. If we didn't believe that, we'd believe in defeat and we'd believe in surrender. We would simply say it's okay for us to be brown-ish looking Pākehā. We think that Te Whānau-ā-Apanui have a certain tapu and a certain mana that makes us distinct from anyone else in the world. We think the Cree people have a certain distinctness, and we think Raukawa have a certain distinctness, and we think all of those distinct iwi and nation personalities together bring something diverse (and necessary) to the family of nations.

With that in mind we claim our space because we know that if we don't have the courage to occupy the space where our mana and our rangatiratanga is supposed to be *there will be a void*. It will be back to te kore if you drop Te Whānau-ā-Apanui out of the equation. If you drop any of the Indigenous nations out of that fabric that's woven together, the fabric that we call humanity, in its place you have nothing; nothingness. It means the fabric weaving humanity together cannot be bound together. For us it's not that we want rangatiratanga in order to best somebody else. It's not that we want to say that our mana and our muscles are bigger than your mana and your muscles. It's not a competition for us. It's an exercise in saying we must take our rightful place and occupy that space. The occupation of that space underpins a whole lot of our language and a whole lot of our worldview as Māori. When we say to someone, 'Tēnā

koe' it's a recognition of the occupation of space, not just by your physical being but by your mana and your tapu and your rangatiratanga.

Courage and bravery

That provides some wind behind the sails of courage and bravery that are sometimes needed. That courage and bravery were (sometimes) needed so you didn't feel embarrassed when everyone else thought you were a crazy, raving radical because you happened to go through law school at the time people were occupying Pākaitore. They were needed when you didn't have any other framework for the Treaty so Moana Jackson's philosophy got in first (on what was otherwise a blank slate—and in my case, a very blank slate). Moana's position became my orthodox theory of the Treaty. I was surprised to learn that it wasn't everybody else's orthodox theory of the Treaty. In that space, the courage and the bravery that I used to think was required was so that I didn't feel stink in front of my mates or even older members of my family who thought I'd been hijacked and would be off waving flags. I've done a bit of flag-waving, even yesterday we were out waving flags, but it's not just that kind of courage and bravery that I'm talking about.

Courage and bravery took on a new meaning for me when the Crown decided to move the Navy in on our people; when they decided to bring the Air Force Orion and fly it over our people three times a day; and when they put armed police on the ground. That was a different sort of bravery and I have to say we were scared. We were terrified of what would come next.

Quite a bit of bravado had been generated by their earlier attempt to take the foreshore and seabed (I use the word 'attempt' because we did not give free, prior and informed consent to it, so I still contend that it was an inchoate confiscation). The attempt by the government to take the foreshore and seabed had resulted in a number of our people, particularly my Uncles who are hunters, saying, 'Well we'll just fight them girl. We'll fight them. We'll go down to the beach and we'll fight them.' My response was, 'Okay. Not to put the kibosh on this plan Uncle but who is going to actually do that?' Some of them, to their credit, said 'We will.' Some were offering to swim out to the survey boat and do all sorts of things.

I don't know where they got their ideas from. I think they'd been watching a lot of television and I think the old western films they used to show at the Gaiety theatre in Te Kaha may have culminated in a grand plan. My generation has grown up watching Palestine on TV. We've watched live wars on TV. So when people say, 'We'll fight them on the beaches' I'm thinking, 'Are you talking about me? Doing that?' I was wondering, 'Would I be inside the Apanui border or outside?' Because they said 'We'll just lock it down. There's only one road in and out of Apanui. We'll just drop a tree and that'll be our toll gate. And only those who are with us will come in.'

These are the discussions they were having. They sound full of bravado but our people knew that the legal system was going to give us no joy. We knew that the political system would be limited. We didn't understand quite how limited, and that within ten days or so of the announcement of the Petrobas permit the doors of Parliament would be swung shut and security would be called. But definitely there were these discussions. Today's generation would say 'it got real, real fast.' We also wondered, how would that happen? Is that my kids you are talking about being on the beach? Is that your kids you're going to commit to that? All of a sudden, for the first time in my generation, we were actually having discussions like that.

They brought three Navy frigates into our tribal territory and then they flew the Orion overhead. These were acts of intimidation. They didn't like it when we started calling them warships in our press releases. But that's what they would call themselves when they contacted our little boat—some people have seen pictures of our tiny little boat out at sea—they would say, 'San Pietro, San Pietro this is the HMS Pukaki, the Navy warship to your starboard.' That's how they classified themselves in our space. For us that required a different level of courage and bravery than many in our generation in Apanui have ever had to deal with.

We were actually in church, at the tekau ma rua in Omaio, when they moved the military in because there's a big chunk of Apanui who follow the Ringatū faith. We had to hold fast to what we knew to be the truth, and trust that what we were doing was going to be okay. We've got some historic precedent for that. Back

in the olden days, Ringatū were considered rebels—Hauhau—and a group of our relations from Ngāti Porou came to deal to us for practising that religion. They came to the gates of the marae at Omaio to make war on us; sponsored by the Crown. The Crown was like their corporate sponsor. I think they may already have had a beef with us about something else, but they were able to get some sponsorship to get them some good gears and good guns. They showed up at our marae gate in the 18th century version of flash tracksuits and basically said, 'Cease and desist or we're coming in.' One of our chiefs, Paora Ngamoki, went out on the mahau and said, 'E kī, Rapata, ko koe tēnā?' because they were related. Then he said, 'Well I tell you what Rapata, we are going into church. We're going to ring the bell and go inside and if we're still here in the morning it must be meant to be. And if we're not, then it wasn't. That will be the test. Either you will slaughter us overnight or our faith will get us through.' What his kōrero meant was, if we're still here in the morning, we'll be here forever.

We need to call truth what it is, our truth, our Indigenous truth

We've got some precedent for holding fast and the toka tū moana kōrero about trying to stay pūmau in moments of fear. We've needed to lean on those lessons because, personally, it gets a little bit freaky when it's all bearing down on us, when people are coming to me to make decisions and I think, I don't know what that means or what it's going to culminate in. Is this the decision that's going to end in a massive stoush? People wanted to burn houses. They wanted to do the works. The police were saying, 'We're coming in.' We had to make decisions and in that space we had to just rely on our truth. We couldn't let the noise of everything else come in. People would quote the Crown Minerals Act and say, 'It's inevitable.' It's amazing how many times I got told, 'It's inevitable, they're coming' and so on. It's not necessarily a concerted strategy with all the doubters getting together and saying, 'Let's just hack away at their faith.' But it is noise that constantly challenges whether you can stick to your truth or not, particularly when the doubt comes from within you.

We have a lot of work to do holding people to account, in terms of being true to the kōrero. We might stand up and sing one of the Apanui anthems,

Tōku mana Māori, he mana Māori motuhake, and then we will have a hui about our self-determination and our mana, and about who is putting a rāhui on where and those sorts of things. Then we'll say our karakia and wrap it up. Two minutes into the cuppa tea someone will ask me to give them advice on their resource consent application. And I'll say, 'Who are you getting resource consent from?'; 'The council girl. Otherwise we can't open that whare down there because the ablutions aren't certified.' And I'll say, 'Just open it.' And they ask, 'Is that legal?'; 'I don't know, just open it.' I say to them, 'It's legal in my law, it's legal in your law. Hei aha te ture a te Pākehā. But you may need to be prepared in case they come to try and pull your whare down. You might need to do something about that.'

Our understanding of our own mana and our tapu has got to be true. It can't be interrupted by somebody else's version of that. You get all these things—co-governance, I think, is the latest. It used to be co-management. Apparently we're moving up the scale but it's not really us. If we have an understanding of our mana then we rest on stronger ground. It's not just about the language behind it. It's about the concepts that underpin the language. Sometimes when you've pushed against the government for a while and you have people telling you, 'It's inevitable', 'This is the way forward', 'We can't go back to the days of grass skirts', and all those sorts of things, it does get a little bit overwhelming.

I draw inspiration from a kōrero I found in one of Ani Mikaere's papers. In fact I quoted it to a Professor in my Master's degree and he was less than impressed, so I knew it must be good. That kōrero is about the temporary nature of the government's occupation of these islands as opposed to the near permanency of our ancestral occupation of the same territory. When people say, 'This is the system we've got. You have to work within that', I think, well yeah but we didn't have it a few years ago and we might not have it that way in a few years to come, particularly if we keep pushing it. They haven't been around that long. They've built a lot of stuff. They've made a lot of mess and they've altered the place. We're staying in Auckland at the moment and the speed with which they can completely change a landscape amazes me. That's what they're doing with the South Western motorway at the moment. They're building a whole

new land mass to house this new spaghetti junction of roads. It amazes me how they can live with this, 'We are the masters of the universe' mentality, with the idea that 'We'll just conquer everything.' With that in mind I think, yeah, but you've only really been here 5 minutes.

Actually that particular whakaaro has given me so much inspiration during really hard times. Sometimes you just feel taumaha with the weight of it particularly when you've got some of your olds saying, 'That's just how it is. That's the white man's way. That's the Pākehā's way.' People ask me where they can get a permit to go fishing and then we get stuck in this trap of saying, 'But the legal one girl not the l-o-r-e one.' It's a pet peeve of mine, people who use l-o-r-e, because it's like they've bought into the idea that somehow our ture is lesser than anybody else's; that we are down there with the folktales and fairies dancing around the fireplace. We had systems of law and we had systems of government and we still have them. Some of them may have been dormant for a while but we need to have the courage to rely on them. We need to call truth what it is—our truth, our Indigenous truth—and we need to claim it and reclaim it, to keep claiming it and to champion it.

Challenges to manifesting rangatiratanga

We have to call rubbish what it is. We've got a lot of rubbish. We've got a lot of noise in that space. One of the things I've heard quite a lot is, 'Oh but that's not a tikanga Māori thing girl.' You know sometimes it is. Sometimes holding people to account is a tikanga Māori thing. People sometimes use tikanga as a way out of that, or they try and limit what it means to be Māori, or they try and limit what sort of legitimate expressions of rangatiratanga there can be. That's one of the big challenges to our ability to manifest rangatiratanga: the exclusion or the limiting or the holding too close of an idea of what is the right way, the suggestion that we did it this way therefore that's rangatiratanga but the way you're going about it is not. We do need to be real about things that just aren't, but at the same time I think we need to realise that we are dynamic and diverse. There are a whole lot of energies within our populations that all have legitimate expressions of their own rangatiratanga. They all have their own mana and their own tapu.

I think ego is one of the most detrimental things to rangatiratanga. It's one of those things that we need to constantly keep in check. That is because we need our leadership to be accountable, not just to us as the population in front of it or around it or supporting it, but to future generations. It needs to be accountable to our truth and to the place that we occupy in that woven family of nations. That's where leadership needs to be held to account. It is not just a popularity contest.

Sometimes rangatiratanga and leadership get confused and quite often we are looking for or calling things leadership or trying to identify types or styles of leadership that are from a bygone era. But that may not fit our current generation and may not fit future generations. My own whakaaro on leadership is that it starts from within you. If you can exhibit an understanding of your own tapu and mana and if you exhibit and manifest your rangatiratanga, then you might be in a space to do that for your immediate whānau, for your children and within your house. From there you may be able to join with other people doing that within your extended family and within your hapū, and then within your iwi.

People seem to want to go straight to the paepae. I call it 'paepae-itis'. I think that with rangatiratanga there's too much focus on rangatira and too much focus on individual people within that space. We should champion ringaweratanga as much as we champion rangatiratanga. I come from a long proud line of potato peelers. I'm happy about that and I'm happy to have the intergenerational calluses on our fingers to show it—we used to champion ringa raupā, but now, not so much. I think we should champion the workers not just the figureheads and the symbolic things. We should champion the things of substance and the systems that keep that substance real.

A lot of times we've got this situation where we take some bits of the culture that we like and we say that's tikanga; but other bits not quite so much. We have to take not only the rights and entitlements that go with our tribal citizenship but also the responsibilities and obligations that go with it. Those things are very real not just symbolic. Manaakitanga is a dying art. It's one of the institutions so important to rangatiratanga that is actually under threat. If we had a list of threatened practices it would be there because people

have translated manaakitanga to be something quite different than I think it was originally. Now we get quite a different take on manaakitanga.

Mātauranga around our mana, our tapu and our mauri

The seeking of mātauranga is essential to the constant, continuing and enduring manifestation of rangatiratanga. We need to humble ourselves to continually seek mātauranga. In that sense I speak specifically of the mātauranga around our mana, tapu and mauri. Those three things in particular are so important to our continued manifestation of rangatiratanga because they position us uniquely i roto i te ao wairua, i roto hoki i te ao kikokiko. An understanding of our mana means that we don't undersell ourselves or our mokopuna when it comes to interacting with other people. An understanding of our tapu means that we recall our need to be inclusive of everybody who shares a common mauri with us. An understanding of mauri means that we walk not just with ourselves but with te ao tūroa and everything within the taiao. We learn or relearn to live in harmony with that world.

I'm a big fan of the *Avatar* imagery of plugging ourselves back in to ancient knowledge. I think that along that continuum there's no real new mātauranga but there's mātauranga relevant for its time and its place and that those things will be revealed to us as we search for them, depending on the circumstances in which we find ourselves. I think we find ourselves now, in this generation, on the cusp of a really exciting evolution of our people. I'm a bit of a believer in cellular memory. Some of you will have heard of that concept.

Hope gives life to rangatiratanga

If courage and bravery is necessary for rangatiratanga it has been under attack for quite some time, by colonial forces primarily, who came in with guns and attacked our people. Somebody on Facebook the other day posted something about our Indigenous brothers and sisters in Aboriginal Australia and the genocide that they're currently facing. Someone else posted a statement underneath one of those little video clips to say, 'Do you think this is where they're going to go with Māoridom?'

And I thought, Aye? They've been there for a long, long time moving us out of remote communities that they see as not viable and that may or may not have a wealth of minerals underneath. Our government just never put out a press release. But it's been happening for a long, long time.

The genocide of our people, I feel, has been embedded in the cellular memory of our iwi. It's a taumaha that's inside us and when you say to people, 'Be brave,' some might say, 'Yeah, let's go' and it's all *Braveheart*—you know, too much of the movies again. But some people are terrified because straight away the stories come flooding back about how my Nanny's nanny was executed over there, or how they lined up our koroua over there and shot them in the head. I've been working in the Tribunal in the Maniapoto-Rereahu area where people were lined up and executed, where there was real bloodshed, where war was waged upon our people. Our old people carried that. Then they sent their children to school and those were colonial schools, more often than not, where English was the language of instruction. Through fear of losing lands, through rates loss, through fear of our children being exposed to the violence that others had suffered, came the Pākehāfication of the way we raised our children and those whakaaro infiltrated our whānau, hapū and iwi. I feel like that was done sometimes consciously, sometimes not, but always out of fear—a type of fear that comes when death and execution have been part of your history.

These are things we have to acknowledge, particularly with our olds. Sometimes they're more radical than the younger generation. But there's a certain generation of our olds that have seen with their own eyes and have felt it. They're entitled to feel the fear, but it's changed how they've raised their children because they're trying to keep them out of harm's way. That's a parent's number one job, to keep your kids out of harm's way, and they've done it.

What I think is exciting about these generations that are coming to the fore now is that there is a slow diminishing of that cellular memory of fear. My generation's got a little bit of it and people say, 'Oh, he whakahihī tēnā.' But that ability to be whakahihī is because we are actually brought up with this idea of who we are. I don't do the poi. Which in Te

Whānau-ā-Apanui is not a great thing. But we learn our songs. We own them. A lot of us speak te reo. A lot of us feel comfortable on the marae. A lot of us feel comfortable under the cloak of our Māoritanga and are happy to stand up and claim that. Some of us have had to reclaim that as adults so we're still a little bit tentative, but we feel passionately the right to do it. My parent's generation didn't feel the right to do that. They kind of felt like it might have been an optional extra. But of course that was in the face of everything in the mainstream telling them it's got no worth.

I watch my kids now and they have no doubt whatsoever about their place in this world; about their entitlement and sense of belonging; and about their right to stand on their own two feet, i roto i tā rātou iwitanga, to stand up as global citizens, as citizens of this world. I think my generation will push some things as the generations before us have all pushed. Thankfully so, because we have institutions like this. The future generations, the ones that are coming up now, they will grow up in a world that has a legitimate space for them in it carved out by people who have done a lot of hard work at the front-lines. If those tamariki mokopuna do carry some of that cellular memory of the fear that's come through previous generations, the hope is that it will be diminished by the things that balance it out, so they act with different courage and different bravery. You see those generations asking, 'Why not? We want to do a movie about this. Why not? We want to go to this university overseas. Why not?' There will be no limiting their dreams because they have a courage built into them and that is one of the most positive things about where we currently find ourselves in regards to rangatiratanga.

It is also one of our greatest achievements as Māoridom that we've managed to keep the ngako of that hope alive, because hope is really what gives life to rangatiratanga. Without hope no-one will be brave enough to stand up and claim it. At times the hope, if we see it as symbolised by an ahi, has really gone down to its embers. But I feel like the ahi is just beginning, in these last few generations, to be kept alive. That's through the hard work of people who really have kicked the door down to keep some of these philosophical discussions occurring; discussions like those occurring at this conference.

I think hope is what gives us some comfort about the bravery and courage that's going to be needed to claim our rangatiratanga in a way that's defined by us, not just informed by our history, not limited by it and not juxtaposed to what the Crown is doing.

Rangatiratanga will manifest itself in giving life to the dreams of mokopuna

Our big question at the beginning of Treaty negotiations when we developed that intergenerational strategy for self-determination was, what if the Crown never gets there? What if they never get to a point where they are going to be honourable? What will we do? I asked this question of our iwi because as a lawyer in this space I've heard people say, 'As soon as we get our Treaty settlement, we'll be able to develop.' My fear about that, particularly if you're attempting a Treaty settlement that is philosophically challenging to the Crown, is that you might never get there. Then what happens to the development of your iwi? Do you put that on hold indefinitely and just say, the Crown were mean to us. They were not honourable so we just parked that up. Or do you say (as we've started to say), stuff you, we're getting on with it?

We kind of are getting on with it. We won't get on with it with a big Treaty settlement cheque but at the same time we'll just do it under the steam of our own mana. In that sense we are trying to carve out a way to be self-sufficient. That's the crux of our intergenerational plan for self-determination because self-sufficiency, which used to be quite an arrogant and audacious kind of goal, will mean that we're no longer at the mercy of our coloniser. We had planned self-sufficiency as a ten-year journey but we got a quick, sharp lesson in it once we put a flotilla on the water. Within 6 weeks of doing so the Crown had cancelled every single contract within Te Whānau-ā-Apanui and overnight our self-sufficiency strategy needed to come to the fore. Everything—from ACC contracts, to youth residency programmes, to road safety contracts—was affected. They targeted things totally unrelated to oil drilling. This was partly by way of punishment and partly because that's a Crown negotiating strategy. They cut every single contract and basically tried to bankrupt the iwi. But it hasn't come down to money for us. We just have to find another way to put ourselves back on track.

We have drawn quite a lot on writings that view self-determination as being about choice and freedom. That's the rangatiratanga we want to embed for our mokopuna going forward. We can't actually alter the environment and smooth all the seas for them. But what we can do is equip their waka with enough tools, with the right tools, so that they can navigate whatever comes their way. Then they can have the wherewithal to determine their own futures and decide what their own horizon is. We can't decide for them where they might take their waka. We just want to make sure that our generations (and this is a multi-generational process) having hauled the waka of our iwi up on shore, relashed it, redecorated it, and put some new crew on it, can put it out to sea as a seaworthy vessel.

We want to do that in a way so that we don't have an ama attached to the Crown because we don't know what that looks like. It's a multi-headed beast that keeps changing for us. The Crown has demonstrated over the period of five, nearly six generations, that it has no honour. It has no good faith. We cannot put the Crown on the waka with our mokopuna so that our rangatiratanga depends on it. Instead we'll try to make sure that our kids have the courage and the hope to develop their own destiny going forward and that we've given them enough tools and got our own egos out of the way so that they can dream. It is in giving life to their dreams that we hope rangatiratanga for our people will manifest itself.

RESEARCHING WITH RANGATIRATANGA: PŪRĀKAU AS ‘EVIDENCE’

Jenny Bol Jun Lee

Introduction

When I prepare for a kōrero about pūrākau it has been my practice, as Joanne Archibald (renowned indigenous storyworker of the Stolo Nation) encourages, to let the story come to me. Unfortunately for me, it often means that the pūrākau will come the night or morning before a presentation, which is preceded by weeks of panic. Reflecting on this practice (which I do take seriously), one of the reasons I think the right story takes so long is that there are so many stories, and many versions of those stories to tell. Selecting the right one for the place, in a particular space and time to contribute to a specific kaupapa, is not necessarily easy.

Over the past few months I have been mulling over the topic of our conference ‘Re-searching Rangatiratanga, Innovating Mātauranga’, further prompted by the directive from the organisers, Ani Mikaere and Jessica Hutchings, to “think about the meaning and expression of rangatiratanga, unfettered by colonising agendas that seek to limit the ambit of the concept so that it poses no threat to Crown sovereignty or colonised ways of being.”⁸ Given this challenge, the story that has come to me is not the type of pūrākau that I would usually tell. Rather it is the story of how pūrākau as methodology, as developed in my doctoral thesis (Lee, 2008), emerged as an example, and hopefully as inspiration for others to research with rangatiratanga in your areas of work for our whānau, hapū, iwi and communities.

The pūrākau I often tell are drawn from experiences within my whānau, in particular, my children—the greatest teachers! Instead of my engagement with the children being the subject of the pūrākau, the children have informed the key question in which to frame

this kōrero about pūrākau. Heard on a daily basis in our household in varying tones, is the imperative (usually preceded by ‘but’), “How do you know?” In relation to research, this question is at the heart of what is perceived to be rigorous research, valid data, expert knowledge, and cutting edge developments. In relation to ‘re-searching rangatiratanga’, this is also at the heart of what we need to speak, write and research back to.

This brief paper tells the story of the purposeful positioning of pūrākau as methodology. A methodology to research in ways that write back in a domain that has historically disregarded Māori knowledge, beliefs and narratives including pūrākau as legitimate forms of evidence.

Pūrākau and Ako

Pūrākau as methodology was developed in the process of my doctoral study about ako. I was particularly interested in the work that Māori teachers did in secondary schools. I had been a secondary school teacher for ten years and in my experience Māori teachers were making a difference to Māori students’ lives and whānau lives in ways that weren’t being talked about, acknowledged or valued. In my experience, Māori teachers were not just teaching, but inspiring dreams, healing hearts, touching wairua, and revitalising knowledge of whakapapa and mātauranga Māori. However, the dominant discourses about Māori education at that time focused on the effective teacher. This usually involved listing a number of generic strategies for the universal and professional teacher.

The potential decolonising nature of my study was made clear to me when I decided to investigate the ‘work’ of Māori teachers. During the writing

⁸ Personal communication, 23/10/14.

of my research proposal, a conversation I had with a highly regarded Professor in Education at The University of Auckland about the topic of my thesis is still clear in my mind. I had told him that I was interested in exploring what it was that made Māori teachers effective for Māori students. His response was swift. In a constructive and well-meaning manner he told me that I was wasting my time. The research 'evidence' showed that ethnic minority teachers were no more effective than any other teacher. In fact, scores of studies, including large-scale randomised type research, had been conducted about effective teachers and the characteristics were well-documented and generally consistent.

This conversation was a turning point from hesitance and indecision about the topic, to a sense of resolve to pursue such a study. My proposed thesis was perceived to be of little merit because 'effectiveness' was understood in a way that centred mainly on western values and academic achievement. Furthermore the research evidence rendered a study about Māori teachers' practice as unnecessary.

It is important to note that pūrākau as methodology did not emerge in a linear way from Māori tradition to research, but has drawn from and responded to the wider historical, social and political research contexts. In particular, the evidence-based research that is often considered the 'best', most reliable, or scientific.

Evidence-based Education

The term evidence-based research is relatively new to education. Originating from the field of biomedicine, an evidence-based approach to research spread across the United Kingdom (UK), United States of America (USA) and around the world to New Zealand.

It is interesting to note that the popularity of evidence-based education (EBE) in the UK and USA occurred alongside their governments' move to fund initiatives linked to effectiveness and measurable outcomes. In 2000, the British government made it clear that funding initiatives in education must be closely linked to effectiveness and measurable outcomes. As part of this drive to identify 'what works' to inform policy and practice, the Evidence for Policy and Practice Information and Co-ordination

Centre was established in 1993 at the University of London. The Centre's aims closely aligned to the international organisation involved in the preparation of systematic reviews, the Cochrane Collaboration also set up in 1993.

In the USA, a commitment to evidence-based research was signaled in the 'No Child Left Behind' Act 2001 in which there were also clear directives for accountability and 'scientifically-based' research. The importance of evidence-based research was made more explicit in the United States government-led educational forum held the following year, 'Rigorous Evidence: The Key to Progress in Education.' This discussion resulted in the publication *Bringing Evidence-Driven Progress to Education: A Recommended Strategy for the U.S. Department of Education* (Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy, 2002), which suggested a major effort (including funding) should be made to build the knowledge base around educational interventions that have been 'proven' through research such as randomised control trials.

In the USA, EBE was hailed as the process that takes education to "the brink of a scientific revolution that has the potential to profoundly transform policy, practice and research" (Slavin, 2002, p. 15). The rhetoric of 'what works' or what is 'proven' to work, became part of what should inform policy and practice. While the EBE approach claimed not to exclude other types of research, the shift to EBE clearly signaled the preference for systematic, experimental, random and large-scale definitive research that could demonstrate effectiveness.

In NZ, the Ministry of Education (MoE) began publishing a series in 2003 entitled the 'Best Evidence Synthesis' (BES), which has become an important part of policy and strategy for educational improvement. To the MoE's credit, they consider much broader forms of research evidence regardless of methodological paradigm. The emphasis remains, however, on research that demonstrates clear links to relevant outcomes.

While I understand this position, prioritising an EBE approach de-emphasises approaches and methods that cannot be easily quantified, measured, fixed or defined. For instance, how does one provide evidence of the impact of inspiration if the output only

becomes visible or is articulated years later? Validity, truth or whose knowledge counts as 'evidence' is not an immutable certainty but dependent on what is valued, and who is doing the valuing.

The way that pūrākau were originally researched by Pākehā is a pertinent reminder that research (and evidence) is never neutral or innocent, but shaped by discourses that create and attribute particular meanings to words, ideas and activities. As the late Merata Mita reminds us:

Our storytelling began to be disempowered the day the stranger began recording our stories, writing them down. From that day on, the stories started to change, they became a passive collection of words and phrases, sentence and paragraphs, pages of misinterpreted coding, derivative imagery, superficial characters and shallow portrayals. To the stranger from the west, mere collections of fantasy and myth. (Mita, 2000, p.10).

To return to my question, how do you know? Pūrākau as methodology was developed to not only ensure the narratives of our contemporary lives and realities are heard, but to create spaces for us to listen to, engage in and learn from our own stories, told in our own ways.

I want to return to the guidance of Joanne Archibald one of the leading Indigenous story-work scholars who encourages us to seek our own cultural spaces:

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

Conclusion

Pūrākau as methodology aspires to reclaim the taonga tuku iho; to draw on the knowledge, wisdom and experiences of our tūpuna. The challenge is to articulate these traditions in new and creative forms so that they respond to our current contexts, issues and problems. Such an approach must also include an

analysis that pays attention to the ways colonisation has, and continues to impact not only our narratives and research, but our lives.

Pūrākau as methodology is a Kaupapa Māori example of knowledge creation and production outside the control of the dominant powerful discourse that determine what is evidence, and what is valid research. At the end of the day, pūrākau is a different sort of narrative, an Indigenous narrative based on our knowing, for the cultural and social sustainability and regeneration of our people. Pūrākau as methodology aims to not only research with rangatiratanga, but research for rangatiratanga.

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RE-SEARCHING RANGATIRATANGA, INNOVATING MĀTAURANGA⁹

Huia Winiata Ngāti Huia, Ngāti Raukawa

Nā ōku tuāhine, nā Jessica o Te Wāhanga rāua ko Ani o Te Wānanga o Raukawa ahau i tono kia tū ki te whakatakoto i ētehi whakaaro e pā ana ki te kaupapa o tēnei hui, arā, ko te 'Re-searching Rangatiratanga, Innovating Mātauranga', erangi rawa ki te wāhanga 'Re-searching Rangatiratanga', me te tono kia whakarārangihia, ki te taha o ētehi atu, ētehi whakamārama, ētehi tauira o te rangatiratanga me tōna pānga ki te mātauranga.

Koinei hoki, ki tōku mōhio, te āhua o te tono ki a mātou tokotoru, ahau me ōku hoa tokorua i tū mai i mua i ahau, arā ki a Tākuta Jenny Lee, ki a Tama Kirikiri.¹⁰ Nō reira, ko tā mātou mahi he whakaputa kōrero i runga i te whakaaro:

Ka tupu te rangatiratanga, ka tupu te mātauranga;

ka tupu te mātauranga, ka tupu te rangatiratanga.

Kāore e taea te whakawehewehe.

Ki te whakawehewehe,

ka heke te tupu o te rangatiratanga,

ka heke te tupu o te mātauranga.

Nō reira, e hoa mā, i runga i te tono kia hāngai te titiro ki te rangatiratanga, ko tāku mahi he tiki atu i ētehi kōrero nā ōku tūpuna, nā ōku mātua, nā tōku iwi, nō tua whakarere, nō inanahi, nō nāiane tonu e akiaki ana i a tātou kia whakapūmautia tō tātou rangatiratanga. Kia aha? Kia tupu te rangatiratanga, kia tupu te mātauranga.

Ka tikina i te tuatahi tētehi whakatūpato nā ōku mātua mō ngā mea pēnei i ahau nei:

Pai noa iho kia noho koe ki raro,

kia whakaaro mai te tangata he kūare koe,

i te tū atu ki runga me te whakaatu atu

i te tika o tērā whakaaro.

Heoi anō, ko te tūmanako ko ngā kōrero ka tukuna e tēnei mōkai a koutou, he āwhina tonu i te kaupapa.

Kāti. Hei whaiwhai i te kaupapa, ka tukuna ōku whakaaro mō ētehi mahi, ētehi mātāpono, ētehi kaupapa e āwhina ana i te iwi ki te pupuru, ki te manaaki, ki te whakatupu i te rangatiratanga. Ka mutu, ka whiua ētehi whakatūpato ki a tātou, ētehi whakangarengare, ētehi kupu akiaki i a tātou.

Kia tupu ake ai hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao

Arā tētehi pukapuka he mea tuhituhi e tētehi o ō mātou tūpuna o Ngāti Toa Rangatira, o Ngāti Raukawa i te rau tau tekau mā iwa. He kōrero nāna, nā te tupuna nei, i tuhituhi i te tau 1881 mō te iwi nei mō Ngāti Toa Rangatira.¹¹ Ko ngā kōrero nei, he kōrero tuku iho. Ka timata i Hawaiki rā anō, tae mai ki a Toa Rangatira tupuna, taea noatia ngā tūpuna nō te rautau tekau mā iwa.

Kei tētehi wāhanga o te pukapuka nei ētehi tohutohu, ētehi whakaaro mō te rangatiratanga o te iwi, erangi rawa mō te whakatupu i te rangatiratanga o te iwi. Ko tāna kōrero, ko te mahi nui a te iwi ko te whakahaere i ētehi ritenga e whā kia tupu ake ai te rangatiratanga o te iwi. Anei āna kupu e pā ana ki ēnei ritenga e whā:

Te tahi: Ko te kōrero whakapapa, timata mai anō i te pō tae noa mai ki Hoturoa, taea noatia rātou, kia mōhio ai ō rātou uri he mea puta mai rātou i aua tūpuna ingoa nunui.

⁹ Kua tāia hoki tēnei pepa ki te kohinga kōrero *Whakatupu Mātauranga* (Ōtaki: Te Tākupu, 2016) wh 137-143.

¹⁰ Panel Session: 'Re-Searching Rangatiratanga' Kei Tua o Te Pae Conference, Te Wānanga o Raukawa, Ōtaki, 30-31 March 2015.

¹¹ Te Kairangi, A 1881 Micro-MS-0949 'Ngāti Toa History and Whakapapa' (Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa, Wellington).

Te rua: He whakahaere i ngā mahi a ō rātou tūpuna, kia mōhio ai hoki ki ngā ritenga e taea ai tō rātou iwi te whakahaere e rātou kia tupu ake ai hei iwi rangatira ki te ao.

Te toru: Ko te ako i tō rātou iwi me ō rātou uri kia tahuri ki te ahu whenua kia hua ai te kai, kia tika ai te karanga manuhiri ki te kāinga, ko tētehi hoki tēnei e tupu ake ai te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki te ao.

Te whā: Ko te āta whakahaere i ngā ritenga katoa mō te pakanga e toa ai rātou i te wā e ara ai te pakanga.

Nō reira ngā tino rangatira o tēnei iwi, a Ngāti Toa Rangatira, i tino tahuri ai ki te whakahaere i ēnei mea e whā kia tupu ake ai a Ngāti Toa Rangatira hei iwi toa, hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao.

He tino kōrero, he owaha nō rātou mā e kite ai tātou i te āhua o tā rātou whai, tā rātou whakamomori kia rangatira rātou.

Kia tupu ake ai tātou o nāianeī hei iwi toa, hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao, me tahuri pea tātou ki te whakahaere i ēnei mea e whā, heoi anō rā, tōna momo whakatinanatanga i tēnei ao o te rautau rua tekau mā tahi.

Koia pea ēnei:

Te tahi: Ko te kōrero whakapapa. Arā, kia tino mōhio ai tātou ko wai tātou, nō whea tātou.

Te rua: He whakahaere i ngā mahi a ō rātou tūpuna. Ko ngā tikanga tuku iho, ko ngā ritenga tuku iho, me whakapūmau, me whakatinana.

Te toru: Ko te ahu whenua kia hua ai te kai kia tika ai te karanga manuhiri ki te kāinga. Ko te manaaki i te tangata ki ō oranga. Me whakatupu i ngā momo oranga kia tika ai te manaaki i te tangata.

Te whā: Ko te pakanga. Ko te pupuru me te whakatupu i te mana mō te hemo tonu atu.

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaitea: Ko Whakatupuranga Rua Mano

Ka tae ki te kotahi rau tau i muri mai i te tuhinga o te pukapuka me āna kōrero mō te rangatiratanga o Ngāti Toa Rangatira, kua tino heke te tupu o ngā iwi nei a Ngāti Toa Rangatira, a Ngāti Raukawa, a Te Ātiawa. Kāore i te rangatira te āhua o te iwi. Ko te nuinga o te iwi e kūare ana ki tō tātou reo, ā, kare kau he uri i raro iho i te 30 tau e mātau ana ki te reo. E āhua taretare ana ngā marae 20 o ngā iwi nei, ā, e

angiangi ana ōna pae. Ko te eke ki te mātauranga me te whai mahi whai oranga, he wawata noa iho mō te nuinga noa atu o te iwi. Ehara i te iwi rangatira, ehara i te iwi whai mana!

Nō ngā tau 1970 ka tahuri te iwi ki te whakaaroaro ki tēnei āhua. E hia rā ngā hui a ō mātou mātua me ngā whakawhitiwhiti kōrero i waenganui i a rātou anō, ka hua mai ko te mahere whakapakari, whakatupu i te iwi. Ka hua mai ko Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Ka puea ake ko ia me ōna mātāpono, me te inoi ko ngā whakataunga katoa, ko ngā whakahaere katoa, ko ngā mahi katoa o te iwi, me whai āhua ēnei mātāpono i roto:

- ko ngā uri o te iwi; ko ia tonu te mea nui
- he taonga te reo; whakamutua tōna heke haere, whakarauorahia ia
- ko te marae te kāinga matua; manaakitia ia, whakarangatiratia ia
- ko tō tātou mana motuhake; mā tātou anō tātou e whakahaere

Nō reira, kotahi rau tau i muri i te tānga i ngā kupu mō te rangatiratanga o Ngāti Toa Rangatira me ngā mea e whā e rangatira ai ia, ka ara mai ētehi mātāpono e whā e ea ai te kōrero, 'e kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaitea', e ea ai te whakaaro—mehemea ka tikina atu te kōrero a te kaumātua rā—*kia tupu ake ai hei iwi toa, hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao*, kia tupu ake ai ngā kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaitea hei iwi toa, hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao. Ka tika hoki kia tuituia ngā kupu rangatira e rua nei. Ko ngā mea e whā i tahuri ai te iwi ki te whakahaere i roto i ngā rau tau e hia rā, me ngā mātāpono e whā nei, e rua, e rua. He mea tūpono? Ehara! He māramatanga nā ngā tūpuna i kōkuhu ki roto i ō rātou uri!

E kore au e ngaro, he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaitea: Ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa

Ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa, he hua nō ngā mātāpono o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Nō te tau 1981 ka timata, ā, hei te marama e tū mai nei kua tū ia hei whare ako, hei whare whakatupu i te mātauranga mō te 34 tau.

I ngā tau kotahi tekau nei ka huraina ētehi kaupapa kotahi tekau me ētehi tikanga whakatinana i ēnei kaupapa kotahi tekau. Koia nei te kauwhau a te

Tumuaki o Te Wānanga o Raukawa i te ata nei. Kua oti kē i a ia, i te Tumuaki, ēnei kaupapa te whakamārama mai ki a tātou e huihui mai ana ki tōna kōhanga, ki Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Ko ēnei kaupapa he mea e take mai ana i ngā mātāpono e whā o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Ka whakakitea mai ko ngā uri o te iwi, ko te reo, ko te marae, ko tō tātou mana motuhake i roto i ēnei kaupapa me ōna tikanga.

Mā ēnei kaupapa te whai a Te Wānanga o Raukawa e whakatutuki, arā:

Kia rangatira te tū a Te Wānanga o Raukawa hei whare ako, hei whare whakatupu i te mātauranga.

Ka tika te whakaaro, ka tahuri a Te Wānanga o Raukawa tangata me ōna kāhui whakahaere, whakatupu mātauranga, whakaako, ki te whakahaere, ki te whakatinana i ēnei kaupapa kia tupu ake ai te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao.

Kotahi tekau ngā kaupapa nei, ā, kua tāreingia ki ngā amo, ki ngā maihi o te whare kua tapaina ki te ingoa tupuna nei a Miria te Kakara, ā, ko tōna mahau te wāhi i pōwhiringia ai koutou i te ata nei. Ki te titiro atu koe ki te mahau i tōna papa pātiti, kei te amo me te maihi ki te taha katau ēnei kaupapa e rima: ko te reo, ko te ūkaipōtanga, ko te kaitiakitanga, ko te pūkengatanga, ko te wairuatanga. Ā, ko te whakapapa, ko te rangatiratanga, ko te whanaungatanga, ko te kotahitanga, ko te manaakitanga, kei te amo me te maihi ki te taha mauī.

Ko te koruru, koia ko te kākano i ruia mai i Rangiatea; e kore e ngaro.

Ko ngā amo, ko ngā maihi, ko te koruru he whakamahara, he whakakorikori i a mātou o Te Wānanga o Raukawa kia whakapūmautia, kia whakatinanahia ngā kaupapa kotahi tekau nei i roto i ā mātou mahi katoa.

He mahi, he mātāpono, he kaupapa

Kāti i konei, i ēnei mahi a ōku mātua, a ōku tūpuna. Heoi anō, ka tikina ētehi whakaaro nō ēnei mahi.

E hoa mā:

E whakaae ia nei tātou ko tā tātou mahi i tēnei ao, ko te tahuri ki te whakahaere i ngā mahi kia tupu ake te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao?

He mea nui te rangatiratanga ki a tātou?

E hiahia ana tātou, i runga i te whakaiti, i te ngākau mahaki, kia kīia tātou he iwi rangatira tātou?

Kāti me whakaaro pea ki:

- ētehi mahi
- ētehi mātāpono
- ētehi kaupapa

Hei ārahi, hei āwhina i a tātou ki te whakapūmau, ki te whakaū i a tātou tonu ki tō tātou rangatiratanga i roto i ngā momo mahi katoa. E whā ngā mahi i tahuri ai ō tātou tūpuna ki te whakahaere i ō rātou wā. Arā ngā mātāpono o Whakatupuranga Rua Mano 100 tau i muri mai i te tuhinga i aua mahi e whā. Ā, ko ngā kaupapa kotahi tekau o Te Wānanga o Raukawa nō inanahi nei. Ahakoa nō tua whakarere, nō inakuanei, nō nāiane tonu ēnei mahi, mātāpono, kaupapa, ko te mātauranga e hua ai ēnei whakaaro nui kei te tupu tonu, kei te tupu tonu. Kia aha? Kia tupu ake ai tātou hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao.

He whakatūpato

Kei konei ka whakatūpato i a tātou. I a tātou e whakapūmau ana, e whakatinana ana, e whakahaere ana, i ngā mahi, i ngā mātāpono, i ngā kaupapa, me tūpato tātou ki ngā whakawai a te Pākehā. Nā Dayle Takitimu tātou i whakamahara i te ata nei,¹² nō inanahi tonu nei rātou me ā rātou tikanga ka tae mai ai ki ēnei motu. Kia tūpato ki āna tikanga, ki āna here. Kei aha? Kei uru mai te pirau. Kei reira ka hē ngā mahi, ka raruraru ngā mātāpono, ka kōtiti ngā kaupapa me ōna tikanga. Ka heke te tupu o te iwi. Ko te mutunga iho, ko tōna tukunga iho, ka takahia e tātou tonu tā tātou oati ki a tātou anō, kia tupu ake tātou hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao.

Me pukumahara ki ngā here a tēnei mea te kāwanatanga. Ko tāna he tukituki tonu ki te rangatiratanga. Ko te whai a tēnei hanga whakahaere a te kāwanatanga, kia noho ko ia te rangatira o tō tātou rangatiratanga, o ngāi tāua, o ngā mea katoa.

Ko te here tino kawa ki ōku taringa, e tino whakakotiti nei i ngā mahi, ko te here ā-ture nei, ko te here tūtohu e kīia ana ko te 'compliance'. Ahakoa ngā kaupapa, ahakoa ngā tikanga o ērā kaupapa, ahakoa

¹² Takitimu, Dayle. Kaikōrero Matua: 'Re-searching Rangatiratanga, Innovating Mātauranga' Kei Tua o Te Pae Conference, 30-31 March, 2015, pp 15-16.

ngā mahi, ahakoa ngā mātāpono, ka noho ko tēnei here ā-ture nei hei rangatira.

Arā ngā kupu o te waiata nā te rōpū waiata o Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toa Rangatira me Te Ātiawa, a IWI:¹³

Kei te Kāwanatanga mō te whakawai i taku mana, ia rā, ia rā.

Mai i Kapene Kuki, ko tāna, ko te tukituki, tae mai ki tēnei rā!

Nō reira, ki a tātou o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, e Te Mana Whakahaere, e te Tumuaki, e ngā Pou, e ngā Kaihautū, kia kaha rā tātou. Ko tātou tonu ō tātou rangatira. Kia kaua e wawe tā tātou manaaki i ēnei here, kia kaua e tuohu noa i runga i te whiu a tēnei mea te kāwanatanga. Ko Te Wānanga o Raukawa, he whakatinanatanga o te rangatiratanga!

Kei ngā ngutu anake te kōrero?

Kāti. Hei whakangarengare i a tātou, hei akiaki ki a tātou tonu, ka hoki anō ki ērā pātai:

E whakaae ia nei tātou ko tā tātou mahi i tēnei ao, ko te tahuri ki te whakahaere i ngā mahi kia tupu ake te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao?

He mea nui te rangatiratanga ki a tatou?

E hiahia ana tātou, i runga i te whakaiti, i te ngākau mahaki, kia kīia tātou he iwi rangatira tātou?

Kāti, e hoa mā. Kia kaha ki te whakahaere i ngā mahi kia tupu ake te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao. Ka tika anō a Dayle, kia māia tātou. Kia māia! Kia ū ki te rangatiratanga! Kia manawanui tātou ki te whakaaro he iwi rangatira tātou! Kia toka tū moana tātou ahakoa ngā ākinga a tai, ākinga a hau, ākinga a ngaru tūātea ki tō tātou rangatiratanga.

Kei whakataukīngia tātou hei pare a waha, kei ngā ngutu anake te kōrero. Kia kaha rā tātou ki te whakamana i te kupu ka ngahoro mai i te ngutu. Whakatinanahia te rangatiratanga e whakamomori nei.

Māku e tiki tētehi tauira ki Ōtaki nei mō te ngākaurua ki te rangatiratanga. Kei Ōtaki nei, kotahi te kura-ā-iwi, ko Whakatupuranga Rua Mano, kotahi te kura kaupapa Māori, ko Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rito. Nā te iwi ēnei kura e rua i whakatū.

Arā ētehi kura Pākehā e whā. Ahakoa nā te iwi a Whakatupuranga Rua Mano (kura) rāua ko Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Rito i whakatū, ki te whakapūmau, ki te whakatupu i tō tātou rangatiratanga, kia tupu ake ai te iwi hei iwi rangatira ki tēnei ao, ko te nuinga o ngā tamariki a te iwi, tae atu ki ētehi (āhua tokomaha tonu) nā ngā kaimahi tonu o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, ka tukuna ki ēnei kura Pākehā.

Ka tikina ko ngā momo kura hei tauira mō te āhua o te ū ki te rangatiratanga, nā te mea ko tētehi tino tohu o te manawaroa, o te kaha o te tangata ki tētehi kaupapa, ko te tuku i āna tamariki ki taua kaupapa.

E hoa mā, kia kaua tātou e waiho kei ngā ngutu anake te kōrero, kia kaua e noho atu me te waiho mā te tokoiti pēnei i tōku tuahine rangatira nei i a Dayle e pīkau. Ā, ki a tātou o Te Wānanga o Raukawa, kia kaua hoki e waiho ko ngā kaupapa kotahi tekau nei hei whakanikonikotanga noa iho i tō tātou whare, a Miria te Kakara.

Ka mutu i konei. Hei whakakapi ake, arā tētehi kōrero nā tētehi o ōku tuāhine, māku e tuku, i runga i te whakaaro e kaingākau ana tātou katoa ki tō tātou reo, ā, ko te reo tētehi tohu nui o tō tātou rangatiratanga, hei akiaki hoki i a tātou kia manaakitia tō tātou reo rangatira.

E ki nei tātou he reo rangatira tō tātou reo, engari kāore i te eke tā tātou manaaki i a ia ki te taumata e tika ana mō te rangatira.¹⁴

Kia ora huihui mai anō tātou.

13 IWI 1999 'Kia Tūpato', He waiata nō te kopae waiata a IWI, Tangata Label.

14 Jacob, H 2013 'E Taku Iwi, Tukua Au kia Mate Rangatira' *Te Ūkaipō* 5, wh 9.

HE WHAKAPAPA MĀTAURANGA HEI WHENUA RANGATIRA

Wayne Ngata

Nō te tau 2013 i puta mai te tono a ngā wahakōrero o ngā iwi o te puku o te ika a Māui¹⁵ ki a mātau ko Moana Jackson o Ngāti Kahungunu/Ngāti Porou, ko Tahu Pōtiki o Ngāi Tahu ki te āwhina i a rātau ki te whakatau i ngā whiringa kerēme i waenganui i a rātau mō Kaingaroa. Kua ono tau rātau e whiriwhiri ana, e tohetohe ana kāore i āta tatū heoi ka tahuri ki ō neherā tikanga, māna kē e tau ai. Ka kīia ai tēnei whakaritenga ko te “mana whenua process”. I whakapā mai ki a mātau i te mea he rāwaho, he mōhio pea, he mārama hoki ki ētahi tikanga e pā ana ki te mana, ki te whenua hoki. Kāti, ka whakaae atu mātau.

Mōku ake nei ka matua whai whakaaro ki tētahi o ngā oriori o Te Whānau a Tūwhakairiora o Te Kawakawa Mai Tawhiti (Te Araroa) i whakaarahia, i ākona e mātau i ngā tau 1990. Ko te oriori tēnei a Te Māperetahi mō Tāmaungaoterangi, i kīia ai e Apirana he ‘genealogical-geographical song’. He tino waiata tēnei ki a au i te mea ka whakatakina haeretia ko ngā wāhi i tipu ai mātau i te riu o Awatere, Te Araroa. Hāunga, i whakatakotohia ko ngā momo tohutohu hei ārahi i te whakaaro o te tangata e whai mana a ia ki tōna whenua. Inā te tauira i kōrerotia rā e Apirana;¹⁶

Piki atu e koe ngā pikitanga kino
I roto o Te Tawai, hāngai te titiro
Ki te waka heke mai i waho o Taumutu,
Koe waka haupa nō tērā pahī.
Kauaka e koe hai haere i raro rā:
Whakaangi i runga rā, kia tae atu ana
Omarumapere, hei a Te Pare-mamaku.
Māna rā koe e pōhiri tū mai

15 Central North Island (CNI).

16 Ngata, AT & Jones PTH, *Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs Part III*, “He Oriori mō Tā-maunga-o-te-rangi”, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2006), wh 38-55.

Ki te awe o te maro, “Nau mai, e hika!”

Kia oha tō ringa, kia parea atu;

Ka puta kai waho.

I waiatatia mai e Te Māperetahi i Tupuni, he pā e tata ana ki te ngutu awa o Karakatuwhero, i te taha tonga. Ka mea iho ki te tamaiti, ‘Piki atu e koe ngā pikitanga kino i roto o Te Tawai’; he hiwi a Te Tawai kei runga o Waione, ko te pikitanga o te ara tawhito, ā kei tua o te hiwi te pā, a Te Tawai, kei runga ake i Te Maire. Kia eke ki te hiwi ka ‘hāngai te titiro ki te waka heke mai i waho o Taumutu.’ Kei te putanga atu tērā o Awatere awa ki te moana, kei te pito o te haupapa i te taha rāwhiti o te wāpu tawhito i Te Araroa. Ko te ara waka mai tērā ki uta nei. Kei waho atu o Taumutu ko Maihi. Ka whakamau mai te waka, kia taha mai i Maihi, ka tae mai ki Taumutu, he wāhi kōpua marino pūrangihoa! Ko te waka heke mai tērā ki uta nei. Ki te ahu atu i uta, ka tae ki taua wāhi, ka whakapū te waka, ka titiro atu ki waho; kia taha te ā, kātahi ka hoe.

Nā whakatau rawa te oriori ki te waitohu i te hunga nōna te waka rā, “Koe waka haupa nō tērā pahī.” Ko te haupa he kai, koia he waka whai kai, he waka hī ika te waka haupa. Ko tērā pahī, ko Te Whānau-a-Tū-te-rangi-whiu e noho ana i Hekawa, i te taha rāwhiti o Awatere, e ahu pērā ana ki Horoera, ki Whangaokeno. Kia puta te waka ki waho ka kitea atu tērā takutai.

Nā, ka hou atu mātau me ō mātau whakaaro ki te kaupapa nei. He momo whakawā tonu te mahi i raro i ngā whakaritenga whānui kua oti kē te whiriwhiri hei “tikanga based resolution process for CNI forests land”, māna e tau ai ngā kerēme ki te whenua “based on historical breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi by the Crown and the desire of...iwi to secure the return of that land and to achieve an enduring settlement of those claims”.¹⁷

17 <http://www.cniiwholdingsltd.co.nz/settlement-package>.

Ko te kaupapa o tēnei wānanga he whai whakaaro ki te hahu ake i te rangatiratanga, ki te tuku i te mātauranga. Kua tīkina atu te waiata i runga ake nei hei wāhi ake i taku kōrero, otirā hei whakatakoto i te tāhū o tēnei kauhau, arā;

He whakapapa atua hei tipuna
He whakapapa tipuna hei tangata
He whakapapa tangata hei kōrero
He whakapapa kōrero hei tikanga
He whakapapa tikanga hei oranga
He whakapapa oranga hei mātauranga
He whakapapa mātauranga hei whenua rangatira

He whakapapa atua hei tipuna

E ai ki ā tātau kōrero, he uri tātau nō ō tātau atua. Inā te kupu a Rangiuiā.¹⁸

He uri au nō Tāne, i hangahanga noa rā

I a Hine-ahuone; ka tū te ringaringa,

Ka tū te waewae, ka tū te mähuna.

Ka toro mai tōna ure ki runga i te tipuaki,

Kāti he nui ngā kōrero pēnei a te Māori, otirā, a te tangata ahakoa nō hea whenua, nō wai iwi. Koinei tonu te āhua o te tangata, he whakapapa i a ia ki ōna atua hei āhuatanga whakarangatira anō i a ia. Mā reira hoki e tūhonohono ai ki ngā mea e ora ana i te wai, i te oneone, i te rangi, i te pōhatu, i te rākau, i te aha noa atu. Koinei te whanaungatanga i waenganui i ngā tama a Ranginui rāua ko Papatūānuku heke iho. Koinei hoki te wā i whiriwhiria ai, i whakataua ai ngā āhuatanga, ngā kawenga hoki o tēnā atua me ana uri, o tēnā anō me ana uri, tae noa ki te tangata me ōna kawenga hei pīkau māna. He tikanga ēnei i takea mai i te tika o te mahi a tētahi ki tētahi, o te tangata ki te tangata, otirā ki ngā mea katoa. Nā reira ko tēnei te pūtakenga mai o ō mātau whakaaro hei āwhina i ngā iwi o Kaingaroa, ka whāia ko te tika e whai mana ai ngā iwi e tohe ana i te kaupapa nei, e noho rangatira anō hoki te whenua.

He whakapapa tipuna hei tangata

Kua kōrerotia te wāhi ki te waiata a Te Māperetahi. Ka whakatakina mai ngā tāhū tipuna taketake ki te whenua hei kōrero, hei whakamana i te noho a te tangata ki ngā wāhi i takatūria ai e rātau. He tohutohu,

¹⁸ *Te Wānanga*, “Te waiata tangi a Rangiuiā mō tana tamaiti”, wh 2.

he whakahau, he whakanui i te āhua o ngā kōrero. Inā anō tā Te Māperetahi¹⁹,

Kia whakarongo koe te mahi-a-waha,

Nō tō tuahine, nō Rua-kapanga-nui.

Whāia atu rā kai Te Kahika ē,

Kai Te Raparapa ē,

Ka hikoi te haere,

Me kore e mau i a koe.

Nā, i whakataua i mua hei whai mā ngā uri. Koinei tonu ngā whakapae a tēnā iwi, a tēnā iwi mō Kaingaroa. Ka nui rawa ngā take whenua i kōrerotia pēneitia. He karakia, he oriori, he waiata, he pātere, he haka anō te karawhiu mai, ko ngā mahi a ngā tipuna ka whai mana ki te whenua i tautohea ai, ka mutu he kōrero nui te mutunga iho.

He whakapapa tangata hei kōrero

Ka whakaorioritia ngā āhuatanga whakaheke o tuaukiuki ki tō nāiane whakaritenga, ka kīia ai he kawa i tāia, he tikanga i whāia, he oranga te hua mai. Kei tēnā whakatipuranga, kei tēnā whakatipuranga tōna anō whakamahinga, ka mau ki te whenua e takatū nei tātau. Noho ana te tangata, tipu ana te kōrero, hei whenua kura ka whakataukitia ai he whenua rangatira hoki.

E waru ngā iwi i noho ki te marae o Tautohe mō Kaingaroa te take. Ka whaikōrerotia, ka waiatatia, ka karakiatia, anō nei te aranga mai o te kapa o nehe nōna te matua o te kōrero. Mutu ana ka whakataua i runga i tā mātau i kī ai, me mana te tikanga, me whai tikanga te tangata, me rangatira tonu te kaupapa. I pērā nā ka tau.

Heoi me mārāma te tangata ki te Kaingaroa e kōrerotia ake nei. Nō te roa o te kai a Haungaroa tipuna te takenga mai o tōna ingoa, nō te wā anō i a Ngātoroirangi mā. Kāti 176,000 ha te rahi o te whenua ka noho i raro i tēnei mea te Raihana Ngahere Karauna (CFL). Mā te whiwhi CFL e whai wāhi ai te iwi ki te rākau, hei mea hoko, hei aha rānei. Koinei ngā hua mai i te whakataunga kerēme i raro i te Tiriti o Waitangi mō ngā iwi o te puku o te ika a Māui, kāti ka noho rātau i raro i tō rātau rōpū o Central North Island Iwi (CNI) ki te whiriwhiri, ki te whakataua i te

¹⁹ Ngata, AT & Jones PTH, *Ngā Mōteatea: The Songs Part III*, wh 44.

mana whakahaere i ngā raihana nei. Koirā i tohe ai, i raru ai, i puta ai ki tēnei whakaritenga, ka mutu i a mātau.

He whakapapa kōrero hei tikanga

Nā reira ka whakatakotohia mai e ia iwi ōna kōrero e pā ana ki te whenua nei me ōna raihana me kore pea e hinga te take i a rātau. He motu whenua he kōrero, he awa he kōrero, he puke he kōrero, he tipuna he kōrero. Ka hua mai ngā momo take whenua o te Māori e mōhiotia ana me ērā hoki kāore i te tino mōhiotia. I āta kōrerotia e ētahi te take kitenga, te taunaha, te raupatu, te tuku, te ahikā, te pakihwi kaha, āe e mārāma ana ko ēnei nā. Heoi ka whakapaea anō e ētahi he mana hoki ō te ahi tahutahu, te ahi mātaotao, te whenua roharohai, te take huarahi anō. I konei ka rite ki ā ngā tuākana o Māui kotikoti ika, ka rere ngā whakapae, ka tau-utuutuhia te kaupapa, mutu ana, tū ana te whare kōrero tikanga o te puku o te ika. Ko te āhuatanga i tino kite nei au ko tērā o te tangata tōna tikanga, arā ko te kaha o te whakawhirinaki, ko te kore rānei. Inā te āhua;

ahakoa kāore pea i tino whakaae, engari nā rātau te tono, mā mātau e whakatau. Koinei pea te tino orange i puta mai i te whakapapa o te kaupapa nei, me te aha, ka rangatira te kaupapa, ka mana anō te whenua i raro i ēnei āhuatanga. Nā whai anō ka whakataukitia ai - **he whakapapa orange hei mātauranga** – ka nui te wānanga, he mātauranga te whai. Nāna ka kiia ai, **he whakapapa mātauranga hei whenua rangatira**, arā, kua tau te take i waenganui i ngā iwi nei, kua mau te rongō ki te whenua, uhi wero, uhi tāia, tau mai te mauri, haumi e! Hui e! Tāiki e!

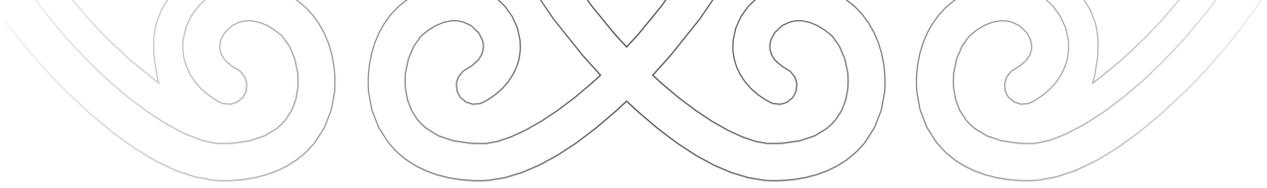
Whakawhirinaki/Whakapono

Iti	—————	Nui
Whakawetiweti		Ngākaunui
Whakariterite		Mārāma
Tā te Ture		Kanohi kitea
Nui te kōrero hei whakatau		Āe noa
Āta herea ki te whakaritenga		Mana kupu

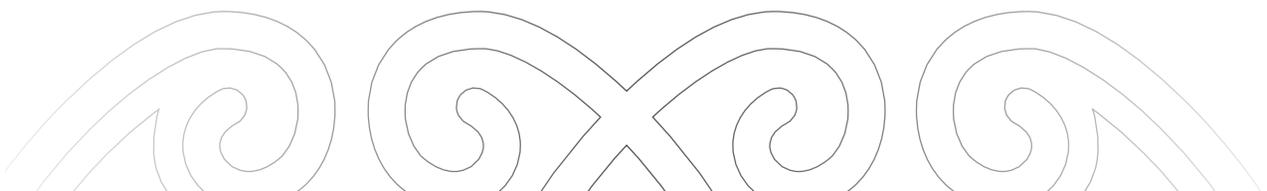
Tērā e iti nei te whakapono o tētahi ki tētahi atu, ka nui rawa te whakaratarata kia mau ai te rongō, kia tau ai te take. Ki te nui rawa te whakapono, te whakawhirinaki rānei ka ngāwari kē te whakatau take.

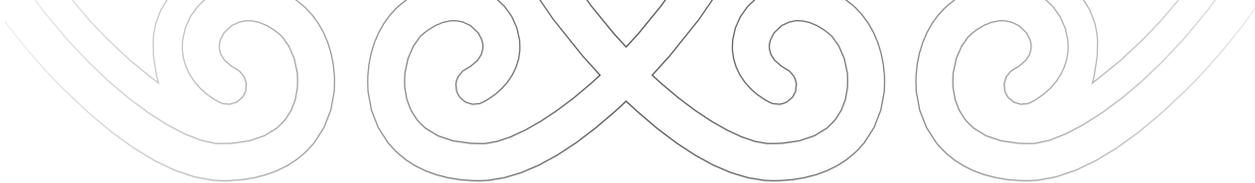
He whakapapa tikanga hei orange

Haere ana ngā kōrero, ngā whakapae, ngā whiriwhiri, ka whakataua e mātau me pēhea i runga i ngā tikanga i hua ake ai i ngā kōrero a tēnā iwi, a tēnā iwi. Ka mutu ka whiwhi nui ētahi, ka whiwhi noa ētahi, ka kore ētahi – ka whakaae katoa mai ngā iwi,



INNOVATING MĀTAURANGA





KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH AND INNOVATING MĀTAURANGA

Jessica Hutchings

The whakaaro for the first hui for Kei Tua o te Pae came six years ago when I first joined Te Wāhanga, New Zealand Council for Educational Research. Helen Potter was working with us at the time along with our Rōpū Tikanga Rangahau whose membership included Moana Jackson, Ani Mikaere, Kathie Irwin and Lee Cooper. We discussed the need to gather kaupapa Māori researchers to continue to theorise and grow the discourse of kaupapa Māori. The idea for a series of hui that supported the critical development of kaupapa Māori in its own right was mooted, hence Kei Tua o te Pae was conceived.

Te Wāhanga works in very deliberate ways to hold a kaupapa Māori space in a Pākehā organisation and we continually agitate and make space for ourselves in terms of our kaupapa Māori research work. One of the reasons why Kei Tua o te Pae eventuated was our need to think with other Māori about how those of us in kaupapa Māori units inside white organisations hold the critical edge of kaupapa Māori in the everyday of our work. How do we do this and maintain our well-being? How do we hold and grow our kaupapa Māori thinking in spaces where whiteness is seen as being neutral and where whiteness doesn't actually see its dominance? These are questions I am faced with in my role as the Manager of a kaupapa Māori research unit in a non-kaupapa Māori organisation.

Last year we had an interesting experience at work, where our whole floor was repainted. White was the chosen colour because white we were told is a 'neutral' colour and everything blends in with white. In response to this ongoing discourse in the office, one of our Pākehā colleagues mocked up one of those Tui billboard ads on the computer and shared it with Te Wāhanga. It read "white is a neutral colour – yeah right". In the everyday of the office my experience is

that whiteness doesn't actually see the dominance that it represents. Therefore, our purpose in calling these hui was so we as kaupapa Māori researchers could form and be with a community of other like-minded people, a community of resisters, so we can create spaces to have these types of conversations. So thinking back to the inception of these hui, this was their purpose for coming into being.

Our first hui in 2011 was about understanding the challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century. Within that first hui we talked about kaupapa Māori research: what it is and how do we do it? We listened to Māori activists, scholars, theorists and practitioners talk about these challenges from their own spaces and perspectives across a range of disciplines. At that first hui, Moana Jackson left us with inspiring and heartfelt words about how to be brave. He spoke about the braveness we need to take with us into these very white spaces to do the work we need to do. The four things that Moana said to us were: first of all we need to know who we are, secondly we need to know where we are at, thirdly we need to know what we have to think about and fourthly we need to know where we have to go and we need to have the bravery to know what we need to transform. The purpose of Kei Tua o te Pae is to create these spaces so we can do this type of thinking, so we can come to know ourselves in these types of spaces in relationship with others and our generous hosts from Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

From yesterday's kōrero we've landed here today, this is day two of our third Kei Tua o te Pae hui, 'Researching Rangatiratanga, Innovating Mātauranga'. Yesterday we heard from Dayle. She described her kōrero as musings on Rangatiratanga from a Te Whānau-ā-Apanui wahine. Dayle talked about

Rangatiratanga as not necessarily being a destination to reach but she reminded us that we are actually in it every day; that it flows within us; that it's in our cellular memory; and it is within who we are. She reminded us that Rangatiratanga is a verb. It's a way of being and a state of mind. Essentially it's a philosophy and a philosophical concept that we should champion. Dayle said if you believe it, just act it. Act as if. Don't ask for permission. You have self-determination: don't wait for somebody else to give it to you.

Dayle talked about an intergenerational strategy for self-sufficiency. This resonates with me as being of critical importance in the 21st century with the convergence of peak oil, climate change, food insecurity, and in particular, thinking about how these notions of self-sufficiency in a post-peak oil economy play out for Māori economies. She also talked about notions of space and the importance of staying courageous in times of fear; the bravery and courage that we need in different spaces to exercise Rangatiratanga; and the difficulty of sticking to your truth when there is doubt within you.

From her kōrero I am left with many things to ponder. What strategies do we need to take into our workplaces, into the everyday, when we leave such beautiful places as Te Wānanga o Raukawa (where kaupapa is normalised)? How do we actually do that and take the normalisation of kaupapa Māori into those spaces? Dayle then talked about hope. Hope, she said, is what gives life to Rangatiratanga and what keeps it alive. In this essence I think that a lot of the work we do is hope labour: that we actually labour for hope. Rangatiratanga, she said is about choice and freedom, it's about our own waka not with an ama that is attached to the crown.

We then heard from Tama Kirikiri who raised the issue of having to fight others and defend Rangatiratanga for us. Jenny Lee reminded us about the need to tell our own stories and engaging our own methodologies through pūrākau; using pūrākau as a kaupapa Māori methodology to generate evidence; and the purposeful positioning we can undertake as kaupapa Māori researchers engaging pūrākau as a legitimate form of evidence in research. Wayne Ngata talked about the divine relationships within our knowledge systems. He posed questions such as, what is right? What is tika? How do we know?

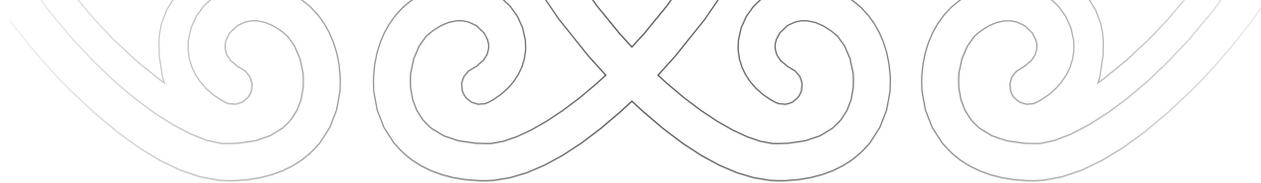
I read over the summaries from the workshops that were held yesterday and it really brought home to me where we came to at the end of day one and where we pick up again today in our thinking. In summary the workshops yesterday saw Mātauranga and Rangatiratanga as integral to each other and many of you felt that we define Rangatiratanga—nobody else defines it for us. Rangatiratanga is considered by many to be inherent, that is if you believe you have it, then you just do it. Many of you also discussed the importance of having courage and faith to revitalise ourselves and re-energise ourselves, and thought that spaces like Kei Tua o te Pae are important. People also said that Rangatiratanga is contextual and it has different layers, individual and collective, and it's about reclaiming and recognising. Some asked if it is just about enacting. Many of you said that Rangatiratanga and Whakapapa can give us reassurance. Further feedback from the kōrero was that we've been here for a long time with our tikanga, Mātauranga and reo, and the kāwanatanga is the newcomer. So that's where we landed yesterday in terms of our kōrero around Rangatiratanga.

The theme for today is around innovating Mātauranga and when I looked up innovate on my iPhone it came up with not very inspiring words actually. It said introduce something new; make changes in anything already established; renewed; altered; and derived from the Latin word Novus meaning new. So what we want to do today is to build and strengthen new ways of thinking about Mātauranga and ways that will renew and contribute to the growth of the Mātauranga continuum.

At this hui we deliberately put to the side the crown's notion and strategy of 'vision mātauranga'. This strategy often catches and engages hungry Māori researchers, eager to engage the crown strategy and 'unlock' the potential of Mātauranga. What we are interested to think about today is how we as a diverse community can expand the creative knowledge continuum of Mātauranga Māori. As Ani said yesterday western knowledge has described Mātauranga as being limited and limiting and the purpose of this hui is to let our imaginations soar.

So this hui, as with the other two hui is an attempt to critically engage. We're all here together, we've got workshops, we have an excellent line up of kaikōrero,

there are proceedings, and there are opportunities for you to really challenge yourself in pushing your thinking in different directions. There's no right or wrong here. We're really aiming to create a space so we can test out some of these ideas in spaces where often we feel, should we really be thinking that, should we be saying that? In this context it is about learning, it is about exploring these ideas and it is about pushing the boundaries. So I welcome you today to the hui. I encourage you to critically engage with the kaupapa of innovating Mātauranga. We have some workshop questions today. The first is who actually controls Mātauranga? The second is, Mātauranga and Rangatiratanga: can we have one without the other? These are questions that we want to explore, building off the last two hui.



I DON'T SEE DEAD PEOPLE (WELL, NOT SO MUCH ANYWAY)

Debbie Broughton

Who moved Kāpiti Island?

I couldn't wait to tell you
when I made it to the shed
that morning
cut you off before you
could call out
Kia ora

I couldn't wait to tell you

Kāpiti Island
disappeared that morning
like someone picked it up and moved it

white cloud had dropped
down in front of Kāpiti
like a white
roller
blind

and if I hadn't driven that road
so many times before
then I would never have known
Kāpiti was supposed to be there at all

You draped transparent fabric
against a cushion
demonstrating
how
the cloud
screening Kāpiti
was like the fabric
between us and tūpuna

you revealed
that on conception
I was given a teardrop
and in the teardrop was
everything I ever needed
to achieve my purpose in life

you shifted
my perception
of life, of death, of myself, of
my tūpuna

and I've come to understand
I witnessed
Kāpiti Island appear
to disappear because
my tūpuna wanted me to

I've come to understand
you share the teardrop because
tūpuna need us to remember it
I've come to understand more
through you
than I ever could have
in 13 years of being in 'school'
and I am just one

of a multitude
who you've reminded
about who we are
about who tūpuna are

but
if I google you
I won't discover papers to cite
conference presentations to watch
a facebook page
or linkedin profile.

That's the humility inherent with putting the kaupapa before the Māori.
That's the anonymity that goes hand in hand with operating through koha.
That's the impact of practising the theory.

Why it doesn't matter if you can't build a fire
(although heat is essential)

The couple debated the whakapapa
of trees. She nodded and she
smiled. She couldn't tell
which was the tōtara and
which was the pine.

The man quizzed her about
how a hungry bird decides which
side of a tree to eat from. She didn't know
if he was joking.

The woman pointed out that building
a community was like building
a fire. But her heat pump doesn't
burn firewood.

She's cosy in her car, wave
watching...as tūpuna throw light on whakapapa
through patterns on paper towels freeze
gmail to stop an email
sending...weave stories of
truth and power through
E!

That's when I realised I had more power than I knew

Jessie J marvelled—imagine
if we all had that
revelation...reminding us of our

unlimited potential through MTV
documentaries about Nicki Minaj pushing her
pen

And they mould that will learn you moments.

Not wrath-of-the-gods style
punishments but
reminders
of who she is and will become

she does the dishes. The tree
outside
her window a distraction.

Stars are still here during the day

it's funny how everyday life can hold
insights into those questions in the back
of our minds even those weighty
ones about us, about tūpuna.
or maybe it's not funny...maybe

it's not a coincidence like that day
we turned the corner into our
street and my girl asked

Māmā, do you know the stars are still here during
the day? But we just can't see
them because the sun is too bright

and I looked up to check if what she had shared was
true and at the same time I knew she was
right and it surprised me

that my 7 year old
understands more about the nature
of the world than I do

and at the same time it doesn't surprise me

that understanding
can come in a flash of realisation
inspired by a 7 year old

that understanding
doesn't just come to us through
the old people

we can see.

sometimes what we think is
hidden was never
hidden sometimes all it takes is
a glance up at the sky to remember the
stars were there all along.

Who do you think you are? (could be considered spicy to some)

Are you sitting there thinking
she didn't go to kōhanga
kura or wharekura
she wasn't brought up with the reo
or by the old people

So who does she think she is?

Standing up there as if she knows something
Standing up there as if she is someone
My aunty/uncle/kuia/dog's cat's sister knows more than her

Or are you sitting there thinking maybe

she was a philosopher in her last life
I was a philosopher in a past life
she was a poet
I was an astrophysicist
she was my Mum

Are you sitting there thinking
if she can do it, then maybe I can too?

Where will we be in 100 years time?
Where will the mokopuna of our mokopuna be
if we leave this coming to know journey
to someone else to articulate?
if we leave this coming to understand journey
to someone else to manifest?

Should we wait for the crown to give us permission and funding?

I don't see dead people (well, not so much anyway)

I used to think
whakapapa was something
recorded in pencil in Dad's
whakapapa book stored on
top of the wardrobe

I used to think
the tūpuna in our whakapapa
book were just dead people
separate from us. And
all of us and all of them
separate from babies to come

I used to wonder
who or what babies were
before they were
babies

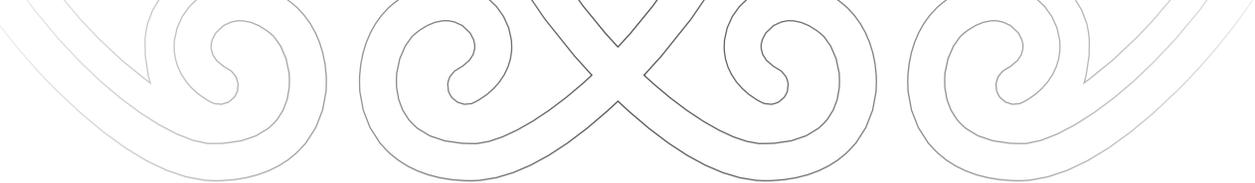
but if whakapapa
binds us to our tūpuna
who were here before us and those
who come next...then there is
no us and them

if whakapapa is a
cycle or a circle...then my
babies were tūpuna and my
tūpuna are my babies

after Nanny and Granddad
died I used to
dream that they hadn't really
died that instead the part where they

died was the
dream

maybe that's the
reason for the
pencil



WHAKAPAPA AND THE LIMITLESS NATURE OF MĀTAURANGA

Ani Mikaere

In my introductory comments²⁰ I noted that we have been encouraged, over the last two centuries, to think of mātauranga as both limited and limiting. I thought it might be helpful to elaborate on the fallacy of that idea, with respect to one of the kaupapa that we at Te Wānanga o Raukawa have identified as fundamental to our operation as a kaupapa-based institution: whakapapa.

I have chosen whakapapa because it is such a pivotal concept. It is a building block of so many (if not all) of the other kaupapa. How can we even begin to talk about concepts such as whanaungatanga or kotahitanga, for instance, without referring to whakapapa?

Even a decision such as the one we have taken for this conference—to resist the mindless consumerism of providing yet another flashy, branded (but ultimately useless) conference satchel, crammed with material that goes straight into the bin when you leave—even that decision, can be traced back to our understanding of whakapapa. Consistent with the kaupapa of kaitiakitanga, the obligation to be mindful of our non-human relations to whom we are connected by whakapapa, we have tried to minimise the waste that is so often generated by these kinds of events. We have deliberately opted for a plain ecotote that we hope you will actually use for more than just these two days. Instead of filling it with masses of glossy handouts or other items of questionable utility, we have chosen to provide only material that is of immediate practical use (the conference programme) or that might be valuable in the longer term (the proceedings from the last conference).

Many of our speakers have talked about whakapapa already, so I will try not to repeat what others have

said. However, I do want to share a realisation about whakapapa that has only come to me very recently. It is an insight which, now that I pause to think about it, is incredibly obvious and yet it has taken me by surprise. It is simply this: that whakapapa looks quite different, depending upon where you sit within it. Like most things, it is a matter of perspective.

When I was a child, someone who belonged to the newest layer to have been added to the whakapapa, I did not really think about it too much. I was interested in knowing a bit about those who had come before me. I understood the relationship between myself and my grandparents, my aunts and uncles, and my cousins. However, I did not waste much time pondering the miracle of my existence. In common with most children, I suspect, I took for granted the decision my parents had made to produce me. It was not until I became a parent myself—taking responsibility, jointly with another, for adding a new generation—that I had cause to think about the significance of whakapapa a little more. And of course, all those feelings have been magnified in recent years, as I have attained the status of grandmother with the birth of my first three mokopuna. Through them, I now find my whakapapa intertwined with the whakapapa of whānau from Te Taitokerau, from Port Waikato, from Hauraki and from the Kaipara, in new and fascinating ways.

For a few, extraordinary years, I had the experience of straddling four whakapapa layers of my whānau simultaneously: I was lucky enough to be a daughter, a sister, a mum and a nanny all at once. That period in my life certainly made me think more about the passage of time, about the cumulative experience of all of these generations sharing this brief moment together on this earth, and about the part that each of us plays as a link in the chain.

²⁰ See p 7.

During the past nine months my sisters and I have seen one of those links severed as we have lost both of our parents, one shortly after the other. And that has changed my perspective yet again. All at once I am very conscious that we are the next link! The carefree sense of being a child, the newest layer added to the whakapapa, feels like it was only yesterday. And yet here I am, quite suddenly, with no generations remaining between myself and whatever comes next. It is an astounding realisation but, in its way, it is also a gift. I can honestly say that I have a new appreciation of whakapapa, now that I find myself in this position.

Whakapapa, in the sense that I just have been talking about, refers to human relationships. Of course, it is about so much more than that. As many have noted, whakapapa helps us to explain our place within the world around us. It enables us to conceptualise the beginning of life itself.

One of my favourite descriptions of whakapapa comes from my uncle, Whatarangi Winiata: he has described it as a technique conceived by our tūpuna, a technique that made possible the unlimited accumulation of knowledge.²¹ I particularly like this explanation of whakapapa because it makes it quite clear that it is not simply a list of names, or a body of knowledge, or a convenient way of framing our place in the world: whakapapa is also an intellectual tool. It is a way of thinking that can be applied to any situation—and this is where the potential for innovation becomes evident.

For instance, we can apply whakapapa as a tool for critical analysis. Let me give you an example. I believe that the terms tuakana and teina denote the specific characteristics, roles and responsibilities of individuals within the whānau, without carrying any implication that one role is more important than the other. However, we are often assured that the notion of primogeniture is authentically ours;²² and that tuakana are therefore accorded priority within the whānau. The suggestion that this sibling hierarchy is part of tikanga has always irked me—but how best to interrogate it?

21 Winiata, W “The Reconciliation of Kāwanatanga and Tino Rangatiratanga”, Rua Rautau Lecture, Ōtaki, 30 January 2005, p 3.

22 See, for example, Hirini Moko Mead in *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Wellington: Huia Publishers, 2003) p 40, where he equates what he calls “the mātāmua principle” with “the principle of primogeniture”.

People like Moana have taught us that all words have a whakapapa; and tracing the whakapapa of primogeniture is revealing. It is a Latin word, meaning “first born”. It established the ancient rule in feudal England that the eldest son would inherit the entire estate of his parents. It was developed because the nobles wanted to preserve their large holdings, preventing them from being broken up into smaller holdings over successive generations, which would eventually weaken their power.²³ Applying a whakapapa analysis to primogeniture tells us that it is the product of a particular cultural context, where male privilege and the accumulation and maintenance of property as a means of retaining power over others were celebrated. It has no relevance to Māori philosophy. It is a bit like the suggestion that it is tikanga for land interests to be succeeded to solely by the males within a whānau, on the basis that only the males carry the whānau name. Given that our tūpuna never had surnames, the whakapapa of that particular ‘tikanga,’ I think you would have to agree, is highly suspect.

The fact that whakapapa is so pivotal to our philosophical framework means that the way we conceptualise it is incredibly important. The way that we visualise and understand whakapapa will have far-reaching effects on the way that we understand our place in the world.

I doubt whether I am saying anything unexpected when I suggest that whakapapa establishes the interconnection of everything in the world, prioritising the acknowledgement of interdependence and the maintenance of balance through the nurturing of relationships. That much, I suspect, is regarded as fairly obvious.

I also believe that a conception of reality with these defining characteristics cannot possibly be reconciled with rigid notions of dominance and subservience. It is my view that whakapapa is inherently non-hierarchical in structure and purpose, serving to link all facets of creation in a complex web that extends in all directions and into infinity.

However, something disturbing 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

23 <http://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/primogeniture>

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” (as opposed to, say, “ka puta”) when reciting whakapapa, to indicate notions of descent from ancestors. I suspect that this reflects the way that they visualise what they have learned in written form. However, the word ‘whakapapa’ literally means to build one layer upon another which, if anything, suggests that later generations should appear higher up the page than their tūpuna, rather than the other way around.

You might ask why I’m so confident in my claim that whakapapa is inherently non-hierarchical, and that the hierarchical elements within its contemporary expression are the result of Western influence. It would take me an awfully long time to provide a detailed answer, but for now I am able to mention a couple of important clues.

Firstly, we know that Pākehā are obsessed with hierarchy! Paula Gunn Allen says that the whole of Western civilization is based on the idea that dominance equals superiority and that superiority is a reflection of the divine.²⁴ Robert Yazzie has 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) positioned themselves at the apex of the triangle, assuming the right to control the multitude of lesser beings (Indigenous Peoples, including Māori, whose lands the colonisers wanted for themselves).²⁵

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 us to buy into a system of rank than by reassuring some of us (those who the colonisers perceived to be leaders) that their

rightful place in the pecking order was higher than that of the rest of their relatives (those who did not fit the colonisers’ preconceived notions about what a leader looked like)? Little wonder we now have a situation where some perceive rangatiratanga as a competition,²⁶ setting their sights on becoming a rangatira so that they can finally sit at the apex of the triangle!

However, the most important reason why I think that hierarchical interpretations of whakapapa cannot be trusted is my certain knowledge that our tūpuna would have conceptualised whakapapa in accordance with models of growth and expansion that they saw around them. What are the odds that, when they visualised whakapapa, what they were seeing in their mind’s eye was a two-dimensional series of straight lines, beginning at the top of a page and descending to its bottom—a method of recording information that had been developed by a different people, at a different time, in a far-distant part of the world?

Looking at the world around them, what are some of the models they might logically have utilised? We know that te pā harakeke is one of them. There are doubtless others. Our tūpuna might have imagined the progression of events that led to the world as we now know it as represented by the image of a drop of water falling into a pool, with the ripples moving ever outwards but eternally connected to their point of origin; or by a source of light or sound, travelling out in all directions and into eternity. Imagine if, when they developed the technique of whakapapa to explain the beginning of creation, our tūpuna did as so many other peoples have done, looking into the magnificent expanse of the night sky and imagining a progression of events not unlike that described by proponents of the Big Bang Theory: the spontaneous, miraculous appearance of something from nothing and, from that point in time and space, an unending expansion of life in all directions.²⁷ This would render whakapapa as three-dimensional, endlessly complex and infinite. Imagine the potential of whakapapa, as a conceptual tool, if that is the way that we understand it.

24 Gunn Allen, P *Off the Reservation: Reflections on Boundary-busting, Border-crossing Loose Canons* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998) p 66.

25 Yazzie, R “Indigenous Peoples and Postcolonial Colonialism” in Battiste, M (ed) *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Vision* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000) p 43.

26 See Takitimu, Dayle p 16.

27 <http://www.big-bang-theory.com/>

I hope that in your discussions today, and in the future, you might take some time to ponder the possibilities for us if we utilised the concept of whakapapa more fully, more deliberately in our everyday lives—and if we visualised it in the ways that I have spoken about.

NGĀ PŪTAKE O TE KUPU ‘WĀNANGA’

Ruakere Hond

E te iti, e te rahi kua rahi mai nei ki te karanga a Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Te karanga a Rongo-maraeroa, ko tōna hua, te kai a te rangatira, he kōrero. Waihoki, e mea mai ana ‘Kei Tua o te Pae,’ arā rā te pae o moumahara, whiti ki tua ki rātou, a Ati Moe, a Ati Rua, okioki. Engari anō te pae, he pae tata, he pae tawhiti, tēnei e whāia ana, e ara rā tātou tahi e te iwi. Tō koutou tini i te rā nei, taukiri e.

I am here to talk about something that was my focus when I was immersed in my Masters research, a few years ago now, where I considered the word ‘wānanga’ and how it had been influenced over time. In particular, I considered how it was being used in the context of tertiary education. Back in 2000 ‘wānanga’ was the subject of significant political tension following the release of *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report*.²⁸ If I had been asked to speak about Māori language revitalisation, something I am more heavily involved with today, you would have been hearing my views on the need for clarity of the use of the term, ‘revitalisation,’ and the political tensions associated with it in the Bill on the table in Parliament. In fact ‘wānanga’ and ‘reo revitalisation’ share many similarities of experience. They both arose in the mid-1970s as community level movements, becoming prominent in the early 1980s and recognised in legislation in the late 1980s.²⁹ Some, including myself, would say following legislation they became institutionalised within a regime of state resourcing. So it is possible to consider the two concepts to be intertwined to some extent. Certainly this has been the case here in Te Wānanga o Raukawa where your endeavours in both fields have spanned that timeline.

²⁸ Waitangi Tribunal, *The Wananga Capital Establishment Report (Wai 718)* 1999.

²⁹ Reo Māori in 1987, and ‘wānanga’ in the Education Amendment Act 1989.

For today I return to the concept of ‘wānanga.’ I’ll try to explain the main points of my research and include some ideas of how I perceive it from a Parihaka perspective. An analysis of ‘wānanga’ requires some understanding of the political tensions that existed at various times when the word was being used. It is helpful to understand how legislation gave institutional status to Wānanga under the Act, that is:³⁰

A wananga is characterised by teaching and research that maintains, advances, and disseminates knowledge and develops intellectual independence, and assists the application of knowledge regarding ahuatanga Maori (Maori tradition) according to tikanga Maori (Maori custom).

I will start in the late 1990s. When I was researching this subject, polytechnics and universities were beginning to associate their educational status with the use of the term ‘whare wānanga.’ Some technical institutes who had previously been referred to in Māori as ‘kuratini,’ ‘kura matatini’ or ‘kura takiura,’ changed their name to ‘whare wānanga.’ This was, at least in part, due to the restrictions placed on the use of the high-status name ‘university,’ which was limited by law to officially recognised universities alone. Other institutions sought to associate their activities with a high level of tertiary education status. The name ‘whare wānanga’ had no such restriction placed on it but had generally become linked with ‘university,’ particularly in circles of Māori speakers. Some institutions began to apply the term ‘whare wānanga’ in the Māori versions of their name. We should remember that ‘Wānanga,’ although defined under the Education Amendment Act 1989, was not restricted similarly in its use because the term was

³⁰ Education Act 1989, s 162(4)(b)(iv)

considered too broadly used to be protected.³¹ Many institutions quickly moved to take ownership of domain designations.

In 2002, the use of 'wānanga' and its variants with web domains were protected by moves to retain registration as the table below shows:³²

Web Domains	Registered Owners
wananga.com	Te Wānanga o Raukawa
wananga.net	Te Wānanga o Raukawa
wananga.org	Te Wānanga o Raukawa
wananga.info	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.biz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.co.nz	Te Wānanga o Raukawa
wananga.ac.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.net.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.org.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.gen.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.geek.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.school.nz	Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
wananga.maori.nz	Adrian Elliot, Hamilton
waananga.ac.nz	University of Auckland*
whare-wananga.co.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
whare-wananga.ac.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
whare-wananga.net.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
whare-wananga.org.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
open-wananga.co.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
open-wananga.ac.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
open-wananga.net.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*
open-wananga.org.nz	The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand*

*These institutions were registrants to each of the named sites in 2002, but in 2005 registration had lapsed

31 Tertiary Education Advisory Commission (TEAC,2001:69).

32 www.whois.sc (27 March 2005); www.domainz.net.nz (27 March 2005, 14 January 2002).

However this use of Māori names was not one-way traffic. For a number of years Te Wānanga o Aotearoa prominently featured the statement “translation: University of New Zealand” beside their name. Identifying the statement as a translation did not appear to contravene the restriction on using ‘university’ as a designation; however this position was strongly challenged by the New Zealand Vice-Chancellors’ Committee.³³ People started to see ‘whare wānanga’ as an identifier of status within tertiary education, and of course I started to wonder how did this all come to be?

Ka tīmata te rapu i te whakapapa o te kupu ‘wānanga’. My analysis took into consideration how ‘wānanga’ had been used in the past. Each generation has its influence and an impact on the use of language. Languages change. Through use, words are reinterpreted within varied contexts. Sometimes when you go back and look at the whakapapa of where the word came from, the biggest question you ask yourself is not, what is the meaning of ‘wānanga’, but is the original meaning of the word still relevant and valid in today’s context? Should we accept language change as inevitable where old forms of use naturally become replaced with new meanings? Koirā te ia o taku kōrero i te rā nei, me te mea hoki e tika ana kia āta whakaatu kei whea te tūranga o te kaikōrero i roto i tēnei kōrero. Kia rukuia te pūtake o te tōrangapū o te wā, kia puare mai he māramatanga.

I te tīmatanga o te whakapapa o te kupu ‘wānanga’, me hoki ki ngā reo o Te Moana Nui a Kiwa i Hawaiiki rā anō. I looked at the wider context of the Pacific languages. In Marquesan ‘vanana’ can be associated with ‘wānanga’. ‘Vanana’ means to recite karakia, in particular, karakia that include an element of whakapapa or genealogy. This is very similar to the use of the word in Hawai’i as well. Some of you may have been to Easter Island, to Rapanui, or have had heard Riro talk about his language when he worked here in Raukawa. In Rapanui they use ‘vananga’ in pretty much the same way we use ‘kōrero’.

For us to determine the way ‘wānanga’ was used as a word in the past, it is possible to look at language resources such as karakia, waiata and kōrero that have been retained and that we are able to identify

³³ Jonathan Milne “Wananga Faces Lecture Over University Claims” New Zealand Herald (online ed, Auckland, 23 January 2005).

as being used before European contact or early in the period of contact. Well recognised expressions such as he pūkenga, he wānanga, he taura, he tauira, are reasonably common oral elements among many iwi. In those contexts, words such as ‘pūkenga’ aren’t so much applied as we see them today. Most often ‘pūkenga’ referred to a person who had skills and was not as centred on the distinct skills themselves. This is similar to the use of ‘wānanga’. ‘Wānanga’ wasn’t so much considered to be something that existed outside of a person, it was the person themselves. A person with knowledge was the embodiment of that knowledge. I te wā ka kōrero he wānanga, he tupua, he tawhito, he tangata katoa ērā, they are all people who occupy certain roles or abilities recognised within communities. They are people who hold on to kōrero or they convey certain bodies of kōrero within the community. With this in mind we are able to say ‘wānanga’ was a word used in the distant past, before the migration to Aotearoa, albeit a little different to how it is currently used in various Pacific languages. Maybe use in Māori changed in the distant past, or usage in other languages changed. Most likely, meaning within each language changed independently of each other.

Part of understanding this analysis is considering how ‘wānanga’ can be associated with a person rather than its use. A reading of the work of Walter Ong is helpful; in particular the way in which he describes pre-literate language that is primarily oral in nature. He suggests it tends not to abstract concepts outside of people and out of the real world, but most of the concepts discussed are based in tangible objects or people.³⁴

Knowledge [in an oral culture] is hard to come by and precious, and society regards highly those wise old men and women who specialize in conserving it, who know and can tell the stories of the days of old. By storing knowledge outside the mind, writing and, even more, print downgrade the figures of the wise old man and the wise old woman, repeaters of the past, in favour of younger discoverers of something new.

So when we talk about that form of knowledge associated with ‘wānanga’, how is it possible to be abstracted or dislocated from the person who holds

³⁴ Ong, WJ *Orality & Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (New York: Routledge, 1988), p 41.

that information? Ana, ko ngā kōrero i ahu mai i te tangata i tōna whare, i roto i tōna whare wānanga. Me kī ko te pono o te kōrero, me tīmata te tātai, me whai whakapapa te kōrero. Identifying your sources was important for our tūpuna. You were linked by whakapapa to your knowledge. The identity of your knowledge was based in the identity of your people and your 'whare wānanga'. Your references articulated your relationships, and the knowledge of others did not belong to you. Te Maire Tau described this traditional form of knowledge to be insular or localist.³⁵

The past was massaged and moulded into a form that maintained the mana of one's ancestors and community. It was not the duty of the storyteller and community to take into account another group's perception of the same event.

Ka noho tuakana atu tēnei kōrero i tērā, he tapu ēnei kōrero, he tūtūā ērā kōrero. The integrity of knowledge reflected the status and integrity of the person who held it and was a consequence of the people he or she was associated with. These people applied their knowledge as a resource for the enhancement and protection of their people and in turn their people recognised the high status of the holder of knowledge. The scholar held value for the group if that knowledge was relevant to the integrity of the collective identity. The selection of learners to hold this locally centric knowledge was also conducted in such a way as to enhance the integrity of the collective identity. Knowledge was inextricably linked with the person and the whakapapa from whom their knowledge was derived.

When I looked at the word used in Taranaki, I asked Huirangi. He is my main reference for Taranaki reo usage. I asked him, he aha tō whakaaro mō te kupu 'wānanga'? I kī mai, "I a au e tamariki ana, kāore i rangona te kupu 'wānanga'". It wasn't a word he was familiar with growing up. The word used in his youth, was 'kura'. So we should recognise variations around the country. One iwi may focus in on 'wānanga' and another iwi may use 'kura'. Many sources in Taranaki referred to 'wharekura', pēnei i ngā wharekura e iri ana ki runga i te titōhea, arā he puna wai e kore e mimiti, koropupū koropupū ki runga ki te whenua,

35 Tau, TM "Mātauranga Māori as an Epistemology" (1999) *Te Pouhere Kōrero: Māori History, Māori people*, Vol 1 No.1, p 11.

ki runga i te tangata. The idea is that knowledge, status and sacredness are likened to streams of water flowing from the mountain. If those wharekura were placed high up on the mountain they too became associated with that level of integrity, the mouri within the maunga. Those are common concepts within Taranaki. For other iwi and rohe, 'whare wānanga' will have been more common.

The body of work recorded by Te Whatahoro came from Te Mātorohanga, the prominent expert in the body of knowledge associated with Te Rāwheoro. Now I'm feeling a little reluctant to speak in this way, talking about another iwi, but to put this in context, Percy Smith compiled the book *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga*³⁶ based on the work of Te Whatahoro. This played a major part in how 'wānanga' and 'whare wānanga' are used today. Published with support of the Polynesian Society, an organisation made up of key Pākehā scholars of Māori knowledge, the book became an important reference for other books that followed, including *The Maori School of Learning: Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial*.³⁷ I went through Smith's book and counted how many times 'wānanga' is used and how many times 'whare wānanga' is used. 'Wānanga' by itself is used 33 times and 'whare wānanga' is used 88 times. Obviously you would expect 'wānanga' to be used quite a bit when the kaupapa of the book is 'whare wānanga'.

Needing to compare usage in other prominent works, I examined *Nga Moteatea*³⁸ a compilation of key traditionally-based waiata from around the country. How many times is 'wānanga' used in *Nga Moteatea*? It's used 7 times. I then counted 'kura', but there are so many different contexts for 'kura' that it was too difficult to clearly distinguish when it was referring to a body of knowledge or when it was talking about a feather, something red, something of high value or any other connection of meaning, or multiple meanings. When I examined the book *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*³⁹ how many times is 'wānanga' used? It's used once. That doesn't necessarily mean

36 Smith, SP *The Lore of the Whare Wananga or Teachings of the Māori College* (New Plymouth: Thomas Avery, 1913).

37 Best, E *The Maori School of Learning: Its Objects, Methods, and Ceremonial* (Wellington: W.A.G.Skinner, Government Printer, 1923).

38 Ngata, A *Nga Moteatea* (Wellington: Polynesian Society, 1958).

39 Grey, G *Nga Mahi a nga Tupuna*, (3rd ed, New Plymouth: Thomas Avery Publishers, 1928).

that the word isn't known, it may be simply be due to the context of the narratives contained in the book, heoti anō, kāore i āta putaputa mai i ērā kōrero.

The bigger question in doing this analysis on the use of 'wānanga' then became, where does the word 'mātauranga' come from? How many times is 'mātauranga' used in Te Whatahoro's accounts contained in *The Lore of the Whare Wananga*? It is not used. How many times is 'mātauranga' used in *Nga Moteatea*? It is not used. How many times is 'mātauranga' used in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*? It is not used. The question then was: at what point did 'mātauranga' start to be used as a word in our communities? Now, I'm not doing this to disapprove the use of 'mātauranga'. I'm simply providing a context as to how these words are used.

To understand this we have to acknowledge the fact that he mea anō te Paipera ki tō tātou iwi nē? Koirā tētehi pukapuka i tere ai ki runga ki ngā iwi katoa. Mē ka titiro atu ki te Paipera, koirā tētehi kōrero i rite mai ai ki tērā iwi ki tērā iwi. The Bible was a consistent body of language spread widely among iwi around the country. The words, the structures, metaphors and narratives became a standard held in common across an otherwise rich diversity of language, knowledge and custom. This is one of the reasons why in many cases iwi utilised narratives from the Bible. They were confident that iwi from many regions would understand the statements and consequently the message being conveyed. Narratives of the Bible became a widespread commonly held body of knowledge. So how many times is 'wānanga' used in the Bible? It is not used, at all. How many times is 'mātauranga' used? It is used 185 times. How many times is 'knowledge' used in the Bible? It is used 174 times. In the Bible, 'knowledge' is translated almost every time using 'mātauranga'.

Why did this come about? It came about because of the way the Bible was converted to Māori language. The translators made decisions on whether to use one word or another. Examples of those decisions can be seen in words such as 'atua', a word that had a meaning prior to the Bible arriving in Aotearoa. Their decision was to associate 'atua', from a Māori context, with a semantic change in the context of God. This process was applied in numerous instances

of translation. The word 'tapu' became 'sacred', 'rangī' became 'heaven' and 'tohunga' became 'priest'.

Then there were other words that the translators did not want to be associated with the Bible and Christianity. For example: 'māreikura' or 'whatukura' are words you may think could be associated with the concept of 'angel', however the decision was to use an English loan word 'anahera'. Similarly 'tuahu' was not preferred and so 'āta' was used, even though our tūpuna still had what may be perceived as altars, 'tuahu', or referred to by some iwi as 'ahu'. Rather than take the concept from a Māori cultural context, English was preferred.

The decision to translate 'knowledge' as 'mātauranga' takes a different path. While 'wānanga' and 'kura' were well recognised in Māori society, the translators chose to apply a nominal suffix to 'mātau'. The verb is converted into a noun by the suffix. Those things that relate to knowing: knowledge. Arā, ko te wāhanga 'ranga', i tāpirihia mai ki te kupu 'mātau', pēnei i te mōhiotanga, i te māramatanga, i te āhuatanga, arā atu, arā atu. While these forms of the word appear to have been known and utilised by Māori communities, the terms would have been broadly descriptive expressions rather than specific nouns for distinct concepts such as knowledge.

'Mātauranga' became linked with the concept of Christian knowledge, and by association, with western knowledge or new knowledge. Although it is difficult to determine the motivation for their choices, one thing becomes clear, those choices influenced the nature of how Māori language was used. Words that were rejected tended to retain their association with traditional concepts. Other words that were borrowed from Māori language impacted on the way the words were originally used and created confusing or conflicting notions of meaning. An example of this is the meaning of 'tapu'. Debate takes place over the meaning of 'tapu' as 'sacred' in a Christian sense of 'sacred', or as 'restricted' in a Māori customary sense when used in a varied range of social contexts.

Like many of you I've heard different explanations of what 'mātau' means. For us in Taranaki we tend to use 'mātau' as an in-depth concept of knowing. Mōhio atu au ki tō ingoa, engari kāore i te mātau atu ki a koe. I know your name but do not really know you as a

person. I ētehi wā, ka mārama ki tētehi mea, engari kāore i tino mōhio ki tōna whānuitanga. From our perspective there are slightly different perspectives of the use of ‘mārama’, ‘mōhio’ and ‘mātau’, but ‘mātauranga’ became associated with ‘knowledge’ in a western sense. An indication of this fact is when referring to Māori knowledge, it is modified with the adjective ‘Māori’. ‘Mātauranga’ appears to have been applied in the translation of the Bible to help differentiate knowledge based in an ao Māori perspective with that of the knowledge described in a Christian context. Me te mea hoki, ka pēnei te ia o te kupu, mehemea ka titiro ki tā Wiremu, pēnei ana:⁴⁰

Wānanga, n. 1. Lore of the **tohunga**, occult arts.

Haere ki to korua tipuna, ki a Tumuwahakairia, kia akona korua ki te wananga hei ngaki i to korua mate.

– Ka hua te mahara, ka hua te wananga (M.152).

Whare wānanga, house for instruction in occult lore.

2. Instructor, wise person. Kihai i tae ki nga pukenga, ki nga wananga, ki nga tauira (M. 355). = **tohunga**.

3. A small **waka** used by the **tohunga** in certain rites.

The use of the term ‘occult’ describes restricted knowledge as opposed to common knowledge. One of the things that you may notice about this and one of the first things I noticed that really sparked my interest and convinced me to pursue this research, is that nowhere in there does it describe ‘wānanga’ as a verb. And yet today we use ‘wānanga’ all the time (well I certainly apply it that way and I have heard many others use it as such). Arā, kei te wānanga tātou i tēnei take. Me wānanga ērā kupu. Ha, me wānanga te kupu ‘wānanga’. This is a concept of analysis and enquiry, a concept of discussing and debating. E pērā ana te whakamahinga o te kupu ‘wānanga’, ai, te rerekē hoki. So, I go and ask Pou Temara, nō whea mai tō kupu ‘wānanga’, tōna whakamahinga ki Tūhoe, he kupu mahi? His reply was that as far as he knew it was never used previously as a verb. It was something that for him started to become more prominent through the 1970s. Koia tāna. Kāti, nō whea mai tēnei kupu ‘wānanga’, hei mahi? Questions arose about how ‘wānanga’ became a verb. Well luckily for me there was a Māori newspaper, one of the very first newspapers to be published by Māori, and it had the

40 Williams, HW *Dictionary of the Maori Language* (7th ed, Wellington: Legislation Direct, 1971), p 479.

name *Te Wananga*. Even better, on the very first issue of the publication it explained what ‘wānanga’ meant for it. Ā, koinei:⁴¹

Waihoki me tenei taonga, ma koutou e kai ponu i te taonga,

Furthermore regarding this paper, those of you who secrete your knowledge

ka kore koutou e kite, i te painga. Ko ahau [Te Wānanga] te papa

will not realise its benefits. I [Te Wānanga] am the forum

ko koutou nga tohunga. Tenei ahau e te iwi, whangaia mai ahau ki nga korero nui,

you all are the bearers of knowledge. People, this is my role, feed me with your stories

ki nga korero iti, te mate me te ora.

both of high importance and general interest, of the dead and of the living.

This is well back in time. Mā koutou anō e whakamātau taku whakapākehātanga i ēnei kōrero. You can see quite clearly that ‘wānanga’ was still associated with diverse bodies of knowledge even though there was by that time, at least 50 years of influence by the Bible and its preferred use of the term ‘mātauranga’. As it happened, in the very next issue a learned person by the name of Aperehama Taonui gave an explanation to the concept of ‘wānanga’. Those of you from the far north, in the vicinity of Te Hāpua, would likely know of him or even be descended from him. Taonui was one of the very first spiritual leaders associated with the Bible. He contributed this:⁴²

He tini nga whaka haerenga o tenei kupu o te Wānanga, ko to te Pakeha Wananga

There are many ways in which this word Wānanga is applied[.] The Wānanga of the Pākehā

kua oti noa atu kua takoto ki o ratou Pukapuka.

has already been compiled, it is set out in their books.

Otiia, he tini nga Pakeha kuare ki te tikanga o tene[i], kupu o te Wānanga.

41 *Te Wananga*, Nama 1, Pukapuka 1, (New Zealand, 5 Akuhata 1874).

42 Aperehama Taonui “Ki te Kai ta o te Wananga” *Te Wananga* (New Zealand, 21 August 1875) Vol 2, No. 16 at p 163.

Furthermore, many Pākehā are ignorant of the meaning of this word Wānanga.

Ko nga Rangatira anake e matau ana.

Only people of high standing have a good grasp of it.

Hei kupu tenei ki oku hoa Maori, ki te ritenga o to te Pakeha Wananga.

This is a statement for my fellow Māori regarding the features of Pākehā wānanga

Ko te Karaipiture anake te mea ka marama, he iti kau nei.

The scriptures are alone the thing that is understood, just this.

Koia te take i reo kotahi ai ratou.

That is the reason they [the Pākehā] have one voice.

Ko te Wananga a te Maori kahore ano i kotahi noa;

The Wānanga of the Māori is not yet unified;

koia e pakeke nei, he pono tenei, tera ano tera Iwi me ona Wananga

through which maturity is reached, this is true, there is each iwi with their own Wānanga,

ahakoa e noho tahi noa ana e whaka wiri ana te ngakau

although they come together, their confidence is impacted on.

The exchange of views that took place in the newspaper surrounded the meaning of 'wānanga' associated with the name. It is an example of the point of change where the two forms of knowledge are being reinterpreted. The absence of 'mātauranga' within the text and the in-depth discourse on the notion of 'wānanga' appears to indicate shift in use, contrasting western knowledge with Māori knowledge. For the editor, 'wānanga' relates to the knowledge gathered in the forum and that the newspaper is an opportunity for sharing Māori narratives and ideas. Taonui clearly considers 'wānanga' to be Māori knowledge for which Pākehā have little understanding. However he suggests the unified and recorded body of knowledge of Pākehā, identified with the Bible, is an important objective for Māori knowledge.

'Wānanga' remained associated with traditional knowledge. In 1923 Elsdon Best published his book *The Maori School of Learning*. This text brought

'whare wānanga' back into prominence. Best, along with many other ethnographers, became focused on recording the knowledge that remained: motivated to some extent by the pending demise of the Māori people. Best gathered information from a diversity of sources that appeared complicated and at times conflicting. His work simplified these accounts into something that then could be studied more readily as a body of knowledge for the country. It was in this work that Best highlighted the term 'whare wānanga' as denoting the highest level of knowledge, below which were whare kura, whare maire, whare kōhanga and other schools of knowledge. 'Whare wānanga' was identified as a pinnacle, a superior form of learning.

For a long time after Best's book there were few references to 'whare wānanga'. I examined many writings and the word doesn't come up in many texts. One book however was *The Coming of the Maori*.⁴³ This book made some references to 'whare wānanga', especially associated with Smith and Best's works. Buck made the statement that gave the first unambiguous association with universities:⁴⁴

... some men famous for their learning gave courses in high education to a number of selected students whose admission was not by examination as to intellectual ability but by the qualification of birth. The courses were given in houses set apart for the purpose and termed whare wānanga. They may be compared to universities, and the graduates were respected as much, if not more, in their day and generation as the graduate with the highest degrees in our universities of today.

This leads our kōrero on to the next time we see 'whare wānanga' used in this context. In 1971 Peter McLean proposes linking the word 'whare wānanga' with 'university':⁴⁵

If one considers that the whare wānanga was, in relative terms, the Māori equivalent of the university it would seem to be an appropriate application of the word.

With the rise of Māori political and cultural renaissance of that time, it was from that point

43 Buck, TR PH *The Coming of the Maori* (Wellington: Māori Purposes Fund Board, Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1949).

44 Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, p 363.

45 McLean, P *Te Whare Wananga* (Unpub, Wellington: Victoria University of Wellington, 1971), p 19.

that 'whare wānanga' became strongly associated with university. 'Whare wānanga' became a form of designation in today's environment, to be linked with the status of the highest schools of western knowledge. I argue that through the 1980s 'wānanga' then took on the focus of a verb, that is, it became linked with activity of universities. 'Wānanga' began to denote critical analysis and constructive debate.

If we step back from the whakapapa of meaning associated with 'wānanga', the question left to answer is, does the original meaning of 'wānanga' still hold relevance today? We may also ask, is 'mātauranga' the same as 'wānanga'? If it isn't, then do we need to better distinguish their use? Sometimes with technical terms we start to drill down and divide things up and say, well this aspect sits with that term, and that aspect should be associated with something else. For example, in the case of 'language revitalisation', common use applies the term very broadly and for many people that is fine. However technically, the term emphasises the re-establishment of first language speaker communities through intergenerational language transmission. For 'wānanga', common use has been strongly influenced by higher tertiary education with legal designation under the Education Amendment Act 1989, and this has included its new use as a verb. 'Mātauranga' has been associated with the concept of knowledge since the Bible was translated and studied.

When I think about the word 'wānanga' and our context in Taranaki, I consider my connections with Parihaka. 'Wānanga' has become a common word among Parihaka's community of Māori speakers because it is widely used outside, that is, 'wānanga' means to discuss and debate issues or learn about various topics through active discussion. It does not imply there is a 'teacher' but it does mean there is a topic or an issue that needs analysis either for learning, for making plans, gathering ideas or encouraging community engagement. This form of use, in my experience, is similar around the country such as in communities, in the workplace or in tertiary education. Its use is consistent with the primary activity of universities, that is, critical analysis, investigation and open discourse. That is not to say that our tūpuna didn't engage in those practices, it is just that they didn't associate them with the word 'wānanga'. In Parihaka they commonly used the word 'rūnanga' that identified a group gathered for in-

depth discussion, especially representatives of varied interests. It also identified the principles and concepts that became established within, and associated with, a particular group. They were described as te rūnanga o Tohu, te rūnanga rānei o Taikōmako, o wai atu, o wai atu rānei. Tērā te whakamahinga o 'rūnanga', it was the body of thought associated with a person or whoever was considered to be the main leader within the forum. As stated earlier, the traditional knowledge in Taranaki iwi tended to be referred to using the word 'kura'. It is strongly linked with the name Kurahaupō. Te kura i huna, te kura i tiki mai i Hawaiki, te kura i hou mai i te pō. This remained a well-established concept in Taranaki communities even after the use of 'kura' for schools was widely used. So 'rūnanga' was different to 'kura'.

I make a suggestion that 'wānanga' or 'kura' can be modified with an adjective or descriptor such as wānanga o-nehe or kura o-nehe in contrast with wānanga o-nāianeī or kura ō-nāianeī. Different groups may choose other descriptors suitable to their area, for example, kura ukiuki, kura hou, wānanga ōnamata, wānanga ānamata, kura tuauri or wānanga taketake. The expressions can become signifiers of two significantly different forms of knowledge and their associated disciplines. As far as I have been able to determine, 'mātauranga' was never previously applied in the context of traditional knowledge. Therefore it would appear important to apply its use to knowledge developed or evolved across the wider Māori society. The new forms of 'wānanga' or 'kura' can be applied to knowledge with a foundation of traditional Māori principles but adapted and nourished within the broader context of Māori societal systems and shared understandings.

Some may challenge this view with the position that there is no need to change or seek to influence current patterns of usage. I can only respond by saying that I believe there is a need to recognise the value of local language and worldviews with instilling local identity. The present day context of large institutions and organisations provide opportunities for learning that are largely structured in western learning approaches and objectives. These institutions and learning approaches appear to have subsumed language associated with traditional systems of knowledge. That said, it is conceivable for learning environments to successfully provide both

forms of knowing, one based on tangible knowledge open and accessible to society, and the other based on the lineage of knowledge that leaders restricted specifically to their local community.

My closing thought is to return to the example given by Parihaka. In the past it demonstrated its encouragement of the multitude of traditional worldviews expressed among the many iwi who came through its gates. At the same time narratives and metaphor from the Bible, technology from science and news from the world were debated and evolved within tikanga that would ensure their collective survival and prosperity. I have only spoken of Parihaka and of Taranaki because it is where I stand but I know there are numerous examples among many iwi that engaged in similar activity. Tohu and Te Whiti referred to the beginning of that community as a new beginning 'Te Tau o Te Haeata,' the new dawn. Ka ao, ka ao, ka ao te pō, takina te pō ki tua. For them the foundation of knowledge they constructed was their survival in the modern world.

Noho ora mai rā koutou, tātou tahi ko te hunga whakaaraara pātai, whakataritari ngākau. Ko te pūtake o ēnei kōrero āku he huhua, he ao o nehe, he ao hurihuri, he anga whakaroto, he anga whakawaho. I hua atu au ki te māramatanga, nē i noho pōuri a konā, kāti, nōku ake, ā, waiho ake. Māu anō tō haeata e whakaura ki te rangi.

He kupu whakamutunga ka utaina ki konā Te Wānanga o Raukawa. Mōu e toutou te ngārahu, kia kātoro te ahi ki ngā whare punanga kōrero o te motu, pēnei i a au nei. He rourou iti a haere. He utanga nui ki te paerangi kia tiketike, kia ruru ai.

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HUI REFLECTIONS

Moana Jackson

I did something today that I've never done in previous Kei Tua hui when I have been asked to offer some reflections on all of the insightful and interesting kōrero we have had at the hui: I actually went into the library to look up the word 'reflections'. I found it's from the Latin term 'reflectere' and it means 'to turn away, or divert to a different course'. And so what I'd like to do today is try and pull together some of the threads of the kōrero and see what we can learn that might help us turn away from what I see as the redefinitions of our mātauranga that colonisation has brought about. I must admit that I now hesitate, after Ruakere's kōrero to use the word mātauranga but I nevertheless want to consider what has happened to it, and thus to our rangatiratanga, since 1840 and then consider what we might do about it.

The way I tend to prepare a kōrero is to go back to something I was told as a child: that our tīpuna left stories in the land and that they are still there if you care to listen. So, early this morning, I went for a walk. It was dark so I couldn't see the land but I walked along the foreshore—remember the foreshore? I could hear the sea and I was reminded of a poem by the Ngāi Tahu poet, Keri Hulme, in which she wrote about the rocks at Punakaiki on the West Coast of the South Island. She wrote in the poem

'The elephant-black rocks rumble back and

*Forward in a murderous herd. The air is thick and
salt and full of*

Roaring...

I crouch against the claystone, like a child

Huddling close to its mother.

I watch the waves wage their long war

Against the land, the land her long

Resistance.'

In a sense, for me, the main thread that has come out in the hui is that we are engaged in perpetual resistance against waves of change that are trying to deflect or divert us from the course that our ancestors had before us.

Then, shortly before this session began, I went for another walk and two things happened which finally gave me the framework within which I'd like to talk today. I walked past the kura and saw a sign for a nearby block of land that's for sale. At the bottom of the sign it said 'Barclays Real Estate'. A long time ago, when the colonisers were working out how they could justify to themselves going into someone else's land and taking it, they invented what they call the doctrine of discovery. The doctrine said that if a discoverer from a civilised, Christian, white country landed on the beach of a heathen, savage, inferior people's country, then simply by landing on that beach—simply by claiming to discover it—they could make that land theirs. And so when Christopher Columbus stumbled onto islands in the Caribbean, he walked onto the beach, raised the Spanish flag and he said 'this land, by right of discovery, is now the property of Spain'. And when Captain James Cook, the man whom Haunani-Kay Trask once famously called a "pestilential, syphilitic rapist" arrived on our shores, he performed the same ritual at what is now Mercury Bay. He landed on the beach, ran up a flag and claimed the land for his King. When he went south into what he renamed Queen Charlotte Sound he landed on a little island called Motuara, ran up another flag and again claimed to take everything around it by right of discovery.

Today you can actually take a 'Cook's tour', across the Pacific and up the west coast of America to all of the places where he claimed lands to be the property

of England, simply by exercising that self-invented legal right of discovery. In Hawaii there are three places where he claimed the land for Britain and from there you can follow his so-called discoveries to what is now California. If you go further north to Alaska you will find one of the most perversely interesting of all of his discovery sites. For at a beautiful little place called Nootka Sound he recorded that he was claiming the land for Britain, as he normally did. However he must have run out of flags because he wrote in his log that he had marked his discovery by burying a bottle and some coins. What that illustrated to me was that in the racist arrogance of colonising discourse he believed he could claim indigenous lands simply by running up a flag or by depositing litter on the beach.

I have always wondered where that attitude came from. How did colonisers from England to Spain or from Belgium to France assume that they had the right, the manifest duty, to claim indigenous lands for themselves? And what made them believe that they could actually do it? That was where the Barclays Real Estate sign triggered my memory. In Medieval Spain there was a doctrine invented by the then King of Spain who was worried about how much his wars of conquest against various Spanish provinces were costing. In order to save money by not having to go to war against other subordinate princes he invented what became known as the 'réal' gaze. To give effect to that 'gaze' he would mount his horse and ride to the top of a hill, gaze across the land below and, simply by bestowing it with that réal or regal gaze he asserted what he believed was an unquestioned right to take the land as his. It is from that magical assertion that Pākehā have taken the term 'real estate', 'realty' and so on—and I deliberately use the word 'magical' because there is a certain suspension of disbelief involved in thinking that simply by looking at something you can make it yours, a wondrous capacity to fool others into accepting what you say. And it is that magic, that verbal gymnastics which has rationalised everything that the colonisers have done ever since. There is no substance to their claims of discovery or indigenous cession in a treaty and so on, just a constant repetition of a magical deceit which has ended up even fooling the people whose land was taken. I will come back to that point later and try to link it to some of the kōrero that we've heard during this hui.

To return to my morning walk past the real estate sign. As I was coming back to the Wānanga some tamariki at the Kura were playing on the climbing equipment. One of them was hanging up-side-down and shouting to his giggling friends 'Look, look, the kura is up-side-down.' And from his position it would indeed have seemed upside down but only because he was seeing it in a different way. His point of view was changed and so what he perceived changed as well. Rather like Ani's kōrero this morning about how recording whakapapa from the top of a page to the bottom changes our gaze, changes how we conceptualise or understand whakapapa, so that real gaze, that gaze of the discoverer changes our perceptions of the world—it turns us upside down and alters how we see the world, our rights, our history, even our sense of self.

I'm sure you all know that our people have defined this land in a quite different geographic, cartographic sense to Pākehā. If we're going to the Tai Tokerau we now tend to think of ourselves as going up north: we use phrases like 'going up north' or 'going down south'. But that's not how our people conceptualised the land. The north island, of course, is a fish: the head of the fish is Te Ūpoko o te Ika (which the Pākehā call Wellington) and the tail of the fish is the north. In our people's conceptualisation, according to our people's gaze, the geography of the land is such that you go up to the head of the fish, so you go up to Wellington and you go down to the tail of the fish, you go down north. When you invert that—when you hang up-side-down and see the land like that—it gives you a quite different perception of your place in that land.

In the same way, by putting whakapapa in some sort of hierarchical order you change the gaze, you change the way we see whakapapa into what is essentially a biblical, hierarchical framework. The bible is full of whakapapa: Moses begat so and so, who begat so and so, who begat so and so. It goes on for page after page and they always begin with the top of the hierarchy. If you are taught to change your perception of whakapapa in that way then that actually shifts your gaze. It diverts your understanding of what whakapapa is, into another course or another direction. Similarly, if you shift your gaze, if you change the way you see the world, then you take away our sense of place in the world.

One of the early colonisers, who preceded James Cook's arrival here, was a man called Abel Tasman. He named this place New Zealand: I've always thought it a particularly remarkable choice, to name our land after a smelly swamp in Holland. But part of his job was to find what people in Europe at that time called the great southern continent. There was a European belief that somewhere at the bottom of the world (because in their perception of the world Europe was always at the top) was this great southern land. When he reported on his difficulties with Ngāti Tūmatakōkiri in the south island, Tasman wrote that he had not been able to find a great southern land but that the absence of such a continent did not alter the fact that Europe remained on top of the world.

Well if you invert that, if you restore our people's perception of where we stood in the universe, then we are not at the bottom of the world at all. We are situated geographically in a quite different place, which then determines how we relate to the land. So one of the things that I think has been important about this conference is the thought that by researching rangatiratanga, by innovating mātauranga (or whatever word we may use instead of mātauranga), we can reconceptualise our world. The challenge for me, then, is that if we are able to do that, what do we then do with that reconceptualisation? What do we do with the view of the world that we are in fact re-claiming because it is after all the view our tipuna have left us?

This is where I think Keri Hulme's poem is relevant and apt. For just as the sea wages perpetual war against the land and the land is incessant in its resistance, so any effort to reclaim our gaze, our knowledge, and our perceptions of the world is actually to be involved in an act of resistance. We are often taught to be wary, to be frightened of the word 'resistance'. I think it's a bit like the word 'radical', which has become almost a negative, pejorative term: 'oh it's those radicals', or 'oh those 'Mowry' (*Māori*) activists, they're not responsible Mowrys.' But the term 'radical' has a noble tradition. It comes from an old Greek political movement for those who sought change. To be part of resistance is therefore to seek change and perhaps part of the personal reconceptualisation that we need to do in terms of our mātauranga and rangatiratanga is to begin seeing ourselves as radicals: to be clear that we are not content with what has been reflected

back to us about what our world should be and that we want instead to take back the world as understood and conveyed to us by our tipuna.

I'd like now to consider how we can use that reconceptualisation—how we can be radical, if you like, in our thinking.

I was particularly interested in Ruakere's kōrero this morning about the word 'wānanga'. When I was a child I was taken by my Koro to the site of the first wānanga that was established in Kahungunu. It was at Waikawa, which is a little island off the Māhia Peninsula that was renamed by Pākehā as Portland Island, although the name 'Waikawa' is its own story in the land, a 'gaze' which speaks of the small natural gas reserves beneath the ground that sometimes seep up through vents and fissures or taint the water lying in little pools across the surface. And there are stories about how the gas got there and the fires that could be lit from it when the wānanga was in session to remind us that knowledge can be dangerous like a flame if it is not treated with respect.

Learning something of that respect began even as the students were arriving on the island because they would land their little waka at a little inlet called Whaiwhakaaro, which means to follow the thought. My sense is that our old people named that landing place Whaiwhakaaro for a particular reason. The name wasn't a depiction of what the land itself looked like or the natural gas that flowed underneath it. It was a naming which fitted the purpose of that place, which was to encourage our people to follow the thought, and to follow the thought wherever it led them. That, to me, has always been the essence of wānanga: that you would go somewhere and follow your thought wherever it would take you, to ask questions that may have never been asked before, to ask questions which at the time might not seem possible to answer. And in that process one would come to know that finding the right question is sometimes as hard as finding the right answer, and that part of learning, part of becoming who you were as a mokopuna was having the courage and the insight to find your own beginnings and ask your own questions.

In that sense the wānanga at Waikawa, like the wānanga in every iwi, was based on an intellectual tradition and a way of understanding knowledge that was uniquely ours. This is perhaps illustrated best

by the fact that at the start of every day the students would walk from Whaiwhakaaro around the island to a little rocky outcrop called Te Tīmatanga or the beginning. The walk was not a very long one but its purpose was not to improve physical fitness but was rather an analogy in footsteps. For in order to know, in order to learn, the students also had to walk in their mind and follow any thought they might have back to the beginning. Once they had found the beginning they understood the history, the whakapapa, of what they needed to know. With that papa or foundation they could then ask other questions and maybe even find answers.

Now that seems to me to be a marvellous intellectual articulation of what innovating mātauranga actually means. Because if you are going to innovate in relation to knowledge, then you need a firm base upon which to ask the questions that will lead to innovation and an expansion of knowledge. Indeed that kind of intellectual framework, of following the thought back to the beginning in order to clarify the questions that needed answering was a grounding not just in study or philosophical technique but in the whakapapa of knowledge and of the place where you are learning. So when Ruakere talked about the different meanings of wānanga his kōrero seemed to fit with my understanding of the wānanga at Waikawa. It was a place where people with particular knowledge—teachers, if you like—were able to help young people, both men and women, find ways to innovate in relation to knowledge by building on the traditions and knowledge of who each student was.

Because knowledge was so important, the stories our people told about Waikawa depicted it as a mysterious but wondrous place that was part of Papatūānuku and thus part of the whakapapa that linked us to Tāwhaki and his brave journey to get the baskets of knowledge from the heavens. It made us part of that journey too just as the name Waikawa itself was part of the land because it reflected the contradictions that lie in every place—the sometimes ferocious beauty of the sea battering its little inlets and the bitter gas that came out of the land.

But once it was renamed Portland after someone who had never been there and had no whakapapa to it, the island became little more than an object with a label that others could buy or sell. In the process

the 'gaze' we had was shifted and the perceptions and stories were taken away until the little island and its place in our history and indeed our knowledge seemed to drift away like the gas floating into an uncaring sky. Our view of the place, our *sense of place*, was re-placed.

As a child, the evidence of similar renaming was all around me. I grew up in a small place called Morea, which is just out of a town that Pākehā call Hastings. There are a number of settlements in that area—Hastings, Napier, Clive, Havelock—which all overlaid our own names and own stories. What Pākehā call Havelock is Te Mata o Rongokako. That name itself tells a story of a tipuna who could walk from one side of Te Matau a Māui, from one side of Hawkes Bay (another third rate Admiralty official) to the other side in one step. You can see his footprint at one end of Te Matau a Māui and you can see his landing footprint just past Māhia.

But all of those places filled with identity and longing and belonging with the land, were renamed after colonising officials who were raping and pillaging in India. Clive is named after a man called Lord Clive of India, who was made a peer in the British House of Lords. He was secretary of the East India Company which was the first of the major chartered companies used by the British Crown to do its colonising work for it. They were rather like prototype SOE's and the New Zealand Company which was formed by Edward Gibbon Wakefield many years later was its sort of mutant heir, if you like.

Hastings was named after Warren Hastings who was also an employee of the East India Company and was eventually appointed Governor General, while the name Havelock commemorates the commander of the Company's army during what is known by the British as the Cawnpore rebellion but by Indian historians as part of the struggle for independence. Sir Charles Napier was another military commander in India who is also regarded as a hero by the British but regarded quite differently in India. Yet their names, the names of colonising invaders in a place far away, were used to replace our names that came from stories in this land and the whakapapa of our relationships to it. They had no place in this land and no right to stand over the names we had, except as part of colonisation's dreadful determination to re-

shape the world in their image and to shift or destroy the perceptions we had of our land and our authority in it. Our knowledge, our way of finding and then adapting or innovating with it, was changed until we thought there was only one way of learning; a way that privileged the colonisers' world view and what they thought we should know.

Another thread I drew out of the *kōrero* today, in that discussion about words like *mātauranga* and so on, is that in trying to find the true meaning and complexity of our words and knowledge we are still being constantly diverted by the coloniser. We are expected to frame our understanding of knowledge, our intellectual tradition, within a different conceptual framework: to talk, not about Heretaunga, but about Hastings; to talk, not about Te Mata o Rongokako, but about Havelock. All of these little everyday colonisations, as I call them, shift our understandings. They shift how we see the world.

What I encourage us to do is take back that way of conceptualising, take back that way of being prepared to ask questions. It seems to me that any good intellectual tradition should be open to any questions. Sometimes in our discussions we get frightened to ask difficult questions. We get frightened to ask, for example, whether what we are so often told about the place of Māori women is actually consistent with our knowledge. Is what we are taught about the concepts of *tapu* and *noa* being binary opposites, rather than elements existing complementarily, actually our knowledge? Or is it knowledge which has been gazed at by somebody else and redefined?

I was fascinated by Ruakere's *kōrero* too about how different words were chosen from our *reo* to go into the bible and to other documents, and how selective choices were made to define particular words. Noam Chomsky, who is noted as a modern day American political philosopher, is also a linguist and he made a really profound comment a few years ago: that it is actually impossible to translate a word from one language accurately into another, and that sometimes it may be best not to even try. I think that one of the difficulties we've got into with a lot of our issues around *tikanga*, is that we have been forced to try and crush the meanings of our words into Pākehā dictionaries in ways that are not appropriate.

So the translation of 'tapu' into the biblical sense of 'sacred', in my view, is not a translation or an understanding of *tapu* at all. I've always seen *tapu* as something much more than sacred; as something defined by our *whakapapa*, something that we know, or should know is all around us. I always see *tapu* as being rather like the rhythm of a song: you can hear it but you can't see it. To me, *tapu* is like that, something that we know is there although we may not actually see it or even clearly be able to articulate it, except in the *reo*.

So, for me, part of the resistance, part of being radical is to question ourselves. What is it that we are being taught? Is it consistent with our understanding of our knowledge, of our *whakapapa*? Or has what we are being taught, like the names Hastings and Napier and so on, simply been superimposed upon the landscape of our thought? One of Meihana's *whanaunga*, Rarawa Kohere, talked about our knowledge as the *tūrangawaewae* of our thought: he said that it is the land base upon which we think. So part of being involved in acts of resistance is to ask what that actually means and not be afraid to challenge what may sometimes seem unchallengeable—ideas that have been handed down to us, about *tikanga*, about *whakapapa*, about all of the things that are important to us.

Sometimes, when we ask questions, we may not get the answer straight away but that has never been a concern to me. It just seems that we will know when it's time to know. When you look at the different *iwi* stories about how our world came into being, from *te kore*, *te pō*, *te ao mārama* and so on, and when you read the poetry of that story, it's actually like what Pākehā call the big bang theory. But we thought of it hundreds of years ago and they've only just caught up with us. What I take from that is that they didn't know that until it was time for them to know, even though we have always known it. So I don't think we should be nervous if there isn't an immediate answer or if the answer we get doesn't immediately satisfy us. Eventually truth will come in the same way that, in the struggles of peoples, justice eventually will come.

If there are lessons to be drawn from these various reflections and from my understanding of what has been said here during the past two days, they lie in the concept of *whakapapa* that Wayne Ngata talked

about: that every part of the whakapapa is related to every other part, so that one part leads to another. So if we ask ourselves questions about why the Crown thinks that the treaty settlements are full and final, and whether they are really full and final, the answer to that may come later in our whakapapa. In my view, our mokopuna will have to revisit these so-called full and final treaty settlements because they don't settle what really needs to be settled, which is the imposition of a foreign, oppressive, colonising ideology and system.

Indeed, the whole notion of treaty settlements is a contradiction in terms. You don't settle treaties, you honour treaties, and you can't honour the Treaty of Waitangi until the colonising context within which it was signed is settled. I understand and tautoko our people wanting settlements. We have had so little for so long—we have suffered so much for so long—that I understand absolutely why, for some of our people, these settlements are regarded as sufficient. However, I am equally convinced that this is not the pathway to full and final settlement. It is not the journey that our tipuna have mapped out for us.

There are two final threads that I'd like to pull together from all of the kōrero at this conference. One concerns the debate about what exactly rangatiratanga is. I think it's a healthy debate, and an important one. It is also important that we don't get bogged down in what the Crown keeps telling us rangatiratanga is, that we don't keep getting side-tracked by the idea that no matter how nasty or dishonourable the Crown has been, things have changed now because they are recognising our rangatiratanga as a right of co-management or co-governance. So long as we don't start from that place, so long as we try instead to find out what rangatiratanga actually meant in our history, in our whakapapa, then the debate can be healthy. Then we can debate what that might mean for our iwi and our hapū, and what it might mean in relation to other iwi and hapū. I liked Dale's comment yesterday that rangatiratanga is not a competition. If you have rangatiratanga defined as management, then it is a competition, because you want to manage more assets more effectively than the iwi next door. However, if rangatiratanga is an expression of our inherent right to be self-determining, it is not a competition because everyone has that inherent right. The political and constitutional challenge is

how to manage and balance those different interests, rather than privileging one over another.

The final thread that I would like to reflect on is this: if we debate rangatiratanga and mātauranga, then we inevitably need to debate tikanga. If tikanga is the first law of the land and if it is based on the kaupapa or values which determine how we ought to live, then no debate can proceed without an understanding of that. I hope that by asking honest questions of ourselves, we will reach a point where we see tikanga, not as some closed, entrenched, unchangeable suit of armour that traps our people within a particular and limited period of time, but rather that we see it as a liberating set of values and ideas that have also been circumscribed and redefined in colonisation.

For over the last 170-odd years it has almost become frozen in a museum case of ritualised performance and proscription because that is all the colonisers wanted it to be. Yet if things are to be tika, if things are to be right, then they must necessarily set you free. And so today it seems to me we need to ask what has happened to tikanga in the confines of colonisation and accept that it is not some immutable, intractable ideology that closes us off from the world. Rather it should be opening us up to the equality of our men and women, the possibility of change, and the need to find what is just in the world.

I hope these reflections on our hui make sense. I'd like to close with a quote from another poem. There is a remarkable young Māori poet and academic, Alice Te Punga Somerville, who has done a lot of work on Māori who have lived overseas for a long time but who still write poetry about home. They might have lived in Hawaii or Utah or Australia or wherever, but their poems inevitably return to home. One of those poets was an amazing lady, Hinauri Tribole, who was the aunty of my sister-in-law and a woman who showed me and many other Māori in the United States a very real and genuine aroha and manaaki.

How she ended up there, so far from Whangaruru, is part of a love story, a story in two lands. She was from Ngāti Wai but during the Second World War she taught in Ruātoki. One day she was walking home from school and met two American GI's who had absconded from camp at McKay's Crossing to go fishing and ended up in Tūhoe. One of them, Bill Tribole, returned to Ruātoki after the war to

find Hinauri again and they ended up marrying and moving to Bountiful in Utah. She lived there the rest of her life but constantly wrote poetry of home. One of her poems, it seems to me, is particularly appropriate for the ideas that we've shared over the last two days because in a way it is about the audacity of our intellectual tradition. She called it 'My home' -

*"Let me return home
to walk upon my land barefoot
like a child
or a lover
open and free.
Let me reach for the stars
Like the old people did
And feel brave enough
To ask, what are those stars,
Where did they come from,
How is such beauty possible?
And
Once I have asked of the stars
Let me be brave
and ask any question
of power
of hope
of dreams
let me ask
who am I?"*

May you be brave and innovative in your questions.
May you know our names and our way of knowing.

I wish you well. Kia ora tātou.

