scope

Contemporary Research Topics

kaupapa kāi tahu 6

November 2021

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This issue ***Scope (Kaupapa Kāi Tahu) 6*** is on the one hand a showcase of Kāi Tahu, Māori and other iwi research at Otago Polytechnic and, on the other hand, an outcome of a growing commitment to Māori research aspirations at Otago Polytechnic and with the Māori community.

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Amongst his many roles, Aoraki stands as kaitiaki to Kāi Tahu providing, as recognised in the Ngāi Tahu Settlement a "sense of communal identity, solidarity and purpose."[1] We wish to acknowledge Josh Bennison for allowing us to use this image of our tipuna, Aoraki.

[1] Ngāi Tahu Claims Settlement Act 1998. Schedule 80, Tōpuni for Aoraki/Mount Cook

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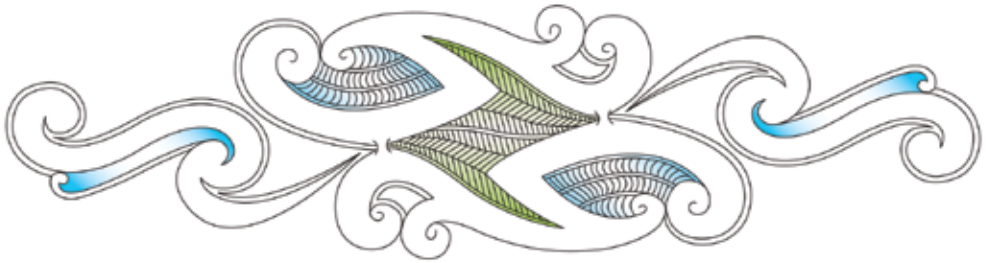

Kotahitaka (Unity)

Artist Dana Te Kanawa (née Russell), Kāi Tahu

The overall pattern brings together landscape, seascape, Kāi Tahu, Otago Polytechnic and the people from all of the places that come here to study. It symbolises unity and togetherness.

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Scott Klenner

Ka haea te ata
Ka hāpara te ata
Ka korikī te manu
Te wairori te kutu
Ko tea ta nui
Ka horaina
Ka taki te umere
He pō, he pō
He ao, he ao
Ka awatea

Our first acknowledgment is to the tūpuna who lit the fires that we work to keep alight. It is our tūpuna who travelled to the south, taking on the differences needed to adapt to and nurture the environment of Te Waipounamu.

Secondly, we acknowledge those who have preceded us in the development of *Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu* as one way to keep the fires burning – Emeritus Professor Khyla Russell, Justine Camp, Janine Kapa, Ron Bull and Kelli Te Maihāroa.

We acknowledge the editorial board whose will and energy to support our kaupapa speaks to the manaaki of our colleagues and serves to strengthen our mahi in this space.

Finally, we acknowledge those who contributed to this journal, those who conducted and presented research that speaks to the different ways Māori academics engage with Māori communities and challenge colonisation to keep the fires burning for those that have yet to come.

'Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei', 'For us and our children after us'

The above whakataukī guides Kāi Tahu in the mahi of embedding our values in how it operates in Te Waipounamu and Aotearoa. It speaks to the need of thinking beyond ourselves and beyond our present. This is pertinent as we think about kaitiakitaka in this the sixth *Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu: Kaitiakitaka*. Kaitiakitaka cannot be captured by a single translated English word.[1] Often kaitiakitaka is translated as guardianship, and while technically correct it is not sufficient to capture the depth and complexity of the kupu. Kaitiakitaka operates across pragmatic, philosophical and spiritual thinking linked through whakapapa to atua, who provide the touchstone for acting sustainably in the present to respect the past and nurture the future. Through whakapapa kaitiakitaka is distinctly social, interwoven in relationships of mana, manaaki, and rangatirataka across the past, present and future.[2] Kaitiakitaka cannot be separated from important ideas of mauri, tapu, rāhui, and utu and can be thought of as an ethic of care.[3] Managing resources successfully in line with a principle that reaches beyond the present is a source of mana and identity. Thus, kaitiakitaka is manifest in different ways, tied up in the identity of localised mana whenua and the different environments that are connected to different groups. In turn these groups have the responsibility to maintain, protect and balance human (mana tangata), spiritual (mana atua) and mana whenua authority.[4]

Kaitiakitaka is a political concept. The principal claimant in the Kāi Tahu treaty claim, Rakiihia Tau, noted principles of kaitiakitaka and rangatiratanga were related when discussing Te Tītī: "Our relationship, management and administration as Ngāi Tahu whānui of the Mutton Bird or Te Tītī islands is perhaps the nearest living example we have to the meaning of Rangatiratanga to our natural resources or mahinga kai".[5] In the South, Kāi Tahu dynamically developed systems to manage resources appropriate to the environment and conditions we found ourselves in. This resulted in particular understandings of habitats, cycles and husbandry of the life that could be harvested for resources. Harvesting was systematic, seasonal and cyclic to maintain resources and surpluses for long periods, demonstrating how rangatiratanga was used with kaitiakitaka to act responsibly for the future.[6] These practical considerations are embedded in the non-secular understanding that the entire ecosystem is related, through whakapapa. As such, kaitiakitaka is a care for social relations and cannot be limited to concern for bio-physical management.

Otago Polytechnic and the Office of the Kaitohutohu are pleased to present *Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu 6: Kaitiakitaka* which builds on the Otago Polytechnic's 2020 Māori Research Symposium. The contributions in this journal focus on various elements of kaitiakitaka. The authors examine distinctly Māori issues and consider distinctly Māori solutions. For the most part, they present rich examples of kaupapa Māori research, a methodology whose place in the academy was endorsed notably through the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith and expanded by many other scholars of Māori indigeneity.[7] The pieces forefront Māori voices from a number of hapū and iwi perspectives and in ways that flow across Māori experiences as we continue to navigate and appropriate the colonised space of the academy. The authors speak of various aspects of Te Ao Māori and the various forms of kaitiakitaka that have emerged to nurture taiao, papa kāika, te reo Māori, mātauraka Māori, and hauora Māori.

The first group of contributions speak to the sustainability of te taiao and of the whenua of the authors' respective places. Mere Kepa's two poems spring from the efforts of a local group to deal with pest control in Takahiwai. The first, THAT BLACK … DOG KILLER!, talks of hunting feral pigs that blight the hillside environment. The second, PEST CONTROL, speaks to the division of labour in the group and the breadth of the task the group have taken on in finding ways to care for the whenua. Ariana Sutton's poem 'Tiwai' is a cry for action on the damage incurred on the place Tiwai, a point near Bluff, by Rio Tinto, the parent company of the New Zealand Aluminium Smelter. Mere Kepa et al.'s article examines the intersection of mātauraka Māori and Western science to find theory and practices to regenerate water and soil that has fallen victim to human activity. It discusses how mātauraka Māori and recollections of tikaka around cultivation at Waiotu and Takahiwai can contribute to better food cultivation that avoid the excesses of industrialised farming. Each of these contributions talk to kaitiakitaka in terms of environmental sustainability, speaking to nurturing instead of only taking from Papatūānuku.

The contributions then turn to themes of nurturing and sustaining papakāika. Cram et al.'s article 'Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai: nurturing the seed of community-based Māori housing research' explores Kaupapa Māori sponsored research in Hawkes Bay communities who are constructing ground-up community research projects to address local communities' housing agendas. The research aims to employ mātauraka Māori to create genuine participatory research described by Cram et al. in their article as "by, with and for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities". Similarly, McCallum-Haire, Te Nana and Gallagher present research that seeks solutions that are whānau, hapū and iwi driven emerging as a response to the excessive costs charged for electricity in Te Rohe Pōtae and the Western areas of Tūwharetoa, following the restructuring of the electricity sector in New Zealand. The research aims to explore sustainable options for electricity that support whānau and hapū needs in the area. Penetito, Lee-Morgan and Eruera's article 'Manaakitanga: A marae response to Covid-19' discusses what they describe as the "many faces" of manaakitanga" through the efforts of three marae which are part of a wider research project examining community well-being (Marae Ora, kāinga Ora (MOKO)). The marae supported the needs of their South Auckland communities during the 2020 Covid-19 lockdowns. The authors highlight the pivotal role marae play in developing strategies with their communities. The authors conclude that marae responses demonstrate a flexible, fluid community resource that can serve as a model for collaborative and cohesive community hubs to build and strengthen community relationships around manaakitanga. These contributions speak to kaitiakitaka by including communities in finding ways for whānau, hapū and iwi to survive and flourish in papakāika spaces.

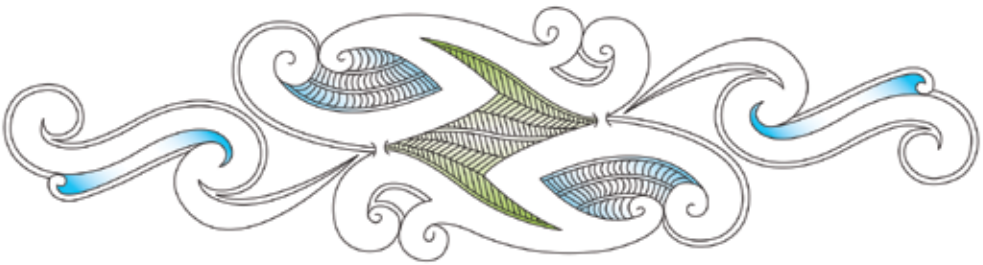
Two contributions explore themes of hauora Māori. Stacey Gullen-Reynold's article is an exploration of some of her own journeys through the New Zealand health system. The author connects some of her experiences to the challenges and inequities that are typical of Māori experiences within the New Zealand health system. These experiences include a recognition of decades of systematic colonisation and a continued dominance of Western viewpoints within the system that alienates Māori thinking around health and by consequence alienates many Māori patients. Gullen-Reynold's tempers this alienation in recognition of the manaakitaka, the high level of care and commitment individual health workers exhibited within an otherwise very Pākehā environment. Karole Hogarth and Lesley Brook's article examines the voices of Māori participants in rural nursing roles seeking to identify how Māori nurses' practices manifest differently, particularly around whanaukataka and whakapapa. They argue that whanaukataka presents as the central principle guiding Māori rural nurses' practices. These two contributions talk to the way the health system provides kaitiakitaka to people in its service – on the one hand through the individual effort of rural Māori nurses; on the other by exploring the author's journey and arguing how the health service is still left wanting in providing Māori ways of thinking and doing health care for Māori patients.

Several contributions considered kaitiakitaka through mātauraka Māori. Jenny Lee-Morgan et al.'s article looks at ways to nurture te reo Māori in everyday life. The article explores the role that events such as Puni Reo Poitarawhiti, a one-day Māori language netball tournament for all Auckland schools held in West Auckland can play. Supported by Te Puni Kōkiri, the event serves to nurture and normalise te reo Māori through everyday activities such as sporting events. Morgan et al. interviewed participants and concluded that the tournament provides a template for creating environments and events, beyond sports, that can normalise the use of te reo Māori. Matiu Payne's article explores frameworks of customary knowledge particular to the Horomaka hapū, in Banks Peninsula. Payne investigates a history of customary Māori learning in the area which he develops around the significant event of the death of two taniwha and the statement this makes to the hapū about the transmission of knowledge. Payne's article constructs a historical account for generations of the members of the hapū to reflect and build upon over time. Te Maihāroa et al.'s report presents research on work-based learning and the optimal conditions for success for tauira Māori in that space. The report privileges the voices of the interviewees to demonstrate the challenges and success of tauira Māori who entered into degree learning through Capable NZ. Their report concludes that relationships with facilitators who value Māori cultural identity provided successful conditions for support. The report ends with clear suggestions for changes in practices in the work-based learning space to further support tauira Māori. Tonga Karena's article 'Ko te mouri o te mahi te mouri o te ora' also explores the Capable NZ work-based learning model. In the article, Karena argues that this kind of work-based learning provides an opportunity for Māori learners to have success in postgraduate study, while sustaining their work and family commitments. Tukua and Hannan's article considers the responses of Te Puna Wānaka educators to the challenge of sustaining Māori focused tertiary education in the aftermath of the Christchurch earthquake. The authors conclude that kaupapa Māori education and Māori pedagogies are flexible and important teaching and learning practices to support the holistic needs of ākoka and kaiako. These contributions acknowledge the need to kaitiaki our tauira, finding ways to support educational endeavours that nurture cultural identity, in turn strengthening Māori communities.

The final contribution of the 2021 *Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu* is Rachel Dibble's 'When the River Wakes', a spoken word performance, presented here as a poem, which explores identity as whānau members connect to their tūrangawaewae. Rachel's poem delves into her own and her cousin's shared journey of reconnecting to the Waingonoro river in Taranaki. Rachel tells of the hope of a personal awakening of her and her cousin's Māoritaka from what she calls the "encouraged unconsciousness" of colonisation whose hegemony has stolen the language and invalidated histories as myths. Rachel's poem serves to reclaim identity through reconnection to the nurturing guardianship, the kaitiakitaka, of the place of her tūpuna, and hence her place.

This edition of *Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu*, while located in the Kāi Tahu rohe, draws upon a range of kaitiakitaka themed contributions from across the motu. The multiple whānau, hapū, iwi that are spread across these islands have their own tikaka, their own kawa, and their own problems and solutions to grapple with. Nonetheless, we, as Māori, can also draw on the strength and intellect of each other to further Māori aspirations and awhi each other to keep our own fires burning, and to stoke them to burn even brighter.

Mā te kotahitanga e whai kaha ai tātau: In unity we have strength.



1 Margaret Mutu and Peter Rikys, *Statutory Resource Management and Indigenous Property Rights. A Report Prepared for the Ministry for the Environment* (Auckland: Uniservices, 1993).

2 Ibid

3 Spiller Chellie, Ljiljana Erakovic, Manuka Henare, and Edwina Pio. "Relational well-being and wealth: Maori businesses and an ethic of care" *Journal of Business Ethics* 98:1 (2011) 153-169. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/relational-well-being-wealth-maori-businesses/docview/816794202/se-2?accountid=14700 (accessed November 18, 2021).

4 Ibid

5 Ngai Tahu Document J10. *Evidence for Waitangi Tribunal, Wai 27* (1991), 25

6 Jim Williams, "Ngāi Tahu Kaitiakitanga," *Mai*, 1 (2012), 89-102.

7 See e.g. Leonie Pihama, Fiona Cram, and Sheila Walker. "Creating methodological space: A literature review of Kaupapa Maori research." *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 26, no. 1 (2002), 30-43.; Russell Bishop, "Kaupapa Maori Research: An indigenous approach to creating knowledge," in *Māori and psychology: Research and practice. Proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Māori & Psychology Research Unit*, ed. N Robertson. (Hamilton, New Zealand: Māori and Psychology Research Unit, University of Waikato, 1999), 1-6; Tracy Haitana, Suzanne Pitama, Donna Cormack, Mauterangimarie Clarke, and Cameron Lacey, "The transformative potential of Kaupapa Māori research and Indigenous methodologies: Positioning Māori patient experiences of mental health services." in *International Journal of Qualitative Methods* 19 (2020); Rangimarie Mahuika, "Kaupapa Māori theory is critical and anti-colonial," *MAI review* 3, no. 4 (2008), 1-16;, Angus H. Macfarlane, Sonja Macfarlane and Toby Curtis. "Navigating Kaupapa Māori Fields of Knowledge." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Education* (2019): n. pag.

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COMMUNITY PEST CONTROL AREAS 2018-29: TAKAHIWAI HILLS AND FOREST, TAKAHIWAI, TE TAI TOKERAU

Mere Kepa

The Kāinga [whakapapa village] of Takahiwai is located on the northern forest edge of the Takahiwai Hills, Te Tai Tokerau. For the purpose of the *Pest Strategy Takahiwai Hills and Forest 2018-23*, the founding organisation was an informal communion of owners of the farm land on the forest edge. The owners are predominantly Indigenous Māori people who are shared owners of individual properties. The Māori owners share common ancestors.

The *Pest Strategy* was formed in response to the human activity that has led to the intrusion of pest animals and weeds on the landscapes; thus, affecting business, enjoyment, and recreation. The *Pest Strategy* has been an initiative to address the threat to the pastures and the forest, to control pest animals and plants, as well as, to prevent the threat of kauri dieback disease.

THAT BLACK … DOG KILLER!

Takahiwai Hills and Forest 8 August 2020

I stood in front of the two old cold water tanks
no longer used for purpose waiting. A reminder
of days gone by atop the hill covered in green
pasture snuzzled here and there by feral pigs

from the forest of Mānuka, Kānuka, Puriri, Ponga,
Kauri, Kahikatea and the like. I stood watch over
the country road below waiting for the hunter to
reach the meeting place before entering the forest.

Deep in vomit coloured clay we slogged one sticky
mud loaded footstep after another. Down, down,
down the slippery slope observing here and there
the slick saturated, sodden under story for signs

of feral pigs having wallowed recently in the pools
of buttery coloured water that filled the rutted
track to the back paddock. His veteran eyes
assessed Earth mother expertly and there before

us was the evidence of that black dog killer on
his way westwards to greener pastures. His hairy
pigskin trotters and head mirrored in the mud.
Footprints sturdy and robust on the march westward.

PEST CONTROL.

I am pulling out Ragwort weeds
Scrunch.
I am tugging out Tobacco weeds
Pong.
I am dragging out Wandering Willy too
Non-stop.
I am plucking out young Gorse and Thistles
Ouch.
I am controlling weeds on the farm.

The hunters are culling Wild Pigs
Boom.
They are culling Possums in traps
Whack.
They are culling Weasels and Stoats
Thump.
They are culling Cats, Dogs, and Rats too
Thud.
The hunters are controlling pests in the forest.

Mere Kepa (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6047-8853) is closely involved in ageing well and environmental projects in the rural community of Takahiwai. She is employed as a research fellow on the *Towards optimising vitality in older adults – Ageing Well in an Outdoor Gym (AWinOG),* Medical and Health Sciences, School of Population Health, the University of Auckland. She was involved in the NorthTec study, *Whakaora ngaa whenua whaama: Utilising maatauranga Maaori and western science to protect and restore the soil on rural farms in Te Tai Tokerau*, as the community-based researcher and writer. She was a member of the research team that presented at the 2020 Maori Research Symposium held at Otago Polytechnic. She has oversight for the *Community Pest Control Areas 2018-29: Takahiwai Hills and Forest, Takahiwai, Te Tai Tokerau.*

Kepa, Mere & Pirihi Luana. 2018. Pest Strategy, Takahiwai Hills and Forest 2018-2023. Unpublished report prepared for Northland Regional Council's Pest Management Working Party

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TIWAI

Ariana Sutton

TIWAI

When the spirits raise their flag,
I gotta get mine too!

This is not a poem.
This is blood, sweat and fears
the tears, you polluted
lie hidden in people's homes.
The bones around Tiwai
the toki in the sand.
Am I at the mercy of your
ruthless hand? Rio Tinto

No! 'cause when the spirits
raise their flags,
I've got mine too

It wavers on the inside
flagging across my heart and instinct.
The wind cleanses me
and tells me what's wrong
And what's right.

Yes. We all know it's wrong
but continue the same song
excusing this denial, 'cause
underneath you've all felt
this, for far too long.

I'll cradle your silence
your numbness and your fears.
But don't come to silence me,
'cause I took the spirit flag.

The song is on repeat,
to deafen the noisy lies -
we sell ourselves.
We deserve ourselves, in
full health, love and connection
to a nourished land.
Trust in community leaders,
thrusting around in solid form.
Upon the rocks, at the point
Te Ara a Kiwa.
The mighty southern ocean!
you could never be defeated.

Then you remember.
Your, your own Leader
and the song,
the sea and the sovereignty
is yours.

Speak for the voiceless.
Act for the un-birthed.
Feel for the neighbour
and love thyself,
as pure oceans do.

Ariana Sutton, Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe, Waitaha Ōku Iwi. No Murihiku ia.

Scope: Kaupapa Kāi Tahu, 6, 2021 13

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WHAKAORA NGA WHENUA WHĀMA: UTILISING MĀTAURANGA MĀORI AND WESTERN SCIENCE TO PROTECT AND RESTORE THE SOIL ON RURAL FARMS IN TE TAI TOKERAU

Mere Kepa, Benjamin Pittman, Marcus Williams, and Peter Bruce-Iri

DISCUSSION

Mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge]

Before the arrival of the European settlers, Māori society was governed by a system of principles, laws, and customs known as tikanga Māori. The terminology, tikanga, is derived from the word tika that means to be righteous, honest, and just. At the heart of mātauranga Māori is tikanga and both principles conceptualise whakawhanaungatanga (making good kin relationships) and whakapapa (shared ancestry).[1] Through whanaungatanga (kin relations), a Māori world, both visible and invisible, is conceptualised and apprehended as palpable.[2] Conceptually, whakapapa can be understood as the interminable connections from the Atua (Māori gods) to earth to the people. Whakapapa binds Māori people together in a sacred relationship and responsibility to care for each other, the soil, air, and water.[3] Prior to colonisation, mātauranga Māori that included the principles of tika, tikanga Māori, whakawhanaungatanga, whanaungatanga, and whakapapa enabled Māori to live a tika (good, just, decent) life.

Since the beginning of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, by the British, kāinga have been damaged by the scientific, calculative, logical discourse. Through the dominant English language and culture, the Māori people have been pressured to obey linguistic conventions which are distinctly Western. In the *Whenua Whāma* project, the research team has begun to talk deeply of a cultural interface that draws attention to Māori beliefs, interaction, and self-development in the areas of organic and regenerative agriculture across Te Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa.[4]

In the twenty-first century, the philosophies, mentioned above, can help both Māori and Pākehā to make sense of the world, our shared place on earth, and how we should relate to one another in cultivating food, mitigating man-made climate action, and changing or adapting our ways of living to nature's changes.[5] Māori language terms reveal a sense and process of interaction and self-development; there is a sense that the Māori language highlights the mysterious spirit of a Māori world. Māori people's attention is drawn to think of the Atua and the ancestors as part of everyday living and knowing; therefore, the people's beliefs in the presence of the supernatural distinguish the Māori world from a scientific discourse which treats the appearance of a thing, including the individual, as a solid, calculable object.

During the *Whenua Whāma* study, the kaumātua recounted their experience of food being cultivated by their grandparents in their respective kāinga at Waiotu and Takahiwai. In the kāinga are their shared descent from the first upwelling of energy in the cosmos to thinking, knowing, and desiring; the earth and the sky, the sun, moon and stars,

the sea and the winds, forests, crops, and people, flora and fauna linked together in an immense extended family. They recalled healthier parents, grandparents, and siblings working the soil together to produce food to feed the kin living in their respective kāinga, as well as the relations who were domiciled in the nearby urban centre of Whangārei.

Waiotu and Takahiwai used to be the place of a favourite tree, waterfall, or stream that was once full of mauri (life force, energy). The sacredness of the kāinga was strong. Then topdressing planes arrived, the wetlands were drained, the forests were hewn, the waterways were polluted and life in the kāinga was overtaken by industrial farming. The whānau [extended family] and hapū [groups of extended families] were moved to towns and cities across Te Tai Tokerau, Aotearoa, and the world. All of the changes required the promotion of mātauranga Māori as a significant support for rethinking, reimagining, and regenerating agriculture in education curricula, policy discussions, and commercial practices rather than using the remnants of Māori tribal society merely for ceremonial purposes.

One of the great ironies of the contemporary acknowledgement of mātauranga Māori in the context of sustainable and chemical-free agriculture is that it has been consistently there but without due recognition. Okeroa Pitman, the grandfather of one of the kaumātua-researchers, and many others never talked about Māori knowledge at all; they simply practised it. Their practices in food cultivation included:

- grubbing out weeds – rushes, thistles, ink weed, deadly nightshade, and blackberry; slashing and burning-off dry fern which provided essential soil nutrients that, in turn, encouraged colonisation by valued plants such as mānuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*) and tōtara (*Podocarpus totara*)[6] and, in the short-term, dry land watercress and pūhā (perennial sow thistle);
- using tethered goats on rare instances of gorse invasion, gorse being mainly a problem outside the farm boundaries as within it was strictly controlled;
- using rongoā Māori (plant-based Māori medicinal knowledge and treatments) for the animal's internal and external health, the bush and the margins being the source of all;
- regarding animal health as part of synergistic human health;
- regarding nothing as unproductive wasteland; so-called wasteland was prime eco-habitat for invaluable plants like mānuka, tūpākihi, (also known as tutu, *Coriaria arborea*) and pennyroyal;
- using karakia (incantations) for every beginning, ending and identified problem;
- respecting and preserving the sanctity of wai Māori (fresh water) with strict separation of animals from puna (springs);
- using crop rotation and natural fertilisers;
- respecting the mauri (life force, life principle) of the land and everything within and upon the whenua;
- respecting and valuing water as the source of life for all living things; and
- never allowing the use of chemicals or artificial fertilisers on the land.

In 2016, all of these practices on the whenua Māori (Māori-owned land resources) began to come together through a programme to develop bovine nutraceuticals. Aotearoa became home to the programme and, yet another irony, the chemical-free whenua Māori became the most valuable place of all for the programme. Nutraceuticals that were extracted from bovine herds had the added benefit of providing high quality, organic meat as a value-adding by-product; that is, in addition to the projected $10,000 per animal in nutraceuticals extraction. A notable product, in focus, is bovine colostrum. The therapeutic benefits of bovine colostrum include maintaining well-being and treating medical conditions in both human and animal populations.

While previously, Māori farmers in their adhesion to mātauranga Māori and sustainable farming practices, even without terms to describe the knowledge and approaches, might not have been aware of such specific developments; they were in fact farming both for their 'present' at the same time as laying the groundwork for a collectively beneficial future for all. The notion of 'doing good things for mokopuna' [grandchildren] is deeply embedded in Te Ao Māori (Māori world). So, the good spirit of mātauranga Māori is the continuum of a Māori history.

European settlement brought novel knowledge and previously unknown animals that became part of mātauranga Māori. This was merely a continuation of mātauranga Māori of migration, discovery, and transformation over thousands of years. Māori valued horses, pigs and cattle especially. Horses as transportation became 'superior' property under the Māori classification system of 'superior' and inferior property. Grandfather Okeroa also followed his maramataka (lunar calendar) that commenced each month with the rising of the new moon as the guide for all activities related to planting, harvesting, and fishing. A document in our whānau archives, dating from from the 1890s was a guide, designating rongoā hōiho (horse medicines) that were based on native plants with the interesting addition of tupeka (tobacco).

The details illustrate the flexibility of mātauranga Māori with the capacity to embrace the new: knowing is never static; rather, knowing is vital and aware. The other cultural principle in play is the Māori notion of whakapapa that links all things, animate and otherwise, as part of a universal genealogy; a sophisticated system of kinship, relationships and inter-dependence. So sustainable agriculture, in Te Ao Māori existed even without a name, as a manifestation of a dynamic, interlinked through whakapapa. As well as people as agents of action, key contextual elements were whenua and wai (earth and water), water being the blood of life; "Mā te wai e ora ai ngā mea katoa" ("Through water, all things are sustained"). This reinforces the notion of interconnectedness of all things animate and inanimate. Completing the picture and binding *all* together is the taha wairua [spiritual dimension], manifested by ritenga (customary practices) and karakia.

While recognising that mātauranga Māori shares aspects of knowledge with Western science, as a system operating within Māori contexts and rules, mātauranga continues being deep and core to Māori existence; and is fully able to stand alone. It is through research projects, such as *Whenua Whāma*, that what might previously have been regarded as barriers to development by Māori, are more likely to be helpful, conceptual and perceptual illustrations of growing food.

REGENERATIVE AGRICULTURE

In the 1960s, research highlighted the negative environmental impacts of industrial farming; that is, a counterculture to earlier pioneers emerged in the form of organic and bio-dynamic farming.[7] Such farmers remained in the minority, and progressively neo-liberal economics created a drive for production that spawned intensification and the aggregation of smaller farms into much larger farms. Rises in fertiliser use and decline in water quality evidenced the changes. Biodynamic and organic certification processes have specified on-farm standards. Some that aspire to more natural ways of farming find the standards impose undesirable constraints and have adapted biodynamic and organic methods without fully complying with the measures. Some farmers have described their methods as being biological or indigenous. In this project, we have used the term regenerative to encompass the methods. Regenerative infers environments can go beyond sustainability to heal ecosystems and to intensify life and biodiversity. Climate justice concerns add to the urgency to create farming practices that improve soil, plant, air, animal, and human health and resilience. A motivation for the study was to identify how farm pastures can grow and sequester soil carbon to help mitigate climate change. Also, we wanted to identify ways of reliably quantifying carbon levels using methods easily implemented by farmers. A range of methods were investigated until the team settled on using the Visual Soil Analysis (VSA) developed by Graham Shepherd[8] and outlined in a manual developed, and then adopted by the FAO for international use.

In the *Whenua Whāma* project, one of the farms has USDA Organic Certification while the other is farmed conventionally. Graham Shepherd used the VSA to assess the soils, to demonstrate the methods used, and to gather the soil samples for laboratory analysis. The comparative study of the two farms was not designed to validate an assumption that the soil on the organic farm would be superior, rather the idea was to explore the methods that might be used by farmers easily.

One of the results from the soil and pasture sap analysis highlighted a significant difference in practices based in mātauranga Māori and industrial agriculture, prompting a further investigation of relevant literature. Results from the soil tests on the organic farm revealed Olsen P levels of phosphorus of 23 on the low end of the medium range. This would normally prompt recommendations for the addition of phosphates. But herbage tests revealed high levels of phosphorus (0.49%); this indicated an active microbiome on the organic farm that effectively mines phosphate from soil minerals and makes it available to plants.

The authors of a 1923 article from the *Journal of Polynesian Society* were clearly impressed by the soil quality of Waimea plains soils cultivated by Māori. Notably, the soils were still of superior quality when the soil scientists tested them several decades after Māori soil amendments. The gravel and sand applied improved the soil texture; Bruce and Rigg attributed the very high levels of phosphate to the burning of scrub:

> The source of the enrichment was apparently wood ashes, since the soil is black, owing to the presence of much charcoal. Wood, scrub, or other vegetable matter must have been brought on to the land and there burnt. Tea-tree (mānuka) is suggested as the form of vegetable matter which was employed for this purpose. The ash of tea-tree is rich in phosphates, potash and lime.[9]

Meanwhile, on Pākehā farms, the use of superphosphate happened soon after the establishment of Canterbury Agricultural College in 1878.[10] A former 28th Māori Battalion soldier recalled from the era (1910 to 1930) that his father had observed that their Pākehā neighbours were stealing the mauri (life force) from the soil.

Superphosphate is derived from phosphate rock. Nauru Island as a source has been left with large areas of degraded landscapes and currently New Zealand sources the rock from West Sahara, a country colonised by neighbouring Morocco. The Saharans protest that they receive no benefit from what they call "blood phosphate."[11] Thus, to source our phosphate we are, in the words of Hua Parakore (Māori organic gardening) authority "eating other people's landscapes"[12] as well as degrading their quality of life. As well as perpetuating injustices in the countries of origin, phosphate fertilisers do harm here too. They contain cadmium and fluoride. The Ministry of Primary Industries claims that cadmium is within World Health Organisation guidelines. Cadmium is a heavy metal that can harm human and ecosystem health.[13] Phosphate fixes strongly to the clay fraction of soil. In New Zealand "over two hundred million tonnes of sediment are lost … into the ocean every year."[14] This is the main pathway for phosphates to pollute waterways. In his interview for the project, Dr Benjamin Pittman related how his grandfather, Okeroa, refused to have artificial fertilisers on his farm. If the value proposition for phosphate use is confined to the farm, it might be justified, but the wider social, environmental and economic impacts appear to remain unexamined.

These gleanings of farmers' application of phosphate illustrate the gulf between industrial agriculture and mātauranga Māori. By contrast, the interface between regenerative agriculture practices and mātauranga Māori approaches to agriculture are more apparent. The practices and approaches share in common a reverence for the natural world, and a sense of obligation to nurture the environment. Australia's Terry McCosker describes the transition that farmers make as they move towards a more regenerative mindset as follows:

> …over the time that I've been working with graziers, a lot of people think that they were graziers or livestock managers. Well, the time they do the first round with us, they realize that they're grass managers. But by the time they learn a little bit more about ecology and soils, et cetera, they realize that they're soil managers, and it is management of that soil, that creates all the wealth, that happens from then on.[15]

Some of the tools grounded in Western science, such as the VSA, are very helpful in this transition. Mātauranga Māori offers an antidote and contrasting world view to curb the excesses of industrial agriculture and is an ideal lodestone for guiding regenerative practice.

"KO AU TE WHENUA, KO TE WHENUA KO AU" (I AM THE LAND, AND THE LAND IS ME)

The *Whenua Whāma* project occurred with support from the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO, a UNESCO Member State. The Commission has five strategic priorities, one of which is nurturing and connecting diverse forms of knowledge based on scientific evidence, traditional knowledge, and intercultural dialogue to enhance decision making and foster mutual understanding. In Aotearoa, traditional knowledge is often referred to as mātauranga Māori; Dan Hikuroa has asserted that "there are significant similarities between mātauranga Māori and science."[16] Yet this idea of intercultural dialogue is harder to enact than it is to state because the people involved in these different knowledge systems frequently talk past one another, particularly in areas of agriculture and food production, which are at the very heart of the colonial history of Aotearoa. As discussed in this paper, in Aotearoa and internationally, the methods associated with gathering scientific evidence and traditional knowledge are fundamentally different. The dialogue, attitudes, and methodologies come from different world views, and operate within different paradigms. In the context of contemporary research, Western science is hegemonic, has historically received most of the resources and is generally dismissive of traditional knowledge. On the matter of the funding and prioritisation of environmental research in New Zealand, the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment states, it is not "…inclusive of mātauranga Māori and the centuries of knowledge attained from living on, and with respect for, the whenua."[17]

Relevant to contemporary debates around Te Tiriti o Waitangi, the established power imbalance between the paradigms of mātauranga Māori and Western science are slowly being acknowledged within research institutions, the New Zealand government, and across society. A manifestation of this is the development of Vision Mātauranga (VM) by Charles Royal[18] in 2005 and its implementation in the Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment in 2010. Vision Mātauranga seeks to recognise the innovative potential of mātauranga Māori to Aotearoa society and requires applications for research funding to address four main areas of relevance: Indigenous Innovation, Taiao (Environment), Hauora (Health) and Mātauranga (indigenous knowledge and science).

Arguably, VM is an example of an effort being made across different sectors of Aotearoa to create intercultural dialogue and to address the power imbalance between the knowledge systems.[19] In relation to the *Whenua Whāma* project, VM addresses the loss of potential benefit to society and the environment by the marginalisation of the Māori worldview; the thinking, knowledge, and practices of Te Ao Māori. In her reflections on VM, Lanning also acknowledges the possibility for academic disciplines to use the framework to contribute to intercultural dialogue: "Vision Mātauranga, done properly, forces scholars to come together for long periods of planning where we listen to one another, participate in debates, and figure things out."[20] An understanding of the *Whenua Whāma* research team, which is comprised of Māori and Pākehā, is that in the context of food production, a failure to address the power imbalance between Western science and mātauranga Māori has the potential for catastrophic outcomes.

Photography formed an important component of the project. Sometimes described as a universal language, photography was incorporated into the project as a way of addressing the phenomenon of talking past one another in an intercultural dialogue. There were three hui (meeting) held at NorthTec in Whangārei:

- To engage with the community;
- To share findings; and
- To exhibit the photographic documentation at NorthTec's Marae, Te Puna o Te Mātauranga.

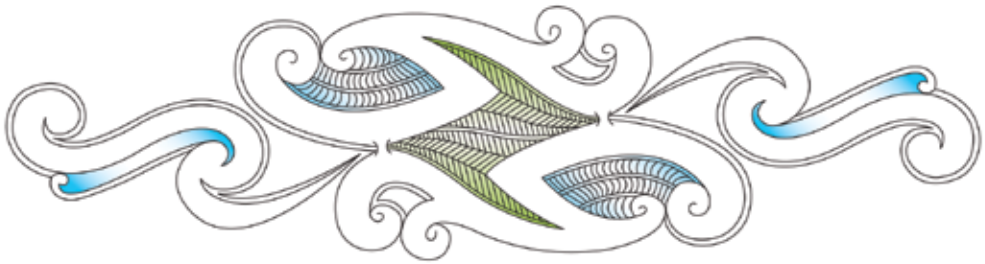
Photography is a powerful communication tool, but like all forms of representation, the method can be deeply problematic in a research context. The research team decided to engage two local taitamariki (young) Māori, the daughters of the two Māori farmers. Both were recent school leavers; they were guided in photographic techniques and equipment and encouraged to engage in the significant events of the project. The research approach emerges from Participatory Action Research (PAR) which, according to Vollman fosters capacity, community development, empowerment, access, social justice, and participation.[21]

Photography as PAR emerged from a critique of the use of photographs and film in ethnographic research. By the 1970s, the use of photography as a tool for recording cultures was recognised as objectifying the subject and perpetuating the colonising tendencies of the dominant culture. Linda Tuhiwai-Smith speaks of research through imperial eyes in her book, *Decolonising Methodologies; Research and Indigenous Peoples*, asserting that the words and images of researchers often marginalise the experience and stories of the Other.[22] Participatory Action Research emerged from what John Heron, in 1971, described as Cooperative Inquiry; the major idea being to research "with" rather than "on" people.[23] This approach pervaded all of the *Whenua Whāma* project, where the divide between the researcher and researched was deliberately blurred. Participatory Action Research was chosen as the photographic research approach because the method claims to give voice to the Subject, which creates the potential for transformation through communication, heightened awareness and activism. Maguire emphasized that the action activity of PAR was "a way for researchers and oppressed people to join in solidarity to take collective action, both in short and long term, for radical social change."[24]

The assertion was born out. The resulting photographic exhibition represented the project and farm life from the point of view of taitamariki Māori from the area and provoked conversation among the various communities involved, in ways that had not occurred in the Final Hui at which the Final Report to UNESCO was presented. On that occasion, the audience walked to the exhibition nearby, after a morning of presentations. Only then did a sustained, inclusive, intercultural dialogue about the potential confluence of Western science and mātauranga Māori occur among the large group of people viewing the photographs.

CLOSING REMARKS

In the feasibility study, *Whenua Whāma*, the language and culturally diverse interface among the Māori and Pākehā researchers, the kaumātua, the farmers and their daughters has been successful in drawing out ideas, knowledges, and techniques on healing the earth. The research team has affirmed better food cultivation is achieved when the partnership of Māori and Pākehā honours, concomitantly, mātauranga Māori, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, regenerative and organic agriculture, and climate justice. Finally, the findings have been set out, in detail, in the Final Report to the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO.[25]



Dr. Mere Kepa (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4768-5871) is Tangata Whenua of Te Parawhau, Patuharakeke, Ngāti Raka, and Ngāti Ira. Dr. Kepa is a writer, editor, and a peer reviewer of proven merit, and writes poetry about the degradation and destruction of Nature. Dr. Kepa has a lengthy tradition of fostering International Indigenous relations in scholarly writing, editorship, peer review, teaching and research, and critically thinking about education where language and cultural diversity, and innovation are keenly valued. In the Kāinga of Takahiwai, Te Tai Tokerau, Dr. Kepa plays a role in environmental, health, and education research and activities.

Dr. Benjamin Pittman (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1355-3280) I whakapapa to Te Parawhau, Ngāti Hao - Te Popoto (Hokianga) and Ngāti Hau (Akerama) and chair Te Pouwhenua o Tiakiriri Kūkupa Trust - Te Parawhau ki Tai. Dr. Pittman has spent his entire adult life within education in both Aotearoa and Australia and has been fully immersed in environmental issues related to the whenua since 2013, when he returned to Aotearoa. His focus has been on water quality, land, waterways, harbour and ocean degradation and use and on keeping genetically modified organisms out of Te Tai Tokerau.

Peter Bruce-Iri (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3956-7111) was born and raised at Te Kōpuru and has had a passion for organic production and the environment for all his adult life. His current research is about regenerative food systems and climate change. He was a founding director of Local Food Northland in 2016 and a founding trustee of the Climate Change Tai Tokerau Northland Trust. A veteran educator, he has led programme development and accreditation initiatives, including the recent Māori Enterprise Major for NorthTec's business degree. Peter is an associate member of the Ngāti Pū hapū, through marriage to Huria Bruce-Iri.

Marcus Williams (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3313-211X) is an Associate Professor Creative Industries and Director Research and Enterprise, Unitec Institute of Technology. Since 2014, he has led Unitec to a position of strength in Applied Research over the last five years. As an example, he advocated and facilitated key appointments which led to the creation of Ngā Wai a te Tūī, the Unitec Kaupapa Māori Research Centre which was opened in 2019. He holds a Masters of Fine Arts from RMIT University and a Bachelor of Photography from the University of Auckland. His research interests are in creative practice as an agent of social change. He has led several highly collaborative, transdisciplinary projects with multiple complex outputs. As a climate change champion, he has facilitated the establishment of Regenerative Agriculture projects.

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POIPOIA TE KĀKANO, KIA PUĀWAI: NURTURING THE SEED OF COMMUNITY-BASED MĀORI HOUSING RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTION

At times, the housing crisis impacting Māori seems overwhelming. Māori home ownership has been plummeting as house prices have been rising, leaving whānau to scramble for accommodation in an increasingly expensive private rental market where paying a high rent is no guarantee of quality housing or tenure security. One outcome is the growing number of whānau housed in emergency or transitional housing for extended periods of time where even though they may not be counted among those who are homeless, they are effectively without a place to call a home.[1] It is within this context that Māori housing researchers are compelled to document whānau realities, interrogate barriers to whānau securing a home, and highlight what works alongside ideas for innovative housing solutions for Māori.

Over the past 30 years, Kaupapa Māori (by, with, and for Māori) research (KMR) has secured a place in Aotearoa New Zealand, with those undertaking KMR often connected by whakapapa to the places and the people they are working with.[2] In addition, Kaupapa Māori researchers are committed to building the research capacity of those they collaborate with, so that Māori communities are becoming progressively more active in research and able to centre their research inquires within their own epistemologies (ways of knowing).[3] *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* is a programme of housing research that funds four such research inquiries that are by, with, and for local Māori. This paper documents the collaborative journey undertaken to entice community people to be researchers, to tell their own stories about their home place. The result is a portfolio of research that examines people's return to their whenua, where housing is just one part of being 'at home' and ensuring vital and sustainable kāinga tahi. We begin with a brief scene setting out the funding context for this research, followed by a description of the collaborative research development phase, and ending an overview of the projects that emerged and received funding.

KĀINGA TAHI, KĀINGA RUA

Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai – Nurture the seed and it will blossom, is funded within the Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua funding stream of the second tranche of the Building Better Homes, Towns and Cities: Ko Ngā Wā Kāinga Hei Papakāinga National Science Challenge (BBHTC).[4] The vision of the BBHTC challenge encompasses the built environment and the role this environment has in building communities; that is, ka ora kāinga rua. The BBHTC mission is "Manaaki Tangata: Co-created, innovative research that has the potential to transform systems so that people's built environments and communities are hospitable, productive and protective." In 2019, BBHTC received

its second tranche of research funding, with a focus on homes and spaces for generations and thriving communities to "improve the quality and supply of housing and create smart and attractive urban environments."[5] This included the continuation of the BBHTC's commitment to Kaupapa Māori (by, with, and for Māori) research in its *kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua* funding stream, as well as throughout the challenge. This was guided by the aim of Vision Mātauranga "to unlock the science innovation potential of Māori knowledge, resources and people."[6]

Linda Smith[7] describes the importance of Kaupapa Māori research privileging Māori knowledge and ways of being and making a positive difference for Māori; that research should be about social change and transformation, alongside community aspirations, development and sovereignty. As Kwesi Prah[8] has written, "We cannot in all seriousness study ourselves through the eyes of other people's assumptions." Thus, the authentic representation of Indigenous peoples within research is about being true to "the reality of the lived indigenous experience."[9] Such research needs to speak to the strengths and aspirations of the people as much as it does about the structural barriers to them reaching their full potential and realising their dreams.[10] In this way, Indigenous people's participation in research will contribute to informing and achieving their goals and aspirations.

Alongside Māori rights to knowledge production embodied in the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi,[11] the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its 107th plenary meeting, on 13 September 2007.[12] The UNDRIP affirmed, among many collective rights, our right to name ourselves and our right to our identity. Indigenous peoples throughout the world have the right to protect, develop and innovate our own research. Part 1 of Article 31 of UNDRIP states:

> Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and ora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.

Research methods might involve "sharing food, exchanging gifts, and communicating with the non-living in prayer, in song, in dance or in speech."[13] Swadener and Mutua[14] set the tone for 'performative' research approaches: the visual and plastic arts, song, oral storytelling, dance, poetry, rituals, 'zines', popular media, and the internet. Therefore, by way of these doctrines and performative research approaches, the scene was set for inviting Māori community researchers, and those aspiring to document the mātauranga of their community, to conceptualise, plan for, undertake and live research as part of their everyday being and doing.

'POIPOIA TE KĀKANO, KIA PUĀWAI'

The second tranche of the *kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua* research began in the second half of 2019 with a co-creation phase. This provided us with an opportunity to go into communities and talk with people about their interest in doing research to support their own housing agendas. Aligned with the BBHTC mission, we wanted to facilitate local research that would support local Māori aspirations for hospitable, productive and protective homes and communities. The vision mātauranga (VM) responsiveness of this *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* research programme is a Kaupapa Māori response, whereby Māori researchers undertake 'local' community-up research with and for Māori. The goal of using *Kāinga Tahi, Kāinga Rua* funding for rōpū Māori-designed and controlled projects was to enable rōpū to fill gaps they identify in current housing research and knowledge. The objective of *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* is, therefore, to enable mātauranga Māori about housing solutions that work for Māori to blossom by nurturing research that is by, with, and for whānau, hapū, iwi and Māori communities.

Figure 1. Photograph of a bug motel at a Ngāti Porou maara kai.

Our starting point was recruiting local research co-ordinators who could identify and connect with those who they needed to talk to in order to gain input into the creation and design of a local housing research project. These co-ordinators then had kanohi ki te kanohi (face-to-face) visits with key individuals and whānau to talk about research possibilities, including in at least two locations the co-creation of a research agenda with rangatahi. The result was whānau and hapū led research proposals. The story-telling methodologies were largely qualitative. Researchers would interview, photograph, video record, and keep field notes about housing journeys, reporting back regularly to their respective communities about their findings and documenting what worked as well as any barriers to the fulfilment of housing aspirations.

Figure 1 is of a bug motel at a Ngāti Porou maara kai. It was constructed to encourage bugs and bees to inhabit the maara. We are trying to construct a metaphorical researcher motel to pōhiri or invite community researchers to know that the maara mātauranga me te maara rangahau—the garden of research and knowledge—is a place they can inhabit and explore and ground themselves with ease and confidence to grow as researchers. Research funds were secured so that these whānau could do their proposed research, with Fiona, Tepora and Lisa as mentors. Maraea Pipi-Takoko is also on board to support rōpū to get the best use out of social media and information technologies when undertaking their research and disseminating their findings.

The following sections provide an overview of the four research projects.

1. Papa Kāinga – Ko au ki te whenua, ki te whenua ko au

Kairangahau: Beverly Te Huia, with rangatahi from Ngāti Mihiroa.

Whāinga paetae: To involve rangatahi as co-researchers in the development of an aspirational plan for living on the whenua.

Waipuka is the name of the lands that stretch south from Ocean Beach, along the east coast of Hawkes Bay to the Waingongoro stream in Waimarama, five kilometres inland, and north to Cape Kidnappers. In the 1950s, the Māori land, known as Waipuka 3B 1C1, was leased under unknown terms for the next 50 years to Pākehā. This resulted in a generation of disconnect from these lands. Twenty years on, whānau and hapū are returning, reconnecting and reclaiming their lands once again. Waipuka is abundant with fresh water, kai moana, and teeming with life, so it is no surprise that Maori occupied this land for centuries. There remain old pa sites, middens, pits, terraces, and artefacts amongst the sand dunes and hills of Waipuka.

With the introduction of the papakāinga legislation, the opportunity for whānau/hapū to live, once again on Māori land has been a welcome solution for many Māori unable to afford the exorbitant cost associated with building infrastructure. This is true for Ngāti Mihiroa who at the start of discussions about *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* were one year into their papakāinga project, with 12 new whānau homes planned among the existing 32 baches. The hapū have discussed the possibility of creating new kawa, tikanga, wāhi tapu, kāinga noho to meet the needs of the lands and moana in this new environment. The question of what we will bring and what we will leave behind has also been asked; for example, what will happen to our marae in Paki Paki? Will we have a new urupa?

Ngāti Mihiroa rangatahi were invited to lead out on the design of a small, collaborative research project to demonstrate the value (or not) of the hapū telling their stories. In the week of the 2019 Waipuka annual general meeting (AGM), rangatahi met to discuss the papakāinga development and what they were interested in investigating. The presence of the rangatahi at the AGM also added another, more conscious level to the meeting, steering the theme to a more future-focused agenda. They came up with five questions and gained permission at the AGM to interview attendees about:

1. What is good about papakāinga?
2. Will the homes on the papakāinga be healthy for the whānau?
3. How do we keep the beach clean?
4. Will we have a sports club?
5. Who are our Kaitiaki?

Overall, rangatahi involvement in research within a papakāinga development project was seen as beneficial. The research itself is founded upon the hypothesis that positive community connectedness is associated with positive individual and social outcomes, and is central to collective identity and, therefore, contributes to wellness. So, it is a little bit about housing and a lot about whenua, guardianship, kawa, tikanga, and whanaungatanga. The proposal gained support from the hapū.

2. Te Kinakina Wetlands Project

Kairangahau: Kathleen Morrison & Violet Aydon-Pou.

Whāinga paetae: To document the return of the life of the valley that ignites the memories, flavours, sounds, and sights that connect me/us to whenua Māori—to home.

Snake Gully or Te Kinakina encompasses a small valley bordered on one side by a 50-metre bank covered in native bush which includes 200-300-year-old pōhutukawa and puriri. At the base of this bank runs Pukuranui Stream that has a stony and sandy bottom, meandering, or at times, thundering towards the ocean that lies 200 metres from the northern boundary of Te Kaha 2C2. On the western side of the valley, much of the land has been cleared and fenced off, interrupted by a few pockets of native bush. The valley floor has contributories of spring water and other smaller creeks that drain off neighbouring blocks. In general, the land is seepage wetland, with natural ponds appearing or filling when rain is plentiful. Watercress grows in most of the contributing waterways, small tuna also inhabit these areas. Birdlife is present but sparse due to the disruptive activities of horticulture—maize cropping as well as bird scarers on neighbouring kiwifruit blocks. The partitioning of Te Kaha 2C into Te Kaha 2C2 and Te Kaha 2C1 has provided separate spaces on Te Kina Kina for landowners to have a safe place to stand; and it rekindles a deep sense of identity and interconnectedness associated with this whenua being ancestral land. The partition has provided us a papakāinga, a place to call home, a place to rest, and a place to dream. The dream is to regenerate and ecologically restore the wetland valley. In so doing, papakāinga will extend to accommodate and embrace the 'others', ko ngā tamariki o Tāne Māhuta me ngā tamariki o Tangaroa.

Fiona and Tepora visited with Kathleen and Violet to walk the land and hear the story of their journey back to the whenua and their aspirations for fulfilling their kaitiaki aspirations. The thought of doing 'research' about the next phase of their journey—the restoration of the wetlands—at first seemed overwhelming in amongst their existing workload. The 'solution' was found in Kathleen's expertise (she has a MFA in photography) to document this journey. The research method proposed is first voice pedagogy as narrative. A photographic essay and accompanying narrative will document the stages of wetland developments.

Te Kinakina Wetlands is a story about mana whenua, whakapapa, and a commitment made to reinstating kāinga for our extended whānau, for the non-human descendants of our environmental atua—Tāne Māhuta, Tangaroa, Rongomātāne, and Haumiatiketike.[15] In the Wetlands restoration process, creating kāinga for extended whānau serves to thicken the threads of connectivity not only to the 'others' but to our shared primal parents Ranginui and Papatūānuku. According to Harmsworth and Awatere,[16] Maori well-being and the achievement of Māori aspirations are interdependent on ecosystems; they recommend the use of ecosystem approaches to increase Māori "participation and inclusion in decision-making, to achieve multidimensional aspirational goals and desired indigenous outcomes".[17] In other words, in the process of restoring the ecosystems for the 'others' we will also be restored.

3. Mahue Pera Ahu Whenua Trust

Kairangahau: Te Kura and Nihera Pohatu, with the support of Zack Makoare and Lisa Pohatu.

Whāinga paetae: To document an intergenerational story of mātauranga about the whenua, whakapapa and the fulfilment of aspirations for papakāinga and a return to kāinga tahi.

Ko Kahuranaki te maunga

Ko Kahuranaki te marae

Ko Poukawa te waiu

Ko Takitimu te waka

Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi

Ko Ngāi Te Rangi Koianake te hapū

Ko Te Whatuiapiti te rangatira

Ko Te Hāpuku te tangata

Ngauao = Te Rangikoianake

Karahui = Matewai

Te Kaapo = Rameka

Nikaore te whare pōuri = Pera Wheraro

Mereana Mahue = Hinare Pohatu

Ka puta ko mātou ngā uri o Mahue pera ahu whenua trust

From the inception of Mahue Pera Ahu Whenua Trust in 1997, the aspiration has been the ability to give whānau the opportunity to learn about farm management, pastoral management and to one day take the land back and manage it for the benefit of whānau. Papakāinga is a setting that embodies oranga and a holistic approach to wellbeing. The vision for Ngāi Te Rangi Koianake—to have Papakāinga on their whenua to keep whānau connected—aligns with the whakataukī (saying) "The future will look like what the past once looked like." The whole whānau will be part of the journey of realising this whakataukī. Each member of the whānau has an active role, from kaumātua to tamariki, and through wānanga, whānau members will be able to identify, learn and support one another with these roles. The Ngāi Te Rangi Koianake whānau will utilise whakapapa, whenua and whānau to share their whānau Papakāinga journey.

Two rangatahi – a young married couple, Te Kura and Nihera Pohatu – have been identified by the whānau to undertake this research. They will track and monitor stories of this Papakāinga journey. Both have whakapapa links to Ngāti Kahungunu, and Te Kura links to Ngāi Te Rangi Koianake. Both have a love for the environment – Te Kura through spending his weekends out at the Papakāinga maintaining the whenua, and Nihera through physical activity, running marathons, climbing maunga and being outdoors. They are supported by Zack Makoare and Lisa Pohatu.

In the proposed research, whānau will take an intergenerational approach to sharing their story. Kaumātua (older generation) will share their story with the lens to share their moemoeā (dream, vision) for their mokopuna (grandchildren) so that their mokopuna grow up in a safe space. Rangatahi will share their story through the lens of a new generation coming through, eventually having a whānau of their own and living on the Papakāinga. Modern technology such as the drone and GoPro will also be used to document our story. Zack will document the history of the whenua, focusing on what it took to bring whānau together to agree to the development of a papakāinga. Outcomes from this research journey will include strengthening rangatahi research capability and archiving mātauranga to strengthen future generations.

4. Te Wairoa

Kairangahau Morehu Munro

Whāinga paetae Finding mātauranga Māori solutions through research that will assist our community to continue to grow and flourish.

Te Wairoa is a town in the north of the Hawke's Bay region, located at the mouth of the Wairoa River. It is often known for being New Zealand's most Māori town, with over 62 per cent of the population identifying as Māori. Ngāti Kahungunu o Te Wairoa is the recognised iwi for most of the town's population. Other iwi include Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Rakai-Paaka, Ngāti Pāhauwera and Ruapani. Te Wairoa is also fiercely loyal to its many hapū and marae; 33 marae reside within a 50km radius of the Wairoa Township. The council, supported by local Māori entities including Te Ātaarangi, Reo Rua and surrounding Marae, have asked for Te Wairoa to be seriously considered as one of the first bi-lingual towns in Aotearoa.

The question proposed in the development of this research was: what gaps will Iwi and hapū want to be filled by research, focused on illuminating mātauranga Māori, carried out in collaboration with them? Over a four-week period, Morehu spoke to as many people in Te Wairoa as he could, asking them for feedback on the kaupapa matua. He visited marae, talked to families that own homes and families that have returned to their papakāinga. He also talked to whānau that had remained on their papakāinga and in their tipuna homes. Morehu met with kaumātua, some still living on their papakāinga and others that live in rest homes and kaumātua flats. He also had meetings with local government organisations, property managers and health providers. As a whole, those he spoke to acknowledged that whakapapa and papakāinga are important. They accepted that there were varying degrees of knowledge and understanding regarding mātauranga Māori, kawa, kaupapa, tikanga, whanaungatanga, papakāinga, kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and manaakitanga amongst the group; for some it was of no importance, for others it was of the utmost importance. The group also spoke about an underlying current of jealousy, suspicion and mistrust toward each other.

The research proposed was the collection of community narratives and mātauranga about ahi kaa, with the researcher continuing to work closely with those spoken to in this first phase. For the purpose of this project, ahi kaa is defined as:

1. *Ahi kaa e morehu ana:* remained on the papakāinga, actively supported the marae and hapū, and maintained the homestead for the whānau.

2. *Ahi kaa haere atu hoki mai:* do not live on the papakāinga but return regularly to support the marae and hapū.

3. *Ahi kaa moe mate:* live on the papakāinga but do not support marae and hapū.

This whitiwhiti kōrero (talking and listening) project will be invaluable to projects that are currently being initiated and already running in Te Wairoa. We owe it to the future generations of our whakapapa to do the right thing; finding Mātauranga Māori solutions through research will assist our community to continue to grow and flourish.

DISCUSSION

Some years ago, Linda Smith asked a group why they thought Māori should be in the academy. Several answers were proffered before she gave us her opinion; namely, that knowledge is built inside the academy, and Māori have a right to contribute to this knowledge. Since that time, Māori research capacity has been built and community interest in research has strengthened as they have been better represented within research findings. The research projects within *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* are pushing further into the community as a site of knowing that can inform local thinking, actions and aspirations. They are part of building knowledge in the academy where the academy transforms to embrace Māori knowing where Māori live. In this discussion, we explore how the 'success' of this initiative might be measured.

Measuring success

A definition of success (see Figure 2) for *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* is that stories are told by, with, and for the rōpū involved. This telling of their own stories is about mana motuhake, or Māori self-determination over housing research priorities, methodologies, and the utilisation of research findings. In this way the science and mātauranga of Māori housing, homes, places and people can be built and strengthened for Māori vitality and sustainability.

KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH	
Mana Motuhake	Sharing Knowledge and Expertise – Strengthening Research Capability
TELLING OUR OWN STORIES	
Housing Solutions That Work	Sharing lessons and developing tools
Barriers to Achieving Housing Aspirations	Strategies to overcome obstacles

Figure 2 Defining Success

The success of *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* will also be defined by the frustrations the stories reveal—frustrations with, for example, whānau, councils, policies and legislation. The stories will also pinpoint the things that work to facilitate people's aspirations of providing housing solutions within their communities, often in their own place and on their land, and perhaps most importantly for their people. This is the dual nature of Kaupapa Māori research; namely, that researchers seek out what promotes the vitality and sustainability of Māori (with this often found within mātauranga Māori) whilst also interrogating the structural barriers to the realisation of Māori potential and the achievement of this vitality and sustainability.

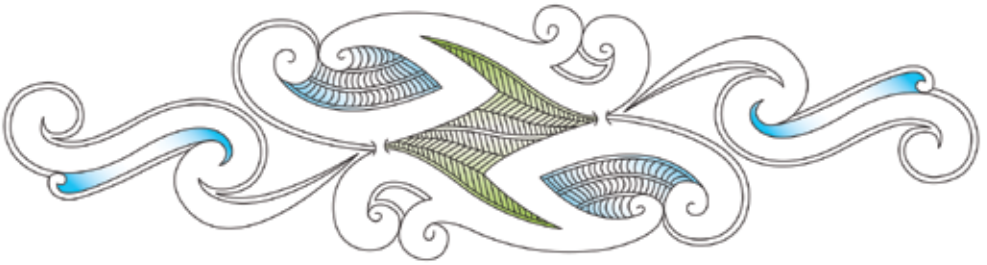
Success, as outlined above, will therefore also inform the development of outputs; including (but not limited to):

- a **toolkit** about achieving affordable housing in the context of the vitality and sustainability of the whenua, papakāinga, marae, and cultural security
- the **sharing of strategies** that have worked to restore whānau to their whenua (land) and their aha kaa responsibilities
- a **guide** for how people can enact their roles as kaitiaki (caretakers) of their whenua and how they can manaaki (host) whānau within their home place, especially whānau who may not otherwise have access to the whenua (for example, whānau with disabilities).

We are all learners, and we are all teachers in this research journey, just as we try to remain agile and responsive to new interests and issues that arise. We are also able to call on other housing research colleagues when needed. By starting collaboratively with communities and remaining flexible and responsive, we are confident that we have a strong foundation for gaining insights into what makes a place a kāinga tahi for Māori.

CONCLUSION

The common thread connecting the research projects developed during the co-creation phase in *Poipoia te kākano, kia puāwai* is Kāinga Tahi; that is, research about the places people originate from and still call their home. Enabling home people to do this research with and for themselves extends and embeds Kaupapa Māori research back into communities as a source of nourishment for a vital and sustainable Māori future.



Authors' notes

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Te Wairoa
Waipuka Papakāinga

Violet Aydon-Pou has spent almost 30 years in education, working predominantly at the 'grassroots' level. She has her MA in Social Sciences, been a Fulbright Scholar, and now holds a RTLB (Resource Teacher Learning and Behaviour) position serving schools in the Eastern Bay of Plenty. In her spare time, Violet works with and supports Kathleen to prepare funding applications, Wetland Restoration Progress Reports for whānau as well as funding organisations, and to network with suppliers.

Fiona Cram (Ngāti Pāhauwera, Pākehā) (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6047-8853) has produced one son, as well as a PhD from the University of Otago (Social and Developmental Psychology). She has over 25 years of Kaupapa Māori (by, with and for Māori) research and evaluation experience with Māori and Iwi organisations and communities, as well as with government agencies, district health boards, and philanthropic organisations. A large portion of this work involves the pursuit of decolonisation, Māori sovereignty, and societal transformation.

Tepora Emery is a kaupapa Māori researcher and evaluator, and a teacher. Belonging to Ngāti Pikiao, Rangiwewehi and Whakaue (Te Arawa waka), and Ngāti Unu, Ngāti Kahu ki Maniapoto (Tainui waka) Tepora has a long record of private and public service, in both lead and supporting roles, across a diverse range of whānau-hapū, iwi, hāpori and Government projects. Tepora is the kaupapa Māori research advisor at Toi Ohomai Institute of Technology and a Principal Lecturer in adult teacher education. The role includes leading and supporting research, evaluation and professional development work both inside the organisation with ākonga, staff and colleagues, and outside of the organisation with whānau, hapū, iwi and community groups.

Zack Makoare has a vision of better housing for his whānau and hapū, living on-site at Puke Aute Te Hauke Heretaunga ki Ngāti Kahungunu Papakāinga whenua. On the personal side, he's 60yrs old, been married 40yrs, and has 11 mokopuna. He established Te Tai Timu Trust 20 yrs ago, around a kaupapa of wellbeing. The Trust works collaboratively with Mahue-Pera Trust, providing a koha of time and space for Ngā Mokopuna o Ngā Tīpuna. He firmly believes that it takes a village to raise a child, and he is committed to the establishment of ''Te Pā Oranga', a place of wellness within the Papakāinga.

Kathleen Morrison is a conservationist/Kaitiaki who, alongside of Violet Pou, has designed and planned Te Kinakina Wetlands Restoration Project. She comes from an artistic background with a Master of Fine Arts (MFA) in photography and years of experience as a graphic designer. Having spent the last 10 years living on Te Kinakina, she is now dedicating her time to project manage the wetlands restoration including: the initial design and function of the wetland areas, funding applications, planting schedules, sourcing trees and plants, liaising with community groups, and managing contractors.

Morehu Munro is well-known and connected within the Te Wairoa community, as evidenced by the people he engaged with phase 1 of this research and the endorsement he received for being the researcher going forward. He is a skilled orator (often being called upon to sit on marae paepae) and gentle spirit, with a good understanding of kawa and tikanga and an inquiring mind.

Lisa Pohatu, of Ngāti Kahungunu ki te Wairoa, ki Heretaunga, Ngāi Tamanuhiri descent, comes to this project as a researcher supporting members of the group. Lisa is motivated and passionate about being able to create opportunities for all Māori to realise their potential.

Te Kura and Nihera Pohatu were identified by the whānau to undertake this research. They will track and monitor stories of this Papakāinga journey. Both have whakapapa links to Ngāti Kahungunu, and Te Kura links to Ngāi Te Rangi Koianake. When they began the research Te Kura was employed at Manufacturing and Food Producer Company Watties and Nihera was a kaiako at Kohanga Reo. Both have a love for the environment—Te Kura through spending his weekends out at the Papakāinga maintaining the whenua, and Nihera through physical activity, running marathons, climbing maunga and being outdoors.

Beverly Te Huia is a midwife and researcher who is well connected into her hapū of Ngāti Mihiroa. She also lives within the community and interacts regularly with the rangatahi who are aspiring researchers within this project. She is a superb mentor and research coordinator for this project.

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HIHIKO O MANGARAUTAWHIRI: POWER SOVEREIGNTY FOR A PROSPEROUS WHĀNAU AND HAPŪ

Hermione McCallum-Haire
with Rihi Te Nana and Joanne Gallagher

KO NGĀTI HINEMIHI E NGUNGURU NEI!

By way of centring this research, it is tika that the whakapapa of our hapū Ngāti Hinemihi be the korero that begins this article. No reira e rau rangatira mā…

Ko Tongariro te maunga
Ko Taupō te moana
Ko Te Arawa te waka
Ko Tūwharetoa te iwi
Ko Ngāti Hinemihi te hapū
Ko Te Heu Heu te tangata

The ancestor from whom Ngāti Hinemihi descends is the tohunga Ngātoroirangi, the high priest of Te Arawa canoe. The ancestors to whom the tribe traces descent for rights to land in Taupō district are Tia and Kurapoto, who both came in Te Arawa, and the sons and certain grandsons of Tūwharetoa.[1]

John Te Herekiekie Grace writes that Tūwharetoa had every gift that a beneficent providence could bestow. He was notably born and a powerful chief who ruled vast domains, possessing a great deal of personal charm and physical stature."[2] His intellect matched his other qualities, and it is said that his tutors could scarcely keep pace with him. He had the natural gift of expression of his ancestors and became acknowledged as the finest orator of his time. Unlike many chiefs of his day, he avoided conflict with other tribes unless provoked: and he never committed his tribe to expeditions that took them into other lands unless it was to their benefit."[3]

A mokopuna of Tūwharetoa, Tutetawha was later involved in an incident of claiming land that is of direct interest to the Ngāpuke area, which was then handed down from generation to generation. Tutetawha and his brother decided to travel to the country situated to the west of Lake Taupō, with the intention of 'laying claim to Tuhua' near Taumarunui. When they reached what is now called the Puketapu Block, and through which the present Taumarunui–Tūrangi highway passes, they heard the trumpet of Te Kanawa, a powerful Maniapoto chief who was also in the vicinity claiming land for his people.

Eventually, Tutetawha returned to Lake Rotoiaira, where he was later to marry Hinemihi, an ancestress from the Mātaatua people. She lived at Whakatāne and wanted to meet Tutetawha. After her party reached Tokaanu, they then crossed the range of hills separating Lake Rotoaira from Lake Taupō. When they finally arrived at the pa of Tutetawha, and when it was known that the visitor was Hinemihi, a great feast of welcome was prepared.

Hinemihi and Tutetawha had four children, Te Rangiita, Tuarakino, Paraparaahika and Turumakina. The many descendants of this couple represent the two hapū of Ngāti Tūwharetoa, these being Ngāti Hinemihi and Ngāti Turumakina.

PURPOSE

The aim of the Hihiko o Mangarautawhiri research project is to explore sustainable energy options for the Te Mangarautawhiri a Pukehou Trust. This research is a response to the excessive electric power and lines costs that whānau and hapū have paid since 2007. These outrageous power costs are compromising the health and wellbeing of whānau. The Te Mangarautawhiri a Pukehou Trust, who are members of Ngāti Hinemihi (NH), have chosen to partner with Ngā wai ā Te Tūī, Māori & Indigenous Research Centre, Unitec Institute of Technology (NWATT) to develop this research project on behalf of their hapū. In the context of this proposal, the whakataukī (proverb) above reflects the deep-rooted traditional cultural practises that founds philosophical and mode of operations. A united hapū represents agreement and a sense of purpose that will deliver positive outcomes for Te Mangarautawhiri ā Pukehou Trust (TMaPT) and NH.

Figure 1. Photograph taken from a ridge behind the Keepa farm.

This photo (Figure 1.) is taken from a ridge behind the Keepa farm, which is located 10 kilometres outside of Taumarunui, in the heart of the King Country, or Te Rohe Pōtae. The valley's original name is Mangarautawhiri, which in English roughly translates to the valley of a hundred winds.

The name of the Keepa whānau trust is Te Mangarautawhiri ā Pukehou.

THE POWER COMPANY 'RIP-OFF'

As a result of the New Zealand electricity reforms of the 1980s and 90s, people who live in Te Rohe Pōtae (King Country) and the western lands of Tūwharetoa have no option but to pay two separate power bills: one to an electricity provider, and another to a line company, for the use of their powerlines. Ngāti Hinemihi ki Tūwharetoa is one of many hapū that must live under these electricity-regulated conditions. Residents have reported a 77 percent increase in their line charges, and the cost of the 'line rental' is often four times the cost of the actual power they consume. For many low-income whānau, kuia and kaumātua, this has often resulted in going without electricity.[4] The use of the term 'Power Sovereignty' as a double entendre is about asserting rangatiratanga whilst addressing the injustices that the people face having to pay two power bills (electricity consumption and powerline rental).

Te Mangarautawhiri ā Pukehou Trust (TMaPT), members of Ngāti Hinemihi, has partnered with Ngā Wai ā Te Tūī Māori and Indigenous Research Centre Unitec to develop this research project on behalf of their hapū. This research focuses on the aspirations of Ngāti Hinemihi whānau, and the social and health impacts of living with these high electricity payment demands. The aim of this research is to develop a framework of alternative and innovative energy that increases whānau technical capability to maintain their systems.

As a recently inducted community researcher, it has been critical for me to grow my own local knowledge and networks whilst working with my own people. With that in mind, I have learnt the importance of mātauranga Māori systems. These are sustainable pathways that absolutely turn the dial on the degradation of Papatūānuku, safeguarding her for our mokopuna, as it will be those future generations that will continue to reshape, re-scope and re-energise the kaupapa of clean, renewable, sustainable energy systems that align to our tūpuna and our continued position of rangatiratanga of our own lands.

Figure 2. Dad and his mokopuna, walking our whenua; papakāinga, June 2020.
Image: Collection of Hermione McCallum-Haire (nee Keepa), 2020.

RESEARCH AIMS

Our research aims have three overarching themes.

Tuatahi: Whakapakari Whānau – Healthy Whānau:

Exploring alternative sustainable energy options that can restore electricity back to whānau who have been financially forced to go without power for an extended period. This will give whānau the opportunity to have true 'power sovereignty,' which is a critical component of positive whānau health and wellbeing outcomes in which whānau agency is increased.

Tuarua: Whai Rawa – Economic Resourcing:

The utilisation of whenua and kaitiakitanga for future commercial business innovation, and economic growth for the overall wellbeing of Te Mangarautawhiri a Pukehou Trust and Ngāti Hinemihi. Any future commercial opportunities will be underpinned by mātauranga Māori practices, thereby assuring sustainability. Preparing for an environment that will be economically, environmentally, socially, and culturally impacted by climate change is key to addressing this complex issue.

Tuatoru: Whenua Māori:

The development of alternative sustainable energy options would support the diverse types of whenua Māori, in the Ngāpuke region, allowing whānau to select the best technology for their land requirements. The ability to select a fit-for-purpose energy option could potentially encourage whānau to repatriate their whenua.

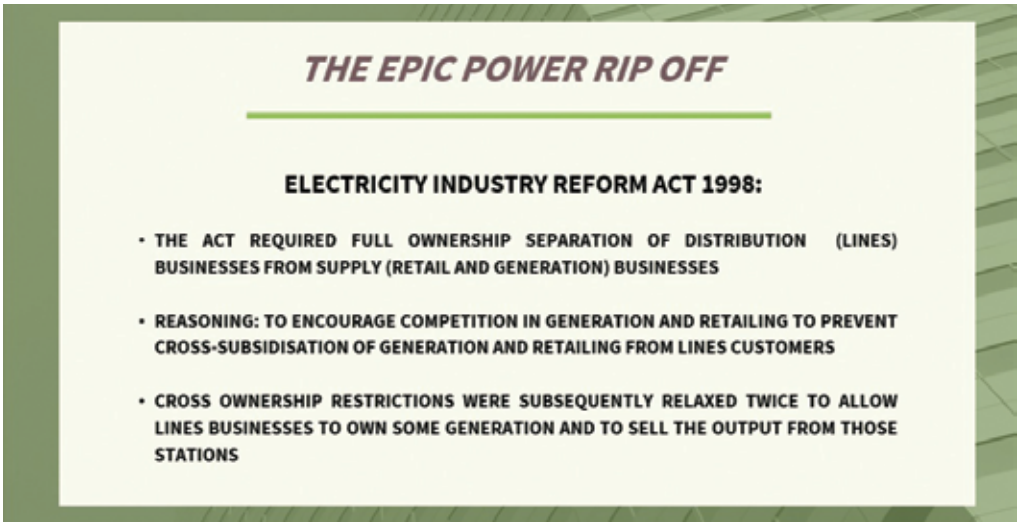


Figure 3. Compiled summary slide that was developed from the Electricity Industry Reform Act 1998 (No. 88).[5]

THE PRICE OF POWER WOES IN THE TE ROHE PŌTAE AND TŪWHARETOA

In the 1980s, the New Zealand Government commenced a review of the Crown's role in the electricity industry which triggered a series of reforms, policy changes, restructures, operational separation, bill amendments, various government boards, and so on.[6] These eventuated in an Act that was to become the bane of every resident who lived in Te Rohe Pōtae (the King Country). In April 1998, the government announced a package of reforms for generation, distribution, and retail, including ownership separation of line and energy businesses.

The Electricity Industry Reform Act 1998 (the EIR Act) encouraged competition in the generation and retailing of electricity, the intent being to prevent cross-subsidisation of generation and retailing from lines customers. Cross ownership restrictions were subsequently relaxed twice to allow lines businesses to own some generation and to sell the output from those stations. Line ownership and management were not scrutinised in this modern-day gold rush when this state-owned enterprise, Transpower, was sliced up, and while the EIR Act was revoked by the Electricity Industry Act 2010,[7] irreparable harm had already been done.

Fast-forward to 2007, the residents in Te Rohe Pōtae now receive two separate bills, one from their power provider (of which they have many choices). The other bill they receive is from The Lines Company, the network operator that owns and operates the very lines that deliver the power. The Lines Company (TLC) has its own formula that it uses to work out the rental of its lines to all its customers/consumers. The Lines Company looks at a consumer's 'top six' two-hour periods of use during the peak winter months from June to September. The formula is then used to work out a consumer's monthly charge, and that amount is then applied to the next 12 months of line rental. For some consumers, this is sometimes triple the bill from the actual electricity provider. This formula is quite complex and often presents random anomalies. In essence, the consumer will often end up paying more for the line rental than the actual power they consume. The complex 'load-based formula' was changed to a daily fixed charge as of April 2018,[8] but costs are still hefty in comparison to the rest of the country. Finally, if you disconnect from your power provider, TLC will still charge you that same monthly fee, because your whare (house) is physically connected to its network (TLC service cable to private premises). If you 'decommission' the line, a technician will come and retrieve the equipment, including the smart box that meters the power, and this is all free. However, if you wish to reconnect, there is a minimum reconnection fee of $300 and a call-out fee for inspection of $100 per hour, with other potential costs. The 'smart box' (owned by TLC) is the only metering box that is compatible with its service.

The map below represents the reach of The Lines Company in Te Rohe Pōtae. It has a customer base of approximately 18,000, which includes my whānau and hapū.

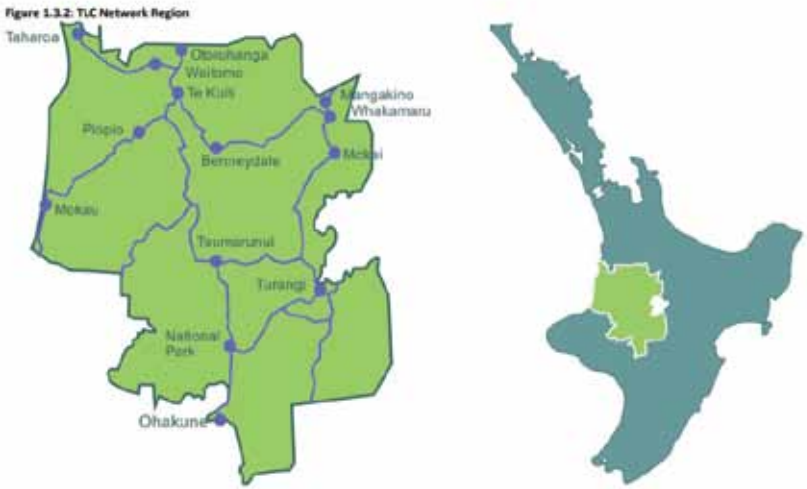


Figure 4. Map of The Lines Company's gamut.[9]

WHAT'S THE WEATHER LIKE DOWN THERE?

For many of our low-income whānau, kuia and kaumātua, high electricity costs have resulted in either going without, using a Lines Company timing system or resorting to unsafe practices of using candles, barbecues and gas heaters. Many just *cannot* afford to pay two power bills, so they are going without power all year round.

Our whānau are living in impoverished power environments, and the flow-on effects of expensive power pricing are having a detrimental impact on our tamariki, whānau māuiui, kuia and kaumātua.

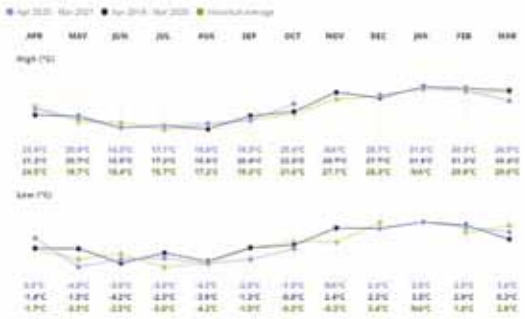


Figure 5. Metservice historical average temperatures, Taumarunui, April 2019 to March 2021.[10]

This line graph highlights that the coldest nights can be as low as -5.0 degrees, while the hottest days can reach up to 33 degrees. Many local marae and kōhanga are impacted by power bill issues. Marae are the hub of whānau and hapū activities and, as we know, are busiest in winter months with tangihanga. Like other consumers, they too are affected by TLC's peak usage formula.

Regardless of whether you have the lights on or not, the fixed monthly line rental rate still applies. With no other options available to our people in and around Ngāti Hinemihi and Taumarunui, TLC is the reigning 'Power King of the King Country.' The story about the plight of the kuia and the financial stresses that she experienced is a typical example of the impact of the two bills that consumers in this area need to pay to have electricity here.

POWER POVERTY REALITY CHECK, A TRUE STORY

A kuia in her mid-90s lives in a moderately insulated home and suffers from severe arthritis. Throughout the year, she requires a heat pump, an electric blanket, hot water, and occasional heater use. This easily leaves her with a monthly power bill of $300 from her electricity provider. On top of that, she also must pay The Lines Company another $300 per month.

With an annual income of $22,721.00, her yearly power bill takes one third of that away. Our kuia also has to pay for specialist appointments, trips to Waikato Hospital, medication, living expenses, amongst other things. She is fortunate that her whānau take on this burden, when they themselves are struggling financially.

Standard NZ Super Rates (for tax code M)

Qualifying as	*Weekly rate*	*Annual rate*
Single: living alone	$437	$22,721
Single: sharing	$403	$20,973
Married, civil union or de facto couple: one partner qualifies (and the other is not included)	$336	$17,478
Married, civil union or de facto couple: both partners qualify	$672	$34,955
Married, civil union or de facto couple: one partner qualifies and the other is included*	$639	$33,225

Figure 6. Current superannuation rates.[11]

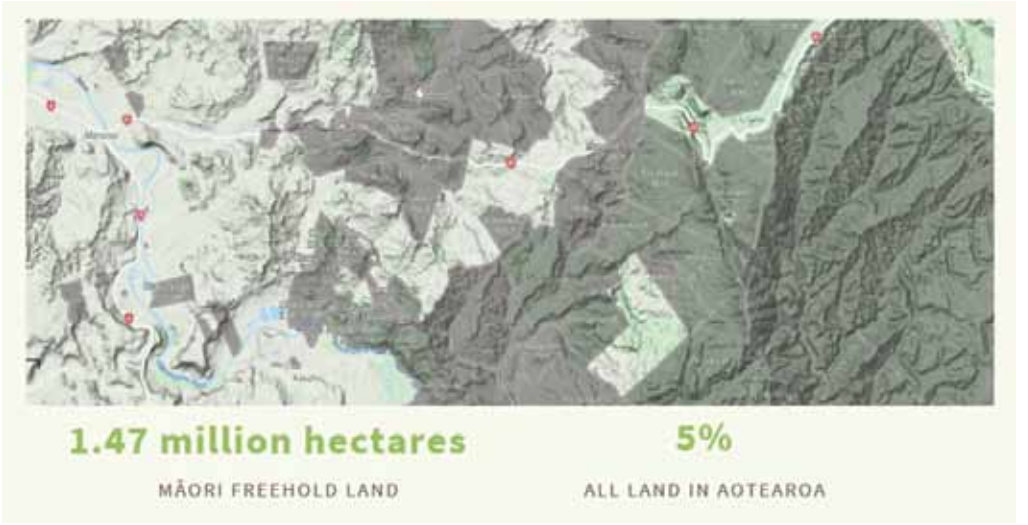


Figure 7. Māori freehold land. Source: Te Kooti Whenua Māori.[12]

WHENUA MĀORI

Currently there is approximately 1.47 million hectares of Māori land remaining in this country,[13] about five per cent of all land in Aotearoa. The shaded areas on the map in Figure 7 provide a snapshot of whenua Māori that includes the Mangarautawhiri a Pukehou Trust's whenua, and various other land blocks that we hold shares in. This is land where Māori customary interests have been converted to freehold title by the Māori Land Court or its predecessors by a freehold order.[14] This land has therefore never been out of Māori ownership.

If your whānau hold shares in Māori land blocks, you have no doubt heard at least once in your lifetime the phrase that we are "land rich but cash poor." The Keepa whānau hold shares in various land blocks ranging from one 'owner' to several hundred. When I (Hermione McCallum-Haire) did a scan of my father's shares, it appeared that the larger the land block, or the closer it was to water, the greater the number of shareholders. Many of the other land blocks are non-arable, that is, there is a lack of sufficient fresh water, making the whenua unsuitable for cultivation or crop production. The Keepa papakāinga sits on a 9-hectare block that is 'owned' by dad, and according to the soil report from Landcare Research, the "potential of this land" is sub classed as '6e'; that is, the land is "suitable for grazing, production forestry, permanent carbon forests" with erosion susceptibility, deposition or the effects of past erosion damage limiting production.[15] This quick environmental summary of our own whānau land would not be uncommon for many whānau living within the Ngāti Hinemihi region. Sun-exposed slopes, some situated in wind corridors, with a few that border rivers, lakes, and streams.

We do know that consolidation of Māori landshares is beneficial to all shareholders. Tuaropaki is an exceptional example where 297 landowners agreed to amalgamate their lands back in the 1950s and had their development-scheme loan approved. With tenacity and self-determination, in 1994 the Tuaropaki Power Company Ltd was established and in 2000 became the 100 per cent owner of the 'Mokai 1' 55 M. We now own and operate a geothermal power plant.[16] Today the company's impressive portfolio has extended to food, nutraceuticals, communications, horticulture and, most recently, hydrogen energy.[17] This extraordinary undertaking by our people is a reminder that, collectively, if we dream it, we can live it.

Kauriki Marae

Less than five minutes away from the Keepa whānau farm is Kauriki Marae, one of the three marae that are affiliated to Ngāti Hinemihi. It is in the Ngapuke Valley, which is hilly, in a wind corridor and has the Pungapunga River directly behind it. Most marae in Aotearoa will have a variety of natural resources within proximity and will have the ability to utilise these resources that all have the potential to generate energy.

Figure 8. Kauriki Marae.
Source: Google Maps. https://www.google.co.nz/maps/place/Kauriki+Marae/@-38.8874813,175.4123681,518m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x6d6b6d37809bd503:0xe7828356bf172eee!8m2!3d-38.8874813!4d175.4145621

Innovation and Technology

Over the past 30 years, the term 'sustainable technology' has become synonymous with renewable energies and sustainability. By looking to our natural world and pairing that with some of the most innovative technologies, we have a plethora of options that could enable and empower our whānau, iwi and hapū to operate completely off-grid.

Imagine a marae (and/or papakāinga) being completely powered by:

- Pūngao kōmaru (solar energy)
- Pūngao hau (wind energy)
- Hiko ā-awa (hydroelectricity)

With technology being developed and refined constantly, we have realistic and feasible opportunities to harness pūngao whakahou (renewable energy), to nourish and sustain our people for generations to come. Emerging disruptive technology can support our reclamation of our rangatiratanga and mana motuhake.

"KO TŌKU PĀPĀ TĒNEI, KO PATRICK TŌNA INGOA."

My dad climbed a ladder and physically cut the power lines that connected from the power pole on the road to our whare. He cut the lines in protest at the tyranny of The Lines Company and at yet another injustice that has been forced upon our people.

My dad has worked hard all his life, and he is now a retired master builder, although when something needs to be done, he is already getting the timber sorted. Like most of his generation, he can do many things. Dad can wire a television antenna from the top of a hill down to our whare, he can farm farm, break in a horse, make motorised go-kart vehicle hybrids, sort a home kill - his skill capacity is endless.

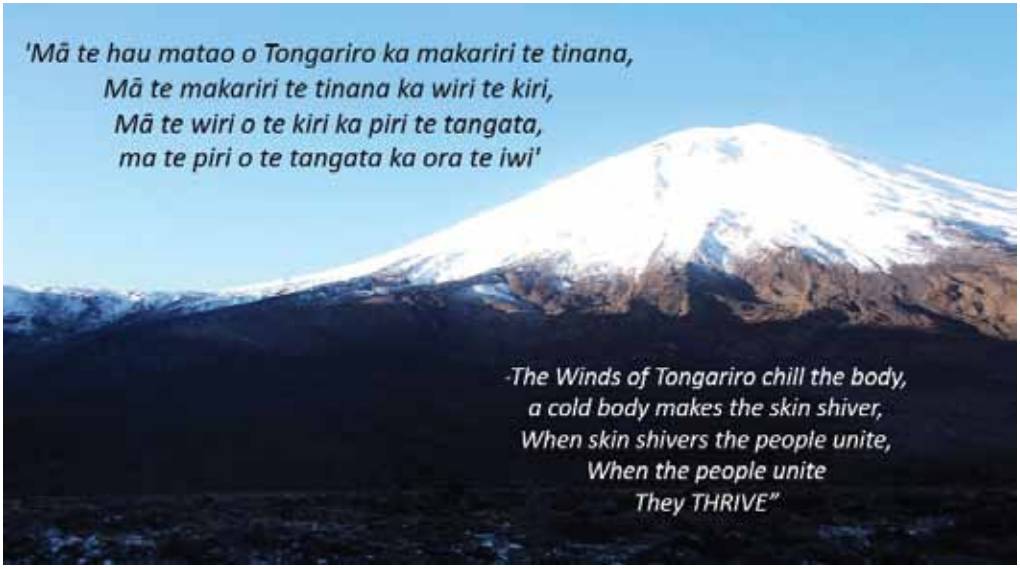
One of the aspects of this kaupapa will include technacy, so like Dad, we will look at the ingenuity, creativity, and engineering of the past, when our people could look after, install, fix and maintain their own technologies.

We know that when Ngai Māori are the designers, producers, and licensees of our own renewable energy products and services, we are our own dreams realised, the architects of our own futures. We could repurpose materials that are filling up the landfills and scrapyards, and formulate our own plastics and polymers made from only natural ingredients. Nau Mai Rā is New Zealand's first Māori retail power company that, according to co-founder Ezra Hira, is founded on a kaupapa of supporting vulnerable whānau Māori to access affordable electricity. In his words, "electricity is a right and not a luxury."[18]

Figure 9. My dad is standing on the main ridge on our farm, retelling the whakapapa of the whenua, June 2020. As kaitiaki of our whenua, we all know that our levels of accountability must be enduring, the stories must be handed down from one generation to the next 'mō ake tonu.'

Photograph: Collection of Hermione McCallum-Haire (nee Keepa), 2021.

Finally, this whakataukī reminds Hinemihi of the collective strength that is at the heart of positive whānau transformation toward a flourishing and prosperous future. A movement of whānau, of hapū, of Māori who are huddling together to produce our own answers, our own solutions, so that our mokopuna, the future kaitiaki of Aotearoa and all future descendants can thrive.



Ngā mihi nui kia koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa.

Hermione McCallum-Haire, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa ki te Tonga, Ngāti Haaua. Hermione McCallum-Haire (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7811-8151) was born and raised in the small rural town of Taumarunui in the heart of the King Country. It is whakapapa which drives her to lead the charge for her whānau to address the issue of power inequity in her hāpori. Through her whānau trust and in partnership with Ngā Wai a Te Tūī, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre at the Unitec Institute of Technology, she is on the Pūnaha Hihiko: Vision Mātauranga MBIE funded placement scheme. Hermione is currently undertaking a Masters of Technological Futures with Tech Futures Lab and is continuing with this kaupapa to address power inequity in her rohe. She is looking forward to adapting emerging disruptive technologies to restore tino rangatiratanga through renewable clean energy innovations.

E. Rihi Te Nana, B. Ed, MA (Hons), Ngāti Haaua, Ngāpuhi, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Raukawa. Rihi (https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0037-0936) has been working in the kaupapa Māori research space for over a decade committing her research ideas and knowledge to developing and empowering whānau and Māori communities to grow and maintain their agency by facilitating and building capability skills through kaupapa Māori research informed initiatives. As an experienced therapist, Rihi has worked alongside whānau groups to develop and strengthen whānau oranga and (health and well-being) tikanga practices. Historically, Rihi has had many years within the social services sector supporting Māori strategic development that has linked Iwi Hauora and Whānau Ora plans to government funding and resourcing.

Joanne Gallagher, Te Aupōuri, Ngāti Whātua. Jo is a Research Administrator for Ngā Wai a Te Tūī, UNITEC's Māori and Indigenous research centre. In this role, she provides support for the researchers across various projects. Jo is an avid learner and teacher of Te Reo Māori as she continues to pursue study in this area. Jo is passionate about her people, her whānau, iwi and hapū, which guide her as she navigates her mahi.

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Article https://doi.org/10.34074/scop.2006012

MANAAKITANGA: A MARAE RESPONSE TO COVID-19

Kim Penetito, Jenny Lee-Morgan, and Ngahuia Eruera

INTRODUCTION

Marae-led community development and well-being (kāinga ora) is at the heart of this research project known as Marae Ora, Kāinga Ora (MOKO). MOKO is a three-year research project designed to explore a holistic notion of kāinga ora and community well-being beyond the existing focus on marae-led housing interventions. In the current housing crisis in Tāmaki Makaurau,[1] marae have illustrated a capacity to not only provide the social support infrastructure for whānau in need, but also some leadership towards a formalised response to the housing crisis for the whole community, and not exclusively Māori.

Five marae are engaged in the MOKO project, all these marae are located in South Auckland. The key aims of this project are to examine the potential for marae to engage in future development of sustainable marae-led kāinga initiatives in and with their communities; and to provide insights that influence opportunities for others, in particular external agencies and services, to achieve greater outcomes and collaborative advantages for whānau and community wellbeing, alongside marae. It is critical for marae to be supported through this research, to work with their communities and stakeholders to formulate collective solutions and co-produce shared approaches, strategies and activities through the reproduction of new knowledge that emerges from this study. Community participation is a prerequisite to understanding and enhancing community well-being and kāinga.

The MOKO research project was in the first six months of environmental scanning following the appointment of marae-based researchers for each of the marae, when the first COVID lockdown was experienced in Aotearoa, 2020. It is the presence of these Marae Research Coordinators (MRC) that enabled the MOKO project to capture the first-hand response from the five marae to their whānau and community needs during the lockdowns. This article shares insights into the diversity of manaakitanga for three of the marae in meeting the needs of their distinct communities.

THE MARAE-SCAPE IN TĀMAKI MAKAURAU

The establishment of urban marae in the 1960s assisted Māori to retain a cultural connectivity to time-honoured practices.[2] Marae were located on tribal lands with landmark surroundings that identified their whakapapa and ancestral rights of belonging to that geographical site. In these contemporary times, marae are found in education settings, health and social service institutions, on land with no whakapapa connection, overseas, in museums and art galleries, in villages of the armed forces and in government organisations. The urban migration[3] of Māori in the 1950s and 60s created a necessity for Māori to reclaim a cultural archetype that was transferrable and would enable Māori to continue to exercise their ways of being. This was marae.

Marae have always been the heart of kāinga and flourishing Māori communities.[4] The critical nature of kāinga was traditionally recognised as a living space that interacts seamlessly with the environment, whenua and cultural ways of living as Māori.[5] The MOKO project aims to enable marae to develop their aspirations and collaborate with their kāinga (surrounding communities). This reference to kāinga, and how it is interpreted as part of this kaupapa Māori research project, provides an example of the ways in which Māori communities are continuously adapting their cultural markers within the urban landscape. The kāinga in South Auckland is multi-ethnic. It has legislated boundaries based on regional government governance structures. The Māori population is significant, and the disparate socio-economic issues are prevalent, "particularly in South Auckland where most of the Māori community resides."[6] The reality remains however, that the aspiration of reconstituting kāinga is difficult to uphold.

Within the Auckland region, there are 75 marae, which includes government institutional marae, marae-ā-kura (school based) and faith-based marae.[7] Of these marae, 38 are in South Auckland and service approximately 80 per cent of the total Auckland Māori population.[8] A range of status associated with these various marae entities in the urban context also exists—Mana Whenua (tribal marae), Mataawaka (pan-tribal marae) and Taurā here (tribal satellite urban marae). The transformational identities of marae over decades is an indication of the long-term significance and sustainability marae continue to have as "an established part of our cultural landscape, icons of Māori identity and corner-stones of cultural heritage that make modern-day Aotearoa unique."[9]

The well-being of whānau Māori, and the part that marae and kāinga have, in nurturing a sense of oranga is significant. Māori inextricably link culture to environment, eco-systems and human health whereby customary obligations tend to support well-being.[10] Place-based notions of well-being for Māori in the urban environment gravitate towards the marae as the source of cultural nourishment and well-being.[11] What we know is that the positioning of urban marae, or marae in the urban milieu, offers the same benefits to whānau Māori inclusive of their communities. The events of 2020 with COVID-19 certainly enabled marae to flex their super power as agents of manaakitanga, lending a lifeline to their local kāinga and in doing so increasing the wellbeing of whole communities in these times of crisis.

METHODOLOGY

This research project is underpinned by Kaupapa Māori (KM) and Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) methodologies.

Kaupapa Māori research is an appropriate methodology, given this project is both located and driven by marae. Key tenets of kaupapa Māori include the validation of Māori language, culture and knowledge systems.[12] Most important to kaupapa Māori research is that it makes a difference to the people on whom the research is centred, in this case, the people of the marae. Kaupapa Māori aligns well with a CBPR approach,[13] that also values the notion of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination), which is at the core of CBPR—to engage in research with and for community. Aligned to the KM and CBPR approach, the marae, community and key stakeholders will be an active part of development, implementation and interpretation of the survey. This will include strategies to ensure that we reach both whānau who are connected to marae, and whānau who are disconnected or not linked to marae, either their own hapū-based or local urban marae.

Securing a respectful relationship with the five participant marae in MOKO was one of the essential starting points for the research. This was achieved by launching the MOKO project and encompassing a ceremonial dual signing by the collective of five marae and Unitec, where the Ngā Wai ā Te Tūī research team is located, to a Memorandum of Understanding at Te Noho Kotahitanga Marae, on the Unitec main campus site. Subsequently, each marae proceeded to select and appoint their own marae-based researcher, known to the project as Marae Research Coordinators (MRC). It is this role and these people that bring the experiences from their respective marae of manaakitanga during COVID-19 that is shared in this article.

THE MANY FACES OF MANAAKITANGA

Weekly contact with the MOKO marae-based researchers has exposed the project marae to Kaupapa Māori research methodology and in turn, brought the lived-experience of marae activity and their contribution to their communities seamlessly into the academic research space.

The initial experiences from year one of the project aligns to the research hypothesis; that marae are suitably positioned within the South Auckland urban environment to provide a safe space for Māori and non-Māori to aspire to a more productive and collective way of living and raising healthy whānau. The COVID-19 lockdowns illustrated a range of examples of proactive and collaborative participation of marae and whānau to community wellbeing, such as:

- increased use of social media to share information and maintain a sense of social connection;
- the adaptation of tikanga to accommodate the need for whānau to grieve the loss of loved ones during a pandemic;
- a high level of obligation and expectation for marae to attend to the needs of the community it is located in.

This takes shape for each marae in the expression of manaakitanga, as defined by Professor Mason Durie:

> Manaakitanga transforms mana through acts of generosity that enhance all, produce well-being, and create a climate whereby the mana of all players is elevated.[14]

And further reinforced by Māori Marsden:

> Reciprocity therefore is at the heart of manaakitanga and rests upon a precept that by being of service, respecting and showing kindness to other through manaaki, the mana and wellbeing of others is enhanced, which in turn can nourish one's own mana and wellbeing.[15]

This paper will illustrate the exercising of manaakitanga across the three marae in the MOKO project and highlights their diverse interpretations and expressions of support and care afforded to the surrounding kāinga.

MAKAURAU MARAE

> *Period to rest, catch up on the world and tune in to ourselves*[16]
>
> Pania Newton

Makaurau Marae is the only mana whenua marae among the five marae who are part of the MOKO project. Located in Ihumātao Māngere, it is the "oldest continuously occupied papakāinga in Auckland."[17] During the COVID-19 lockdowns in 2020, Makaurau Marae was closed for renovations. As such, those whānau occupants on the kāinga set about working within the pandemic restrictions to keep their whānau connected and able to access any resources being offered to community via their networks with other local marae and through tribal support offered by Waikato Tainui to beneficiaries.

The whānau at Ihumātao reverted to traditional practices of survival, much like their predecessors who were "sustained by a stable, mixed economy based on horticulture, complemented by foods gathered from the sea and the forest."[18] Whānau looked at how best to utilise their land base to feed themselves, to maintain active kaitiakitanga responsibilities and to diversify in order to generate income, as a direct response to increased financial

hardship created by COVID-19 isolation protocols. Facebook and other social media platforms kept whānau up to date with government relief entitlements and community resource support available. These communication sites were also used to keep whānau upbeat by sharing their daily struggles and engaging in collective problem solving. This dialogue continued to motivate people to uplift each other and provide entertainment options for keeping tamariki and mokopuna safe and connected with their wider whānau. The MRC for Makaurau Marae commented:

> *Whānau became active in attending to the nurturing of seedlings and the creation of a seed bank onsite. Others took time to clean up the rubbish that was commonly dumped on 'unused and unoccupied' blocks of land in and around Ihumātao*[19]
>
> Moana Waa

The network expanded to the four other marae involved in the MOKO project and in doing so, maximised access for Makaurau Marae kāinga to a range of resources not readily available to their community during lockdown. Kai parcels, personal protective equipment and rongoā Māori were made available through this networking.

The impact of COVID-19 on the employment status of many was felt on the papakāinga at Ihumātao. Whānau utilised the thinking space provided by the lockdowns to generate new ideas of income creation. They reviewed existing skill sets, reinvented entrepreneurial ideas and reset themselves to adapt in this new environment and be able to continue to feed their families.

Through the observation of the MRC, whānau who lost loved-ones during the lockdown were faced with very different grieving processes influenced by the COVID-19 limitations. For one whānau this meant they felt more empowered than ever to practice traditional tikanga around caring for the tūpāpaku and grieving as a whānau. Manaakitanga was pragmatic and responsive among the kāinga whānau in these times of extreme vulnerability.

Manaakitanga and a commitment to sharing and caring for each other pulled together the whānau of Makaurau Marae to revisit their individual strengths and collective potential to co-create a new plan for intergenerational survival on their traditional lands. Working in collaboration with other local marae, their allies and their own hapū connections into tribal resources, Makaurau Marae are inspired to work on their future aspirations together.

MANUREWA MARAE

> *The spirit and the heart of the marae is alive and well, especially with the arrival of this pandemic in Tāmaki Makaurau.*[20]

Manurewa is the home to the largest Māori population in Tāmaki Makaurau.[21] Situated in the heart of this Māori and Polynesian community and along the shores of Te Manukanuka o Hoturoa, Manukau harbour, is Manurewa Marae. Established in 1988 as a mataawaka marae, Manurewa is one of the largest marae in Tāmaki Makaurau serving the local communities with a range of cultural, hauora and educational services.

Upholding the tradition of manaakitanga has always been a key pillar for Manurewa Marae, in keeping whānau safe and ensuring tikanga and cultural connection is maintained. When organisations were closing their doors at the time of the first COVID-19 lockdown, Manurewa Marae was one of the first to activate and respond.[22] As Aotearoa went into a state of national emergency, this marae swiftly mobilised to redeploy their kaimahi to become an Essential Service provider demonstrating manaakitanga in action. Joining workforces with Te Kaha o te Rangatahi, an Indigenous Youth Hub, they actively engaged in food provision and providing wellbeing packages, with a focus on ensuring that kaumātua were staying connected.[23]

By collaborating with key service organisations and agencies to access resources and services alike, the marae became a distribution hub for the local communities of South Auckland by providing kai parcels and hygiene packs, and support services such as Whānau Ora, Emergency Housing and Primary Healthcare. Manurewa Marae became a safe haven and a source of relief for whānau impacted by the increased hardship from the loss of employment and income caused by the lockdown. As a Whānau Ora partner, Manurewa Marae has continued to respond to the needs of whānau since the second wave of COVID-19, extending their provision to a soup kitchen, a food bank; as well as delivering kai and hygiene packs to local kaumātua.

Manaakitanga is a very powerful expression of how Māori communities care for one another[24] and Manurewa Marae has been highly responsive to act and mobilise in answering community calls for help. This was shown when they responded in setting up as an approved testing station for Papatoetoe High School, following the Auckland community outbreak of the highly transmissible Alpha variant of the coronavirus. This aided in reducing the spread of the virus into the wider community. As Marae Kaumātua and Manurewa Marae Board Chairperson, describes:

> *It's to provide any manaakitanga, not just for Papatoetoe but also for our wider community of Manurewa. Our whānau are still struggling. Lockdown is nothing new to us. You know we are used to this. We have done this three times now.*
>
> Matua Mclean[25]

On 8 April 2021, Manurewa Marae became the first marae-based clinic to roll out the COVID-19 vaccination[26] with kuia and koroua first in line. Manurewa Marae CEO promotes that "Manurewa Marae is a safe place for anyone who is vaccine-hesitant and for those seeking more information to make an informed decision for themselves."[27]

Manurewa Marae has demonstrated how, through the application of manaakitanga, whānau wellbeing can be facilitated by marae, enabling individuals and communities to thrive, even through a pandemic.

PAPATŪĀNUKU KŌKIRI MARAE

> *We are sustainable, we are bulletproof and respond as we deem fit*
>
> Hineamaru Ropati[28]

Papatūānuku Kōkiri Marae was founded in 1984. As the name suggests 'kōkiri' to champion, advocate, lead all things pertaining to Papatūānuku (our earth mother). This is a mataawaka marae also located in Mangere on Council owned land. In 1990, the marae established maara (communal gardens) and is recognised globally for their sustainable practice in land development. They follow the principles of Te Hua Parakore—Holistic Māori Organics framework and deliver cultural and educational community programmes relative to soil and food sovereignty, tikanga Māori, well-being, and rangatahi activities.[29]

During the COVID-19 lockdowns, this marae became the organic supermarket to communities far and wide. They became a food parcel dissemination point, adding in fresh produce and recipes to help people feed their whānau. The development of food systems and knowledge of kaitiakitanga in marae communities, for communities in this climate of employment uncertainty and food insecurity is hugely important now more than ever.[30] An example of this is the Kai Ika project reported on by the New Zealand Herald:

> *Demand for the Kai Ika project, run by Papatūānuku Kōkiri Marae and fishing advocacy group LegaSea has more than tripled this year, largely due to economic impacts from Covid-19. The collective rescues the two thirds of a fish that's typically left after filleting from recreational and commercial fishers, and distributes them across the city to those in need.*[31]

Beyond this obvious role as kaitiaki and networkers of whenua, kai and education, Papatūānuku hold close to them the mātauranga and experiences of manaaki tāngata that their ancestors gifted them with, to help others. They refer to tupuna processes as time-honoured teachings of manaakitanga that comes in the form of tikanga Māori and traditional growing techniques of maara. Papatūānuku Marae Board Chairperson asserts that "Kai is our currency, ā-wairua, ā-tinana."[32] It is how the marae feed the spiritual well-being as well as know how to plant, grow and feed their families.

COVID-19 forced essential services and Papatūānuku Kōkiri Marae whānau alike to extend the nature of their support to help those struggling with the expectations of social isolation. The marae made contact by reaching out to Kaumatūa local residents and in keeping the marae whānau visible, active and providing care. Everyone played an important role to demonstrate a web of support and reinforce the role of the marae as a safe place that provides help in many different ways. As described by Distinguished Professor Linda Smith:

> *Manaakitanga is the reciprocal and collective expression of love for people and caring for elders that always comes back to us. We have to act together, collaborate for the wellbeing of the whole.*[33]

Papatūānuku Kōkiri Marae are neither a Social Service nor a Whānau Ora provider, but as reflected in the quote by Ropati, the marae take pride in operating under their own rangatiratanga and in being able to determine their own scope of what manaakitanga looks like for their marae and their community.

In looking at how marae respond to crises, Kawharu writes of an unfurling taniwha in a time of "extreme uncertainties and salient possibilities" in responding to a pandemic crisis, anticipating a future that relies on collective interests and action. As illustrated by the three marae profiled, the pandemic crisis can be a catalyst for change in the exercising of 'rangatiratanga', but also in providing further opportunity in strengthening tikanga and improving practices of kaitiakitanga. With community cohesion and connection being vital markers of collective well-being, Kawharu warns that "nothing should be taken for granted."[34]

CONCLUSION

> *Manaakitanga acknowledges our responsibility to give at all times with generosity and respect, and in a manner that is consistent with enhancing the wairua and mana (pride) of past, present and future. It is grounded in working with and for each other in the spirit of reciprocity and demands a high standard of behaviour toward each other.*[35]

The MOKO research project positioning has been ideal to observe marae naturally kick into their role as activators of manaakitanga across South Auckland communities during the COVID-19 lockdowns. Like marae up and down the country, they have stepped into the essential services space through their recognised role as places of 'community protection' and safety, providing 'social cohesion and information networks' and acting as 'distribution networks'[36] in providing resources to their local communities. As indicated in the three marae commentaries above, each have been able to determine the extent of their reach and gauge the degree of their capacity to manaaki their communities. What can also be concluded is that manaakitanga is extended in whatever form that marae or kāinga choose. There are no standards, expectations or measurements to critique the value of manaakitanga. It is fluid and marae are adaptive and resourceful.

If we in Aotearoa are looking to follow examples of working collaboratively and cohesively as a Te Tiriti nation, then marae are models of community-led hubs that bring people together. We are reminded of this with every natural disaster that the nation encounters, and yet as quickly as we engage with this place of aroha and relief in these times of need, we move on to some sense of normality where marae return to be cultural icons for Māori to do what Māori do in these spaces.

MOKO is providing a viewing platform where marae are pivotal entities in the future development of housing strategies, alongside their potential partners in communities. It is this synergy of marae with their kāinga or communities that we experience collective, solution focused strategies. Ultimately, in operating under the principles of manaakitanga, by valuing each party's contribution and ensuring that the necessary resources are distributed equitably, this will work towards making the wellbeing of every community possible.

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Kim Himoana Penetito (Ngaati Hauaa, Ngaati Tamateraa, Ngaati Kotirana) is a Kaiawhina Rangahau with the Marae Ora, Kāinga Ora research project. Her role in the project to date has been to produce the initial literature review and to facilitate the weekly wānanga with Ngā Puna o Ngā Marae (the Marae Research Coordinators). Kim has a background in Community Development, Training and Education.

Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan (Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Te Ahiwaru) is the founding Director of Ngā Wai ā Te Tūī, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, Unitec. Jenny has a distinguished track record of teaching and kaupapa Māori research. Previously a Māori secondary school teacher, Jenny has a strong background in education, te reo Māori and community-based research. Formerly the Head of School of Māori Education at the University of Auckland, and Deputy Director of Te Kotahi Research Institute at the University of Waikato with Prof Leonie Pihama. In 2016 Jenny was awarded Te Tohu Pae Tawhiti Award by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education in recognition of her high-quality research and significant contribution to the Māori education sector. Building on her interest in pūrākau as methodology, her most recent publication is a co-edited book with Professor Joann Archibald and Dr Jason DeSantolo (2019) titled *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology,* published by Zed Books. Jenny is also a very devoted grandmother.

Ngahuia Eruera (Ngāti Awa, Ngai Tuhoe, Tuhourangi, Ngaiterangi, Ngāti Rangitihi, Ngāti Tamaterā) is the Research Manager at Ngā Wai a Te Tūī, Māori & Indigenous Research Centre. Her background is in operations management and leadership in the tertiary education sector, where she has worked primarily in wānanga. She also has a background in sport and sports management, as a coach and national representative in several sporting codes. Her research interests include iwi/hapū governance leadership with particular focus on strategic marae development.

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THE PLACE OF KAITIAKITAKA WITHIN THE HEALTHCARE SYSTEM FOR MĀORI WHĀNAU FIGHTING LIFE-THREATENING ILLNESSES

Stacey Gullen-Reynolds

Ko tīhore te pō roa
Ko heia te kōpaka whakarākau ki Puari
Wero i te ninihi, Wero i te kokoto
Hei irika roimata mō kā huāka
Raraua te kiko e te niho makā
Ka puta ko te rei
Whakareia tō waka
Watua ki te toka
Aratakina tō kauika, he tira mōrehu
Aukaha, kia kaha, I kā kaha o Araiteuru

The long night has cleared
The hoar frost has set at Puari
The winter stars are above
A suspended mantel of tears for the relations
The flesh is mauled by the barracouta
The leader steps forward, Adorn your canoe
Go ahead to the south
Lead forth your pod
A party survivors
Strengthen the lashings of the bulwark of the Araiteuru

Outlined above is a *mōteatea* (lament) composed by Hana O'Regan for Moeraki *whānau* (family). It outlines two purposes. First, it talks of the journey of my *tūpuna* (ancestors) of Moeraki who travelled there from Kaiapoi *pā*(village) following an ambush by Te Rauparaha, serving as a reminder of the perseverance and strength of my *tūpuna* under the leadership of our Moeraki *rangatira* (leader), Maitiaha Tiramorehu. Secondly, it locates me within my *whakapapa* (genealogy) and *tūrangawaewae* (place of belonging) in Moeraki. My *whānau* (family) and I have wrapped the qualities and strengths of our *tūpuna* like a *korowai* (cloak) around us throughout our life journey. Moeraki is a place where I frequently return to be cleansed by its winds. I also pay homage to my *tūpuna*, who lie in the many *urupā* (cemetery), a further reminder of where I belong.

KUPU ARATAKI – AN INTRODUCTION

I have spent a significant portion of my life transitioning from *Te Ao Mārama* (the world of light) to *Te Pō* (the darkness). Due to many experiences with my health, I am often scared there will come a time when I surrender to *Te Pō*, a constant reminder of my mortality and a deep desire to live. The following auto-ethnographic writing will reflect how I have experienced *kaitiakitaka* (care) as a person of Ngāi Tahu, Waitaha, and Ngāti Mamoe descent from the organisations and foundations responsible for caring for people fighting life-threatening illnesses.

HE MIHI – ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The motivation to understand how the distinctive cultural aspirations of Māori and the inequities Māori face within Aotearoa have been of interest to many Māori researchers. Amateur researchers like me are fortunate to stand on the shoulders of giants who have been trailblazers in Māori research. I acknowledge people such as Moana Jackson,[1] who called for transformational change within our criminal justice system, and Mason Durie, who has relentlessly advocated and contributed for transformational change within Māori advancement.[2] Dr Rose Pere led significant transformation across many spheres of Māoridom including health, education, and language, and Dr Ranginui Walker, a prolific activist and academic, spent many years at the forefront of advocating for Māori interests.[3,4] Closer to the subject at hand, there is growing research to understand how to reduce the disparities Māori face within the healthcare services related to the care and support they receive, including the Ministry of Health,[5] Brewer,[6] Slater et al.[7]

DEFINING KAITIAKITANGA

The following sentences define the term *kaitiakitanga* to provide a shared understanding for this article. The Māori Dictionary Online[8] defines *kaitiakitanga* as guardianship, stewardship, and trusteeship. Elaborating further on its meaning is the following quote:

> Kaitiakitanga embraces the spiritual and cultural guardianship of Te Ao Mārama, a responsibility derived from whakapapa. Kaitiakitanga entails an active exercise of responsibility in a manner beneficial to resources and the welfare of the people. It promotes the growth and development of the Māori people in all spheres of livelihood so that Māori can anticipate a future of living in good health and in reasonable prosperity.[9]

Based on these definitions, *kaitiakitanga* is about the responsibility to protect and care for the welfare of people and resources so that Māori may flourish.

TŌKU REO, TŌKU OHOOHO: INDIGENOUS AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

Indigenous researchers often find that indigenous approaches to research conflict with Western academia, which does not validate the personal voice as a way of knowing.[10] Subsequently, this conflict could pose a challenge for a Māori woman who has 40 years of personal experience within the health system and wishes to validate my personal experiences through research. Yet 'auto-ethnography,' a qualitative form of research, provides a way to theorise the researcher's experiences.[11] Indigenous auto-ethnography is the ability to understand and explain "the nature of our own "cultural encounter," and as a form of cultural and critical consciousness …"[12] Such a research approach is valid and empowering for indigenous researchers wishing to contribute to research-based indigenous experiences in colonial settings where there is limited research.

The following definition of indigenous auto-ethnography extends further by stating:

> The "gift of indigeneity" lies in our ability to rediscover and recentre our culture from "within" as opposed to relying solely on 'externally codified' forms of knowledge that are often devoid of our own ways of knowing and doing. The journey is "deeply necessary" toward enabling an individual to spend time reflecting on their own cultural intellectual wisdom and to support individuals to recalibrate ones' own inner as well as collective cultural potential.[13]

Based on this definition, indigenous auto-ethnography is not only a validated way of knowing but is essential in the reclamation of our cultural knowledge and understanding, providing space for indigenous peoples to reclaim our knowledge and experiences within the research process. Based on this research method, I can position my experiences and cultural encounters as a form of data to help inform the topic of this essay—my experiences of *kaitiakitaka* within the healthcare system.

MĀORI VERSUS WESTERN APPROACHES TO HEALTH

Before colonial arrival, health within Māori society was considered all-encompassing of *wairua* (spiritual), *whānau* (family), *hinengaro* (mental), and *tinana* (physical aspects). Matters of *whenua* (land), *Te Ao Tūroa* (environment), *Te Reo* (language), *whanaungatanga* (connection) were also considered central to Māori health.[14] Such holistic practices are often at odds with Western approaches to health, where instead, effort is placed on diagnosing symptoms, physical examinations, medical history, and tests, a process underpinned by science and technology.[15]

As a result of such differing world views, Western approaches to medicine negatively impacted Māori health. At the commencement of colonial settlement, estimates project the Māori population was between 90,000 and 200,000. By 1874, the Māori population had plummeted to 45,470 people.[16] Such poor health outcomes for Māori were a stark contrast from when colonial settlers first arrived on the shores of Aotearoa. Early written evidence depicts Māori as a strong people who were in good physical condition. There was no evidence that Māori population rates were declining because there were few epidemic diseases, and sanitation was carefully managed.[17]

The previous good health Māori had maintained altered significantly due to the onslaught of colonial diseases that traditional health practices could not cure. A further challenge that would provide a fatal blow was the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 ('the Act'). Its purpose was to bring an end to the practice of *tohunga* (healers) captured in part in the following passage:

> Every person who gathers around him by practicing on their superstition or credulity, or who misleads or attempts to mislead any Māori by professing or pretending to possess supernatural powers in the treatment or cure of any disease, or in the foretelling of future events.[18]

There were several motivations to have this Act passed into law. Maui Pomare, a well-respected Māori doctor, believed that traditional *rongoā* (medicine) and *tohunga* practices resulted in needless deaths. The Act was also politically motivated to undermine Tuhoe leader, Rua Kenana, a recognised healer and prophet. Rua Kenana had a considerable following and prophesied that Europeans would return to where they had come.[19] Regardless of the motivating factors, the Act significantly impacted traditional Māori approaches and practices in health.

The continued inequities found within the health system have resulted in a contemporary inquiry into Māori health. The report resulting from the investigation is entitled "Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry (Wai 2575)."[20] The findings established that the state of health for Māori is unacceptable, and responding with effective solutions must be a high priority. The report ascertained Māori face significant inequities across many health outcomes, including having the highest mortality rate. While many factors contribute to Māori health outcomes, an important aspect is social determinants: income, poverty, employment, education, and housing, interconnected with the impacts of colonisation.[21]

New Zealand has a health system that values Western values, practices, and culture, placing Māori at the periphery. And this is where my story comes in. My account is not so much reflective of the inequities of access to services and treatments. Instead, it focuses on how I have experienced *kaitiakitaka* within a New Zealand health system that values Pākehā norms, and subsequently, the inequities for Māori accessing services and support that reflect Māori standards in the face of life-threatening illnesses.

A PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF MY JOURNEY IN THE HEALTH SYSTEM

Mate Pukupuku – Surviving Childhood Cancer

My journey in the healthcare sector began when I was two years old. My mother was concerned about the colour of my urine and how unsettled I had become. Following a series of appointments, I was diagnosed with Stage 4 Wilms tumour, a rare cancer of the kidneys prevalent in young children.[22] Stage four cancer meant that it had started spreading to other organs, such as the lungs, liver, bones, and brain. There is a common conception that childhood cancer is rare. However, evidence suggests that three children a week are diagnosed with cancer, one in every 285 children[23] will be diagnosed with a form of cancer, and one out of five will not survive.[24]

I do not have many recollections of this time in my life. My reflections rest with my mother, a 19-year-old solo parent, who had little in the way of support. For this reason, I considered that my cancer was my mother's journey. Though I was fighting off the disease, my mother stayed faithfully at my side, navigated and advocated for me within the healthcare system, and did not lose faith when doctors informed her that she needed to prepare for my passing. Due to the length of time I was unwell and receiving treatment, my mother could not work, study or pursue any of her interests. I was her world; she was mine. If nothing else, this was a lesson of a mother's undying love and reflects that one person's health experience is, in fact, a *whānau* journey.

Roro Ikura – Surviving a Stroke

In late January 2011, I had driven to Christchurch for a *whānau* celebration. Work had been hectic, so when I arrived, I was exhausted. I said good night to my *whānau* and had an early night. I woke up early the following day to feel intense pins and needles down the left side of my body. I knew I had had a stroke. I remember very little afterwards apart from the feeling of embarrassment being carried away in an ambulance.

The impact of the stroke had many consequences. The first was the impairment to my motor skills and cognitive ability: I lost my left peripheral vision, the feeling on my left side, significant impairment to my short-term memory, facial recognition, and significant fatigue. The ability to do the most straightforward tasks became hard and remembering the most mundane things was impossible. The possibility of returning to work was minimal. I was not allowed to drive, and I was not even allowed to be left alone. I had suddenly become dependent on others, particularly the healthcare system and my *whānau*, who were charged with my rehabilitation, re-teaching me the simplest of tasks, and slowly supporting my return to employment. Throughout this chaos, I am only able to recollect a few memories. This one time, I remember my uncle taking me to the shoe shop to buy me some appropriate shoes to gain my confidence in walking again. Unable to tie my shoelaces or even place the shoes on my feet, he patiently did this for me while holding me up while I walked around the store. Being a typical male, my uncle was not particularly overjoyed to be in a women's shoe shop. Still, fortunately for me, his love for me outweighed his unease. This love would also come in handy later when he would re-teach me how to drive.

Mate Ūtaetae - Breast Cancer

In 2017, I had arranged an overseas adventure. A week before my departure, I visited my doctor for a regular check-up. During the appointment, I asked my doctor to check my breasts. Upon examination, my doctor found a lump under my left breast. My doctor reassured me that lumps in the breast were common, but she would refer me for a mammogram. Not wishing to have this on my mind during my trip, I went to a private hospital. After my first mammogram, I was asked to have another. After my second mammogram, I attended an ultrasound. Feeling anxious, when I walked into my ultrasound, I was met by a woman who proclaimed that it was her that had undertaken my ultrasound that identified my Wilms tumour, the cancer I was diagnosed with at the age of two years old. I knew this was a *tohu* (sign).

In the days that followed, I cancelled my dream holiday and attended many appointments to make sense of the unknown. I remember after the biopsy waiting with my *whānau* to determine the stage of my cancer. When the doctor arrived in the room, she informed my *whānau* and me that I had Stage 2 breast cancer. The cancer stage meant that it was small and had only spread to the axillary lymph nodes. The doctors advised me that if I underwent a series of procedures, the chance of eliminating the cancer was highly probable.

I would compare the next few weeks to working on a puzzle; you cannot see the entire picture until all the information is in place. I had to make life-impacting decisions about my course of treatment and mentally prepare for surgery while making sense of all the information.

During this time, there was always a *whānau* member there with me. Like me, they were trying to make sense of all of the information while trying to reconcile their own emotions. I remember one time, during an appointment with an oncologist, feeling my Dad's hand rest on my thigh. What may seem like a simple gesture to many was a decisive moment for me personally, from a man who avoids any form of emotion. I remember clearly how red his face had become and knowing how very powerless he was feeling. There was nothing in his power he could do to free his daughter of the uncertainty and emotion that comes with knowing that you have cancer. I could do nothing to comfort him from the thoughts that he may lose his daughter to cancer.

In the weeks that would follow, I would undertake a course of treatment that included an operation to remove cancer, radiation, and five years on the medication, Letrole, to reduce the risk of cancer returning.

KAITIAKITAKA – EXPERIENCES OF CARE DURING TREATMENT AND RECOVERY

Kaitiakitaka and childhood cancer

During my treatment as a young child, the doctors and nurses were always supportive of my mother and me. There was never any doubt of their commitment to my survival. Research shows that it is a profoundly personal journey when a child has cancer for all health staff involved. It is intense dealing with patients' and loved one's emotions and how medical staff deal with their emotional responses.[25] I remember, throughout my childhood, being warmly greeted by the many doctors and nurses. These people became a part of our extended *whānau*, and we were united by a common goal, *ensuring* my survival. The feelings of *aroha* (love) and *manaaki* (care) that I experienced stand as a testament to the emotional connection the healthcare staff had developed, far exceeding the expectations of a typical employee in a nine-to-five job.

Though the medical team's level of support and care has never been in question, my mother recalls no direct support offered that reflected our culture, language, and practices. Admittedly, my mother gave it little thought; her focus was on her child's survival.[26]

What is a topic worth further reflection, is the development of a child's identity. O'Regan's[27] definition of identity states: "The concept of identity is explained as a person's sense of belonging: of knowing and understanding your individuality and your place in the world, where you fit in and the relationships that you have with others."[28] Based on this definition, identity is shaped through belonging, relationships, and coming to understand one's unique place in the world. Jenkin's[29] research looks at the identity development of younger children and contends that when a baby becomes familiar with the world around it, their identity is influenced by external signals such as gendering, clothes, and toys. By the age of two, children develop the ability to talk and mimic and re-enact the people around them. By the age of five, the child begins to understand the role and position they hold. This knowledge leads to developing a public face to control how others perceive them.

Subsequently, if a Māori child spends a significant part of their childhood in a hospital where Pākehā practices, values, and people are the norm, they will see themselves as belonging to these same ideals. Therefore, a health system that provides a culturally rich environment conducive to cultural identity is central to enacting their responsibilities of *kaitiakitaka* for Māori *whānau* in their fight against cancer.

Research by Slater et al.[30] revealed that primary care, culturally responsive practices, and continuity of care throughout the cancer journey are significant for Māori. Evidence also suggests that Māori organisations often fill this gap by facilitating access to resources, information, and services. Slater's research also illustrated that it is essential that there is a positive relationship with the general practitioner, resulting in greater access to resources and support. The role of *whānau* is also significantly important. The research showed that one *whānau* member often becomes the primary *tangata kaitiaki* (care person), leading to burnout and financial strain.[31] The point is that research clearly shows that providing culturally responsive support services is fundamental in enacting the responsibilities of *kaitiakitaka* to *whānau* who are fighting life-threatening illnesses.

National Cancer Support Services

The hospital and healthcare services are not the only organisations tasked with the *kaitiaki* of *whānau* fighting life-threatening illnesses. Receiving no direct funding from the government, the Child Cancer Foundation[32] supports children and their *whānau* throughout the cancer journey by providing a holistic wrap-around support service. Examples include family support coordinators, who provide holistic wrap-around support reflective of *whānau* needs. The Child Cancer Foundation is mindful of cultural nuances, observing *tikanga* as directed by Māori *whānau*. However, no resources or programmes have been developed explicitly for Māori.[33]

Kaitiakitaka and Strokes

Before my experience, I knew very little about strokes. I had heard of other people who had passed away or were stroke survivors, people all much older than I. It seemed implausible that I would fall victim to the same fate, only to learn that a stroke does not discriminate. Research has illustrated that over 11,000 people have a stroke a year, with 25 to 30 per cent of these people being under the age of 65 years old. Strokes are New Zealand's second-highest cause of death and the leading cause of severe disability for adults.[34] Research also shows Māori are at more risk of having a stroke than non-Māori.[35]

Following my stroke, I sought out support services in my location that were responsive to Māori stroke survivors to no avail. I have since identified that I had not been alone in my quest. A group named *Te Tino Rangatiratanga o te Mate Ikura Roro* developed due to the lack of support that is responsive to Māori. Its premise is to support Māori stroke survivors to have *tino rangatiratanga* over their own lives, underpinned by research that found that mainstream services do not work for Māori. These services fail Māori, partly because they are too difficult for Māori to access and because the supports provided are not what Māori need. The research also revealed that the skills and motivation to lead and develop initiatives are within the stroke community itself.[36] Another such example is the *Awhi Mai Trust* established by Ngāti Whakaue researcher Rukingi Haupapa. Based in Rotorua, Rukingi suffered a stroke over 15 years ago. Rukingi now supports Māori stroke survivors and their *whānau* by offering advice and connecting them to support services.[37] These examples show Māori having to respond to the need to provide *kaitiakitaka* to Māori stroke survivors because of limited support available that is responsive to Māori needs in this area.

The Stroke Foundation New Zealand

The Stroke Foundation New Zealand is a charity dedicated to stroke prevention and recovery. Examples of how the Foundation provides *kaitiakitaka* to survivors and *whānau* include access to stroke advisors who aid in recovery and accessing services that support rehabilitation. The 'Return to Work Advisors' is a further example of a service the Foundation provides. Currently based in Auckland and Christchurch, this role is responsible for supporting the transition of stroke survivors back to work. The practice of stroke advisors is guided by *Te Pae Mahutonga*, a health framework developed by Durie[38] to help stroke survivors have autonomy over their health outcomes. The foundation has also prioritised Māori and actively seeks to ensure that resources and services are culturally responsive and engages with Māori communities. The foundation also established the *National Māori Health Advisor* role in 2013 to ensure that Māori are experiencing a high level of *kaitiakitaka* responsive to their needs.[39]

SOURCES OF CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE SUPPORT AND RESOURCES FOR MĀORI WOMEN BREAST CANCER SURVIVORS

The statistics around Māori and breast cancer are sobering. Evidence shows that Māori women are 21 per cent more likely to be diagnosed with breast cancer, 30 per cent less likely to be diagnosed early, and 72 per cent of Māori women are more likely to die from breast cancer than non-Māori women.[40] However, many organisations work to ensure that women are supported throughout their breast cancer treatment. Examples from my journey through breast cancer included going fly-fishing, an event facilitated by Casting for Recovery.[41] A further opportunity presented was to participate in an exercise programme facilitated by the University of Otago for women fighting breast cancer. The programme is founded on research that exercise reduces implications related to breast cancer while aiding women in the fight against cancer.[42] The Breast Cancer Foundation also provides a website that includes relevant information and resources, including a booklet written in Te Reo Māori about breast cancer.[43]

There are several community organisations providing *kaitiakitaka* to Māori women fighting breast cancer. In Rotorua, a voluntary support group named Aroha Mai Cancer Support Services has been formed due to limited Māori cancer support groups in the area.[44] Waipareira Trust employs *Community Cancer Navigator*, a free service available to Māori over 16 years old. The navigator supports *whānau* to access community supports, ongoing support via phone calls, and face-to-face meet and greets.[45] In the South Island, Nelson Marlborough Health also has developed resources such as a booklet, brochures, and videos of Māori celebrities that have survived cancer.[46] From the examples listed here, there is no commentary on how effective Māori women find these services, making this a topic that needs to be explored further.

The level of targeted support for Māori from organisations throughout the country differ, along with how they prioritise their support services for Māori. Although it is not the topic of this article, further research in understanding the responsibilities that organisations have in New Zealand as treaty partners would be worthy of further investigation.

SUMMARY

I have faced significant health issues throughout my life, a constant reminder of my mortality. Through these experiences, I have developed a personal understanding of how *kaitiakitaka* is given effect throughout the health system and by organisations tasked with people's care. The *Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry*[47] presented by The Waitangi Tribunal has highlighted the inexcusable inequities that Māori continue to face throughout the health system due to colonialism and the systematic failures that have followed. Growing research illustrates the importance of responsive *kaitiakitaka* practices in supporting *whānau* during these challenging times. This need for change does not negate the significant support that many health professionals provide, with research highlighting that caring for potentially terminally ill people is a deeply profound experience for medical staff. Yet this care is often delivered from a Western perspective that does not reflect a Māori worldview. Although there are several organisations in New Zealand, practices are not consistent in how responsive *kaitiakitaka* is prioritised. This article has also highlighted that communities are taking charge of developing support networks and supporting themselves due to limited resource responsive resources. This *kōrero*, if anything, has established the need for further research in this area.

In conclusion, this article has reminded me of the love of *whānau*: my uncle who tied my shoes when I could not; the gentle gesture of my father placing his hand on my lap; the eternal love of my mother and all she sacrificed; the many doctors and nurses who fought for my life. *Kaitiakitaka*, in my experiences, has been the small pockets of light that shine through the darkness. This article calls for an approach to *kaitiakitaka* for *whānau* Māori fighting life-threatening illnesses where our cultural values, practices, and language are not compromised because of fighting for survival.

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MĀORI RURAL NURSES' STORIES AND THEIR CONNECTIONS TO COMMUNITIES: A THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Lesley Brook and Karole Hogarth

Figure 1. Aotea. Image credit: iTravelNZ, sourced from Flickr, used under Creative Commons licence CC BY 2.0.

INTRODUCTION

This article seeks to position the stories of four Māori rural nurses within the context of Māori nursing practice. The four stories were included in the book *Stories of Nursing in Rural Aotearoa: A Landscape of Care* which was published in 2018. Edited by Jean Ross and Josie Crawley, the book tells the stories of 16 nurses who have practised in rural locations in many different parts of Aotearoa New Zealand.[1]

Four of these 16 nurses identified themselves as Māori in their stories and/or through their mihi pepeha. The book situates all 16 stories in Aotearoa New Zealand using maps in te reo and descriptions for each location that include Māori history. The book acknowledges health inequalities for Māori people. Māori nurses have historically been recognised as "the most appropriate practitioners to provide health care and health education" for their own iwi.[2]

More recently, some Māori health service providers have been established. The stories in the book were told and published to explore rural nursing practice, not to explore Māori nursing practice, so there may be other Māori rural nurses whose stories are included who did not identify themselves as Māori. The published narratives have been edited but contributors chose how much personal information to share within their narrative and the editors "aimed to apply a very light hand, keeping the integrity of each nurse's story as their own words."[3]

The editors of the book are continuing their research, working with collaborators to elicit concepts on the themes of sustainability and spirituality from the 16 rural nurses' stories. In a related research project, the book editors and the authors of this article are evaluating the impact of the book for its readers, including the impact of the book's Māori content. Against that background, it was suggested to the authors by Scott Klenner, Rakahau Māori Director, that consideration should be given to the voice of the four Māori nurses together, providing the catalyst for this article.

A storyteller's tale is influenced by their beliefs and values, and these beliefs and values have also contributed to the actions they have taken and chosen to incorporate into the story.[4] Storytelling by Māori rural nurses is therefore a valid and valuable kaupapa to contribute to the literature on Māori nursing practice.

The stories in Ross and Crawley's (2018) text accords with other literature that suggests that Māori nurses practise differently.[5] This article seeks to position the four Māori rural nurses' stories from this text within the wider context of Māori nursing practice, to contribute a unique and valuable rural nursing perspective.

LITERATURE

Māori are under-represented in the nursing profession, comprising only eight per cent of practising nurses in New Zealand.[6] Researchers into Māori nursing practice have identified differences in how Māori nurses practise compared with nurses of other ethnicities. These differences are apparent especially when caring for Māori patients; however, they are generalisations that are not true of all Māori nurses or in all practice situations, for Māori nurses are not all the same, and Māori nursing practice may be unique to each nurse.[7] Simon's research[8] identified five high level features of Māori nursing practice; subsequent studies and stories of Māori nursing provide more examples of how these features are lived in practice by Māori nurses.

The first feature was "the promotion of cultural affirmation including cultural awareness and identity." Māori nurses' practice is grounded in their own identity as Māori.[9] Knowing who they are and where they come from is important to Māori nurses,[10] whether or not they are fully fluent in te reo Māori.[11]

Simon includes cultural awareness in this feature. While nurses of all ethnicities are expected to understand and practise cultural awareness,[12] Māori nurses, in particular, readily understand the importance of observing tikanga Māori for Māori patients and provide culturally appropriate and safe care for them.[13] Examples include knowing not to touch patients' heads,[14] the importance of face-to-face communication,[15] and respecting patients' reluctance to have their false teeth on display, to avoid whakamā.[16] Māori nurses show respect, upholding patient mana, for example by knocking before entering a patient's room.[17] Using te reo helps build connections with Māori patients.[18]

Culturally appropriate nursing practice includes making connections with patients, through whakapapa and whanaungatanga, to build a trusting relationship.[19] Exchanging whakapapa means that nurse and patient forge a relationship not just between themselves as two individuals but "two sets of peoples."[20]

Māori nurses have a responsibility to meet the needs of whānau, not just the patient.[21] Māori nurses understand that the patient cannot be cared for independently of whānau and this can affect how they treat the family of non-Māori patients.[22] Māori nurses also recognise that whānau play a role in a patient's recovery of health.[23] Māori nurses may work in their turangawaewae and may find they are unable to say no to their own whanau, which can have implications for professional boundaries.[24]

Within the context of relationship between nurse and patient, Māori nurses recognise the importance of reciprocity in aroha and manaakitanga for interdependence and "mutual benefit", enhancing the mana of both nurse and patient.[25] Māori nurses may be comfortable with a deeper level of connection with patients than non-Māori nurses might be.[26] Examples include greeting a patient with hongi or a hug,[27] sharing more information about themselves, and feeling obliged to accept gifts from patients' whanau, to avoid seeming disrespectful to the giver.[28]

The second feature identified in Simon's research was the way in which Māori networks contribute to Māori nursing practice. These include connections with Māori within the organisation, with Māori health service providers, and more generally within hapū and iwi. Such networks support Māori nurses and help them to support their patients.[29] For example, one Māori nurse has found it helpful to have other Māori on staff.[30] Having a support network can help Māori nurses stay in practice.[31]

Māori models of health were the third feature of Simon's study, including Mason Durie's Te Whare Tapa Whā.[32] Mātauranga Māori (Māori ways of knowing) is central to Māori nursing practice.[33] Māori nurses have a holistic approach to health.[34] They understand that the health of a patient includes spiritual wellbeing.[35] This dimension includes "karakia and the upholding of the tapu and noa."[36]

Fourthly, Māori nurses are conscious they are a role model for Māori patients.[37] They are highly motivated to provide and improve health services for Māori.[38] For example, Māori nurses may champion Māori patients' needs, including cultural needs,[39] and one reports questioning fairness in the allocation of medication.[40]

Finally, Simon describes Māori nurses as effective health professionals.[41] There is a strong alignment between Māori values and nursing values,[42] and as a result, Māori nurses bring a valuable strength to their practice as Māori.[43] Hunter and Cook[44] suggest that the term "emotional labour" is an appropriate description for the additional responsibilities which Māori nurses have as Māori.

APPROACH TO THE BOOK CONTENT

The two authors separately read the four Māori rural nurses' stories, then conferred and agreed a preliminary list of codes which captured the key concepts emerging from the stories. We had not been involved in interviewing the nurses or compiling the stories published in the book. We then separately reread the stories and coded each story using the preliminary list of codes, before meeting again to finalise a list of concept codes generated from the stories.

Because the four nurses shared not only their Māori ethnicity but also their practice in rural New Zealand, it was expected that many of the codes would be concepts that relate to rural nursing practice generally, not only to Māori nursing practice. Comparison of the codes with the literature helped identify those codes which lie at the intersection between Māori nursing practice and rural nursing practice. The four Māori rural nurses practise in different parts of Aotearoa New Zealand and are from different iwi.

In addition, the authors examined the use of te reo by the other twelve rural nurses whose stories are told in the book. The way in which te reo has been used has been compared with the concept codes, to contribute to defining the intersection between rural nursing practice and Māori nursing practice.

THEMES THAT EMERGED

Our thematic analysis of the four Māori rural nurses' stories identified nine codes, which we suggest represent key features of Māori rural nursing.

1. Māori identity

Three of the four rural nurses who identified as Māori chose to begin their narratives with their mihi pepeha. It is perhaps not coincidental that these same three nurses have spent at least part of their time in nursing practice in the places where they grew up. For the two nurses who still are working where they grew up, this location is also their turangawaewae. The fourth Māori rural nurse, referring to the mana whenua where she works, has said that being Māori from a different iwi helped her to understand the community in which she worked. Being Māori is integral to the practice of all four Māori rural nurses.

2. Mentor motivation to enter the profession

Two of the Māori rural nurses were motivated to enter the nursing profession because of a Māori nurse. For one of them this was her mother, who worked as a rural nurse in a voluntary capacity, and for the other it was the mother of a friend who was a charge nurse, who influenced their decision to enter the nursing profession. Māori nurses are role models who can encourage other Māori into the profession.

3. Influence of self on nursing practice

Each of the nurses brought their own self to their role. This can be seen in the management style of one nurse who frequently used "we" when speaking of meeting challenges for health care provision. She saw her team as a community or family, and her values informed all her interactions with other people.

Māoritanga was woven into the nurses' practice, encompassing a holistic concept of care. One Māori rural health nurse described delivering health care with, rather than to, her community. Another nurse's practice drew on themes such as care, compassion and connection. The fourth appreciated the value of 'number 8 wire' adaptability which she felt she had in common with her rural community.

4. Role of whānau support

Two nurses described having support from whānau. One of the nurses and her family lived with her parents for two years. Another appreciated whānau support which enabled her to travel with a baby to complete her enrolled nurse training, and then again with another baby when doing her bridging training to become a registered nurse. One nurse mentioned that those they care for also benefit from whānau support, by being looked after at home by whānau rather than in hospital, except when respite care was needed.

5. Patient cultural identity

At times, those whom the nurses provided care for included whānau. This meant the nurses were juggling different hats so it could be both a struggle, and a privilege, to care for whanau members. On the one hand it is easier to establish a therapeutic relationship within pre-existing whanau networks, but it was also harder for a Māori nurse to say no when the person asking for help is a family member.

One of these nurses describes a community in which she worked as having a high Māori population. For another of the Māori rural nurses, whakapapa and connection to place created a strong sense of responsibility to the community where she lived and worked. Yet another tells how belonging was central with Māoritanga embedded in all aspects of community life.

Other cultural identities of those cared for matter too. The fourth Māori rural nurse was conscious of barriers to healthcare experienced by people with ten different nationalities where she lives because of different expectations of care, and language difficulties.

6. Professional identity in the community

All four of the Māori rural nurses were deeply embedded in their communities, which had implications for their nursing practice. One was actively involved in her local marae and both she and her children had been involved in the community through playing sport. Another nurse spoke of getting involved and getting to know her community, including awareness of the seasonal rhythms of their lifestyles because that affected who came to see her when. Knowing the community well meant that accidental deaths hit harder though. Two nurses described how knowing communities and families contributes to a sense of belonging, provides insight, and helps to establish therapeutic relationships quickly. Three of the nurses also spoke about how highly supportive their community was.

There was necessarily reciprocity: knowing the community also meant being known. This mutual knowledge was a valuable nursing tool in the rural context, which impacted on personal/professional boundaries. As part of the same community, the nurses were well-known by those whom they were caring for. Nurses were comfortable with being known because they valued being part of the community and two nurses reported community appreciation for care from someone they know who is concerned for them. At times, it meant nurses needed to park their emotions to be able to provide nursing care.

There were also implications for the nurses' off-duty time. While one nurse found her community generally respected her off-duty time, she was not averse to having people compliment her in the supermarket on the health care she had provided. Two reported effectively being on call 24 hours a day, seven days a week. One managed this by ensuring home was a sanctuary.

Being part of the community meant knowing those whom they cared for and their whānau very well, which contributed to strong relationships between the nurses and those they cared for. This also meant that they were themselves well-known, which blurred the boundaries between the nurses' professional and personal lives.

7. Meeting community health needs

All four of the Māori rural nurses were highly motivated to meet the health needs of their community. For all of them this has included implementing innovative ways of delivery health care.

One of them worked in private practice with a family member and as a public health nurse to provide both public and private primary health care services to their community. Working collaboratively was an effective way to deliver better health care for their community.

Another of the Māori rural nurses played a critical role in identifying the need for new nursing roles in a rural hospital to meet local needs, then establishing those roles including their scope and pathway and their interactions with general practitioners (GPs). The new roles have been very effective and are valued and supported by the GPs. Because they are working so well, this initiative has also demonstrated what is possible in health care practice and is starting to be implemented elsewhere. This same nurse also, at one time, took on the additional workload of weekend on-call service provision to meet the needs of another community, an hour away.

The third nurse purchased the general practice which she managed, shortly after the legislation changed which allowed patients to be registered to her. This nurse practitioner-led clinic was an innovation at the time in New Zealand.

Finally, one of the Māori rural nurses describes a continual battle to retain and improve services that better meet her community's needs. This necessitated long working hours and being the voice for her community, to lobby for their health needs to be met. Her work included on the ground supervision of a major hospital redevelopment project that brought GP clinic rooms onsite, operating in close cooperation with the Emergency Department. She subsequently took on responsibility to manage the regional mental health service in addition to running the rural hospital, and she sees an opportunity to continue to develop nurse-led services. Her motivation is changing people's lives for the better.

Serving the community is such a strong motivation for these Māori rural nurses that they were willing to work long hours and to develop and implement new ways of working in order to meet community health needs. The nurses appreciated the positive feedback they received from members of their communities.

8. Giving back to the health professions

All four of the Māori rural nurses were also actively involved in the professional development of nurses. This includes supervising students' clinical placements, hiring graduate nurses to train them further, encouraging colleagues to do postgraduate study, and supporting others to become Nurse Practitioners.

Their contribution was not limited to the nursing profession either but included medical student placements. One participant is a member of the Board of the Rural General Practice Network as well as the Nursing Council and wants to establish a teaching practice for rural nursing. Two of the nurses also saw training others as an essential part of their succession planning.

9. Commitment to own continuing professional education, both formal and informal

The nurses were committed to their own continuing professional education through formal education programmes. These included midwifery training, PRIME training (Primary Response in Medical Emergency), and American Certified Emergency Nursing for example, as well as postgraduate qualifications. They also described learning on the job, by doing things that were challenging for them, working out how to meet community health needs, and accessing the expertise of others.

One of the nurses deplored the reduced opportunity currently for nurses to study postgraduate papers specifically related to rural nursing. This was a dilemma for New Zealand because rural nursing is increasingly recognised as an area of clinical expertise. She believed that the low numbers of nurses seeking to study rural nursing papers is seen as a reason not to offer such papers, but rural nurses are less likely to apply for postgraduate study if there are not relevant papers available. The solution she suggests is a rural cohort, which she valued being part of when doing her own postgraduate study.

USE OF TE REO MĀORI IN THE NARRATIVES

The Māori content in the book included maps in te reo, and the editors consistently used te reo place names with the English names. In addition to our thematic analysis of the four Māori rural nurses' stories, the authors examined the use of te reo by them and by the other 12 rural nurses whose stories are also told in the book.

There were differences in the ways in which these four Māori rural nurses used te reo Māori. Two of them gave their mihi pepeha in te reo, but then te reo was used only once each in their narrative, the words 'marae' and 'whānau'. The third nurse who provided her mihi pepeha for the book used English with the Māori words 'iwi', 'hapū and 'marae'. The fourth nurse, who did not provide her mihi pepeha, used te reo more frequently in her narrative to describe the way of life in her community and how that aligned with her own approach to nursing.

Some narratives in the book from other rural nurses also included words in te reo that were not proper names. One of the nurses used the word 'kete', explained in the footnote by the editors as "a figurative basket of knowledge and skills."[45] Another nurse, speaking about the increasing use of technology in health service delivery, recognised that the community needed face-to-face communication to be maintained because of the mana associated with the interpersonal relationship.[46]

The narrative of another of the rural nurses who did not identify as Māori included a description of working with Māori, doing hearing and vision screening tests at kōhanga. The two nurses who volunteered to do this work successfully asked management for someone to support them to ensure they observed tikanga and used te reo appropriately. They used word of mouth to find which kaiako they should address at each kōhanga. The testing was generally welcomed, because if the children couldn't hear then they would not be able to learn te reo.

A fourth nurse spoke about the similarity between Māori culture and rural community: both place importance on connection with whānau and place to build relationships and understanding of each other within a community.

The use of te reo in the book suggests that it is a valuable part of the New Zealand vernacular when referring to Māori concepts, even when not in relation to Māori people.

DISCUSSION

Nursing is in and of itself a holistic profession and nurses learn very early on in their education that the person and their care must be viewed as a whole. This ensures that there is continuity of care for an individual's physical, cognitive, social, cultural, and spiritual needs. The themes identified from the analysis of these stories captures this view of holism, and we would argue that holism goes deeper in the stories of these Māori rural nurses.

Being Māori is central to the nurses' practice; it is woven into who they are and what they do for their patients and communities. Identifying and acknowledging whakapapa is the beginning of developing relationships, and whakawhanaungatanga which is evident throughout the stories of these Māori nurses forms the basis for all the care they provide. Connection to the whenua, whānau, iwi and community and the service networks this brings together[47] builds a strong community of practice which can improve health outcomes. The ability to develop therapeutic relationships with patients whilst having an insight into the whānau and the individual enhances the healthcare experience with engagement and reciprocity in the practice of these nurses.

Cultural identity and professional identity were identified in these stories with indications that these were difficult to separate from each other. Hunter and Cook[48] describe kawenga taumaha (bearing the burden) but that a dual identity can be strengthened by mātauranga Māori. This provides a strong link to healthcare in a community with the nurses being aware that they are always the carer of their people even when off-duty. The juggling of many hats is described across the rural healthcare sector, and for Māori nurses this juggling can be increased with the feelings that because whānau are involved it can be harder to say no and that they do not want to let whānau down. This was not seen as a negative by these nurses, more of an observation of their obligations as a Māori nurse.

Professional boundaries can be difficult in rural settings, but this is overshadowed by the level of trust and confidence that the community have in the nurse. The impact on the nurses' own time was mitigated by the community understanding that, though available, the nurse needed to have their own space and privacy. The mutual benefit of caring for those known to the nurse and the connectedness with the community that this creates, brings fulfilment in nursing practice.

The rhythms of rural life encompass more than just healthcare for the Māori nurses with Māoritanga incorporated into all aspects of care provision across the lifespan. Distinctly Māori activity such as karakia, hongi, tangi, attending births, use of te reo all enhance the practice of the nurse and were described as an important connector to the community.

Previous researchers have identified that there are not enough Māori nurses in practice. Mentoring new Māori nurses into the profession is more likely to be successful if there are strong Māori role models and opportunities in practice that are run by Māori for Māori, prioritising health needs for Māori.[49] Serving a community, sometimes as the sole provider of healthcare, can be extremely rewarding, a way of giving back and providing purpose. The affirmation from the community of the impact the nurse has on their well-being has huge impacts on the mana of the nurse in the community.

Holism for Māori is literally the whole. Nursing shapes identity and identity shapes nursing practice. Being culturally responsive is a way of life for the Māori nurses in these stories, it defines their practice and themselves as health professionals.

CONCLUSION

The stories crafted by these four Māori rural nurses provide an authentic perspective of the importance of Māori culture in their nursing practice and how this characterises their ability to provide care not just for patients but for their whānau and community. The themes identified confirm that whakawhanaungatanga is the foundation for their professional and cultural identity. These Māori rural nurses' stories make a valuable contribution to the literature on Māori nursing practice.

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PUNI REO POITARAWHITI: PLAYING IN TE REO MĀORI

Jenny Lee-Morgan, Jen Martin, Jo Mane, and Eruera Lee-Morgan

INTRODUCTION

In May 2018, the inaugural Puni Reo Poitarawhiti was held at Netball Waitākere, West Auckland. The first Māori-language-only netball tournament of its kind, Puni Reo Poitarawhiti (PRP) was open to all schools (kura kaupapa Māori and English-medium schools) in the Auckland region. According to Te Puni Kōkiri, the first PRP attracted approximately 550 young people (60 teams), ranging in age from 11 to 17 years old. In total, 20 schools participated—the majority (95.5%) of these schools were either Kura Kaupapa Māori or schools with Māori immersion units or classes. The following year, the number of schools slightly increased to 21.[1] Unfortunately, due to COVID-19 the PRP tournament was cancelled in 2020.

Puni Reo is an important part of today's Māori language movement that creates a Māori language space for a particular event or purpose. As an innovative Māori language initiative, Puni Reo has focused on promoting te reo in everyday activities such as sports, domains that are not usually considered 'traditional' Māori language arenas. As an initiative, these events seek to widen the use of te reo Māori in social, community settings, in an effort to normalise te reo Māori outside of formal learning settings. While Puni Reo is a 'new' initiative, it is inspired by the 'old' concept of a puni that, in this context, is referred to as a camp.[2]

Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is a relatively new initiative that has the potential to become a significant annual event on the Māori student calendar in Tāmaki Makaurau, as well as other regions throughout Aotearoa. This article draws on the one-year scoping project entitled *'Puni Reo: Normalising Māori language in new domains,* led by Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan and Dr Jenifer Martin, alongside the instigator of this initiative, Eruera Lee-Morgan. This article introduces the concept of Puni Reo Poitarawhiti, and shares the findings as it relates to the students' experiences and perspectives of the first two Puni Reo Poitarawhiti held in 2018 and 2019. The focus for the students centred on their ability and excitement to 'play' in te reo Māori.

NORMALISATION OF TE REO MĀORI

Puni Reo is a Māori language initiative located in the legacy of activities led by Māori language activists, whānau, hapū, iwi and communities to value and utilise the language. Puni Reo can also be considered an indigenous innovation in the field of language revitalisation, and can be specifically located in the shift towards the 'normalisation' of te reo Māori. According to Higgins et al., the focus on the normalisation shifts "away from the ideology that the Māori language is only for Māori to speak, and within confined domains of our society. We need to expand the responsibility to wider society and promote bilingualism and the equity to achieve bilingualism."[3] Therefore, the aim of normalising te reo Māori is to extend te reo to all spheres of society, including the netball courts. It is apparent that such a goal requires more than the efforts and commitment of the Māori communities, but as Rawinia Higgins, Poia Rewi and Vincent Olsen-Reeder argue, "It needs to be adopted by the nation."[4]

The normalisation drive directly aligns with and activates the Crown's Maihi Karauna Strategy for Māori language revitalisation 2019–2023.[5] The Maihi Karauna strategy acknowledges it is important to create "the right conditions across government and Aotearoa New Zealand society for the revitalisation of te reo Māori."[6] In addition, the Maihi Māori Strategy 2017–2040 states as one of its key goals: "By 2040, one million New Zealanders (or more) will have the ability and confidence to talk about at least basic things in te reo Māori."[7] In this context, the Puni Reo concept has the potential to contribute to the normalisation of te reo Māori as te reo infiltrates everyday activities in non-traditional Māori language domains in the public and private spheres in our communities and wider New Zealand society.

While Māori-language-only initiatives or sports tournaments are not new, especially for whānau involved in kura kaupapa Māori and total immersion educational pathways, there are few opportunities for all outside these specific kaupapa Māori organisations to participate. In an effort to support Māori language normalisation in our communities, Puni Reo is promoted as a way to create Māori language spaces in 'new' everyday domains that are accessible to wider groups of people. Therefore, one of the features of the Puni Reo approach is that the initiative should be directed and driven by the community of interest itself.

PUNI REO POITARAWHITI

Netball is one of New Zealand's most popular sports, especially for girls and women. At a national level, there are over 83 Netball New Zealand centres, which cater for more than 300,000 people who participate in the game annually.[8] Despite Māori only making up 16.7 per cent of the New Zealand population,[9] Māori have consistently made up approximately 25 per cent of the affiliated playing membership of netball, with even more (44 per cent) making up national playing squads and a third of the coaches and managers,[10] we would describe this as a 'Māori-rich' participation in this code. For Eruera Lee-Morgan, it was an obvious choice for a Puni Reo initiative.

Netball Waitākere in West Auckland was the location, venue and a key partner in Puni Reo Poitarawhiti. Primarily the tribal lands of Te Kawerau ā Maki, Ngāti Whātua lies to the north and east, and Tainui to the east and south. Today, West Auckland is also home to the second-largest Māori mātāwaka urban population in Auckland (after South Auckland). Within this tribal and highly urbanised context, Netball Waitākere has grown to be an important part of the West Auckland landscape. More than 50 years old, Netball Waitākere boasts over 500 winter league teams and 1,000 summer league teams in West Auckland. Given the demographic of West Auckland, Netball Waitākere has a relatively high number of Māori players, umpires, coaches and managers. While individual players, whānau and kura teams may be heard speaking Māori sporadically during a netball game, Netball Waitākere had never incorporated te reo and tikanga Māori in any meaningful way into their context. It was an ideal community context with which to launch the idea of Puni Reo.

In brief, the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event is a one-day Māori language-only-netball tournament open to all schools in the Auckland region. Held at Netball Waitākere in Lincoln Road, Henderson, schools participate from throughout the region, as far away as Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Manurewa to the south, and Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Te Raki Pae Whenua in the north. Prior to the tournament, several wānanga had occurred to prepare the umpires, coaches and teachers for the day, with a key focus on the specialist language related to netball. To this end, an interactive app called Puni Reo Poitarawhiti was developed by Kawana Wallace of myReo Studios to support the language required by participants of the Puni Reo. Commissioned by Te Puni Kōkiri under the leadership of Eruera Lee-Morgan and Ngawai Walden (Senior Advisors, Tāmaki Office), the app was viewed as a key resource in supporting the event. In preparation, schools formed teams based not only on their netball skills but also on their ability in te reo Māori and practised playing in te reo and learning the relevant language they needed.

The day of the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti tournament began with our cultural traditions of pōwhiri and karakia. The various whaikōrero emphasised the importance of the kaupapa of te reo, acknowledged the tribal territories and people, and celebrated our whanaungatanga. It was the first time a pōwhiri of this type had ever occurred at Netball

Waitākere, and for many Māori who have been long-time members of this institution, valuing te reo and tikanga Māori in this way was a significant and emotional event. Before the games commenced, all the players participated in a warm-up led by ACC NetballSmart in te reo Māori and were hyped up by the encouraging words from Māori TV language celebrity Miss Kihi. The expectation was that te reo Māori was not only spoken on the netball courts, but in the control room, over the loudspeaker, in the shop, in the changing rooms—every place within the precinct of the Netball Waitākere court, including on the café sign, where the menu and prices for kai were rewritten in Māori. The day ended with awards to the winning teams in each category, presented by Māori Silver Fern representatives, including Maia Wilson.

INITIAL FINDINGS:

Perspectives of the Players

This one-year (2019–2020) scoping research project was undertaken by a small team of researchers from Ngā Wai a Te Tūī, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre, Unitec. The COVID-19 pandemic impacted the continuity of the research and postponed the third Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event from taking place. Despite these circumstances, 26 people involved in Puni Reo Poitarawhiti were interviewed by Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan and Dr Jen Martin. This group included organisers, teachers, umpires, parents and students (players). The findings for this article draw specifically on the interviews with students, from three focus groups: high-school students (boys and girls); and two mixed groups of primary and intermediate students, being one group of boys and one group of girls. The key findings are based on the student interviews, and form the following themes:

- The importance of aligning language events with sport/fun activities
- That these events should be for everyone
- That everyone needs to understand that they are in a Māori-only speaking zone
- That everyone understands that the expectation is to speak Māori
- That students are aware that there are strict rules of participation.

The following excerpts are student responses about their experience of Puni Reo Poitarawhiti.

He Reo Pārekareka

Of the three student/participant focus groups interviewed, all groups spoke about the Puni Reo event as valuable, with some students emphasising the use of te reo in fun environments as an important factor in extending their knowledge and use of te reo Māori.

> *Most of the kids I know all love netball and it is another way of being able to contribute reo into something that kids love.*
>
> (Girl, mixed group primary and intermediate)

> *The thing I most enjoy is that we could be playing sport that we all love and still be in a Māori environment and still being able to speak Māori, but be having fun at the same time.*
>
> (Girl, mixed group primary and intermediate)

As mentioned earlier, the need for te reo Māori to be used in settings outside of formal learning environments, as a way in which to create te reo Māori spaces as 'living language domains' in community settings, is a proposed outcome for Puni Reo events. Importantly, emphasis is on facilitating an event through fun activities. This highlights the significance of language being spoken in informal, social settings in an effort to normalise its use.

Mā Tātou – For Everyone

While the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event largely attracted Kura Kaupapa Māori and immersion Māori schools to participate, students themselves consider a much wider group for participation in these events. On sharing their thoughts on the purpose of Puni Reo, one student said the following:

> *Kia whakawhanake te reo Māori, kia whakawhanaunga ai, engari ki au nei kāore mō te Māori anake, mō ngā tangata kātoa. (High-school student)*

Puni Reo is iterated by this student as both strengthening te reo and the relationships between reo Māori communities. Notably, this student views Puni Reo events as not only for Māori, but for all people. Thinking as such also gels with the Maihi Karauna/Maihi Māori language strategies,[11] a partnership model that advocates for the dedicated inclusion of non-Māori as an important part of language revitalisation. This stance also aligns with Higgins and Rewi,[12] who also purport that it will only be through a national effort that te reo Māori will thrive in current and future generations.

Other students interviewed reflect on the potential benefits of Puni Reo, in saying:

> *It would be fun-as for people who can't even speak to still see things that we do in a wider range, not only just one school, say the whole community going together. Doing that everyone is going to get attracted to it, then it will blow up and that is also spreading our reo around by having fun.*
>
> (High-school student)

> *When it comes to the Puni Reo, everyone is just, even if they are not ethnically Māori, their manawa is Māori. They are in it for the kaupapa, and just to have a good time and that is how you can feel the energy is more amplified.*
>
> (High-school student)

The insights offered by students reaffirm the current Maihi Karauna strategy, and show that students exposed to and involved in te reo Māori settings have a consciousness and logic in which they consider language strategy in relation to their own experiences. The strategy is not only inclusive of non-Māori, but also sees the potential benefits of the language for wider society.

These excerpts support creating spaces that facilitate the 'popularising' of Te Reo Māori. While this has yet to occur to any great effect, recent efforts, such as The Māori Language Moment[13] as part of celebrating Te Wiki o Te Reo, have this very same goal.

He Wāhi Reo Māori – Reo Māori Zones

Students also spoke about Puni Reo as providing a setting where they were able to speak te reo Māori freely without judgement or criticism, where they felt comfortable and would not feel awkward for publicly speaking Māori. While we might expect that society in Aotearoa has moved from an emphasis on English mono-lingualism, students express their reservations in speaking Māori at times. Nonetheless, comments made considered Puni Reo as a space where speaking Māori is an accepted norm:

> *You are not worried about being judged or anyone looking at you funny like, oh, that person is talking Māori, why are they talking Māori?*
>
> (High-school student)

Despite te reo Māori being legislated as an official language since 1987, over several decades Māori language initiatives have been challenged with accusations of separatism, racism and tribal elitism[14] that sought to undermine Māori-led initiative. While speaking Māori in public places can be entirely natural, it is further critical in making te reo Māori spaces, as a bold resistance to the position of mono-lingual euro-centricity. Māori rights to language and culture have been hard fought for. Though indigenous rights to language and culture might be at times assumed, in Aotearoa it has been through the efforts of Māori that incremental change has occurred. As well as other initiatives, the Te Reo Māori Claim and the 1994 Broadcasting Assets case are but two examples of Māori taking the Crown to task. In the latter example, it was only through court action that the Crown was forced to provide for the promotion and protection of te reo Māori.[15] Since 2008, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples has also highlighted the rights of indigenous people to their language, culture and traditions as a basic human right. Notably, however, the New Zealand Government did not sign the declaration until 2011.

Positive Learning Environments

While students spoke about criticism from people questioning them speaking te reo Māori in settings outside of a Puni Reo event, they also mentioned criticism from teachers, if their use of language was incorrect.

> *[W]e might say something wrong and then we might get pulled up for it or something like that. I think that it is good to make more rules, but then it kind of isn't in a way because then people will be like, oh nah, we are just not going to talk Māori, so we don't get in trouble.*
>
> (High-school student)

As reflected in this excerpt, the need for approaches that empower students/language learners to use language correctly is important, and there is potential for some approaches to be off-putting. Ensuring students have a supportive learning environment is crucial if the intention is to produce speakers of te reo Māori.

Students' Expectations of Language Use

Although some students expressed a certain apprehension in terms of their own use of te reo Māori, they also had high expectations around the prioritising of te reo Māori during the Puni Reo event. Comments across focus groups affirmed the importance and challenges of ensuring a Māori-speaking environment:

> *I didn't hear one school that was kia ū ki te reo Māori as us. I think because we played a lot of teams and the teachers were speaking English and the kids were speaking English… I thought that the reason that we went to Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is to speak te reo Māori, not to speak Pākehā.*
>
> (Girl, primary–intermediate group)

One student provides their own analysis of the challenges and their own expectations:

> *I think it is just kind of like who you are surrounded by, I guess. I feel like it is who you are surrounded by, and I guess what you feel comfortable with. I wouldn't mind speaking Māori if other people would speak Māori back, but I am not going to speak Māori and they answer me in English.*
>
> (High-school student)

As language revitalisation movements depend on a common, shared purpose, being surrounded by like-minded people is crucial to success. The above statement alludes to students themselves needing to be conscious and deliberate in knowing that they are in a Māori-speaking environment where concerted efforts are made to speak Māori.

> *For me, I think that we don't really usually speak Māori when we are playing just in general, because I feel like if we don't hear other people around us speaking it, some of us don't want to be like the odd one out, they just want to be like 'normal'. We will just speak English, and I feel like, also as they said, if someone else in my team is talking to me in Māori then I will just be encouraged to talk back. I will just talk back to them by speaking back in Māori, and it is also an advantage for us so that means not many other people can understand.*
>
> (Girl, primary–intermediate group)

The need to be 'normal' indicates that, for students that can speak Māori, this has yet to be an accepted norm, and they do not want to be seen as different from the majority of their peers or whānau who do not speak Māori. This sense of normalcy can be a deterrent to speaking Māori. The final part of the above excerpt also indicates that proficient speakers of te reo Māori in attendance at Puni Reo are a relatively small group.

The need for all participants to contribute to a space committed to te reo Māori is highlighted, but just as important is the need for awareness around the purpose of these events in terms of language strategies. While the students do not necessarily state this outright, they bring their own awareness to the discussion in articulating their observations on the impact of English being spoken during the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event.

> *It kind of wrecked the mood a bit when people just started to speak English.*
>
> (Girl, primary–intermediate group)

Each of the three focus groups commented on the speaking of English during the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event, and they also felt that penalties for speaking English should be enforced:

> *I think also there should be more rules about the reo, like there should be a point taken off if you speak reo Pākehā, something like that.*
>
> (High-school student)

> *… i te wā kōrero koe Pākehā, ka tango piro.*
>
> (Boy, primary–intermediate group)

In contrast to this, one of the students spoke about just wanting to speak English at times:

> *Nā te mea ētahi wā kāore e pīrangi ana te kōrero Māori i te wā katoa. E pīrangi ana te kōrero Pākehā, engari kāore e āhei ana koe.*
>
> (Boy, primary–intermediate group)

One group of students spoke about their teachers' high expectations of students' adherence to te reo Māori in terms of their participation in the Puni Reo tournament. Though it was only raised by this one group, the teachers' strictness of ensuring students' commitment to speaking Māori was seen by the students as positive. The students spoke about being well inducted in terms of the rules of participation prior to the event:

> *We had to know the rules before we went, in te reo Māori and English.*
>
> (High-school student)

Knowing the ground rules of participation in the event was important to these particular students' adherence to te reo Māori. One student expressed that it was sometimes difficult to find the appropriate words (Boy, primary–intermediate group), while another made the suggestion that students should be familiarised with the names for their positions and rules of the game.

Ko te whakamāramatanga i ngā tūranga me ngā ture o te kēmu.

(Boy, primary– intermediate group)

It was also suggested that announcements be made throughout the tournament as a reminder to all participants to speak Māori (Girl, primary–intermediate group); students further expected that this should apply not only to students, but also teachers, referees and umpires (High-school students).

Te Rere o Te Reo

Several students relayed that hearing Māori spoken in a social setting was encouraging and being exposed to other students who had high levels of fluency was seen as beneficial.

He tino pai te rongo i te reo i a rātou hoki (kkm). Ahakoa te pakeke, e rere tonu ana te reo, he tino pai tērā ki au.

Reference is also made here to the speed of the game, consequently the use of the language also follows suit and reo can become highly animated, providing a more dynamic use of te reo where the language is 'in play'. Being exposed to te reo in this kind of setting can be exhilarating and inspire motivation for players and supporters alike to kōrero Māori.

Te tere o te mahi poitarawhiti nā te mea e mōhio ana tātou he rere te kēmu, so me tere hoki tō rere.

(High-school student)

Kia Māori te Reo – Reo Māori Focused

Students expressed the need for ensuring focus for these events was on te reo Māori, rather than the sport itself. The competitive nature of sport was expressed as detracting from the purpose of Puni Reo. One group of students spoke about the need to induct all players around the kaupapa of Puni Reo, in which the use of te reo Māori was understood as first and foremost.

We should make sure that they know it is about Māori not about just netball, not the sport.

(Girl, primary–intermediate group)

Though Puni Reo participants interviewed expressed their enjoyment of playing the sport, they were clear in the necessity of holding a commitment to using te reo Māori during the event. Comments made by students also indicated that they felt that participants who were more focused on the competition and winning were also prone to speak English as tensions mounted during play.

CONCLUSION

Puni Reo Poitarawhiti is a recently introduced community-led initiative with the potential to become a regular feature in te reo Māori calendar in Tāmaki Makaurau. Supported by Te Puni Kōkiri, the Puni Reo Poitarawhiti event has opened 'new' spaces for te reo Māori to be spoken, celebrated and, in this case 'played', in the context of netball. Normalising te reo Māori on the netball courts is significant for our young people. The importance of having fun in aligning language activities and events with sports and other recreational activities is highlighted in their feedback. The voices of the students show that rangatahi themselves have a considered view of the importance of Puni Reo events, not only for Māori but for society more generally. They also place high emphasis on adhering to speaking te reo Māori during Puni Reo events and consider that this needs to be reinforced by all those

participating. In addressing some of the challenges they have in doing this, they also offer solutions. The students interviewed appreciated that they could participate in a Māori-language event through sports in which they were exposed to more proficient speakers. Each focus group supported the idea of ongoing Puni Reo events, suggesting incorporating other sports, such as ki-o-rahi, touch and different types of hākinakina common within Te Ao Māori. In terms of normalising te reo Māori, it is everyday events and activities that will create the right environment for speaking te reo Māori—sport is only one such event.

Professor Jenny Lee-Morgan (Waikato-Tainui, Ngāti Mahuta, Ngāti Te Ahiwaru) is the founding Director of Ngā Wai ā Te Tūī, Māori and Indigenous Research Centre at Te Whare Wānanga o Wairaka, Unitec. Jenny has a distinguished track record of teaching and kaupapa Māori research. Previously a Māori secondary school teacher, Jenny has a strong background in education, te reo Māori and community-based research. She was formerly the Head of School of Māori Education at the University of Auckland, and Deputy Director of Te Kotahi Research Institute at the University of Waikato with Prof Leonie Pihama. In 2016, Jenny was awarded Te Tohu Pae Tawhiti Award by the New Zealand Association for Research in Education in recognition of her high-quality research and significant contribution to the Māori education sector. Building on her interest in pūrākau as methodology, her most recent publication is a co-edited book with Professor Joann Archibald and Dr Jason DeSantolo (2019) titled *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous Storywork as Methodology*, published by Zed Books. Jenny is also a very devoted grandmother.

Dr Jen Martin (Te Rarawa) is a te reo Māori lecturer at the University of Auckland. Along with her sister, she is also the co-founder and co-director of Pae Tū Ltd, a Māori language consultancy. She is a graduate of kōhanga reo, kura kaupapa Māori and wharekura (Kaupapa Māori immersion schooling) and maintains strong relationships with this community. Jen is passionate about the revitalisation and normalisation of te reo Māori and the advancement of Māori educational aspirations. Her PhD, written in te reo Māori, focused on conceptualisations of success in the context of kura kaupapa Māori.

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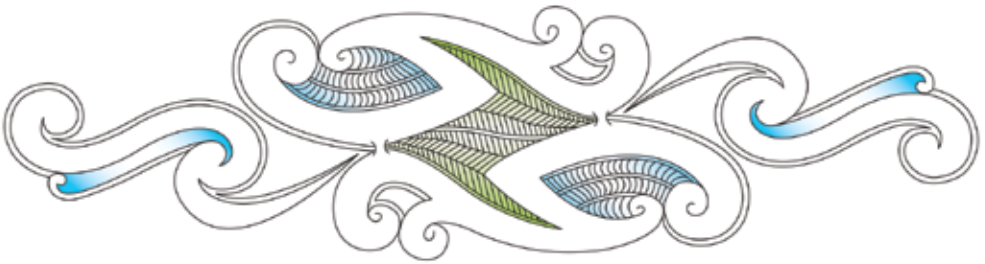

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E HAERE MAI RĀ TAKU TANIWHA, E MOE, E OKI, E HAERE ATU RĀ TRANSITIONING INTERGENERATIONAL KNOWLEDGE TRANSFER FOR TANIWHA AND KAITIAKI NARRATIVES WITHIN HOROMAKA HAPŪ OF KĀI TAHU, KĀTI MĀMOE ME WAITAHA HOKI

Matiu Payne

INTRODUCTION

Intergenerational knowledge and practices associated with kaitiaki (guardians) and taniwha (consecrated guardians) in the taiao (natural world) of Horomaka (Banks Peninsula) have relied upon customary knowledge systems for transmission between generations. Horomaka hapū[1] knowledge keepers have relied upon whānau selection and training at each successive generation. The training of knowledge keepers included systems of formal and informal whare wānaka (houses of learning). Akoako (pupils) in these institutions were initiated through customary religious ceremonies such as tūā and tohi.

In 2019 and 2020, two taniwha from within Te Wao nui a Takaroa (the ocean), died and revealed themselves when washed ashore. Physical and spiritual attributes associated with these taniwha enabled their identification by the current generations of indigenous knowledge keepers.

On 20 March 2019, it was reported online that a 200 kg leatherback turtle (*Dermochelys coriacea*) had washed ashore in a remote area of Horomaka.[2] Later, in October 2020, another taniwha from customary tradition washed ashore in proximity to the first locality. This second taniwha was a 20 metre, white, fin whale (*Balaenoptera physalus*). Both of these localities were proximal to urupā (cemeteries) and whare wānaka (customary learning areas) for Horomaka hapū. As such, great cultural significance was associated with their discoveries.

Cultural significances included the revelation of customary knowledge which had previously been kept as muna mātauraka (confidential knowledge) amongst Horomaka hapū. Their discovery then, highlighted a lack of general knowledge and understanding about these taniwha amongst newer generations of hapū members.

This paper has been written to explore the customary knowledge framework within which these taniwha and kaitiaki were integral. This paper also seeks to assist Horomaka hapū members to engage the customary knowledge frameworks more fully, and with greater understanding.

ŌTOHUKAORAOTEAO

One of the formal knowledge transfer systems utilised by Horomaka hapū in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (from around 1700 to 1870) were formal whare kura or whare wānaka (schools of learning). One particular wānaka locality on Horomaka is known as Ōtohukaoraoteao. Ōtohukaoraoteao comprised whare kura (karakia and general instruction), and whare kōkōraki (star knowledge). The descriptions of the different whare within this system of learning are akin, but distinct, to Western university faculties. Each whare wānaka was replete with their own professors, lecturers, researchers, and administrators.

Ōtohukaoraoteao is a te reo Māori (Māori language) compound word. Its composite terminology, when separated, can be read as Ō-tohuka-ora-o-te-ao. Translated into English, Ōtohukaoraoteao means "the place of the learned sages of light", or more colloquially, "the place where the tohuka of light practiced and taught their knowledge to akoako (pupils)."[3]

The purpose of this particular location then, was for enlightened forms of knowledge to be imparted to the akoako. Other forms, and perhaps more "darker" knowledge, associated with whare pū rākau (warfare) makutu (sorcery), and other areas were taught elsewhere.

Figure 1. Surveyed map of Menzies Bay and Squally Bay area. Sourced from I.H. Menzies (1970). Inside front cover. Horomaka hapū customary names have been applied to the map.

Ōtohukaoraoteao has been truncated on some historical maps to Ōtohuao or Ōtūtahuao and invariably mislocated or misinterpreted on the same maps. Another historical place of significance to Horomaka hapū is called Ōtūtohuao/Ōtūtahuao and this place is situated at Hickory Bay on Horomaka. Ōtohukaoraoteao is a specific locality on a headland between Ōtohukapae and Kirikiriwaerea (see Figure 1. above).

Ōtohukapae (Ō-tohuka-pae or "the place where the tohuka would sit, think and debate") is another compound word. Its tino (precise locality) is up a small valley immediately above Squally Bay, which sits to the right-hand side of Ōtohukaoraoteao when looking out to sea.

To the left-hand side of Ōtohukaoraoteao is Kirikiriwaerea or Menzies Bay. Kirikiriwaerea as a locality has a well-documented history of archaeological interest and some early European settlers also have recorded their observations upon first entering the area in the mid-late nineteenth century.[4]

Kirikiriwaerea, in Horomaka hapū traditions correctly refers to the tohi name of a local ancestress. She was a tohuka in her own right, who possessed the abilities of matakite (seership), karakia (invocations), and tohukataka (expertise) associated with the entire takiwā of Horomaka. So strong was her mana (spiritual authority) that oral traditions record her ability to manifest her wairua in kaitiaki forms ranging from sea creatures to birds of the forest, as well as in spiritual forms seen by other matakite (seers). Her name was applied to the locality now known as Menzies Bay owing to her tuition of female akoako there.[5]

A local settler family who moved to the vicinity of Kirikiriwaerea in 1870 noted that European settlers had been in the area since 1857.[6] John Henry Menzies established his family there in 1870 and kept a diary, a portion of which was published in 1970 by his grandson which reads:

> …it is said that at one time there were at least four hundred Māoris living in a more-or-less fortified village or pah [sic] just where the cemetery now is. The hollows where these whares [sic] were built are to be seen still, also long lines of stones on the gentle slope of the hill just above the place where the village stood are still there. These stones were removed by the Māoris [sic] when cultivating the ground. There was also near the beach a large plantation of karaka tress at one time that were, I was told, cut down to feed the dairy cows. Cattle are very fond of this shrub and eat its large leaves greedily. But I also was told that the Māoris claimed the right to come and collect the fruit of these trees, of which they were very fond, so old McIntosh cut all the karaka trees down except two or three, because the Māoris were more-or-less rival claimants to the Bay on this account.[7]

Further in his diary Menzies recalls that:

> A force of Māoris came down from the North Island….and conquered and nearly exterminated the Māoris of Banks Peninsula. There are some rocks just above my house called the Māori Rocks. When the Māoris from the North landed in the bay the Māoris living there, all the men at least, went up and stationed themselves on the top of this hill where these rocks are, and wait for their enemies, hoping that the climb up the very steep hull would weaken them, but the bay Māoris were all killed in the battle that followed. They were also eaten there and their bones were thrown down in the crevasses of these so-called Māori rocks, and even now you can find small pieces of their bones….There were a few Māoris still left living somewhere near the Bay when the McIntoshes arrived for they put up the first hut or whare for Sandy McIntosh, the first white man that lived in this place.[8]

At Ōtohukaoraoteao and Kirikiriwaerea, instruction of akoako occurred as summer schools of learning. A large wharerau (round house) complex stood at Ōtohukaoraoteao. Today, indentations in the earth remain as evidence of their existence. Winter schools of learning also occurred however these were held in alternative locations.[9]

Kirikiriwaerea is known to have been inhabited when Te Rauparaha and Ngāti Toa arrived in the locality in 1832 as they engaged the second round of attacks on Kāi Tahu after the fall of Kaiapoi pā, and later Ōnawe pā in Akaroa harbour. It was through these conflicts that the wharerau structures were destroyed. The taoka (treasures and implements) associated with instruction in the whare wānaka system were removed and hidden ahead of Ngāti Toa's arrival, fearing their misappropriation and defilement by the invading forces.[10]

When Kirikiriwaerea, Ōtohukaoraoteao and Ōtohukapae were invaded, up to 600 people were killed, many of whom were left where they fell. Others were put into the puna wai (water sources) to pollute the water and prevent, through the institution of tapu, the permanent return of the people to the place.[11] Menzies records in his diary entry above of bones still to be found at "Māori Rocks" at Kirikiriwaerea as further evidence of this conflict.[2]

By the time the coerced land transaction known as the Port Levy Purchase of 1849 was instituted by Walter Mantell at Koukourarata, Kirikiriwaerea, Ōtohukaoraoteao and Ōtohukapae were legally transferred to the Crown who surveyed and on sold the land to settlers such as Sandy McIntosh and John Henry Menzies mentioned in accounts above.

Despite the transfer of title, Horomaka hapū still frequented these localities for spiritual and mahika kai reasons (for example, harvesting karaka berries), and also to work for the new farmers who took up the local land titles.

The last pupil commonly known to have been instructed at Ōtohukaoraoteao, was Hone Taare Tikao. He was sent by his father to learn from two local tohuka, Koroko and Tūauau, at Ōtohukaorateao and other localities. Having been born in approximately 1850, Tikao estimated he was about eight years old when he was taken under their instruction.[13] Tikao recalled that he was meant to have learned most of all they would teach by the time he was sixteen (in 1866).[14] He further mentioned that the two old men died "long before that time". Tūauau however, is recorded as being alive in 1861. By this stage Tikao would have been 11 to 12 years old.[15] In the same period of time and instruction, an undergraduate student today can graduate with their degree.

Figure 2. A painting by J.Gibb 1889 of Kirikiriwaerea [Kiri Kiri Whare]
sourced from I.H. Menzies (1970) p.48 (facing page).
Notice the rendition of the pā to the left-hand side of the painting.
Two waka are also present on the ocean.

Koroko, on the other hand, is more elusive in documentary and archival records. It is likely that Koroko died prematurely as Tikao himself had noted, as he did not appear in archival records as Tūauau had. With the passing of Koroko, and later Tūauau, the regular use of Ōtohukaoraoteao and Kirikiriwaerea as regular places of instruction and ceremony also halted. It is known through whakapapa (genealogical) records that both Koroko and Tūauau were closely related and part of the Horomaka hapū (see whakapapa below). A key oral tradition associated with Koroko is that upon his death, his wairua (spiritual essence) was dedicated, through karakia, to reside with a large white whale, which subsequently also became known as Koroko.[16]

Hone Taare Tikao, passed on the traditions associated with Ōtohukaoraoteao to his descendants in particularly his eldest daughter Rahera Tainui who acted as his scribe alongside her sisters Mary and Raukura. Tikao also shared his information with compatriot tohuka of his generation. Mokopuna (descendants) of Hone Taare Tikao also recall their Poua (grandfather), teaching them whakapapa (genealogies), karakia (incantations) and tauparapara (formal oratory) underneath the large walnut tree that grew next to his homestead in Rapaki in his later years.[17]

Tikao is known to have worked closely with Paora Tāki (c.1805 – 1897)[18] of Kāi Te Rakiāmoa and Kāi Te Rakitāmau, Hipa Te Maiharoa of Kāti Matamata (c.1840 – 1886)[19], Mananui Manawatūterā of Rangitāne (1856 – 1942)[20] who was also Tikao's brother-in-law, and Te Muru of Kāi Te Rakitāmau (c1774 – 1874).[21] Tikao's eldest daughter, Rahera Tainui, and youngest daughter, Raukura Gillies (or Taua Fan as she was affectionately known) inherited knowledge from their father and became influential in its transmission to current generations of Horomaka hapū.

As a mokopuna of Hāteatea, a well-known Kāi Tahu tohuka, Tikao possessed the genealogical lineage, which assisted in pre-ordaining his entry to customary learning. Tikao could map the pathway of Hāteatea's knowledge transfer through successive generations of his mokopuna.[22] Tikao shared descent from another Kāi Tahu tohuka, Tūteahuka, whose daughter, Te Kahukura became the mother of the Kāi Te Kahukura hapū that intermarried with Kāti Huikai, and took primary kaitiakitaka of Ōtohukaoaoteao.

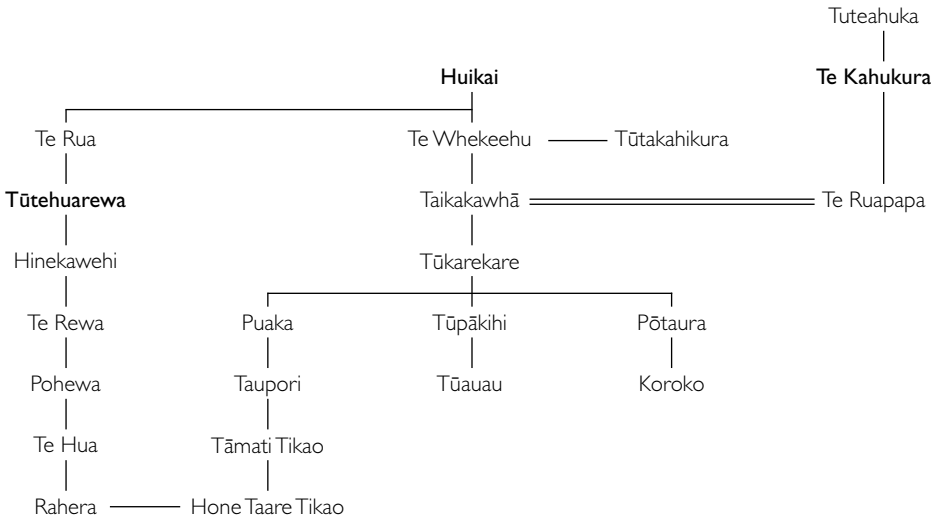

Figure 3. Whakapapa (genealogy) table showing the connections between Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa and Kāi Te Kahukura. The relationship between Koroko, Tūauau and Hone Tāre Tikao is shown. Source: Whakapapa records in author's collection.

SPIRITUAL PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

The introduction of Christianity to Horomaka hapū in the 1840s drastically impacted and reduced customary practices associated with the taiao. Horomaka hapū quickly converted to the new Christian religion as its imposition was accompanied by significant population declines from diseases in the 1820s brought by whalers and also dispossession caused by colonisation itself. Their population, already decimated through Ngāti Toa's influence contributed to significantly hasten Christianity's acceptance.

In 1838, predating the introduction of Christianity to Horomaka, a formal peace arrangement was agreed to with Ngāti Toa, through Christian influences that occurred on Kapiti Island.[23] Later in 1844, Te Rauparaha's son, Tamihana, a Christian convert and lay reader travelled to Te Waipounamu and Koukourarata to preach the gospel.[24]

The cumulative impact and rapid transition from customary religious practices to new Christian practices included a conscious abandonment of old (pre-Christian) practices. Those who continued to observe customary (pre-Christian) practices were forced into a subservient position and knowledge holders were encouraged to accept the new faith in tandem with their old beliefs. One of the last of the old tohuka to have accepted Christianity was Te Muru, mentioned above.[25]

Tohi and Tūā ceremonies and practices

Tohuka in the hapū would officiate over consecration ceremonies known as tohi and tūā. Tohi and tūā ceremonies draw similarities with Christian practices of baptism and confirmation, although the customary ceremonies are distinct and not interchangeable with those Christian practices.

Tūā ceremonies were reported by Basil Keane:

> Babies were named after the tāngaengae (navel cord) was severed. The tūā rite was performed in the place where the child was born. It removed the tapu from both the mother and child, and ensured health for the child.[26]

Within the Horomaka hapū, the tūā ceremonies were also used for consecration purposes beyond the birth of a child. One particular karakia passed down orally from generation to generation continues to be used for this purpose today.[27]

Reverend Maurice Manawaroa Gray, a mokopuna of Tikao, was entrusted with the knowledge associated with Ōtohukaoraoteao by Raukura Gillies (Tikao's daughter), Hine Manawatū (his grandmother and Rahera Tainui's daughter), and Mahuri Manawatū (his grandfather) amongst others. Gray considers that for Horomaka hapū the explanations for religious ceremonies were more varied.[28]

For example, waituhi or tuhi were the places and ceremonies where the post-natal consecrations occurred. A tohi tūā was undertaken for persons initiated into the whare wānaka system of learning. The tūā properly was an extension to the tohi ceremony that went beyond the natural world and engaged the spiritual world in its process. Tohi, then derived from "tō hihiri" or "your energy or essence" that was invoked through karakia, and recognised through the application of an ikoa tohi (a tohi name) to act as a spiritual kaitiaki (guardian) for the endeavours for which you were to be initiated with the tohi ceremony.[29]

Tohi ceremonies were closely aligned to the tūā ceremonies, and were more specific in their application for initiation rites and activities, particularly in relation to knowledge acquisition. Initiation practices such as tohi and tūā find their roots in archetypical legends and narratives associated with Tāne.

Peter Te Rangihīroa Buck notes that:

> When Tāne ascended to the heavens in order to obtain the three baskets of knowledge, he was compelled to twice undergo the tohi ceremony in tapu water ere he could be admitted to the divine presence.[30]

Gray concurs with Buck's statement above and explains that Tāne's journey to access the divine knowledge later encapsulated through the 'three baskets of knowledge' was by way of the pathway known as Te Ara Tapu nui o Tāne (the sacred pathway of Tāne), and on this journey he was passed through tohi ceremonies by Ohomairaki and Puhaoraki, two kaitiaki of that realm.[31]

Keane describes tohi ceremonies as:

> The tohi ceremony followed the tūā rite. It was performed at a sacred stream. Children were dedicated to particular gods at the tohi ceremony. Boys were often dedicated to Tūmatauenga, the god of war, and girls to the goddess Hineteiwaiwa.[32]

Horomaka hapū almost certainly utilised tohi ceremonies as Keane describes although their purpose had wider application as Gray has explained. In generalised explanations, it is simple to overlook the more intricate purposes and applications of customary religious ceremonies such tohi, tūā, tohi tūā, and tuhi. This is what makes understanding their framework of application, inclusive of taniwha, all the more important to hapū members today. For example, wai or water resources were of extreme importance to the hapū, not only for their life-giving properties, but also their sacred application through religious ceremonies.

Customary ceremonies could occur at birth, as a teenager, a young adult, a parent, a grandparent, and at Kaumātua stages of life. Their purpose was to recognise an individual's strengths and affirm them with karakia. Another further purpose was to invoke the wairua of an ancestor whose name would be applied to the initiate as their "tohi name". This wairua was believed to be the initiates assigned kaitiaki for that particular purpose or stage of life.

In the observance of karakia, an initiate would come into contact with wai either through standing in it, or through the tohuka applying water to them with a branch. Particular water bodies were associated with these practices and at times could be considered sacred. These same customary frameworks also provided for "confirmations" from the taiao. A confirmation in this sense would be the revelation or appearance of a taniwha or kaitiaki during or at

the conclusion of the ceremony. Tohuka taught and skilled in administering the correct practices would observe the taiao for such confirmations. These confirmation practices associated with customary ceremonies are central to the understanding of the taniwha and kaitiaki, and in particular the honu (turtle) and the tohora mā (white whale) from Kirikiriwaerea and Ōtohukaoraoteao.

At Kirikiriwaerea, the honu would appear as a confirmation for tohi initiates who were consecrated at sea side. In confirming the correct application of karakia to the initiates, the honu would surface from beneath the sea where tradition maintains its ana (cave) was situated, she would then lie on her back, before turning over again to continue on her way.[33]

Similarly, at Ōtohukaoraoteao, the tohora mā, had been assigned the wairua of Koroko after his death. This particular tohorā acted in his confirmation role by blowing visible water spouts as confirmation for tohi initiates at the conclusion of the ceremonies.[34]

A TANIWHA OR A KAITIAKI?

Taniwha and kaitiaki are terms often heard, and also analysed from academic perspectives. At times, these customary concepts and realities are relegated to fables or myths associated with fictional stories described in mātauraka Māori terms as pakiwaitara. Indeed, there are circumstances where taniwha and kaitiaki serve fictional purposes in the education of people generally.

Equally there are times and realities where taniwha and kaitiaki serve a non-fictional role within mātauraka Māori frameworks of understanding. It is in this realm where the honu and tohorā mā reside. From this perspective the oral traditions associated with them are regarded as pūrākau (oral legends).

The questions inevitably arise: what is a taniwha and what is a kaitiaki?

Kaitiaki has a base term associated with it called tiaki. Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal describes tiaki as:

> The word tiaki is the basis of the longer word kaitiakitanga. Tiaki means to guard. It also means to preserve, foster, protect and shelter. So, notions of care and protection are at the heart of kaitiakitanga, and give it its conservation ethic.[35]

Royal explains further that:

> The prefix kai means someone who carries out an action. A kaitiaki is a person, group or being that acts as a carer, guardian, protector and conserver. The gods of the natural world were considered to be the original kaitiaki – for instance, Tāne, god of the forest, was the kaitiaki of the forest. All other kaitiaki emulate those original ones.[36]

In 1895, Tamati Ranapiri of Ngāti Raukawa explained that kaitiaki could take forms that were not in human form:

> Manu taupunga is a name for the bird that stands guard while others are eating from a tree. It is also called the 'sentry bird'. This bird would guard the tree, and when other birds came to eat the fruit, it fended off the intruders, ensuring their departure.[37]

In the creation of the Fisheries (South Island Customary Fishing) Regulations 1998 (and later 1999), one Kaumātua for Kāi Tahu insisted on the changing of the wording of a Tangata Kaitiaki (human guardian) to a Tangata Tiaki (human that looks after) in the wording of the legislation due to the spiritual connotations of the word 'Kaitiaki' from a customary perspective. This distinction, however, did not endure to the North Island version of the same regulations.[38]

For the hapū of Horomaka, there exists a network of kaitiaki, some of whom have been consecrated through karakia further to become taniwha.

Taniwha can be regarded as supernatural creatures. Some taniwha are described as hiding in water bodies such as the ocean, rivers, or lakes. They could also dwell within cave systems. This is certainly true of the honu and the tohorā mā.

Basil Keane describes taniwha:

> Some were like giant lizards, sometimes with wings. Others were reptile-like sea creatures. Or they took the shape of sharks or whales, or even logs of wood in the river. Some could change their shape.[39]

Examples of taniwha exist across a number of iwi and geographical areas. Kupe the legendary explorer is recalled to have had a guardian taniwha named Tuhirangi that came in dolphin form.[40] Another taniwha Tūtaeporoporo began life as a shark, and later changed into a bird-like creature.[41]

Within the Horomaka hapū there are examples of kaitiaki taking the form of kukupā (exceptionally large Kererū or wood pigeons), whekekura (red octopus), tohora mā (white whales), waikura (red sea water), rūrū mā (white moreporks), piwaiwaka (fantails), koiro (conger eels), tūora (orange eels), mairehe (yellow eels), and other examples.

Figure 4. Honu and Dr. Matiu Payne on the Koukourarata pā site, 12 December 2020. Source: Matiu Payne's records.

The similarities between kaitiaki and taniwha are numerous and often the term is used interchangeably to describe these natural phenomena. Distinctions can be drawn between kaitiaki and taniwha in the assignment of an ancestral name. Karakia can be performed to assign the wairua (spiritual essence) of an ancestor to a kaitiaki to enable them to continue their tiaki responsibilities for an environmental and/or spiritual reason. Such examples of taniwha exist on Horomaka with Te Wahine Marukore, and her husband Te Rakihorahna.[42]

Prior to their deaths, the honu had not been seen since about 1983 by a group of Kaumātua at Ōnuku (near Akaroa) as they gathered there to collect a rock from the beach known as Te Mauri o Te Tiriti o Waitaki.[43] Generations of hapū members since that time had relied upon the pūrākau to inform themselves of its existence and purpose. Similarly, the tohorā mā, had been seen only sparingly, with no fixed date in the collective hapū memory banks. Discussion of their existence was limited to discrete gatherings of hapū members and the customary knowledge keepers have become fewer through the years owing to natural attrition and reduced successional knowledge transfer.

REPATRIATION OF TŪPĀPAKU AND KŌIWI

In March 2019, dialogue and media publications were initiated to seek repatriation of the tūpāpaku (corpse) of the honu from Te Papa Tongarewa (the National Museum of New Zealand), who had assisted the Department of Conservation to transport it to Wellington for scientific study and ultimately skeletonization and display. Because of its size, and taxomonic species it was considered extremely rare in this part of the world.[44]

With significant dialogue occurring within the hapū and with Government representatives an agreement was reached to repatriate honu for burial on Horomaka Island in an ana (cave). The physical return of the honu brought back the tūpāpaku and mana associated with her place as a taniwha in our customary practices. Honu was buried on Horomaka Island on 12 December 2020.

The tūpāpaku (corpse) of the tohorā mā was acknowledged and the kōiwi (bones) retrieved with assistance from the Department of Conservation and the landowner where the 20 tonne taniwha had beached itself. A representative group of whānau from within the Horomaka hapū, over three visits to the remote location, were able to retrieve the kōiwi (bones) from the taniwha to be returned for safekeeping. This act of repatriation, as it was with honu, customarily retrieved the mana taniwha (taniwha's authority) back to the people and places with which they were associated. Its beached locality was subsequently named as Ōkoroko (the place of Koroko).

Figure 5. tohorā mā (Koroko), 10 October 2020 at the locality now known as Ōkoroko (the place of Koroko) on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula). Source: Matiu Payne's records.

Within the whare wānaka frameworks, there is an understanding of muna matauraka (confidential lore and knowledge).[45] This knowledge was reserved for the Tohuka and their akoako, having been confirmed through initiation rites such as tohi and tūā to learn the knowledge and become customary knowledge keepers. The honu and the tohorā mā were once considered to be part of that confidential framework. Their appearance and revelation through their deaths, necessitated discussion about their existence and purpose. It has also created new conversations about who and what will now be looked upon as confirmations for customary ceremonies such as those discussed in this article. The knowledge of these two taniwha are no longer considered muna or confidential. Although, an enduring reverence is accorded to these taniwha and information about them.

In concluding this exploration of customary knowledge frameworks associated with Horomaka hapū, their customary religious activities, taniwha and kaitiaki, this paper creates a proverbial time marker for current and future generations of hapū members to build upon and to reflect with, in time.

The customary religious practices continue today, as recently as regular events such as the annual Te Pā o Rākaihautū customary graduation ceremonies at Ōnuku marae each December. This kura mana Motuhake (special character school) utilises tohi ceremonies for their graduands. The practical application of customary knowledge will ensure its enduring continuity in the transmission of customary knowledge for Horomaka hapū.

Dr. Matiu Payne (Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa, Kāi Te Kahukura, Kāti Irakehu)

1 For the purposes of this paper, the descriptor Horomaka hapū relates to the hapū known as Kāti Huikai, Kāi Tūtehuarewa, Kāi Te Kahukura and Kāti Irakehu all of whom have mana whenua mana moana on Horomaka (Banks Peninsula).

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OPTIMAL LEARNING CONDITIONS FOR MASTERS AND DOCTOR OF PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE MĀORI LEARNERS

Kelli Te Maihāroa, Griffin Manawaroa Leonard, and Tonga Karena

Ko te pae tawhiti whāia kia tata, ko te pae tata whakamua kia tina

Seek to bring distant horizons closer, to sustain and maintain those that have arrived

MIHI

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INTRODUCTION

In accordance with Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Otago Polytechnic (OP) is focused on Māori learner engagement, retention and success. The strategic merger of all 16 polytechnics within Aotearoa New Zealand into one organisation known as Te Pūkenga, is a move to ensure that service provision works well and responds with excellence to the aspirational needs of Māori learners, whānau and iwi. This research was undertaken to explore the optimal learning conditions for Māori learners in the two relatively new programmes to Capable NZ professional practice suite; the Master of Professional Practice and Doctor of Professional Practice programmes. As part of the Otago Polytechnic College of Work-Based Learning, Capable NZ offers New Zealand Qualification Authority accredited qualifications without returning to lectures, through work or community-based learning. Capable NZ offers a variety of online learning programmes from certificates, diplomas, degrees and now postgraduate options. Māori learners make up between 25 to 30 per cent of Capable NZ learners, and as priority learners within a new suite of postgraduate programmes, it was important to undertake research to ensure that their learning and cultural needs were being met.

This research sets out to explore the Māori learner experiences within the Master and Doctor of Professional Practice programmes at Capable NZ in an attempt to highlight (i) the optimal learning conditions, as identified by Māori learners, and (ii) what areas may need further attention to fit the learning needs of Māori tauira. This chapter will highlight two key areas of findings from this research; firstly, what are the optimal learning conditions for post graduate Māori learners within the Polytechnic environment; and secondly, what areas may require further attention

to fit the learning needs of tauira. Interviews were semi-structured and typically lasted around 20 minutes. Two Māori contractors were hired to undertake the interviews and initial analysis of the eight interviews, including two interviews in te reo Māori. The article within this publication entitled "Ko te mouri o te mahi te mouri o te ora" explores te reo Māori learners postgraduate experience, whilst this article considers the six interviews undertaken in English, with Māori learners participating in Capable NZ's Master of Professional Practice (MPP) and Doctor of Professional Practice (DPP) programmes.

The following sections outline recurring themes among interviewee responses from the English interviews. Both commonality and contrast among responses is noted, with an emphasis on the interviewee quotations drawn on at length in an attempt to maintain the participants' voice throughout and to ensure that Māori learner voice is at the forefront of this report. One of the primary themes is the relationship between the learner, facilitator and mentor, which also considers the connections beyond these relationships. There are also four primary themes that fall under the opportunity to optimise Māori learner experiences. These include learning relationships and expectations, te reo Māori/bilingual material, resources and processes, production and assessment of knowledge and the highlights of the Master's and Doctoral framework. The concluding section provides five suggestions for further change practice, which includes access, agency, creating a sense of belonging, fostering Māori identity, and Māori staff.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FACILITATOR, MENTOR AND LEARNER

Strong positive relationships between learners and facilitators support excellent learning outcomes. All interviewees believed that a strong relationship between the learner, facilitator and academic mentor was key to enjoying and succeeding in either the MPP or DPP. All but two respondents felt that they had a positive relationship with their facilitator and mentor. Important qualities in facilitators and mentors that were identified were a willingness to be flexible and allow the learner to have autonomy, valuing (or even understanding or subscribing to) the perspective/experience that a Māori learner brings to their study, possessing content specific knowledge, offering pastoral care and encouragement, as well as communicating regularly with the learner.

> *…I think it's his professionalism and his desire to see us achieve to a high level which has encouraged him to gain a huge amount of knowledge so that he understands [my pedagogical needs] as best he can… And, and he'll go and find ways to communicate ideas to me in a way that he thinks I'll understand. And I have so much admiration and respect for him because of that… because I can't be bothered with all that stuff, with the academic stuff. It holds no interest for me, I don't care. I don't care to know all that theory. It just feels like a lot of times, it just clogs up my brain. And, so, he, he knows that theory, and I'll talk to him about something. He'll say, "Oh, that's exactly this", and he'll name it for me. And then I'll go off and do my own research. And it's been amazing.*

> *Mark seems to have a big knowledge of some of the key texts that I've already got but haven't spent a long time looking at. So, that connection. I don't know, once he, when he started talking it gave me a little bit of security because he's not Māori, but it gave me a sense of, OK, he can manage what I think I'm doing because he's informed about some of the texts that I am using and he knows some of the key names, I guess, because of the work that with other learners that he's done.*

These two quotes pertain to a mentor who is not Māori but is a very experienced tertiary educator and is interested in Māori learners as culturally located students within the learning journey. The learners have identified some of the underlying aspects of whakawhanaukataka, where the learning relationship is a two-way process, built on a foundation of high expectations and exploring possible meanings together. By developing a trusting and respectful learner/mentor relationship, the learner was able to be themselves, to share their opinions and barriers to theories, but to also be open to learning new models and concepts when re-packaged to make sense and meaning

of them. A contrasting view was provided by the two following interviewees who stated they did not have a strong relationship with their facilitator, although one learner indicated that they played a part in these shortcomings. It is important for both learner and facilitator that each party takes responsibility for their own part in the learning journey and work towards a respectful learner/mentor relationship. Thus, all but one interviewee felt they had positive relationships with their facilitator.

> *The facilitator I had was, she was very accommodating and very knowledgeable. The relationship that we had wasn't great, but I completely accept that as being a failing from, from my perspective to be quite honest. My facilitator was always open to new ways of thinking and new ideas to, to new possibilities. And when I challenged her on a couple of things, she went and sourced information and came back with a bit of clarity for herself around there… So, insofar as a facilitator that I had, yeah, I'm very, very happy that she played the game.*

This learner identified that the underlying foundation of the relationship was not overly strong, which may indicate that there were cultural differences (although this is not explicitly referred to). The learner provides some reassurance that the facilitator was open to new possibilities, but it is the facilitator's role to engage in robust dialogue for the benefit of the Māori learner, not the learner's job to provide new ideas and approaches for the facilitator. The final above sentence suggesting that the facilitator 'played the game' may infer that the facilitator did the minimum to keep the learner happy or that the facilitator may not have had the tools to develop metacognitive strategies for a successful learning experience. However, this does not necessarily mean that a given facilitator will have the skills or resources to ensure cultural safety or assist in the implementation of kaupapa Māori research. This is further evidenced in the following response which highlights the gap between knowing how to select appropriate culturally appropriate content and also draw on a kaupapa Māori approach to work successfully with diverse learners.

> *She [my facilitator] allowed stuff to happen and acknowledged that there was difference [in terms of how Māori might approach their research] and encouraged it but wasn't in the position to enable it… she didn't have the tools herself to enable that to happen, to say, "Okay, you're doing this and that's great but now you need to go here, or consider this…*

For the one interviewee who did not have a positive relationship with their facilitator for reasons out of their control, this was clearly a very disruptive state of affairs. The negative nature of this relationship appears to be based on personal clashes or health issues, rather than due to potential broader issues such as a disregard for kaupapa Māori research or anything similar.

> *I felt that the relationship between the academic mentor and facilitator combined completely put me off my Master's… So, there was a personal issue that happened with my facilitator which impacted the relationship between the three of us, which had me backing out really quickly… but because a personal issue became apparent for the facilitator, it impacted on our relationship moving forward in terms of my Master's. That's probably the best way I can explain it.*

For this learner, there was an overriding negative relationship between the learner and her facilitator that could not be mended, resulting in the learner exiting the Master's programme. The process of backing out implies that the learner did not feel safe and that the demise of this relationship hampered the learner/facilitator engagement process. An effective and robust professional learning relationship is an essential ingredient for learner success and well-being. A learner-centred pathway aims to empower learners to make their own decisions about their learning programme, learning experiences and those in positions to facilitate their learning. It would seem that in this instance, the facilitator was oblivious to the strain and impact a failing relationship can have on the learning environment and final outcome.

Interviewees generally reported positively on how the structure of Capable NZ's programme allowed them to find a facilitator that suited their needs. All respondents who were asked whether they had been offered the opportunity to work with a Māori facilitator replied that they had been given this opportunity.

> *…I think what is different in the Capable process is that traditionally a PhD will be, who has a knowledge in this area, and it's usually like content knowledge and such… it's so discipline-specific. But I think what really comes to the forefront in Capable is, who is a supervisor that kind of sees the world in a similar light to you, who has a similar philosophy toward things… what knowledge paradigm, and what do they value?... I couldn't work with somebody who sought well, you know, Western scientific positive truth, because it's not my belief. And I think that's where you know, where you come in with Capable, that facilitation role is so important.*
>
> *For me personally, now I don't know if anyone else gets this opportunity, I've been able to… I guess, tailor the program and things that work best for me. I guess my approach towards how I was going to articulate the particular research topic, and how that falls into the recommended criteria… So that's been a highlight. I've been able to, I guess, hand pick a facilitator and academic mentor who will not only assist me but better my research, my mahi. And I'll learn a lot from those people. So that's been a positive outcome for me so far.*

The two above learners have identified how important and empowering it is to be offered a facilitator and one that fits their world view. The opportunity to choose a Māori facilitator provides a 'cultural fit' for Māori learners who would expect the foundational basis of their learning/facilitation relationship is grounded within te ao Māori, where Māori beliefs, culture and language form a shared understanding. The process of inviting the learner to identify from the outset what kind of facilitator would be a good fit for them, empowers the learner to express their mana motuhake, agency and self-determination to create and manage their own learning conditions from the start.

A number of interviewees touched on the fact that they had pre-existing relationships with their facilitators or potential facilitators. There was a sense that this added a certain dimension to the programme. One interviewee found this to be positive, as a pre-existing relationship meant the parties knew how each other worked, while another found it could make things awkward if things were not going well in terms of the programme of study. Relatedly, some of those who were employees of OP Capable NZ noted that this gave them a base network beyond their facilitator to discuss their studies with. The need for a broad support network is discussed further below.

> *Well, I suppose I should preface that the facilitator is also a colleague. So, you know, yeah. We did have a prior relationship and she sort of knew something about me and how I work, and a fair idea of how to attempt to manage that relationship…*
>
> *But I think that the relationship between the mentor and the facilitator is so important. And that's something that I wanted to talk about too was, so when you're internal and when you're being assessed, sorry, when you're working and studying together, you've got a relationship with those people [facilitator and mentor] outside of your academic role, it can be quite challenging.*

The intersection between colleagues and learner/facilitator relationship is an interesting point and spotlights potential complexities and complications between the two relational settings. This raises the question of what does it mean for a Māori learner when their colleague becomes their facilitator and how does this impact on their mentor/student relationships in terms of creating optimal learning environment? On one hand, the learner and colleague know each other and would have a respectful working relationship, if the learner had a choice in who their facilitator could be. What is alluded to above is the challenge of managing this relationship at times and the potential change in power when being assessed by colleagues. The learner, including a staff learner, does not

have a say in who is chosen to assess them. The assessment process is a crucial and delicate part of the learning journey, and it is hoped that the staff learner and assessor have a trusting and respectful working relationship, and that the assessment process is robust to withstand any internal or external scrutiny. Interviewees reported that they communicated with their facilitators and mentors in a number of ways, including email, phone calls, online-conferencing and in-person meetings.

> *Yeah, I think, the grounding has been having someone in this building to talk to. So, not just when it was you, but also the staff that I knew, like, I've had a side chat with Tahu… I think we've used emails and Zoom, which is a... good face to face thing. It's definitely helpful. But I am getting, it's filling my cup or enriching my wairua, or whatever it is, meeting [in-person] with Mark and, and, it's getting regular and that's really good for me.*

> *So, I tend to respond to emails, quite regularly. It's something that you can't really avoid at the moment. You know, you've got the devices that follow you all over the place. So, I've had a discussion when we first started with my facilitator on what would be the best form of communication that would work for me. And I said "emails". If something was pressing and needed to happen immediately, my facilitator's being open and given me her personal contact information to contact them. My facilitator's been able to facilitate hui online via Teams and Zoom and also being the first point of call when I have any questions.*

The opportunity for the learner to reach out to their facilitator when they need to and in a variety of communication methods is an important factor to maintain the learner-facilitator relationship. Personal contact details and email seems to be an agreeable method to make semi-urgent contact, whilst Zoom or Teams is the preferred online platform for virtual kanohi ki kanohi connection.

RELATIONSHIPS BEYOND THE LEARNER-FACILITATOR-MENTOR RELATIONSHIP

In working to achieve excellent outcomes for Māori learners and communities, there is also an expectation that educational services improve for the betterment of Māori. While interviewees all believed that the relationship a learner had with their facilitator and mentor was of vital importance, the commentary also highlights that it is unlikely that any one facilitator or mentor will have the skills and resources to fully support an individual Māori learner. Some of this is simply a reality of the fact that learners require support from a number of sources, such as facilitators, friends and whānau, as well as colleagues and peers undertaking the same course of study. However, for Māori learners, this is particularly apparent.

The need to ensure "Māori are enjoying and achieving educational success as Māori" is widely accepted.[1] As will be discussed further below, interviewees reported that facilitators usually valued a learner's Māori identity and culture and attempted to scaffold a course of study in such a way that recognised kaupapa Māori approaches to research and the learner's individual background. A familiar theme is the need to develop whanaukataka, including relationships that are wider than just the learner/facilitator.

> *…I know it's a bit hard because we all start at different times but like a tīmatanga kind of hui. So, you're all in the first three months, let's have a hui. Let's have a coffee. I mean, we do we do a pōwhiri for the students when they start.… then you've got that whakawhanaungatanga again.*

> *I think for me being on the ground here, I think that, it's a weird thing, but the office, there's not a lot of sense of mana whenua, tangata whenua, in that office where Capable is … you know that, that's just a little thing. And there's no point in having window dressing if there's nothing behind it.*

This feedback identifies a lack of cultural support within Capable NZ processes and spaces from the point of entry into the programme. As Capable NZ learners are spread throughout Aotearoa and further afield and there is no set programme start date, the opportunity to have a pōwhiri for each student is a challenge but could be further investigated with learners to explore what this may look like within an online setting. There is currently no Māori postgraduate space, which can lead to cultural isolation for learners without a Māori korowai around them. One learner suggested that the opportunity to create an online space may also provide access to a collective of kaupapa Māori resources: "I think having a community in the post grad suite, you know, within kaupapa Māori, for instance, who, you know, is a pool of resources".

There were a number of comments made about the need to develop wider cultural support within Capable NZ, including the opportunity to acquire outside support if needed. One learner identified the need for more Māori staff to support the programme to flourish culturally and not rely on "…one or two people, like yourself Kare, you can't do everything for Māori. And nor should you be expected to do that. We actually need more Māori people, and resources to support this programme." The lack of Māori staff could also be a factor for another learner who sought support from outside Capable NZ: "I don't think I'd like it as much [if I had to rely on Capable for all my support] … I find that a lot of the people at Capable are not people I find easy to communicate with." This point was echoed by another learner who felt culturally unsafe at times and responded by ensuring that s/he had access to kaumātua support from their own iwi. The learner raises a really valid point about cultural safety, kaumātua support and recognition by Capable NZ for this vital support.

> *…I think for Māori that it would be really good to have someone in a cultural space that can provide you with some cultural support. That was something I did struggle with… I felt inside of it [the Capable process], there were times that I felt culturally unsafe. So, I did talk to them about that, and I said what I was going to do was initiate my own cultural safety, or just even somewhere I could go to a kaumātua that was local that I could access, to make sure that what I'm doing or what I'm talking about in terms of our protocols, because we're different to you guys down here. So, it has to be somebody that has the same, you know from your own area, from your iwi. That was really important for me… He [the kaumātua in question] was willing to do that, but then where is the acknowledgement for him inside of that too?*

Indeed, the formation of relationships is not only necessary in order to support academic success in a narrow sense. Rather, the formation of relationships is a valuable outcome of the process, built on kinship and whakawhanaukataka, where deep learning and insights are gained about their own and other Māori communities.

> *The highlights have been around making surprising connections, unexpected connections, as in, like, starting to know people. So, I met Tare with you at a cafe down in the Hub having a coffee. So, it's that kind of unexpected connection that has linked me. So, when he was there, at the Parihaka commemoration. I knew who he was. Now, you know, the awareness of who's around, so it's not directly related to what I'm studying, but it's those whakawhanaukataka connections that happen because I'm involved in a te ao Māori version of it, I guess. So that would be a highlight that it's a definite highlight and just, I guess, that wonderful connection between Taranaki and Dunedin, which focuses on what I'm doing my project on. You know, it's just a beautiful connection, you couldn't plan it. I mean, you probably could, but it wouldn't be the same.*
>
> *I'm surrounded by some incredibly strong, intelligent, educated Māori appearing. Like, if I look at my friend group… I feel really, really fortunate. Like at the other day, I was sort of going through this concept, and I wasn't quite sure where I was going... So, I just called a few of my mates together, and we just sat down and we just sort of hashed*

out this idea. And I value that I can do that, like I'm hugely well supported. So, I'm well supported in that space. And in some from Ngāti Awa, some from Ngāi Tuhoe, Whakatōhea, Tūwharetoa this beautiful collection of incredible humans and, and we discuss ideas and we philosophise, and we argue and debate and shout and rant and laugh, and that's beautiful…

VALUING MĀORI CULTURE, IDENTITY, LANGUAGE AND APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

To ensure equity for Māori, learner settings need to be culturally safe and welcoming for Māori learners, responsive to Māori learner perspectives and voices. A number of the interview questions sought to ascertain the extent to which Māori culture and language, the interviewee's Māori identity, and kaupapa Māori approaches to research were valued within the MPP and DPP frameworks. An important factor in the success of the programme is the facilitators' ability to manaaki (care for) the learners' underpinning cultural beliefs, and to respect and affirm Māori learner identity. Facilitators are responsible for ensuring that the learning environment incorporates tikaka-a-iwi and te reo-a-iwi throughout the programme and assessment processes. Generally speaking, interviewees felt that their facilitators and academic mentors had valued their Māori language, culture and unique relationships with the socio-cultural context.

Yes. My facilitator's actually been very responsive to my cultural needs, my language needs and my learning style. So, that has been quite a supportive role from my facilitator. Also, being able to perform pastoral care if needed, constant communication and accountability. I need constant communication to remind me that I have this mahi that I need to complete. I guess where my facilitator's gone above and beyond is being able to articulate some of the academic terminologies from a Western perspective and helped me understand it in a way that best fits my cultural perspective on my mahi… if you don't fit a particular Western model, to find a kaupapa Māori model that fits my thinking, and that's been reassuring for me.

Absolutely [I felt my culture, Identity and language were valued]. Yeah. I don't know if it would have been the same if I had different supervisors, but I know that there's things, even in my tiny little amount of reo that I have, that I don't have to explain, I didn't have to explain it to you, I didn't don't have to explain it to Jana. I don't know how she is on her reo journey, but what I'm using, she understands. And even my facilitator knows some of the words in his own way.

Even the interviewee who reported having poor experiences with her facilitator outlined that they believed the facilitator possessed some cultural competence. This shows a willingness from the facilitator to engage in a relationship based on ako, where s/he could position themselves as having something to learn from the student, whilst maintaining high expectations of Māori learner success.

I think, in part, yes. My facilitator was culturally sensitive and she had a cultural awareness, so I think at the beginning, yeah, absolutely. And she did have high expectations. Yes, she did.

For one learner, their journey into te ao Māori was initiated through the Māori research consultation process and the willingness to open themselves to their cultural located-ness within their research journey. This can be a vulnerable aspect of learning, where students explore who they are, where they are from, how this has shaped and informed their learning styles and life to date. Here the facilitator can play a pivotal role in consciously unlocking the richness and diversity that Māori learners bring with them.

> *I didn't go anywhere near te ao Māori space at all [during my masters]. And that was not a reflection of the processes, it was a reflection of my state of mind. In that particular point in time, in my doctoral work, when I had to do the KTO [the Kaitohutohu Office] consultation[2], I met up with Kare. Ah, I was, yeah, she presented things, which were stimulus for me, because I wasn't going to go into that space. And then later on, they sort of manifested into like, I'm going in this space, you know, I'm new to that, but that's cool. I can own that. So, I think it was wonderful, that it was not forced upon, but it was nurtured and fostered.*

> *Yes [my unique relationship with the socio-cultural context were acknowledged]. Yep. I'm going to say so. The project that I was working on and the learnings that I was bringing, and the way that I wanted to tell this story through narrative, and a large part of that narrative was centred on the Tītī Islands. So, with that, my facilitator and academic mentor were keen… So, with that centring both my, the beginning of my knowledge acquisition that led into this, but also the importance of the narrative that informs the narrative but also informs myself, my own identity, I think that was definitely acknowledged and that was allowed to flourish through the project.*

It is important to note that the foregoing quotations speak to interviewees' perceptions of individual facilitators. While interviewees believed the facilitators they worked with acknowledged and valued Māori identity and approaches to research, some pointed out that facilitators did not necessarily have a depth of knowledge, skill or experience working in te ao Māori to truly guide a learner via kaupapa Māori principles. Moreover, there are structural issues that currently prevent the learning experience of Māori being optimised. These are discussed in the immediately following section on how to optimise Māori learner experiences.

OPTIMISING THE EXPERIENCE OF MĀORI

To support equitable access and stronger Māori participation in their postgraduate studies, Māori learners were asked what was the optimal provision for their learning needs through Capable NZ. Interviewees were asked to think of ways in which the learning experience of Māori participating in the MPP or DPP programmes could be optimised. Suggestions include greater embedding of te reo Māori, the production of course materials and assessment regimes that better recognize non-Western forms of knowledge, greater face-to-face interactions with staff and Māori peers regarding study, as well as better resourcing of Māori staff and learners. These are discussed below.

TE REO MĀORI AND BILINGUAL MATERIALS AND PROCESSES

Te Tiriti o Waitangi calls for tertiary institutions to deliver an education system that enables and supports learners to acquire their qualification in te reo Māori. A common recommendation was that te reo Māori be further embedded within Capable NZ's frameworks, systems and practices. This includes producing materials and processes, such as admission forms, learner agreements and ethics procedures, that incorporate te reo Māori and recognise taha Māori. One of the following four paragraphs are from one interviewee, and although the quotes are lengthy, they are included here as the interviewee speaks to the need to include te reo Māori in Capable NZ's/Otago Polytechnic's processes and their personal efforts to achieve this.

> *So, if we're going to be providing future Māori learners who are aspiring to do their mahi in te reo Māori, then, to provide them with the optimal opportunity and experience, there needs to be strong, robust processes around supporting those Māori learners who are wanting to do it in te reo Māori.*
>
> *And if Māori learners are wanting to write in te reo Māori, then they need to be supported by people who enable them and inspire them to do that mahi in te reo. Me personally, I've found that there are gaps in the system. I personally wanted to submit my mahi in te reo, and then I've started finding areas where they need better support. For me, it's important to make people aware that te reo is a taonga, and it should be treated like a taonga, and it should be resourced adequately.*
>
> *I wanted to bring to light some of the areas that we needed to be better on in the future.*

The efforts of the individual described above seem to have empowered other learners to further incorporate te reo Māori in their own studies and brought about some change at an institutional level.

> *Tāne presenting his ethics in te reo has upped the awareness in the Ethics Committee and, of course, I only know that being on the Committee, but now I feel more comfortable that I can use what reo I have in my application. And we've just confirmed at the last meeting, that it can be an oral submission alongside the written. So, you still have to do written, but if you wish to speak to it, you can.*

Another interviewee echoed the sentiment that some course materials, such as learning agreement forms, by virtue of exclusively using the English language, promote a Western worldview.

> *…at a more pragmatic day to day level, my only comment would be, and I've been vocal on this, as I'm not sure if, you know… [I've] never been a fan of the learning agreement, the template in particular. I think it starts the first line on it is "name". And I've always said that just summarises the Western worldview. It's like, it's not just a name, it's like, who am I, you know, it sets the scene.*

Again, highlighting the connection between te reo Māori and taha Māori, one interviewee noted the importance of including te reo Māori in an appropriate way, a comment that speaks to the need for adequate resourcing if te reo Māori is to be further embedded in Capable NZ's processes.

> *…we need to start using it [te reo Māori] more and claiming more as a national language, but I temper that by saying that the reo that we use needs to be appropriate and specific. So, it needs to to match the context, it can't just be a dictionary definition of the reo. So, definitely needs to be more embedded, all through everything that we do and all through our programs, but there has to be a solid understanding of what those words are within context...*

PRODUCTION AND ASSESSMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

The call to prioritise te reo Māori and mātauraka Māori embedded and visible within the programme is a shared perspective. In a similar vein to those comments regarding the production of course materials that incorporate te reo Māori and recognise Māori culture, some participants also advocated for allowing assessment methods that recognised alternative means of knowledge production and presentation. These interviewees raised the question of whether, for example, waiata or karakia might be an acceptable way of presenting one's research for assessment.

> *And some of them [sources of optimisation] are beyond Capable's control. It's at a real meta level. And this is beyond Capable. But I think for Māori, to, to be able to express knowledge in ways that goes beyond the normative conventions. So why do Māori continue to be forced to write theses, you know. Why? Why can't they acknowledge, you know, be oral, be recorded, be expressed in whatever form, you know? There's so many forms of communication, you know? Waiata, everything goes on and on.*

> *…that end thing that's being that's being questioned, or being examined, whatever that is. That should be a way that the participant is comfortable… I sort of wondered when I was thinking about all this stuff if you could actually be examined in karakia. Now, that's pretty, that's pretty outside of the box but the reason I thought that is that, you know, telling a short narrative and then a karakia. And that karakia, aligning everything with the knowledge system that you have, but also influence on practice. So, if for example, my thesis was about the Tītī Islands, just having karakia that said "This is about the land, this about the sea, this is about the bird." The person examining that would have to have the skills to hear that karakia know what that person's talking about, would also have to know the skills or have the ability to know that that person knew how to put that into practice but then also knew where that knowledge comes from…*

As the latter of these two quotations highlights, allowing for assessment via these methods would require that the assessors examining the material are appropriately skilled and knowledgeable assessors, able to identify and look for evidence of meeting the graduate profile in multiple ways. This speaks to the need for investing resources in not only building a wider pool of skilled and experienced Māori staff, but also forming closer connections and relationships with mana whenua throughout Aotearoa to provide a supportive korowai for supporting Māori learners throughout the motu. A strong Te Tiriti o Waitangi led model would provide a foundation to provide meaningful and authentic partnerships, programmes and processes. Furthermore, the specificity of kaumātua, who are holders of wisdom and knowledge may be required in order to assess karakia, mōteatea, waiata and tauparapara, for example. This highlights that point that Māori are not homogenous, that iwi specific knowledge is important and diversity and cultural richness is affirmed, valued and respected, as suggested by the following learner:

> *It may also be a case of utilising mana whenua relationships to include the people who have the knowledge to assist with the examinations etc. These are not OP staff, but kaumātua who are steeped in the tikaka and mātauraka of the particular subject – "expert commentators" if you like. This would be more appropriate I think and demonstrate true treaty partnership in education – maybe the examination criteria could be changed to reflect this?*

BUILD RELATIONSHIPS AND EXPECTATIONS

The previous "Relationships Beyond the Learner-Facilitator-Mentor Relationship" already builds a case for the importance of Māori learners having appropriate support networks in place to support their studies. Such sentiments can be further iterated and should be considered a recommendation stemming from the interviewees' commentary.

> *I think, I think just the idea of maybe seeing if there's other Māori learners that want to catch up with other Māori Learners. So, some sort of coffee kōrero either on the ground or on a Zoom or something. That would be awesome. Especially because I guess we're all around Aotearoa, can be difficult to meet in person but there might be other people out in Dunedin that are not at the Polytech that we could really have a zhoosh from, a reciprocal zhoosh.*

> *…it's so deeply embedded in Māori epistemology and everything that whole, you know, how do you build and nurture and foster authentic relationships in a way that you feel safe and secure and stuff?*

Notably, this relationship building helps to set expectations for the study more broadly and is, therefore, particularly important at the outset of one's studies.

> *Well, I've benefited from the various different hui that we've had. So, anything to do with research or ethics or just like the Symposium. We haven't had many this year, but last year, that's all part of that getting in the zone. So, if anyone can, either by Zoom or, preferably, you know, what we do face to face as much as possible. I guess what would you call that? Like a whakawhanaungatanga hui time, I guess, or a research hui time… And I haven't done this, but maybe it's something that could be beneficial, would be like a wee, I guess that's what the symposium could be for, but like a past graduates' symposium or hui. A booklet or something?*

> *The ability to have that face to face contact. I would have really liked to have sit down with my facilitator and mentor and have a really good conversation about the whole program in what it means for me. I wasn't given the opportunity to actually have someone sit down and explain the process and what it actually involves, very different to undergrad world. And I would have liked to have been scaffolded through there, because I was so guns blazing when we started. I mean I kind of thought wow, this is a whole different level and I kind of wasn't really prepared. Almost like it would have been really cool to have like a wānanga almost, or something similar, just to kind of pull everyone and make some links.*

Finally, one interviewee links the importance of whanaukataka with general time constraints and pressure. Work and family commitments often compete with time to complete a MPP or DPP, for all learners. However, for Māori learners, a certain amount of time is required to appropriately make connections with relevant people.

> *Dedicated FTE [would be helpful in my studies]. Absolutely. I mean, that's probably the biggest one in terms of, whanaungatanga takes time and I'm already thinking about that in terms of the project. OK, so I'm really knowing that I have to keep who I talk too small so I can do it in a meaningful way. And that's a limitation when there's not time you know. And also, if I'm working in this area, knowing that other people, other Māori will have time poor commitments, time, you know what I mean? Like, they'll be real busy too. So, I don't want to be mucking around with anyone's time.*

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE MPP AND DPP FRAMEWORKS

While the commentary in the foregoing section makes a clear case for potential optimisation of Māori learner experience through Capable NZ, it is worth reiterating that the majority of respondents spoke highly of their experience in the MPP or DPP programmes. Much of this was underpinned by the flexibility and autonomy that the Capable framework allowed for, especially regarding the ability to draw on both experiences outside of formal education contexts and non-Western (or non-Western academic) approaches to education.

> *…I believe in education, the high-performance sense, that allows you to grow as an individual being in control. And what you see is mean to your community… So I think that's where the Capable processes and philosophies really resonate with me… the traditional ivory tower of university knowledge… I think there's knowledge that it excludes and I think at least Capable is a welcoming alternative because, because it's a similar, you know, it's very similar to that the road, you know, Graham Smith had to go down with kaupapa Māori, you know? Like when he had to establish, you know, like in the academy and I feel Capable was doing the same with professional knowledge.*

> *I guess, finding a qualification that enabled me to do what I wanted to do the way I wanted to do it… it's been the opportunity to explore that has been the biggest highlight. And, and being able to be a bit agile and change. So, you know, sort of going off in a direction thinking, "Actually, that's not where I want to be"… I like that.*

> *So, for me, the ability to use reflective tools, but also to use that past theoretical and practical experience that I've had outside of structured learning environments [have been highlights]. The ability to use that as part of the research and as part of both the, the understanding of the research methodology, but also including that in the narrative of the research. So, I suppose that whole of all of learner approach, right from the very start of learning.*

Even the respondent whose own experience of Capable NZ was not so positive, states that they appreciate the kaupapa and believe that it works for Māori. It simply happens that their experience was not as beneficial.

> *Don't get me wrong, I love what they do and everything they stand for, you know. I'm a product of that. And even though it just hasn't worked out for me, it does not take away from the fact that what, what you do and what you provide for our people, it gives them an amazing opportunity to validate everything about them. I haven't gone out and, you know, rubbished the whole Master's program, I'm not about that. It's not what I'd like to do, I guess, that was my story and it doesn't have to be the end of my journey but for now, I've just kind of kept there. I've got one of my social workers that is doing her Master's and just finished course one through us. And she is, she's actually inspired me, you know she's just finished course one and got her course review, and she just so excited and I love that. In a sense, that is what Capable is all about. I think it may have been different for me if I wasn't employed by them, as one of your staff members.*

CONCLUSION

This research set out to explore the optimal learning conditions for Māori postgraduate learners with Capable NZ. Within this research, Māori learner voice has been privileged, spotlighting their experiences and providing rich insights into their learner journey. Their feedback provides seeds of opportunity to ensure that Capable NZ responds to the needs and aspirations of Māori learners, whānau, iwi and hāpori Māori. Interviewees generally report positive experiences with Capable NZ and, in particular, the individual facilitators and academic mentors they have worked with throughout their studies. Much of this is based on a sentiment that facilitators and academic mentors typically valued Māori identity and culture, as well as what that might mean for a learner's relationship with the socio-cultural context in which they operate and the research methodologies a learner might employ. Only one respondent reported that they had not been able to arrive at a productive, supportive working arrangement with some of Capable NZ's facilitators/mentors. On the whole, the Capable NZ's framework was seen as allowing for individual autonomy. For Māori learners, this meant being able to draw on skills, knowledge and experience from outside of formalised education, particularly where their approach to their studies would be informed by te ao Māori, rather than traditional Western approaches to education.

Suggestions for Change Practice

Yet, it is clear from the commentary that there is room for optimisation and that interviewees are relatively well aligned as to where this optimisation could take place. Improvements were typically pitched at an institutional level, rather than in relation to the performance of particular facilitators. As outlined above, key areas for optimising Māori learner experience include:

1. Māori thrive in Māori Medium Education settings. Access to Māori medium pathways in Capable NZ need to be improved. Embedding te reo Māori in materials and processes within the Capable NZ framework is also required.

2. Māori want tino rakatirataka, agency and authority over their own learning. This requires developing learning templates and assessment methods that recognise and uphold Māori forms of knowledge production.

3. Developing a greater sense of belonging is crucial for Māori to succeed as Māori through wider Māori support networks. This includes peer support for learners, developing a tuakana-teina process. It also means ensuring learners have their own Māori support space to support the development of their cultural identity and to maintain cultural safety, not just academic achievement.

4. Learning and teaching needs to reflect identity, culture and values. Establishing Māori support networks not only assists the learner, but also creates a kaupapa Māori space for Māori, by Māori and with Māori. It also provides an avenue for Māori to informally engage in whakawhanaukataka, learn more about their own and other learner's whakapapa and to enjoy a culturally safe Māori peer-peer space outside of the learner-facilitator relationship. Such networks also assist facilitators and mentors, as facilitators/mentors cannot be expected to hold all the requisite knowledge and skills.

5. The recruitment and hiring of Māori staff that are representative of and responsive to Māori, and who hold an understanding of culturally responsive and inclusive practices is vital. Within the cultural collective, include kaumātua as a valued source of wisdom, advice and guidance, and embed a process for acknowledging their contribution and mana.

All of these areas of potential optimisation require greater resourcing. Interviewee commentary suggests that this could include, but is not limited to: (i) greater support for Māori staff already employed by Capable NZ and advocating for Māori learners; (ii) the hiring of additional staff to support Māori learners and add to the body of

institutional knowledge that exists regarding te ao Māori; (iii) the provision of more education regarding te ao Māori to existing staff. No doubt, financial resources will be required, but this should also be seen as upholding Te Tiriti commitments for equitable learning programmes that are tailored to fit the cultural and educational needs of Māori. Partnering with kaumātua and iwi also provides a korowai of cultural safety for learners (and facilitators), as well as contributing and valuing authentic relationships. In implementing any changes, it is important that change is driven due to a genuine belief in the kaupapa of optimising Māori learner experience. It will also require a prioritisation of resources and strategic manoeuvring to reflect culturally responsive postgraduate programmes that culturally fit the aspirational needs of Māori learners, iwi and hāpori Māori. This will require a deliberate and systematically coherent approach to readjusting current practices to grow Māori service provision, giving practical effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi as a primary objective.

Mā te huruhuru ka rere te manu / Adorn the bird with feathers and it will fly.

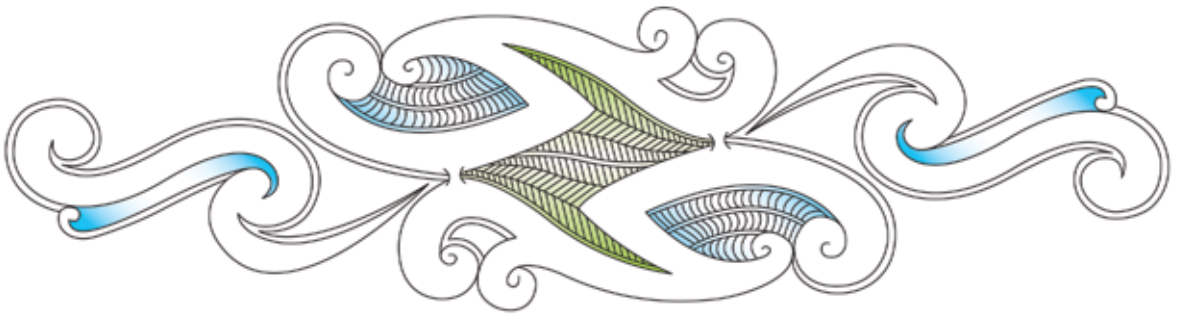
Dr Kelli Te Maihāroa (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9586-0657) has a background in education and social services, with a focus on kaupapa Māori initiatives and bi-cultural responsiveness. She sees education as the number one lever to address equity issues and the potential to transform peoples' lives. At Otago Polytechnic Kelli holds the role of Kaihautū: Te Kāhui Whetū / Executive: Capable Māori, working with Iwi Māori throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. She is an active member within her whānau, hapū, iwi and local Māori community. Kelli is a grandchild of Te Maihāroa, the last southern Māori prophet and tohuka (expert tribal specialist). Her area of research interest are indigenous peace traditions, indigenous research, cultural revitalisation and Māori educational initiatives. Kelli co-edited with Heather Devere and John Synott (eds.) *Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21st Century*, (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016).

Dr Griffin Leonard (Te Arawa) completed his PhD at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago. His research focused on US foreign policy and employed a mixed methods approach. Following his studies, Griffin worked as an independent researcher and data analyst, often working with staff at Otago Polytechnic and the University of Otago. This work was varied, ranging from the health sciences to strategic framework implementation and curriculum development. Griffin now works within the Shared Services Division at the University of Otago.

Tonga Karena He paenga rimurimu noa iho tēnei ki te ngutuawa o Kōteoteo, ā, mātai te titiro ki Te Umuroa, ki Nukuteapiapi ki te awa o te Mauhanga ki te whenua haumako o Ngāti Kahumate, o ā Tara, ā Tūhekerangi, ā Tamarongo, ko ā Haumia, ōku karangatanga hapū. Rere whakauta ki Parihaka papa kāinga ko Parāhuka, ko Takitūtū, ko Toroānui,he tūranga marae he tūranga tangata, tau atu rā ki ngā whare āio mōwai rokiroki o Te Niho o Te Ātiawa, o Te Paepae o te Raukura me te Mahi Kū-are ē – he whakairinga kupu, he whakairinga rau kawakawa ē. Ko au tēnei, he uri o Taranaki Iwi i heke mai i ngā puna ora o Rua-Taranaki. I ēnei rangi nei he whakaihoiho kōrero taku mahinga nui; he tauawhi i haku hoa kaimahi kia mārama ai ki te tūranga tāhūhū o ngā tikanga o Taranaki me tōna reo. Tērā e taea ai te mātoro atu ki te taiao ki te whakakaupapa i te reo me ngā tikanga hei purutanga mouri kia manawa toka ai ngā herenga-ā-iwi, kia manawa tina ai ngā herenga whenua. Ko tō te mahi whakaūkaipo i te reo – me mātua whakaūkaipō i te tangata. Ana, koia tērā te pūtahitanga o te whakaaro nui e arohia ake nei ki roto i haku mahi ki Parininihi ki Waitōtara. He awhi, he manaaki, he tautoko, he tuku i te mouri ora o te kōrero kia rere kia tarāwharetia ai. Tēnā koutou katoa.

1 Ministry of Education, "Ka Hitikia – Ka Hāpaitia | The Māori Education Strategy (English)," https://www.education.govt.nz/our-work/overall-strategies-and-policies/ka-hikitia-ka-hapaitia/ka-hikitia-ka-hapaitia-the-maori-education-strategy/

2 The Kaitohutohu Office provides consultation from mana whenua to support researchers. This consultation is a part of the ethics process at Otago Polytechnic.



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KO TE MOURI O TE MAHI TE MOURI O TE ORA.

He mea tuhi e Tonga Karena
He mea rangahau e Tonga Karena,
Dr Kelli Te Maihāroa me Dr Griffin Leonard.

He mea tiki atu te kōrero o runga ake nei hei whakaahua i te kaupapa rangahau i whāia e Capable NZ i roto i ngā tau e rua kua pahure ake nei. Inā rā, he tātari i te tirohanga a ngā tauira Māori i ngākaunui ai ki te kuhu atu me te whai haere i ngā tohu paerua me te tohu kairangi e whakaakona ana e Capable NZ. Ka rewa mai ana te hua o te kōrero me te patanga o te wānanga, ko te whakakitenga whakahirahira i puta mai – ko te hiranga o te noho o te tauira ki roto i tana wāhi mahi i a ia e whai noa ana i tētehi tohu whare wānanga. Arā, kia paihere tonuhia te tauira ki tana wāhi mahi – mōna e whai nei i tētehi pūkenga anō, ā, kia kaua hoki e taimaha hārukiruki te noho a te whānau i te whakarerehanga o te mahi. Waihoki ko te arohanui tonu o Capable NZ; kia āhei ai te tauira ki te pupuru i taua mouri ora i a ia e pupuru ana i te mouri o te mahi. Koinā i koruru ai i a au tēnei tuhinga ki te ūpoko kōrero o runga ake nei e whakaaria mai ai i te kaupapa nui o tēnei kura o Capable NZ. Manaakihia te tauira me tana whānau ki te whai tohu hou, ahakoa ko te nuinga o ngā whare wānanga e kī ana me wehe i te mahi, me heke te oranga pūtea kia whiwhi ai te tohu.

I tua atu i taua whakakitenga nui, ka aronui atu ngā kairangahau ki ngā āhuatanga o te kura o Capable NZ, arā, ko te manaakitia mai o ngā tauira, ko te hāngai o ngā mātauranga e whakaakona ana, ko ngā pūkenga whakaako tonu a ngā kaiako me te mārō o ngā kai e horahia ana hei kai mā ngā tauira. I konā, ka taki whakarite kia uiuitia ētehi tauira kia whakapuea mai ngā rongo me ngā kitenga e whata ana ki te kokonga ngākau o te tauira. Ka riro māku te wāhanga kia whai wāhi atu ki ngā tauira e hiahia ana ki te tuari mai i ō rātou wheako ki roto i te reo Māori.

Puna mai mua ko te reo, puna mai roto ko te tikanga.

I mua tonu i te haere ki nga puna kōrero ka aro ake ki te ao e noho nei aua puna mahara me te whakaaro iho ka pēheatia tā te kairangahau whakakuhu i a ia, ā, he aha ngā tikanga e whāia ana e te kairangahau hei arataki i tana mahi. Ka mutu, kua oti kē i ētehi tēnei huarahi te taunaha, te uruuru; he huanga tēnei i ngakia ai e ngā ringa raupā e ngā tohunga i whakawāhia ai ki raro i a Kaupapa Māori. Kāore hoki i ārikarika ēnei tohunga i roto i ngā tau maha kua pahemo ake nei.[1] Ko tō rātou, he whakawātea he whakatakoto whakakitenga e taea ai e te kairangahau te whai me te whakauru anō ki roto i tāna ake mahi rangahau.

Kāore hoki he painga i a Capable NZ ki te tuku mai ki tēnei kairangahau i te mouri o te reo hei huarahi atu ki ngā tauira, ā, kua oti kē i tēnei kura te reo Māori te whakakaupapa mai hei huarahi rangahau mā ngā tauira, i konā, i mātoro atu ai ki tētehi tokorua o Ngāi Tūhoe e noho tauira nei ki roto i a Capable NZ me te whiu pātai reo Māori ki a rāua hei whakatutuki i te mahi rangahau nei. Ka riro rawa mā te ngākau hihiko, mā te ngākau kakama te whakawhitinga kōrero e ārahi kia ōpaki ai te uiuitanga. Waihoki, kia mauritau ai te noho o te kairangahau me te tauira – kia Māori noa mai ai te noho ki te wānanga. I reira, ko te whakarauorahia mai i te reo Māori kia rangona ai tōna ihiihi, tōna orotūnuku, tōna orotūrangi e rangiwhāwhā ai tōna torotoronga tētahi kaupapa nui whakahirahira. Āpiti atu ki tērā, ka pūrangiaho mai te hinengaro Māori, ka mārama kehokeho e manawanui ana a Capable NZ ki te tauawhitia atu i te reo hei reo rangahau, hei reo tuhituhi hei reo mā te hapori whānui hoki.

Te Mahau Tārearea a Māui tikitiki-ā-Taranga

Ko te kaupapa matua o te mahau o te whare, he tūhonohono i te ira tāne me te ira wahine kia kotahi. Ko ngā tauira i uiuitia ai – he tāne, he wahine. Nō reira ka whakakotahi i a au ngā kōrero mai i ngā taha e rua o te mahau kia kotahi ai hoki te wānanga.

Nō tō rāua mōhiotanga e taea ana e rāua ngā pātai te whakautu ki te reo me te wāhi tonu o te reo ka whakautua mai tētahi:

'I te tīmatatanga o taku uru atu ki roto i tēnei kaupapa ka āta noho mātau ko ngā mātanga, aku kaiwhakahaere mō taku kaupapa arā ko Kelli tērā, ko Sam tērā, ko Samuel Mann tērā, ā, me Curtis Bristowe. I tohua a Curtis hei kaiāwhina hei kaiwhakahaere mō te taha ki te reo, nō reira, koirā tētahi mea pai ki ahau, i kitea, i mōhio rātau, kāore i a rātau ngā pūkenga. E tika ana hei āwhina i ahau, nō reira i āta noho mātau ki te wānanga he tangata pai pea hei āwhina i a au mō te taha ki te reo. Nō reira, mai i taua wā, tae rānō mai ki tēnei wā, kei te āwhina te tokotoru i ahau kia hikina kia kawea i tēnei kaupapa'

I tua atu i tā Capable NZ whakarite i a ia anō ki te taurima i te reo me te tauira ki te pūkenga tika – nā te korenga tonu i kitea ai i tētehi tauira ki roto i te tohu kairangi me te whakamahia mai o te reo ki roto i kaha huri ai tētehi tauira ki te whakatika ake i tēnei. Waihoki anō, ko te mouri tonu o te whakarauorahia mai i te reo me ōna ākinga nui ki te whakakoroingo i te hīkaka o te tauira kia tuhia tōna tohu kairangi ki roto i te reo

'…engari ko te kawea mai i te tautoko mai o te kuratini, he kaupapa Māori, he kaupapa i mōhio i taua wā kāore i puta tētahi tohu kairangi i roto i taua kuratini i roto i te reo Māori, nō reira, i kaha ake te hīkaka kia noho ahau hei tauira mā rātau, otirā ko ngā tauira kei te haere tonu mai'

Nō reira, ahakoa ko tēhea whare wānanga he mea kite e te tauira te korenga o te reo, te ngarohanga o te reo, ā, ka amohia ake e te tauira te wero kia whakakīkīhia ērā whāwhārua. Ki te ngākau marae mai te whare wānanga ki tēnei tūāhuatanga ka tahuri atu ki te whakatikahia, ā, kāore e kore ka mihia tērā e te ao Māori. Waihoki, i konei e kitea ana ehara i te mea kua hora noa atu te kaupapa o te reo hei reo tuhituhi ki ngā whare wānanga katoa. Koia tēnei tētahi hua nui i puta ai i tēnei mahi rangahau ko te whakaatu i te hiahia o te tauira ki te whai i te reo me te tahuritanga o te kuratini ki te whakaea i taua pīrangi.

Anō te pai, anō o te tangi o te noho tahitanga o te tuakana me te teina i roto i te whakaaro kotahi

I konei ka tahuri ake ki te matapaki ake i ngā āhuatanga o te kaupapa kia manaakihia te tauira e te kaiako; āe rānei, he mea pou e tēnei kuratini tēnei tūāhuatanga kia kore ai te tauira e hinga, waihoki, he pēhea tā te tauira tirohanga ki tēnei tūātanga. He mea whakapiki te mahi a te tauira i tana mōhio kei reira rā te ringa atawhai hei akiaki, hei āwhina i a ia. Heoti anō, ko te aronga a te kaiako kia haere tahi me te tauira kia hīkoi tahi me te tauira mai i te tīmatatanga o ngā mahi akoako tae noa ki te wā e whakamahi ai e te tauira āna whakamātautau. Nā te whiunga atu o ngā pātai ki ngā tauira ka tere wawe te whakahokia mai te wairua whakamihi ki ngā mahi a ngā kaiako – kāore i kō atu i tā ngā kaiako i manaakihia mai, ā, i āhua whakatinanahia mai e rātou taua whakataukītanga kōrero 'Mā pango, mā whero ka oti te mahi'.

Ka kī ake tētehi: *'Ko ngā tohunga i reira kē, ko wēnei kē i homai ki ahau te kaha, i homai au ngā whakaaro i runga rātau, te homai ki a au ko ngā wairua kē. Ko ngā mātua i reira kē hei ako i ahau. Heoi anō tēnā kōrero i wētahi toa o te kura Pākehā nē. Koia tēnā āwhina i a au'*

Arā hoki te kōrero tautoko o tētehi e aro atu nei ki te hunga kāore o rātou toto Māori, ērangi, tē whati i a rātou te hiahia ki te manaaki, ki te whai rānei i ngā tikanga Māori hei ārahi i ngā mahi akoako a te tauira. I tahuri mai ia me te kī:

'Ko te taha tikanga pea, i noho ko ā tātau tikanga tonu ko te kaikawe i a tātau mahi. Nō reira ki ahau nei, mā tēnā āhuatanga i tino tau ai taku noho i te taha o Kelli me Curtis. Ahakoa, he Pākehā a Sam, ko te pai o tērā tangata kāore he aha ki a ia ki

te whakapā ki tētahi ao kē. Ahakoa kāore ia i pakeke mai i tērā ao, ehara i te mea he uaua māna ki te kite i ngā hua kei roto i ao kē, i kaupapa kē, i tirohanga kē. Ka kaha rawa tana uru mai wērā āhuatanga ki roto i a koe kia puta pai mai ai ki roto i te kaupapa. E kawe ana i tērā. I tua atu i tēnā, ko tana kaha ki te whakatairite i ngā āhuatanga Māori ki ngā āhuatanga kei te kaha kitea i roto i tētahi atu, me ngā mahi o ētahi atu o ngā tauira kei te noho i raro i te maru o te kuratini nei. Nō reira ko te tūhonohono pea i ngā kaupapa, i ngā here kei waenganui i ēnā kaupapa me te whakaatu i ētahi āhuatanga pēnei i ngā aromatawai'

Kei reira te tikanga, kei reira hoki te wairua o te kaupapa e tuitui ana i te manawa o te tauira ki te manawa o Capable NZ i mihia nuitia ai taua kura e ngā tauira. Anei tā tētahi kupu mihimihi ki tērā tūāhuatanga:

'He tauhou i mua i te tae ki Capable. E kore kē. Engari, ināianei, kua mārama. He mārama kē. Ngē mahi i roto i a ahau. Ko te whai ao nē. Ngā mahi whai ao, koinei au kua eke kua mārama i a au he aha tēnei, he aha te mea kei au ki te piki ki runga i tēnei taumata. He taumata hoki tēnei a Capable.' Kia whāia haerehia tēnei whakaaro iana me te whakatairanga mai i tēnā kaha ki roto i a Capable NZ. Ka meinga rā e tētehi:

'Pēnā au i rongo i te Capable i ngā kōrero o te matua a Te Wharehuia. I hiahia te whānau te whai atu i wēnei ngā kōrero i raro, he rite kē ngā kōrero o Capable ki te kōrero a ngā koroua. Koinā te mea i a au ki te hiahia kia tū rā ki te ao Māori. He mārama te Kāwanatanga, kei konei kē ngā Māori, kei konei kē ngā mahi tohungatanga, ngā mahi atua, ngā kōrero i ngā tīpuna. Koinā i a au i raro i tēnei o Capable. Koinā te mea i a au i rongo ki te rangi.'

Kei konā koe tū mai ai – kei konei au e tū atu nei.

Ehara hoki i te mea kāore te tauira i kaha whiriwhiri i whakatairiterite rānei i ngā āhuatanga rerenga kētanga ki waenga i te ao whare wānanga me te ao kuratini i tahuri mai ai ki a Capable NZ. I pūrata atu, i pūrangiaho te kitea i te pitomata o tēnei kaupapa whakaako. Ka mea tētehi:

'Ki ahau nei kei te kitea i te pitomata kei roto i tō te Māori whai i tēnei huarahi. He kaupapa huarahi kua roa nei tātau e whai nei ki roto i ngā whare wānanga, ko te mate o tērā, te huarahi o te nuinga o ngā tohu kairangi ka noho i roto i ngā whare pukapuka, noho puehu nei. Kāore pea i kite i te ao mārama, ka kore rawa pea e whakatīnanahia. Koirā te mea pai rawa atu ki ahau ki te whakatairitehia i ērā huarahi. Koinei te pai o te DPP, te whakatinanatanga o ngā mahi e mahia nei e koe i tēnei wā tonu hei painga mō te iwi'

Ko tētehi whakapātaritari e werohia ake nei i te noho a te Māori ki te motu nei i a ia e kawe nei, i a ia e taituarānei i tana iwi ko te māhorahora i te reo ki ngā taumata ikeike o te mātauranga. Kāti, kei te huhua tonu ngā aukati e aukati ana i te kuhutanga o Ngāi Māori ki te tuku i tēnei mouri kōrero ki ana pia. Ki te kore e mau i a koe tō tohu kairangi, e kore hoki e taea te ārahi ngā tauira kia whiwhi ai rātou i te tohu paerua, i te tohu kairangi rānei. Āpiti atu ki tērā, ko aroha ki te ngarohanga o te reo me te tokoiti rawa o ngā mātanga reo i ekena ai taua taumata. E ai ki tētahi, koinei rawa tētehi hua nui whakahirahira o Capable NZ. Ko tāna i kupukupu iho:

'Heoi kei te whakaaro hoki ahau mō te hunga Māori nei e noho nei ki waenganui i te hapori. Hei tauira pea, ko Pānia mā, ko Leon mā, kua roa nei rāua tahi e takahi nei, e whai nei, e noho nei i raro i ngā rekereke o Timoti, kua reri ināianei hei kaikawe i te kaupapa o te panekiretanga, te kurareo, kua rongonui te tokorua rā mō te whakahauora i te reo. Heoi kāore anō rāua kia whai wāhi ki te whiwhi tohu kairangi, nō reira kāore pea e taea e rāua ahakoa tō rāua tohungatanga ki tērā kaupapa. Kua kore i whakaaehia kia noho hei kaiwhakawā kia noho hei kaiwhakahaere, kaiāwhina, kaitiaki, ā, mō tētahi tauira e tuhi nei tana tohu kairangi ki te reo Māori. Nā, ko te DPP nei, ka rawe tērā kaupapa mā te tokorua rā. I te mea ka noho ko ā rātau mahi katoa hei taituarā mō te tau tuatahi e tutuki i a rātau tērā mahi. Ka mutu, ka noho wā rātau ō rāua kaupapa i te ao i te pō hei kaupapa mō te DPP. Koirā te pitomata e mōhiohia nei e au. Ko tērā āhuatanga me te āheinga mō te hunga pēnei i a Leon, pēnei i a Pania mā. Kāore he take o te whiwhi tohu kairangi hōnore nei, i te mea ka kore rawa, kāore e taea, kāore i whakaaehia e te mana tohu mātauranga kia matua noho mai tētahi tangata whai tohu kairangi hōnore nei hei kaitiaki i tētahi kaupapa'

Hei whakatepe, hei whakarāpōpoto.

Ko te whāinga matua o tēnei tuhinga he whakaatu i te reo tauira me te hurahia mai i ngā āhuatanga whakaako o Capable NZ. I uia aua tauira kia kite ai kei te pēhea tā Capable NZ manaaki i a rātou me te kimihia mai i ētehi āhuatanga hei whakatika ake mā Capable NZ. Maringanui i ngākaunui mai ngā tauira ki te hura mai i ō rātou kokonga ngākau i taea ai tēnei tuhinga. Waihoki, ko te oranga a ō rātou whānau, hapū me ō rātou iwi tētehi ākinga nui i noho tauira mai ai ki raro i a Capable NZ; koinei te mihinga nui i puta i tēnei rangahau – ka whakaū i te whakaaro ko tā Capable NZ he haumaru i te tauira i a ia e whai tohu ana, ā, kia mau tonu i te oranga o te whānau kia kore ai e whati.

Tonga Karena He paenga rimurimu noa iho tēnei ki te ngutuawa o Kōteoteo, ā, mātai te titiro ki Te Umuroa, ki Nukuteapiapi ki te awa o te Mauhanga ki te whenua haumako o Ngāti Kahumate, o ā Tara, ā Tūhekerangi, ā Tamarongo, ko ā Haumia, ōku karangatanga hapū. Rere whakauta ki Parihaka papa kāinga ko Parāhuka, ko Takitūtū, ko Toroānui,he tūranga marae he tūranga tangata, tau atu rā ki ngā whare āio mōwai rokiroki o Te Niho o Te Ātiawa, o Te Paepae o te Raukura me te Mahi Kū-are ē – he whakairinga kupu, he whakairinga rau kawakawa ē. Ko au tēnei, he uri o Taranaki Iwi i heke mai i ngā puna ora o Rua-Taranaki. I ēnei rangi nei he whakaihoiho kōrero taku mahinga nui; he tauawhi i haku hoa kaimahi kia mārama ai ki te tūranga tāhūhū o ngā tikanga o Taranaki me tōna reo. Tērā e taea ai te mātoro atu ki te taiao ki te whakakaupapa i te reo me ngā tikanga hei purutanga mouri kia manawa toka ai ngā herenga-ā-iwi, kia manawa tina ai ngā herenga whenua. Ko tō te mahi whakaūkaipo i te reo – me mātua whakaūkaipō i te tangata. Ana, koia tērā te pūtahitanga o te whakaaro nui e arohia ake nei ki roto i haku mahi ki Parininihi ki Waitōtara. He awhi, he manaaki, he tautoko, he tuku i te mouri ora o te kōrero kia rere kia tarāwharetia ai. Tēnā koutou katoa.

Dr Kelli Te Maihāroa (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9586-0657) has a background in education and social services, with a focus on kaupapa Māori initiatives and bi-cultural responsiveness. She sees education as the number one lever to address equity issues and the potential to transform peoples' lives. At Otago Polytechnic Kelli holds the role of Kaihautū: Te Kāhui Whetū / Executive: Capable Māori, working with Iwi Māori throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. She is an active member within her whānau, hapū, iwi and local Māori community. Kelli is a grandchild of Te Maihāroa, the last southern Māori prophet and tohuka (expert tribal specialist). Her area of research interest are indigenous peace traditions, indigenous research, cultural revitalisation and Māori educational initiatives. Kelli co-edited with Heather Devere and John Synott (eds.) *Peacebuilding and the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: Experiences and Strategies for the 21st Century*, (Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2016).

Dr Griffin Leonard (Te Arawa) completed his PhD at the National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Otago. His research focused on US foreign policy and employed a mixed methods approach. Following his studies, Griffin worked as an independent researcher and data analyst, often working with staff at Otago Polytechnic and the University of Otago. This work was varied, ranging from the health sciences to strategic framework implementation and curriculum development. Griffin now works within the Shared Services Division at the University of Otago.

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KO TE HARURU O RUAUMOKO - WHAKAARA MAI I TE PŪEHU: STORIES OF TEACHING THROUGH THE 2011 CHRISTCHURCH EARTHQUAKES

Charmaine Tukua and Niki Hannan

Figure 1. An aerial photo showing the extent of Christchurch's Central Business District cleanout since 22 February 2011 Christchurch Earthquake (Image: Copyright Chris Hutching, 2012. Reproduced with permission).

TĪMATANGA - INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research was to investigate the responses of the Te Puna Wānaka Academic Staff, Christchurch Polytechnic Institute of Technology (CPIT), to the 2011 Christchurch earthquake, that related to teaching and learning, and Māori pedagogies. Te Puna Wānaka provides Māori-focused tertiary education including certificates and a degree in Bachelor of Language specialising in Te Reo Māori and Indigenous Studies.

On 22 February 2011, an earthquake with a magnitude of 7.1 struck the Ōtautahi region causing immediate devastation, particularly of the Central Business District (CBD) and the north-eastern areas. CPIT was located to the east of the CBD. CPIT was quickly evacuated, and the region was declared a state of emergency. People of Ōtautahi were hurt, homeless and in a state of shock. Electricity, plumbing, roading and services were no longer operational. Thousands of homes were no longer liveable. CPIT was closed for a couple of weeks while staff sorted their own lives and contemplated how to continue to provide education to their ākonga in a state of emergency.

Within two weeks, Te Puna Wānaka staff were able to relocate their ākonga to the Cashmere Club which is a working men's club in Beckenham. A van was made available to pick up ākonga and bring them to the club. There was a large dining room made available, and staff negotiated food being provided. This meant that teaching and learning could resume until it was deemed safe to return to the CPIT campus. In spite of the dire circumstances in 2011, ākonga continued to thrive and completed their studies.

Ten years later six academic staff of Te Puna Wānaka were interviewed about their experiences during the earthquakes and post-earthquake regarding Māori pedagogies and how these assisted kaiako and ākonga to find their own coping strategies and methods to enable learning in the time of crisis.

The importance of this research is the consideration of broader pedagogical implications of supporting teachers and learners post natural disasters from a Māori perspective.

AROTAKE I NGĀTUHINGA – REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Current research shows many other countries have lived in or experienced natural disasters. Recent research identified New Orleans, Samoa, and Japan[1] as places that experienced disasters just before the 2011 Christchurch earthquake or not long after. However, there is a major focus on New Orleans due to the publicity this disaster had and the lack of focus on, or caring for the people of New Orleans who were directly involved to this day. The literature provided some recalled personal stories from teachers and students as they re-told their individual experiences during and after the traumatic major event.[2]

In many of the articles relating to the tsunami in Samoa and the earthquake in Japan,[3] a significant focus was how each country fared in getting their educational systems up and operating again and how school teachers and tertiary providers responded to teaching and learning issues regarding the use of technology.[4]

The educational focus of the studies reviewed looked mainly at how primary through to secondary schools responded in each of their sectors. The different studies showed that primary and secondary schools faced many challenges including dealing with broken infrastructure in their systems, lost and distraught staff and students, broken buildings and broken lives.[5]

In relation to the Christchurch earthquake, Thrupp[6] discusses the accumulated social, psychological, and emotional toll that closures and mergers took on nearly 40 schools and their communities because of the implementation of the Education Renewal in Greater Christchurch policy.[7] Thrupp spoke to school principals about their schools' experiences, highlighting the Ministry of Education's flawed school closure/merger process. Fletcher and Nicholas[8] affirmed that in the context of natural disasters, school staff, students and their families rely on strategic leadership by school principals. Schools are positioned within communities. Consequently, principals not only have a role leading within the school, but they are also seen as community leaders, and their experiences and responses during and after the Christchurch earthquakes reflect this.[9] However, while these research projects provide valuable insight into what schools experienced following the Christchurch earthquake, there was little, or no research related to how Māori pedagogies supported kaiako and ākonga.

Māori pedagogies

Rose Pere's[10] Ako Theory is an important pedagogy Māori in education. Ako is considered a life-long process, starting from the womb, and found within all aspects of whānau living. The fundamentals of ako are to both teach and learn; it relates to both the learning and teaching processes, the ākonga as the student and the kaiako as the teacher. However, ako is also a way of life, a lifestyle. Whether ākonga are children or younger siblings and the kaiako parents or elders, the relationship is mutual and everyone is learning, at the same time and all together.

Whanaungatanga is a kaupapa Māori model, which is derived from the values and beliefs within Te Ao Māori. Pere[11] says that whanaungatanga deals with the practices that bond and strengthen the kinship ties of a whānau together. The commitment of aroha and manaaki is vital to whanaungatanga and the survival of what the group sees as important. The main aim is to build the group as a strong, self-sufficient unit. Bishop et al.[12] describe whanaungatanga in terms of groups of learners formed as if they are whānau (family), with rights and responsibilities, commitments, and obligations to one another. These concepts support the sense of collaboration and community. Tikanga (customs) are established through the teaching of values, for example aroha (love), awhi (helpfulness), manaaki (hospitality) and tiaki (guidance). In other words, whānau is the context where learning can take place effectively and mutually.

Pere also says that the mental, emotional, physical, and spiritual well-being of the group depends on how well both the kaiako and ākonga complement and support each other.[13] Both tutor and students within the whānau are expected to come together in unison, even when separated physically, to safeguard against negative spiritual influences.

Pere also discusses and utilises the concept of 'tuakana/teina', which is described as the reciprocal teaching of 'older sibling and younger sibling.' This relationship is evident between grandparents and mokopuna, kaiako and ākonga, where everyone shares experience and learns from each other. Hemara's[14] book further discusses tuakana/teina as being practised in many ways or instances where you pair those with knowledge alongside those still learning.

Mana whenua in the context of teaching/learning is a sense of belonging. Te Tari Puna Ora o Aotearoa (New Zealand Childcare Association) suggests ākonga and kaiako feel that they belong where there are connecting links with family and the wider community. Mana whenua is where students and tutors know they have a place, where they feel comfortable with routines, customs and so on, but where they know the limits and boundaries of acceptable behaviour.

The concept of mana tangata is that learning is equal, and it involves contributions from the ākonga and kaiako. It is where the students are affirmed as individuals, and they are encouraged to learn with and alongside others. The ākonga are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning just as the kaiako does for the teaching and each contributes in their own way.

Te Whare Tapa Whā is a model for Māori health.[15] However, the concepts can be applied to teaching and learning. *Taha Hinengaro (Mind / Mental)* refers to thoughts, feelings and actions that are important to health and learning in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world). *Taha Tinana (Body / Physical)* is about physical well-being, including the importance of sleep, good food, plenty of water, exercise, and our relationship with the environment. In terms of teaching, Taha Tinana is also about ensuring that the learning environment is safe and conducive to good learning practice. This concept also speaks of being actively involved in the learning. *Taha Wairua (Soul / Spiritual)* is considered to be the most essential requirement for healthy living. Wairua also builds on connections to the environment, between people, creative expression, and links to ancestral ways of being. *Taha whānau (Family)* is the importance of family relationships, a sense of identity and belonging, social interactions, interpersonal skills and being part of a team or community. In the teaching and learning context Taha Whānau is a concept that endorses that learning occurs when learners interact with each other, and with the kaiako.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A Kaupapa Māori and narrative approach was taken, where academic staff, tutors and management from Te Puna Wānaka (Māori, Pasifika, Japanese Indigenous Studies Department) of Ara Institute of Canterbury Ltd (previously CPIT) were interviewed about their experiences prior to, during, and post the 2011 Christchurch earthquakes, specifically relating to their teaching and pedagogies being utilised 10 years later.

The aims of this research were to (1) investigate the Te Puna Wānaka Academic Staff responses to the 2011 Christchurch earthquake sequence, relating to teaching and learning in a Māori-focused tertiary education programme from a Māori perspective; and (2) consider the broader pedagogical implications of supporting learners and teachers' post-natural disasters 10 years later.

Accordingly, the following research questions were addressed:

- How did Te Puna Wānaka Academic staff respond to difficulties in the teaching environment arising from the 2011 Christchurch earthquake sequence?
- How did Māori pedagogies feature in and/or support Te Puna Wānaka Academic staff members' responses pertaining to teaching and learning post-earthquake?

Sub-questions

- What Māori pedagogies were utilised and why?
- How did Māori pedagogies assist during the earthquake?
- What does this say about Māori pedagogies, in terms of supporting learners and teachers post natural disasters?
- How can we be prepared if we experience a natural disaster like this in the future?

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Qualitative data was collected in the form of individual interviews. Interviews were chosen as a research method because it allowed exploration of participants' experiences and reflections to be shared.[16] A strength of an interview is that the researcher can capture the emotions and feelings of the participants. A Stimulation Re-call approach[17] was used to prompt participants to remember and recall their experiences. The one-hour interviews were semi-structured. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed.

A thematic analysis approach was used to analyse the qualitative data of each interview.[18] The key words and phrases in the responses to each question in the interview transcripts became codes. These codes were then grouped into themes. Each theme was colour coded in relation to the themes/categories. Colour coding was used because it is visually easier to identify patterns and connect groups of similar themes across questions.[19]

Kaupapa Māori

Regarding kaupapa Māori, the interviews were an opportunity for rich discussion in terms of whakawhiti kōrero (conversation). Discussion is important as a shared experience for whanaungatanga (bonding/relationships) and manaakitanga (reciprocity/caring about each other) so participants felt comfortable to share.[20] [21] Kōrero (oral speaking) is also important, allowing partcipants to voice their experiences. Kanohi ki te kanohi (face to face) is an important kaupapa Māori methodology that values each person's story.

NGĀ KAUPAPA – THEMES

The following are the themes identified from the data analysis:

Neke Whare – Relocation

Displacement from CPIT/ Te Puna Wānaka *(TPW)*

Before the 22nd February 2011 earthquake hit Ōtautahi, the whānau of Te Puna Wānaka had their own building complex with facilities and resources for staff and students. Te Puna Wānaka staff and Kaiārahi met a week later, post-earthquake, to discuss a plan of moving forward, which ended up with Te Puna Wānaka relocating to the Cashmere Club.

Relocation to the Cashmere Club

The first week was mainly focused on a wānanga style of learning where all programmes came together. This time was concentrated on Whanaungatanga (Relationship building) and coming together as a Whānau (Family), doing as much as possible together including Karakia/Pānui (Prayer time & Notices), Waiata (Songs), Whare Tāpere (Māori Performing Arts) and team building activities.

This type of delivery worked well even though there were some changes, for example, one whole day was timetabled for courses instead of half days. All six programmes were delivered in the one room, where there was enough space for groups to operate without disturbing each other.

Many ākonga came with no resources throughout the initial couple of weeks. Te Puna Wānaka were gifted books and resources to assist in the delivery of programmes. These were from external organisations, for example, Māori Language Commission, Huia Publishers and many more.

Throughout the interviews, 'Relocation' was commented on by the participants:

> *Kaiako 4*
>
> - It was an incredible space, even though we had to adjust the learning and the way we managed ourselves. We then got the go ahead and we were the first teaching group to start teaching.
>
> - We changed the way we were operating and took much more of a collaborative approach, which meant that we had a lot more flexibility.
>
> - It was almost like it became a bit of a safe haven. It became a place where you were with people that cared about you, that cared about what else was happening.
>
> *Kaiako 5*
>
> - I was looking for ways to help our students and to continue to teach.
>
> - Yeah, when we relocated most of our resources were locked up in storage and we could not quite access it during that time but when we were there at Cashmere, even space wise, it was a bit of a challenge. Plus, I knew my students needed space to burn their energy and learn the way they learn. That was a bit of challenge to adjust to that change of environment to shared space.

Having everyone in one large space had its operational challenges, however, Māori tikanga was immediately established and this proved crucial for creating a space that was safe in the midst of crisis. Establishing a safe environment also allowed whanaungatanga to flourish. This provided a strong foundation from which teaching and learning could continue in the midst of post-earthquake chaos and trauma.

Māori Pedagogies – Māori teaching methods/strategies.

The following teaching Kaupapa Māori teaching and learning strategies were shared by kaiako:

Whanaungatanga

Throughout the interviews, participants considered how whanaungatanga and the learning environment would be set up:

> *Kaiako 4*
>
> - It happened at the Cashmere club because of those conversations. Being able to pull in the expertise of others as well into a conversation around how could we do this, how could we teach this, how could we respond. It was really pivotable.
>
> - I think the conversations around what the different groups needed in terms of the kind of classes was big and what we could achieve within the environment, so we had groups that previously had not had a huge engagement with each other.
>
> - We like to think that we are doing those things before, but they probably were not happening at speed and they weren't happening in the way that we ended up behaving.

Pere[22] states in times of survival whanaungatanga is essential, and this was evident at the Cashmere Club. This research also shows that whanaungatanga became strong because the educators and ākonga depended on the networks of team, colleagues and whānau to be able to make sure they had what was needed, and the students had a safe and positive experience for their learning.

Tuakana/Teina

Throughout the interviews 'Tuakana/Teina' was commented on by the participants:

> *Kaiako 4*
>
> - Which was getting with the tuakana/teina, actually in some of their assessments, being in the teaching of others.
>
> *Kaiako 5*
>
> - What I think was modelled well is that we did the tuakana/teina model within the staff members because there were some of us that were brand new and had not been in the job very long and then others that were in there a lot longer.
>
> - So we started to adapt the tuakana/teina model, so that we could have some of our tuakana who were like the third years working alongside our teina.
>
> - Having more of a tuakana role and so it kind of helped them have a responsibility to manaaki the others coming from below and that we do the same as staff, so just that they are kind of their safety net for the younger students, the teina.

Kaiako 2

- Tuakana/Teina. In this setting too and in this space, it didn't necessarily mean, go by age. Even though these ones might be younger than these ones, they have a tuakana space, and they have been around the organisation and been with us for a lot longer, so they understand how we roll and understand how the organisation, the institution as such rolls. Yes, some in age wise but more came to an experience and knowledge base I think in that space.

Here we see the concept of tuakana/teina being adjusted to meet the learning requirements in the change of circumstances. The tuakana/teina model allowed the more experienced to awhi those with less experience. It created stability and a continuation of knowledge, building confidence in both the tuakana and the teina. This shows how responsive and adaptive Māori pedagogies are in a time of crisis.

Te Whare Tapa Whā

Throughout the interviews Te Whare Tapa Whā was commented on by the participants:

Kaiako 1

- I think that we catered to all four dimensions because of Taha Tinana, we looked after the manaakitanga with offering kai but we'd have Taha Wairua, to sort of settle everyone, everyone's wairua and then we had kapa haka, so that sort of brought everyone together. Taha Whānau, we were all there and even for what is happening to everyone outside of the classroom or outside of Cashmere club, we came together. Taha Hinengaro was when we were in the classes and sharing mātauranga and everybody.

Kaiako 5

- We need to look at Te Whare Tapa Whā model especially. That our tauira have a lot that impacts on them. It impacts on everyone differently and the only way that we can really move through those kinds of traumas or those impacts, is to do it together and to help build each other up. I think it is this concept of whānau. For us, we're building the whānau that wants them to succeed.

It is difficult to learn in a time of crisis. The comments show the value of Te Whare Tapa Whā as a yardstick for kaiako to measure their practice and consider the whole learner. The ākonga in this situation were looked after in terms of all areas of Te Whare Tapa Whā and flourished as a result.

Anga Whakamua – Future

At the end of the interviews, the participants commented on how academic staff could be prepared for a natural disaster in the future.

Kaiako 1

- One part is we've got everything on online servers now, so as long as saving when they're meant to, it's a lot less effort for us to maintain contact with our resources. The thing is, our resources are generally developed for our current delivery context, so that's not to say our resources would still be fit for purpose, if you're delivering in some other setting.

- Yes, I think for us as iwi Māori, with everything we've been through, earthquake, snow, flooding, COVID19, I think we are very good at it. I think our response is very quick. Quicker than others. We just need a big room, power points as in power sockets. And white boards. And a kitchen. Yeah, and a good supply of food. Food, shelter in the right space, then we're pretty made.

- Yeah, and it's our ability and instead of pursuing the old status quo of whatever, we need to be focusing on our skills to respond to an unknown future.

Kaiako 5

- Our students since the earthquakes are now leaders in our community.

-I think a lot of what we adapted and adopted because of the earthquake would be what we keep and I know that we've been through other trauma and tragedy since the earthquakes and people come to us to find their grounding and find their security and all of that stuff, cos we've got that in place now.

- I think that they might've always wanted food. Being at Cashmere Club, the food was right there and they did a special menu for us, a $5 menu and it was nice and affordable and it was really yum. We came back to Te Puna Wānaka and we still fed them and it's been something that we've, as part of being showing manaaki where we've always done that for our tauira.

- It was more of us acting as tuakana and our students are our teina and realising that that's the legacy of our whare is to look after our community and to look after our people and so at the same time.

- Coming together for karakia every morning, sharing pānui is something that we added in, in terms of what we do during that karakia and that keeps evolving. Now we're seeing and especially it has been a long time since the earthquake but we've had a lot of events upon events impacting on our community and so it's become more of what we would call a sharing circle where people would share their experiences or things that are going on outside of the class that actually they might not feel safe to share with anyone else.

- It's become a safe place to be themselves and not be judged for being themselves and we've kept that and we've tried to empower that within our whānau and within the whare. Whether you're here for reo or not. If you're part of our whare, we want you to know that you're supported, that people care about you and care for you, even if there's no one immediately around that it feels like that.

Māori pedagogy showed many strengths in supporting both kaiako and ākonga in the post-disaster recovery. The experience of the Cashmere Club impacted on all involved and learnt practices of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga were brought back to Te Pune Wānaka when everyone returned to the polytechnic campus and are still used today.

WHAKAKAPI - CONCLUSION

The stories from the kaiako of Te Puna Wānaka about post-earthquake recovery using Kaupapa Māori and Māori pedagogies have a significant and unique place in post-disaster literature. Kaupapa Māori proved to be flexible and essential to ensure the well-being of both kaiako and ākonga. At the Cashmere Club, ākonga were totally immersed in the whanaungatanga and the wānanga style of teaching and learning. Māori pedagogies, in particular, ako and tuakana/teina enabled ākonga and kaiako to adapt to the teaching and learning needs. Te Whare Tapa Whā attested to being a valued framework for reflecting on mental, emotional and physical health and the nature of teaching and learning. Kaiako and ākonga thrived in the midst of crisis and trauma in a safe, well established environment, no matter the everchanging nature externally. Māori pedagogies were experienced at a deep, holistic level at the time of the earthquake and are still being enacted in a similar way today. Therefore, Māori kaupapa and pedagogies have a profound contribution to make to education and recovery from post natural disasters.

Whatungarongaro te tangata, toitü te whenua

As people disappear from sight, the land remains.

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WHEN THE RIVER WAKES

Rachel Keziah Dibble

Two cousins living in different countries (Australia and New Zealand) are on a journey of identity connection. The cousins have been watching each other on their journey and supporting through connection on social media platforms. Both cousins are performers in their own ways and through their performance, utilise and question their connections to their Tūrangawaewae. As they move through their lives there is a connection through their awa that binds them together. Both returned to their river with their tamariki recently, the river is Waingongoro – the snoring waters. This presentation (possibly media performance) is an interview collaboration that evolved as one cousin started on a journey of learning Te Reo in Australia, and one cousin teaches colonisation history. Both cousins feel the flow of their awa within and use social media and digital technology to understand their experience of Te Hurihuri o Te Ao – Our Changing world.

When the River Wakes brings together spoken word and performance from two countries, underpinned by key experiences of their whānau history, and the strength of the awa as it moves through their tears and years of wanting to be in and alongside the river where their tūpuna lived, cried, denied and revived their reo.

Across the ocean you have been calling to the maunga –
Tangaroa carries your cry, your tears and years of yearning.

We carry a certain sort of connection, a passing glance shows the native within us, Many times, unnoticed, and though we might both
Look pretty…
white
Our birth light is told in the star trails of our tūpuna

and the star trails of our tūpuna are reflected
in the river we personify,
not rejected because
Waingongoro is intrinsically in our **DNA**
Which is to say;

Do **N**ot **A**ssume

that because you cannot hear my karanga, his Tihei Mauri Ora! that

we are not **connected** here,

because
our tears fall on scorched earth when we learned of the way
the connection was sectioned.
Piece by bloodied piece

to keep the fleece and not the **peace**;

We learn and cry a river
We will water this land with our tears of birth

Right.

Discussion One:
My Cousin.
An artist of enthusiastic proportions, connected to Melbourne City,
has had dreams in the night of a concrete waka, a poi, a mihi, a boy.

Discussion Two:
Unconnected physically
to his Tūrangawaewae – yet look at him learn about mauri!

but his legs are not ready to stand, authentically, on the stolen land where his whānau live and work their job

His mauri moved by the First people from Te Whenua Moemoeā.
The river there and here, are different
The water flows the same, we speak of the river, we share the same aim

These rivers are our ancestors, our Mothers and our protectors, and we speak faster and louder to make sure our koro, our kuia hear our call but

We are *falling*
fall
fall
falling

and the crash of the ships of **settler colonialism is so very loud**,

when we try to open our mouth, warm our ears,

our reo, our tongue, our waha has been pried

Open, open to **the fury of cattle-isation**
The history of the ancestors
Turned into a myth, making it easier

To forget about the past
Forget about the last one hundred and eighty years

but when **our past carries the tears and the remembering**
of Māori migration away
from **the mountain and river, the kainga and kōhatu** of our ancestors

the remembering becomes harder

when we are no longer in our whenua,

what do we call home?

Where is our future when we have been sleeping in an encouraged unconsciousness?

Is there something in the water? It is loud and further down
It is dank, and even the eels have nowhere to call home.
It is so cold, and loud,

But it needs to be loud,
Loud enough to drown
The **auē** of our tangi

It needs to be loud

Louder than the cries of the broken and tortured realities of the babies
The babies that had no chance to hear their whanau oriori, a lullaby, to warm them to the magnificence of **Tihei Mauri ora!**

Have we been sleeping?

Whakarongo, listen to our kuia lament,
her moko kauae within, invisible on her chin,
Whakarongo, listen to Waingongoro, the snoring water, as it threads along, rippling and sparkling, like her long silver hair.

And at the base of the mountain there is hope,

Water, falling like **Grandmother's hair fell down her back**, as black as night, for so many years, until finally the toxicity of the dye burned her – and my grandmother allowed her hair to grow untouched and flowing, rippling and sparkling like the long sleepy river, snoring, but awake.

On the banks are coils of koru –
The spiral of infinity leading me back – bring us back and looping us **back to black**
intergenerational connection to the awa
it **intrinsically** in our
DNA – which is to say

Do **N**ow **A**ssemble

in the stardust of the night
Waingongoro snores, Taranaki stands, the kuia whisper
Haere mai, bring your babies home,
haere mai haere mai **haere mai**

Rachel Keziah Dibble (https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6394-9120) (Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Ruahine - BEd, DipTeaching & Learning (Canterbury University and Christchurch College of Eduation), Grad Dip Tertiary Ed., Cert Mata A Ao Māori) was born and lived around her tūrangawaewae under Taranaki maunga until the age of seven. After a brief time in Australia, she essentially grew up in Ōtautahi (those influential high school years!). After two years in Japan, she completed a Bachelor of Education (Primary). This amused her as initial papers (1992) were in Feminist Studies, however by graduation (2001) it had morphed to Gender Studies. During this time, Rachel was able to participate in a Tiriti o Waitangi Education course where tauira Māori were in hui separate from tauira Pākehā. The course was facilitated by Irihapeti Ramsden (Ngāi Tahu) and allowed Rachel to experience Mana wāhine and Mana Māori from an institutional perspective. Rachel has continued to utilise the learning from this hui in her teaching. After training, Rachel moved to Dunedin and eventually to Otago Polytechnic as a student, a Student President, as an Executive Assistant the Kaitohutohu office working for Emeritus Professor Khyla Russell and currently is a Senior Lecturer. Influenced by her whānau, the readers, writers, lovers and dreamers they are, Rachel recalls the words of her grandmother, her Taranaki kuia, that being Māori is not "an amount" but "knowing where the bones of your tūpuna lay". As she has read and researched, Rachel has been further influenced by the words of Leonie Pihama, the slam poetry of Te Kahu Rolleston, the art of Robyn Kahukiwa, her aunts and uncles, her own mother and the growing of her own babies, who were able to fully experience putting their whenua into the whenua.