Scope De Contemporary Research Topics

Kaupapa Kai Tahu 3 2015

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This issue of Scope, subtitled Kaupapa Kai Tahu is, on the one hand a showcase of Kai Tahu and other lwi 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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Watermark: Kotahitaka (Unity) Artist Dana Te Kanawa (née Russell), Kai Tahu.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Khyla Russell

In 2008, I presented the opening keynote address following the pōwhiri at Arai-te-Uru marae. Some years later on request I adapted that address for an art exhibition, our moemoeā, the purpose of which was to tie/connect/embody a theme. The presentations are like another form of the whakapapa of knowledge , offered in layers of connections. In times past as now, how stories from our areas of interest or responsibility continue and adapt to times present. Do we not live and breathe our understanding of our world through connections, through areas of interest which add to our maintaining kaitiaki of and in our world? What we share is still passed on from one gathering to another or via this media, a journal. In this way it ensures news is shared as it is offered to us all and uptaken sometimes, as new knowledge. That for me is the role this 2015 Kaupapa Kai Tahu SCOPE edition because of the significance of the essays, articles, poems and photographic images which we are able to share adding thoughts and experiences as well as academic information complete or still in the making. The contents themselves carry messages of belonging, of connections, of identity, of ourselves often unseen in our working worlds. In part we share with other indigenous their struggles and aspirations and how these and we, may be judged by the world. Mostly we trust positively but that is never a given since we each see our world and our contributions to it differently.

There are pieces about us and our places and others about our participation in work. We offer insight into whānau or hapū practices and annual occurrences of significance to us which are often seen merely as leisure by those who are not versed in the cultural nuances of mahiki kai and kaihaukai in its most broad form and which are of interest to the authors. Each is presented as thoughts which may be expressed in images, as poetic stanzas or in writings that make this completed edition as unique and eclectic as its contributors. The thing which we have in common is that we are all linked as Māori in post compulsory educational places of learning.

How the writers express themselves is part of what may be present in who we are as contributors. What is offered to you who read this collection of works are our thoughts and images from our areas of interest and passion.

The contributors have connections of whakapapa, whose stories create a new line and form connections through their narrative or verses and images from concept to completion. Like most of the creators of the pieces, this edition has created a new whakapapa of kaituhi where their pieces form many layers. These include but are not confined to thoughts, experiences, material undertakings and commentaries on the world in abstracted aspects perhaps unseen still, but imagined. The kaituhi are sending pānui and book chapters, writings of art exhibitions and photographic essays and pieces that alike form the whole. Are not these in other media able to offer metaphoric and actual contexts, while their interpretation may provide messages and news of importance for those willing to receive these as items of interest. Like the sharing by the many stories over millennia our contributions great and small come in all kinds and styles. These written pieces and images invite our individual and collective consideration of each; and then, of the whole of this SCOPE edition where a little of all of them and we, continue to leave part of us within the shared ideas.

May the writings, the images of this whānau of contributors find new connections with one another through this SCOPE edition. For are these not also stories with messages? May they not also through the media of writing and photographs act as a replacement for oration of stories? May not our discussions be added to the many stories behind these pieces so they and the moemoea (dreams) with which this editorial began may be realised by contributors and any who view them! Nāia ohoku mihi maiohā ki te kaiwhakahaere me ohona hoamahi, tauira me ētahi hoa kua homai ki ēnei pito tuhituhi me ēnei whakaahua, whakaaro.

SINGING THE LAND: WAIATA AS SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL MARKERS OF PLACE IN THE LANDSCAPE

Lynette Carter

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KARANGA

Tēnā ra koutou e e kā mana, e kā reo, e kā wehi, e kā tapu e ānei he taoka tuku iho ōu tātou tipuna e nau mai i raro i te maru o te mauka tapu Takitimu e Ko tēnei te reo poroporoaki ki te huka wairua ka wheturakitia piki atu rā koutou ki te pūtahitaka o Rehua, ki te kahu o te Kahuariki ka awatea e hoki wairua mai hoki wairua mai Kei mai ki tēnei i te hau o Tahu Potiki e Whakatau mai rā

KARAKIA

Ka haea te ata Ka hāpara te ata Ka Korokī te manu Ka Wairori te Kutu Ko te ata nui Ka horaina Ka taki te umere He pō, he pō He ao Ka awatea

The karanga such as the one at the beginning of this article are used on marae to open the way into a specifically Māori place, relationships, and practices. The karanga speaks to the land, the ancestors and the living – and also acknowledges those still to come. The karanga situates people into the landscape and is a way of opening the relationships and increasing the layers of association with places. The karanga and karakia that follows provides the spiritual elements to engage with the place and with each other. Karanga and karanga, because it is about how waiata open the way to understanding about the relationships and practices underpinning Māori and the landscape. This article premises the hypothesis that oral traditions form part of a set of geospatial tools that provide historical, social and economic knowledge about landscapes, that help to define it and the people associated with it. Hauiti Hakopa

refers to this as the "geography of narratives" that includes oral traditions such as *wajata* (songs), whakatauki (sayings), and stories. Hakopa aserts that these work together like sets of tools and data that map the landscape. When discussing the power of mapping, Harley explains that a number of maps can be centered on a single map, thus building up a corpus of information "from the same period", and, "equally, the depiction of an area or feature can be traced on a series of maps through time"². The interlinking nature of songs and stories work in a similar way. Thus song maps do not in themselves print out the image of the landscape, but contain symbols, sounds, and descriptions of the landscape that alert listeners to the memories of place. Hence the song maps linked with stories of the places embedded within them, are just as liable to contain details and information through which it is possible to navigate one's way through places. Maori are not alone in using waiata and other oral tradition genre in this way. Marina Roseman discusses the Malaysian Temiar peoples' practice of using song maps that "map and mediate their relationships with the land and each other...songs are termed paths"³. Roseman notes that Temiar "sing their maps: theoretically, in their epistemology of song composition and performance; melodically, in contours of pitch and phrasing; textually, in place names weighted with memory"⁴. Roseman suggests that this practice of song mapping can be used as an "ethnohistorical document comprising a new way of making claims to land"5, thus establishing contemporary Temiar property rights in the Malaysian rainforest⁶. Māori/lwi too are using the information contained in old waiata and stories to establish claims of longevity with landscape and the resources within it - most notably in the context of Treaty of Waitangi settlements. Therefore, I will investigate the role of waiata (song) in mapping the landscape, in particular, the way waiata collaborate with stories to develop multi-dimensional layers of data across landscape to define and claim it.

Waiata

The *waiata* connect people and events through references to kinship and relationships, and provide details about events such as (but not exclusively) occupation, resource gathering, and war. They are in effect ways to map a landscape and people's space within it, as well as provide necessary records and information about tribal life and events. Place names in particular are included to remind of connections, and the imagery evoked allows the listeners to travel across the landscape. In his work on Kaluli songs and their place in connecting people with places, Steven Feld describes it as, "...[the] citation of place names in texts of song and lament construct improvised or composed maps that evoke memories of events, times, and social relations. The idea of a...path, emerged as one of the key devices of song composition and performance..."⁷⁷. Feld also stresses that the "emotional and memorial power of songs depended on their place name sequences"⁸⁸. The singing of the pathways identifies and connects people to landscape. This allows a picture of the named places to develop and the listeners' memories allow them to travel through the landscapes across space and time. The names endure upon the landscape so in a sense the temporal nature of the songs can always provide a source of connectedness. The past informs the present connections and will ensure the future generations will also have evidence of longevity with the landscape.

The song is a mechanism for recalling the events that lead to the naming and the resultant claims. The naming is claiming, and "place names act as indicators of human interaction with the environment"⁹. Place names acquire a "functional value that easily matches their utility as instruments of reference"¹⁰ and through them, people can map the environment with "their values, knowledge and beliefs"¹¹. The songs then become the mechanism for transferring this knowledge and can act as a historical source verifying land-usage rights¹². One way Māori are using song this way here in New Zealand is through the Waitangi Treaty settlement process. Iwi, such as Ngāti Rangiwewehi in Rotorua, are utilising old tribal and hapū *waiata* as evidence of continued occupation in their settlement negotiations. The verification of an unbroken connection to specific lands and/or resources is a requirement for the treaty settlement process, and the songs contain reference to the cultural landscape that locates people indelibly within it through space and time. Combined with new GPS mapping technologies, the information held within *waiata* can provide data for verifying this information and the lwi unbroken mana whenua status (recognised power and authority). The *waiata* verify the tribal place upon the landscape and as such become a Māori knoweldge framework that provides the evidence of recognised occupation, claims, and uses. The songs carry the place names that locate the *wāhi tapu* (sacred places), *urupa* (burial sites), villages, and the locations of *whai take* (geographical markers such

as named ridges, mountains, and rivers) for the wider resource catchment areas. In effect the tribal *waiata* sing the landscape and recall the place, the stories and image of the lands, mountains, rivers and so on. Although this article concentrates on *waiata*, it is important to explain the role of stories in unlocking the information held within *waiata*. Together these *waiata* and stories become a complex mosaic of data that allows access to understanding the singer/s' place within the sung spaces.

Stories

The *waiata* and the place names sequenced within them provide data for measuring landscape changes over time. They provide historical data and information about the environment and occupation, and any intergenerational changes that occur become part of the memories evoked through listening to the songs. The songs contain the place names; the stories expand on the naming, and the information about the lands surrounding the places will develop over time. As Keith Basso remarks, "...the country of the past...is never more than a narrated place-world away'¹³, and the "speech of the ancestors"¹⁴ underpins a mosaic of intergenerational connectedness and adjustment to each new challenge and transformation. When each new generation of people adds its memories and presence to the landscape so the stories may change and develop to include the changing landscape, occupations and use. Jane McRae noted that, "[the oral tradition is] the personal recollections of tribal groups and is linked with genealogical relationships and a geographical landscape"¹⁵.

Oral traditions are spatial and temporal tools that build multidimensional layers of data across the landscape so we can build knowledge frameworks that intersect, and provide structure as to how we understand our place. They build the histories; assoicate these with the living; and assist with planning for the future to ensure that the landscape can link us at all times and in all contexts. The landscape then can help with planning for the future through the utlising of the layers of information and data contained within the tools.

The physical presence recalls the name The name recalls the event

The event recalls the whakapapa

The whakapapa recalls the connections between things past and things present

The connections between things past and things present is the element which gives ... pride and identity¹⁶

Just as the words of the *waiata* open the memory and place people within the landscape; the sounds of the *waiata* are also important to connecting place with the singers. The rhythm and sounds within the *waiata* often followed the contours and textures of the lands and water ways, and also stressed the sounds of the landscape¹⁷. The rippling of the water; the bird sounds of the forest; the rise and fall of the mountains and hills were all sung into the *waiata* so that the landscape is created through the voice. The flow of the music and rhythm recalls the landscapes and the associations and "takes listeners on a journey that flows along song paths"¹⁸.

"...the flow of the songs being emotionally and physically linked to the sensual flow of the singing voice ... connecting these flowing paths reveals an acoustemology of place relations, a fusion of space and time that joins lives and events as embodied memories¹⁹."

Māori *waiata* too, sing knowledge, are melodic within the pitch and phrasing, and contain place names weighted with memory, and thus create mapped paths across landscape. In keeping then with the idea of song maps as pathways across landscape, it is the sequencing of place names within *waiata* that are the key to this. Place names and the order in which they are sung, provide structured layering of information that advances a story (or purpose) through the songs.

Waiata then act as records of histories, events, whakapapa, and changes that tell the story of the people who belong to that landscape. At the same time, when sung, they invoke the memories and sensations of standing upon the land thus fusing the experiences and memories into the song itself.

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Some *waiata* move across landscapes – naming the places as they go and providing reasons for the names and the connections, which act as an indicator of belonging – thus creating a cultural landscape that is imbued with identity

The following *waiata* sings of the *aroha* (love and respect), for Aoraki, the *maunga ariki* (supreme ancestral mountain) that embodies Ngāi Tahu *mana* with the tribal landscapes.

Kātahi au ka kite ai l a Aoraki e tū mai ra e E ngaro ana koe i roto i Te kohu me te hukarere Aue ra e Aoraki Te maunga ariki Maringi ai ōu roimata Ki roto o Pūkaki Kātabi ra ka baruru mai Ki te awa of Waitaki Ka ata titiro Ngā mania tekateka o Waitaha Mehemea au ka tuohu ai Me maunga teitei Noho mai ra kei te hoki ahau Ki te ohonga o te ra e i!20

Only once have I sighted you standing in your awesome splendour, Aoraki, You have often hidden by the mist and snow, Aoraki you are my maunga ariki Your tears flow into Lake Pūkaki and rumble down into the river Waitaki I gaze across the plains of Canterbury, the seed bed of Waitaha I salute you Aoraki with the proverb that reminds us to aspire to great achievement ''if I bow my head let it be to a lofty mountain''²¹

The *waiata* begins at Aoraki, the sacred mountain for Ngāi Tahu, whose tears flow into Lake Pūkaki; move into the Waitaki river; and then journey down the river and out across the Canterbury Plains. The river mingles with the sea thus linking the mountain to the landscape between mountain and sea, and importantly to the resources and places within the space. The mountain is the recognised *tipuna* (ancestor) for Ngāi Tahu and the mountain itself is used as a marker for identity – thus anyone reciting the name Aoraki within their whakapapa is connected automatically to the Ngāi Tahu territories in the South Island. These place names then recall the whakapapa and the events that establish the claims from descendants for these landscapes. The events that explain the names and the whakapapa are recalled in the following story as told to Herries Beattie by Wi Pokuku²².

Ko Uruao na i tae te whenua i tuku ki a Matiti. Na Matiti i tuku mai ki a Rakaihautu. Ka manu mai a Uruao. Ka riro mai i kona ra takata a Waitaha...Ka riro mai ia Rakaihautu te ko a Tu Whakaroria, ko Matuarua te Atua...Ko Rakaihautu te takata nana i timata te ahi te ruka ki tenei motu. Ka noho tenei motu i Waitaha. Katahi a Rakaihautu ka haere ra waekanui o te motu nei haere ai me ka takata. Ka riro tonu ko te roto a uta, te roto a tai; Takapo, Pukaki, Ohau, Hawea, Wanaka, Wakatipu-wai-maori, Wakatipu-wai-tai. Haere tonu Te Anau wai tai tae noa atu ki te matuka mai o te moutere. Ka waiho ka kaitiaki i reira, ko Noti raua ko Nota. Ka hoki mai Rakaihautu te roto nui a whatu: Kai-

Maranuku, Waihora, Wairewa, Kai Taieri, Kai-Karae, Wainono-a-Kahu, Te Aetarakihi, Waihora, Wairewa i konei. Kahuaina te ikoa o taua ko, ko Tuhiraki. No reira, ka whakatauki: "ka puna-karikari-a-Rakaihautu", "Ka poupou-a-Te Rakaihouia", mo ka pahao tuna kanakana, ka whakapikapika [pekapeka?] a waitakataka ki te hao te kai a te-aitaka-a-Tapuiti. I reira, ka taua ki koura, te anuhi me ka manu, me ka mea katoa. Ka tuturu tenei motu ko Rakaihautu te takata, Ko Rakaihouia, Ko Waitaha te hapu. I ai tona whakatauki o mua tae noa mai ki tenei raki: "ka puna-karikari-a-Rakaihautu. Ka poupou-a-Te Rakahouia, Ka pakihi-whakatekateka-a-Waitaha".

Uruao came to this land and was given to Matiti. Matiti gave it to Rakaihautu. The Uruao sailed here. That is how the people of Waitaha were brought here...Rakaihautu brought the digging stick of Tuwhakaroria, called Matuarua-te-atua...Rakaihautu was the first person to light fires on this land. Then Rakaihautu went out through the middle of the land journeying with the people, continued to the inland lakes and fiords; Tekapo, Pukaki, Ohau, Hawea, Wanaka, Whakatipu-wai-Maori and Whakatipu-wai Tai. They went on to Te Anau and arrived at the end of the island. Guardians were left there, Noti and Nota. Rakaihautu returned inland to establish here extensive food gardens; Kai Marunuku, Waihora, Kai Taieri, Kai Karae, Wainono o Kahu, Te Aetarakihi, Waihora, Wairewa. He renamed the digging stick, Tuhiraki [Mt Bassu on Bank's Peninsular]. So therefore the whakatauki: "The springs dug by Rakaihautu"; "The posts of Te Rakaihouia" for the lamprey eel weirs, lines of lures, and driving the progeny of Tapuiti into the dangling nets. There in reality was established crayfish, mullet and sea birds, and all other things" this land was established and Rakaihautu is the man, Rakaihouia followed and Waitaha his kin group ²³.

The descendants claim *mana whenua* (power and authority) as the tribal entities for this landscape through these placenames and stories (among others). The three place names that appear in the *waiata* unlock the memories of the stories and the other names that helped to establish the relationship between the descendants of the early ancetors with the present and future occupation and associations. These stories, such as that told by Wi Pokuku, link people and events to specific areas of the landscape, thus creating the mosaic of identity and belonging with landscape. The claims are informed from past, relevant in the present and allow for future recognition as the *kaitiaki* (recognised guardianship) of the particular areas. This becomes an important distinction when lands and landscapes are the subject of multiple claims and uses. Oral traditons, such as *waiata*, are key to understanding how ancestors thought about their association with place and as Te Marie Tau points out, oratory provides the means by which "Māori learn of their history" and that "within oral compositions, we discern a landscape utterly different for that seen through a "'western lense'''²⁴ Tau reminds us that we need to pay attention to "how our people told their past and what really underpins their stories" in order to fully understand how and what the ancestors thought able believed happened²⁵ in terms of history and settlement. The oral traditions, such as *waiata*, help with this as they contain some of the key information and data for unlocking tribal knowledge of the landscape and how they connect to it.

Thus the association with the named places in the *waiata*, *Katahi Au*, – Aoraki, Lake Pukaki, the Waitaki river, and Te Mania Whakatekateka o Waitaha – are irretrievably linked to that of the people. The place names in the *waiata* act as one layer upon a multi-dimensional map to access the landscape in order to secure claims, and use rights. These in turn link to other data sets (stories and *whakatauki* for example) about the environment, resources, occupations and so forth. It is experiential data from an intergenerational temporal and spatial data system that provides continuous information of occupation and use. The *waiata* are also a soundscape when the rhythm and form mimics the rippling waters, rolling hills, and sound of fauna. The *waiata* associate the singer/s with the landscape in a multi-dimensional layering of history and connections that Feld refers to as "The accustemology of place relations, a fusion of space and time that joins events and lives as embodied memories"²⁶. *Waiata* map the landscape and are, in a sense, a spatial tool that in conjunction with other oral tradition data sets (stories and *whakatauki*), provide a visual representation of landscapes. In a contemporary sense they provide a set of information and data that can be used to verify association and interpret change over time – along with the other spatial tools and data sets (such as GPS), they can provide layered historical data for ecology, occupation and connections in spatial and temporal ways. In contemporary times it is important for indigenous peoples to be able to ultilise all data and information available to enable them to make deliberate and informed decisions in environmental management and governance. The oral

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traditions, starting with *waiata*, deserve much more recognition as to how they articulate the knowledge, values and beliefs of peoples in explaining and thinking about their identity and rights to specific places and the resources within them. *Waiata* as song maps are part of that pathway to self-determination.

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Artist's Page

Takiwai Russell-Camp



Kai Tahu, Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha

Takiwai is a 2nd year Bachelor of Visual Arts Student majoring in Photography. Her photos are featured throughout this edition of Scope:Kaupapa Kai Tahu. The cover shots were taken by Takiwai at Ross Hemera's exhibition wātea. The Māori student profiles and the accompanying photographs were her contribution to this edition. She enjoyed interviewing and taking photos of her peers' work and this collaboration is something that she has enjoyed doing as part of her photography journey. She has a keen interest in working with other Māori artists and as part of that she has been documenting people's tā moko journey at the Dunedin Moana Moko clinics.

KI UTA KI TAI, KĀ TAOKA I AHU MAI

Brendan Flack, Anne Marie Jackson, Chanel Phillips and Patti Vanderburg

Te Moemoea: The vision

Ki Uta Ki Tai was envisioned in 2011 when Patti Vanderburg of the River Estuary Care group in Karitāne recognised a practical need for volunteers to support them and the various community organisations with their assorted projects. Many of the community groups in the Karitāne – Waikouaiti area had varying success with funding of plants, or grants for buying plants, but needed the manpower to put these plants into the ground. Patti and other community groups decided to establish a 'volunteer week' as an ideal way to gather helping hands in one place and to get a large amount of work done for the community. Ki Uta Ki Tai is a kaupapa foremost for restoring, protecting and sustaining the natural environment. The four groups who became involved are passionate about their place and work tirelessly to restore the mauri of the land, sea, river and lagoon. In addition to reviving the natural environment surrounding them, Ki Uta Ki Tai is also important for bringing people together and strengthening the bonds within the community.

Ngā Roupī: The groups involved

The four coastal community organisations driving this kaupapa are: River Estuary Care: Waikouaiti – Karitāne, the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee, The Hawksbury Lagoon group, and Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki Rūnaka (council), all of whom fall within the takiwā (district) of Kāti Huirapa hapū (sub-tribe). Chanel Phillips, a PhD student at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at the University of Otago coordinates this event and works alongside the four coastal community groups.

The primary concern for River Estuary Care is the health of the Waikouaiti River and its estuary. Their objectives are to: restore balance to Papa-tū-ā-nuku, have a well-informed community about their estuary and river, have the community participating in sustainable resource practices, have a healthy productive river and estuary ecosystem and, promote an understanding of the interrelatedness of the river estuary ecosystem with adjacent ecosystems.

The East Otago Taiāpure focus their efforts on local fisheries management on a 25-kilometre length of the coastline that runs from Cornish Head to Potato Point. The guiding kaupapa of the East Otago Taiāpure Committee is to establish appropriate sustainable management measures and structures to protect the East Otago Taiāpure area. These measures are based on Māori concepts of resource management such as kaitiakitanga and rāhui (restricted area). The Taiāpure are also guided by the following whakataukī "mō tātou, ā, mō ka uri ā muri ake nei" which translates to: for us and our children after us. This whakataukī illustrates an imaginary that allows us to dream of the possibilities for a world to exist for our children and their children. Looking after our natural environment is not for us, but for our future generations. We do not inherit the land from our ancestors; we borrow it from our children.

The Hawksbury Lagoon Wildlife Refuge whose main focus is on Hawksbury Lagoon in Waikouaiti has similar aspirations. Their kaupapa is to enhance, protect and conserve the habitats of the wildlife and plant life within the environs of the Hawksbury Lagoon and to encourage interest and appreciation of Hawksbury Lagoon by local

residents, visitors and special interest groups. The goal is not only to revive the Lagoon but to also revive an attitude among the people to care enough to get involved and help make a positive change together. This attitude to engage others resonates with a Māori worldview, where we do things together and for the collective. Whānaungatanga is important for the Hawksbury Lagoon as it is with the other groups; they see the value in making connections and encouraging community involvement.

Ki Uta Ki Tai is also supported and hosted by Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki. As the mana whenua of the area, Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki have an unbroken connection to Karitāne and its abundant natural environment. The taiāpure area, Waikouaiti River and Hawksbury Lagoon (known as Matainaka) were sites of cultural significance for the hapū, encompassing varying habitats for mahinga kai resources. Their guiding principles are: manaakitanga (care), whānaungatanga, kaitiakitanga, wairuatanga (spirituality), rangatiratanga, and kaikokiritanga (vision, moving forward). Tangaroa (Māori deity of the ocean) is central in the Ngāi Tahu narrative and therefore drives much of the focus of the local community today; a kaupapa around fisheries management, habitat restoration for kaimoana and kai awa and conservation of coastal and wetland areas.

Although each of these four groups have their own objectives and goals, they work in active partnership toward a shared and collective kaupapa of community based conservation and local fisheries management work; all with the hope to conserve and enhance the natural ecosystems within their rohe.

Te Kaupapa:What it is about

Ki Uta Ki Tai is a 4-day residential volunteer programme run twice a year where volunteers work with the four aforementioned groups each day around conservation, habitat restoration and fisheries management. Volunteers have supported the community groups in planting native trees, clearing and releasing previous plantings, weeding and removing broom and gorse, cleaning up the beach, repairing the rock wall along the edges of the estuary, marine surveys on the coastline and potting up seedlings for the next season's planting. In appreciation of the volunteers work, the community groups offer waka ama, stand up paddle boarding, fishing, harakeke weaving and home cooking during the volunteer week. The volunteers are hosted by Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki at Puketeraki Marae. The opportunity to stay at the marae promotes the idea of whānaungatanga it provides the structure where volunteers stay together and eat together, learning and sharing about one another.

Ngā Taonga I Ahu Mai: Stories from the people

Finding the toki

Among the great discoveries and taonga that has come from the volunteer week, one in particular may have been something material, but imbued in its discovery was a deeper meaning and spiritual understanding of what was actually found. It was the 3rd cycle of the volunteer week and the volunteers' last day in the field. Volunteer Lyndsey Newton along with an amazing group of volunteers, were finishing a long day of picking up rubbish along a remote beach. They were finding a tonne of rubbish, tyres, and scrap metal which they had to haul up a steep hill. They had been working all day when two of them decided to go just one bay more to check for more rubbish on the beach. When Joel Vanderburg saw them returning he knew something significant had happened. Something had changed about them. Lyndsey was holding something in her hands: a toki carved from pounamu that she had found in the shallow waters where they were searching. She couldn't even say anything and everyone stopped. And from that moment everything changed. Locals Brendan and Suzi Flack knew what finding this toki meant. For Suzi who has whakapapa to the area, she said the find "felt like a tohu [sign] to me; a communication and connection between us and our tupuna [ancestors] that lived there ... it was support from the past". Her husband, Brendan Flack said "the fact that it was a toki and a work tool felt like affirmation that the work that was being done was good; the restoration happening and paua reseeding that was being talked about at the time". It was an incredibly powerful object to find. Suzi describes the discovery as "a biggie, something surreal". Everything about its discovery was special: the volunteers on Ki Uta Ki Tai who found it; where it was found, what the object meant as a physical



Figure 1.The toki that was found during the 3rd cycle of the volunteer week.The muka kete under the toki was made by Phyllis Smith who has whakapapa to Te Awa Koiea.

affirmation for work and; what it meant spiritually for those connected to the area. Finding this toki gives us the knowledge that we are doing a great thing with Ki Uta Ki Tai Volunteer Week.

Seeing the first Toitoi shoot

The current coordinator of Ki Uta Ki Tai, Chanel Phillips, had her moment of discovery come at the beginning of this year in the May volunteer week during the planting with River Estuary Care. She tells her story: "The very first volunteer week I coordinated was in October 2013. I remember it was a Saturday when we joined Joel Vanderburg in the field for the days planting with River Estuary Care. We planted Toitoi, Harakeke and Tī kouka along the Merton tidal arm of the Waikouaiti estuary. This was a special day full of planting, laughter and teasing. Our lecturer slipped on the side of the bank and almost fell into the water; my friend Huia got her gumboots stuck in the muddy estuary at low tide and fell over because her feet came out of her gumboots. We were constantly mixing up the plants and debated over what was a Tī kouka and what was a Harakeke plant; it turned out we were both wrong because it was in fact a Toitoi. This is the memory I now keep with me. Earlier this year, during the May volunteer week we returned back to this planting site and I saw the very first Toitoi shoot from our planting almost 2 years before waving at me in the wind. It was a special kind of moment for me, seeing something that was part of my beginnings with Ki Uta Ki Tai and something we had jokingly fought over about what it actually was. For me, seeing this shoot not only brought all these memories back, but it reminded me of what we were actually doing. What once was a paddock full of pasturing cows is now a green land lined with beautiful native trees that will shelter and provide sustenance to the estuary and all its inhabitants."I felt a real sense of accomplishment, and I knew this was a kaupapa worth protecting. I smiled, took a photo, and waved back at our first Toitoi shoot".



Figure 2. The first Toitoi shoot from the October 2013 planting

Community connectedness

A treasure that has come from the volunteer week for Patti Vanderburg the former coordinator of Ki Uta Ki Tai is the social capital that is created among the community groups. She explains:

"You see us at the volunteer week but for a lot of us we don't see much of one another outside of this. We bump into each other a lot but we don't make the time to get together. The fact is, these are the two times a year where a group of us get together and talk while we work. You see this a lot, people talking in the parking lot and moving the plants, and they're moving the plants pretty slowly because they're talking; lots of friendships are built like this. It's that trust, that credibility; you're building social capital. Social capital is the biggest taonga for us; social capital is a treasure. It doesn't matter what the subject is or what the work is, the real gem is in the practice of working together and getting to know one another and building trust and building resilience; building that social capital."

A reminder of home

A gift that many of our volunteers take with them is that they are often reminded of home when they are working with the land and sea to restore habitats. Some even express an interest in starting up something similar in their own communities. Volunteer Miaana Walden from the September 2014 volunteer week said, "the work was really satisfying and I was inspired to try and start up discussions back at home about creating a similar [volunteer] week". Another volunteer from the same group, Charles Walters said "personally this weekend has actually inspired me to kind of look back home; you can't get kaimoana and that from our awa anymore because its polluted. Just



Figure 3. Group photo of volunteers and community members at the recent volunteer week 26 September 2015 in front of Puketeraki Marae.

today being out on where the rāhui [temporary closure] was, it showed me that it actually is working. Brendan [Flack] showed us the pāua and the sea lions; he said that 20 years ago they wouldn't be here. It showed me that we could change things". Ki Uta Ki Tai gives back to the land but it gives back to the people involved as well. The volunteers leave with a new sense of passion and drive for safeguarding and protecting the places that are special and important to them. Ultimately Ki Uta Ki Tai has shown volunteers how important it is "to nourish, cherish and appreciate what is given to us by our ancestors so that our land can stay enriched to be passed down through the generations"¹.

Ki te wā a mua: Looking into the future

We are now in our fifth year of running Ki Uta Ki Tai and we know that we have something special and immensely strong happening within the Karitāne – Waikouaiti area. The Ki Uta Ki Tai volunteer week is a powerful experience that brings together grass root communities, students from the University and members of the wider public. Whānaungatanga, kaitiakitanga and mahinga kai lie at the heart of the volunteer week. Over the four days relationships or whānaungatanga to people and to place are formed. Student volunteers work alongside community members sharing each other's stories and learning about one another and the places important to them. They are able to connect to the places they work in, feeling the dirt in their hands and the water at their feet. Ki Uta Ki Tai is about providing a connectedness to place that motivates one to protect it. It affirms for the community groups the importance of kaititakitanga, protecting their place in Karitāne/Waikouaiti and further motivates volunteers to think about their own special places back home that also need their attention. The significance of mahinga kai is demonstrated in the work that we do. The places in which we work were once abundant food sources for the local community. The aim is to restore the mauri of these areas through replanting and other habitat restoration work, in the hope that the food will return and continue to feed and nourish our future generations.

Nāku te rourou nāu te rourou ka ora ai te iwi

With my basket and your basket we will flourish

The authors are volunteers within the Ki Uta Ki Tai Volunteer Week. **Chanel Phillips** is a PhD student at the School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences. **Patti Vanderburg** is a member of the River Estuary Care Waikouaiti Karitāne Group and the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee. **Brendan Flack** Is a member of Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki and the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee.



Figure 4. Current coordinator Chanel Phillips walking alongside former coordinator and instigator Patti Vanderburg.

. Stevie Fergusson, Volunteer September, (2014).

Poem

LINES OF HER STORY

Rachel Dibble

lines of whakapapa: lines of her story

narratives navigated: engraved in the sky

tūpuna given: star driven

lines of whakapapa born of stardust and red earth

wahine conception: star earth: red dust: tane creation

potent chaos: celestial shimmer

lines of whakapapa: streams of critical consciousness

end: Kurawaka: beginning

emerging from her story: written in blood: practiced in tidal rhythm

wahine: wahine

ngā: ruahine

karanga: karanga

cry to Te Ao Mārama

as the Moon glows: red: tears

when her story: at dawn

appears in maiden form

lines of whakapapa: lines of her story

woven from red earth

birth of consciousness

her story of remembering

Hine-te-iwaiwa

her long black hair

falling across her lover's embrace

this kōrero is unfamiliar: landscapes within: landscapes on: her body

tracing yesterday: marking tomorrow

singing dedications for an oriori: a lullaby

into: out of Te Pō: Te Hā infinite darkness: infinite life

weaving earth and water

potential forever

becomes a story of forgetting

whero. red. scarlet

linking. wairua. inking. moko

their myth

her story

the Void:Te Kore

whero. red. scarlet

rivers of knowledge: shared: rivers damned

his story: enlarges: Mythic Legends

(un)dressed, (re)told, (ex)pressed

at the virtue of the writer

his story

researched: quantified

Lines of her story: narratives of arrival

Whenua: not linking: Not inking: whenua

two rivers: polluted: nurturing milk

the water of life

taking: babies: survival?

Lines of her story: left for d(r)ead

Ko wai au? Kei hea au?

Where are the women?

hysteria: mysteriously

incarcerated

lost. stolen. confiscated

Auē!

a cry to remember

linked: inked

Kia manawanui

a heart-line of Time

And Relatives

Dimensions

disconnected in Space

(miss)constructions

(miss)apprehensions

(miss)communications

(miss)labelled

Is this victory?

His story

her story is now

determined

lost state: confiscate: legislate

she breathes a song intense with red

heavy in her belly

profoundly in her heartline: negative space: giving lightness

moon tides

navigating stars with ink lines of memory

red and black

memories of his story

not lost: but resisted: yet still

yet: stolen

yet: confiscated

Mā te wā

and the time arrives

Ngā Ruahine

wahine: wahine

gathered

the smell of that small cave is not lost

mamae: the pain of remembering: mamae

red tears: two bodies of water: black to black

celestial remembers: tūpuna given.

landscape this body: you hear: her cry

Blood. red. scarlet

whero: waters moving

"No eels anymore", say the aunties

remembering

confiscated, polluted

there is victory in forgetting

lines: in this new story

Kia Kaha: strength in remembering

her stories: resilience (re)told

her stories are more than

Confiscated: legal stated: uneducated

Her story will consider

heart: and: hand

connection to land

maunga

awa

creation from red earth

infinite mother: in the house of humanity

Her story: their story: his story

Mana. wā. nui

Heartlines of Mana

lines from time past: present: future

lines of whakapapa

lines of her story

He Whare Tāngata: Whānau: Hapū: Iwi

bones of the ancestors: navigating

Tā Moko: Lines of the future

te rito

tūpuna given: red: star woven

Authors Note: As I grew up and sought to understand who and what I am, what makes me? I realised there were stories I could not find in the books telling me about her stories. Where are the women? Where, in all the gods, the guardians of myth and legend, where are the atua, situated/gendered/locate-able to me? Where are the women?

This interest drew me academically and politically to feminism, and discovering along that journey what I now understand as Mana Wahine. I am still discovering the stories unwritten, but not untold. Some of 'her stories' are now found in Te Awa Atua by Ngahuia Murphy, and artworks by Robin Kahukiwa – these have revitalised my journey – along with the korero of the women I work alongside, Kai Tahu wahine toa and pakeha women who journey alongside, on their own journeys.

This narrative of words is part essay of post modern definition, it is an essay of narrative and poem. It is both thought and response to being the mother of two children, a wife, a lover, a daughter, a niece, a sister. It is a reaction to new learning and korror with women far wiser, far more patient and more stroppy than me. I wrote this with an idea of Mana Wahine entwining with Kaupapa Māori - to work in a space of narratives, to work with critical consciousness, to be aware of privilege and offer something back that supports and contributes to Te Ao Māori. There is an intersection of untold stories that I see lending to a korror around Mana Wahine. Lines of Her Story comes from this and is an area I would like to research in the future.

Rachel Dibble (Ngāti Ruanui) has been involved in aspects of Feminism and Education for many years. Her first papers at Canterbury University were Feminist Studies in 1992, however by the completion of her Bachelor of Education (Primary) some years later it had morphed to Gender Studies, however Rachel still refers to her 'other' major as Feminist Studies. Moving to Dunedin eventually brought Rachel to Otago Polytechnic as a student, a Student President, in the Kaitohuohu office and as a Lecturer.

HAUTERURUKU KI PUKETERAKI – HAUNUI KI TE WAIPOUNAMU

Brendan Flack, Suzi Flack, Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath, Hoturoa Kerr, Anne Marie Jackson, Hauiti Hakopa and Ngahuia Mita

Introduction

Waka have always been important for Māori and for our Polynesian ancestors and relatives. Waka appear throughout Māori cosmology and traditions, as a reminder that our ancestors were waka and ocean people'. Often when we identify ourselves among groups of people young and old we will refer to the ancestral waka that brought our tūpuna to this place. For a number of whānau living in the South Island interaction with waka had been in the form of stories imbedded in landscape, which describe the migration of their ancestors throughout Te Waipounamu. However in 2014 Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki with the support from whānau, community and Ngāi Tahu whānui were able to realise their dream of having a waka sail into their waters once again. The following article describes the origin of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki and their development of a club, drawing on the importance and whakapapa of waka in the South. A thematic analysis of 31 online surveys and one interview is also presented which captures a small part of the lasting affects the Haunui voyage had across South Island waters.

Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki

Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki was established as the result of an idea of Brendan Flack (Kāi Tahu) of Karitāne. Brendan had planned to build a waka ama, however after being exposed to sailing waka haurua with Hoturoa Kerr through the Te Toki Voyaging Trust Brendan decided to build a waka haurua². Initially the building of this waka began in Brendan and his wife Suzi's home, however interest within the community began to grow, so Brendan decided to move the building of the waka to the old Karitāne School, to make it more accessible and allow whānau who wanted to be involved an opportunity to do so. "People passing the office on 'waka days' were often co-opted into gluing and stapling and so many hands have had a communication with this waka" ³. From this a core building team came together and received funding from HEHA⁴ and support from the Rūnaka, which contributed to growing the kaupapa⁵. During the early stages of their formation Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki were given guidance from a number of different people and rōpū (groups). Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki⁶ mention Fire & Ice Waka Ama Club, the University of Otago School of Physical Education, and Matahi Brightwell as key players in supporting Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki to get up and running, acknowledging the presence of these rōpū as well as the Karitāne community at the naming and launching of their waka in May 2011. Matahi on this occasion and numerous others was able to provide Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki with invaluable advice and information. The waka was completed and launched in 2011.

The kaupapa for Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki has always been clear – whānau and community involvement. In 2011, Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki became a fully-fledged ngā waka club. This decision was made at a whānau day organised by kaumātua and kai-karakia Hinerangi Ferrell-Heath who is also at the heart of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. In December of that year the club became an incorporated society with a unanimous aim of "connecting or reconnecting members with our awa and moana through the heritage of Ngā Waka and Te Ao Takaroa".

In 2012, a year on from launching the waka, Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki ran a two day waka wānanga 'Tangata Moana,' their information booklet commented that

The skills of our club members have grown, thanks to the guidance from all the people mentioned above, so that regattas have been trained for and entered into. Last year we entered an 8 km novice race, at the Fire in Ice regatta in Dunedin, with a club crew and last month another Hauteruruku team raced 10km on Lake Rotoiti. Our goals for the future are to grow our club, travel to other regattas and work towards hosting an ocean event. Of course to also keep building more waka...⁷

Since then Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki has continued the kaupapa of waka. Connecting whānau and manuhiri in Karitāne to Te Ao Takaroa⁹ using Hauteruruku as the vehicle. All the kaupapa that Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki support involve waka either by kōrero or engaging in water activities. Since their initial 'Tangata Moana' wānanga, Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki have held a second wananga 'Tangata Moana II'. Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki is a rōpū inclusive of all connecting with tamariki, rangatahi, community and whānau groups¹⁰. In addition to this Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki have also run safety courses such as the Day Skippers course, through Water Safety New Zealand; supported the haerenga of Haunui Waka to Te Waipounamu and; are currently looking at expanding their services and building more waka. Knowing who this rōpū are where they come from, the ancestral waka they are connected to and their overarching kaupapa was integral in placing this research. Furthermore the depth of understanding around waka in the South Island further highlights the significance of the Haunui journey to Te Waipounamu, of which Hauteruruku were key drivers.

Ngāi Tahu Waka Traditions

Waka are embedded throughout Ngāi Tahu whakapapa, history and landscape¹¹. One of the earliest examples is one explanation of the formation of this island by Māui. The legend of Māui is incorporated into Ngāi Tahu tradition as Te Waipounamu is often acknowledged as Te Waka a Māui, Rakiura (Stewart Island) being Te Puka a Māui or the anchor and Kaikoura the firm ground where Māui hauled his mighty catch, Te Ika a Māui (the North Island). Another story that connects Ngāi Tahu to waka is another explanation for physical form of the South Island is the story of Te Waka o Aoraki¹², wherein Aoraki and his brothers descended to visit their stepmother Papatūānuku upon the waka, Te Waka o Aoraki¹³.

One version of the story explains that the brothers explored the land and seas to find empty southern oceans. In their effort to launch their waka and return to the heavens, Aoraki was unable to properly perform the appropriate karakia. This brought misfortune and disaster for the waka causing the waka to fall and smash into pieces. The remnants of this waka now make up many prominent landscapes throughout Te Waipounamu or Te Waka o Aoraki: Te Tau Ihu o Te Waka or the Marlborough sounds; the hull of the waka making up the rest of the South Island; and Aoraki and his Brothers petrified on the hull of their overturned canoe imbedded as the lofty mountains of the Southern Alps¹⁴. Whakapapa, narratives and histories also tell us that there are numerous other waka connected to the South Island. A number of these stories have strong reference to land and landmarks, which map the journeys of these tīpuna. Three of these are the Uruao, Takitimu and Araiteuru, which further highlight the significance and connection of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki and Ngāi Tahu whānui to waka.

Uruao Waka

The full name of the Uruao waka according to Evans¹⁵ was Uruao-kapua-rangi. The connection that the Uruao waka has to the South Island and the people of Ngāi Tahu is through Rakaihautu¹⁶. Evans¹⁷ describes that the Uruao waka originally belonged to Tai-te-whenua, however it was gifted to Rakaihautu; Rakaihautu then travelled upon the Uruao waka to Te Waipounamu. Landing first in Kaikoura, then in Whakatū (Nelson)¹⁸. Rakaihautu made his way down the island carving a number of prominent South Island lakes on his way overland; Rotoiti, Rotorua, Ohau, Te Anau and Manapouri; Wanaka, Hawea and Wakatipu. From here it is said that Rakaihautu and his crew travelled down the Waiau river until they reached Te Ara-a-Kiwa (Foveaux Strait)¹⁹. While Rakaihautu travelled overland,

his son Rakihouia took the waka Uruao along the coast. Thus the travels of the Uruao waka show an inextricable connection between Ngāi Tahu landscapes and waka. The following chant talks about the origin and journey of the Uruao waka.

Vaka. Terea te waka e!		Sail oh vessel
Terea taku waka unua		Sail oh vessel
Terea taku waka tupuna		Voyage oh vessel
Terea taku waka kautere		Sail my double hulled vessel
Ka wero tōna ihu i kā puke moana		Sail on the vessel of my ancestors
Ka tae ki te whenua		Sail forth my sea faring vessel
Ko Te Kāhui Tipua		Let its bow pierce the waves
Ko Te Kāhui Roko		So that the peoples
Ko Te Kāhui Waitaha e		Of Roko
Matiti ki te Ao, Uruao ki ruka		OfTipua
Taku waka pākakano	SAV)	And of Waitaha
Ka eke panuku		Will arrive to the land
Eke Takaroa		It is Summer, and Uruao shines above
Haumi e		My vessel which will populate new lands
Hui e	R	Will overcome obstacles
Tāiki e		And achieve great things
		Let all be in agreement!

This chant composed by Charisma Rangipunga and Paulette Tamati-Elliffe²⁰ describes the journey of the Uruao waka and the people it brought to Waitaha and thus the South island. Furthermore the Takitimu and Araiteuru waka are examples of connection to waka that people of the South share.

Takitimu

The Takitimu waka is largely connected to the Southland area. Anderson²¹ explains that this waka travelled down the East Coast of the South Island captained by Tamatea Pokai Whenua. The narratives surrounding the Takitimu waka are numerous as this waka is connected to a number of lwi throughout Aotearoa²². However for the people of Ngāi Tahu the connection to this waka is explicated by the journey of the Takitimu waka to Murihiku (Southland)²³. The voyage of the Takitimu waka eventually came to an end when the waka was struck by a large wave called Ōkaka in

Te Ara a Kiwa (Foveaux Strait). It now rests as the Takitimu Mountains in Western Southland. Tamatea survived this tragedy and settled in Murihiku for some time, naming many of the surrounding landmarks.²⁴

Araiteuru

The Araiteuru waka is also eminent within the history of Te Waipounamu and has a strong connection with Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. The coastline that surrounds Karitāne, where this rōpū is based is called 'Te Tai ō Araiteuru'; this is a further example of how the landscape of the South, Puketeraki in this case, is imbued with waka kōrero. As with a number of other ancestral canoe such as those previously mentioned the Uruao and Takitimu waka, the narratives around the arrival and voyages of the Araiteuru waka are numerous sharing similarities and differences²⁵. As the people of the Araiteuru explored their new land and had adventures and discoveries, their names were installed upon the landscape. These voyagers are remembered today when we look upon the hills to the west and north of Puketeraki. These names include the ancestors called Hikaroaroa, Pahatea, Ka lwi a Weka, Te Wai o te Ao, Nga Tamariki a Hekura, Pakahiwitahi, Rua Tupapaku, Puketapu and others²⁶. This kōrero and whakapapa of waka in the south provides a context for this project and the significance of the Haunui journey to Te Waipounamu.

Haunui Waka

Haunui waka is a waka haurua (double-hulled sailing waka) and is considered pan-tribal, a waka for all people under the maru (shelter) of Kaihautu Hoturoa Kerr and Te Toki Voyaging Trust. Haunui was built in 2010 by Salthouse Boatbuilders as part of a fleet of seven waka created for the 'Te Mana o Te Moana' voyage²⁷. The aim of this voyage was "to reconnect with the traditions, with Pacific communities and with the ocean"²⁸. As described by Te Toki Voyaging Trust²⁹.

Haunui waka completed this voyage with a pan-pacific crew covering over 25,000 nautical miles. The name 'Haunui' comes from Tainui kaumatua Hone Haunui. The name was given to the waka by Hoturoa to commemorate the late Hone and pay tribute to his mātauranga and the launching of many waka during his time³⁰. The two hulls of the waka are called: Pikikōtuku (The ascending white heron) for the female port hull; the male starboard hull is named Wharetoroa (House of the albatross).

Haunui sails with the mission of revitalising waka culture and knowledge within the Pacific; protecting the environment, promoting awareness of the oceans, pollution and climate change...Haunui is part of a conversation, a korero about reviving those traditions of our Pacific ancestors...The Haunui waka is for all lwi and owned by all nations.

It is from this initial voyage 'Te Mana o Te Moana' that this current project stems. The purpose of this project was to outline the significance of the Haunui voyage here to Te Waipounamu in order to support the funding report of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. The initial thought of bringing Haunui down to the South Island came from a commitment that kaihautū Hoturoa made to the crew who had sailed on Haunui; that he would bring the waka to visit their shores and marae one day³¹. Thus the connection to Ngāi Tahu was forged through a number of Ngāi Tahu who were able to crew Haunui during the Te Mana o Te Moana voyage. One of these people was Brendan Flack of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. The voyage was significant for Ngāi Tahu, as it was the first time in hundreds of years that a waka of this kind had been in South Island waters. Prior to the voyage of Haunui in Te Waipounamu the last record of waka, especially in the deep south such as Murihiku and Awarua, were the waka previously mentioned such as the Uruao, Takitimu and Araiteuru³². The purpose of this project was to collect responses and feedback from those that were able to crew, sail, or visit Haunui on his journey to the south in order to show the importance and significance of this voyage to the people of Ngāi Tahu and Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki.

Haunui ki Te Waipounamu

The aim of this project was to examine the cultural significance of the voyage of Haunui Waka to Te Waipounamu.

Using Kaupapa Māori theory and pillars of Ngāi Tahutanga³³ the data from thirty-one online questionnaires and one semi-structured interview was analysed and key themes were identified. In addition to four Kaupapa Māori principles; Tino Rangatiratanga (the principle of self-determination); Taonga tuku iho (the principle of knowledge passed down); Whānau (the principle of extended family structure) and Kaupapa (the principle of collective philosophy) several other themes emerged. These themes can be seen as a reflection of Ngāi Tahutanga and the following key pillars that inform the Ngāi Tahu fund; Whakapapa – kinship; Whenua – landscape, place and locality; Ngā Uara – Values and beliefs; Ā kāinga, Ā Hapū, Ā Iwi – community engagement and participation. Each of these pillars became sub-sections for discussion, with the principles of the Kaupapa Māori theory woven throughout; these will be summarised in the following section.

Whakapapa - kinship

Whakapapa is important to Ngāi Tahu and is the foundation for their tribal identity. This is expressed through their relationships with place, histories and traditions³⁴. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu³⁵ and the Ngāi Tahu Fund identify whakapapa or kinship as a key pillar of Ngāi Tahutanga; which is a priority area for the fund as set out in the Ngāi Tahu cultural strategy. This view and whakapapa itself are also an example of the Kaupapa Māori principle of Taonga Tuku Iho, which asserts that Māori cultural identities and values are valid and legitimate³⁶. Thus whakapapa can be viewed as a Taonga Tuku Iho.

This research found that the Haunui journey was important for many of the participants because of the connection to tūpuna that they were able to feel. For example participant 30 said that for them the voyage was a time to "reflect on our Tupuna...Recapturing a glimpse of the experiences and skills of our tupuna". This participant was of Ngāi Tahu descent. Their thoughts support the idea that whakapapa is important in being able to remember and feel closer to tūpuna. As has been explained the prevalence of waka in Ngāi Tahu history and tradition is vast, therefore Haunui for many of the participants allowed them to feel a part and connection to this. Being on board Haunui waka was significant for a number of the participants to be able to feel connected to the waters of their people and to engage in the journeys that their tūpuna did. Waka are woven throughout Te Waipounamu histories and traditions thus Haunui was a reminder for many of the participants the feats of their own tūpuna. Participants' views provided evidence of how physically sailing on Haunui gave them opportunity to connect with their whakapapa. For example, Participant 14 stated that

it was an opportunity to reconnect and discover the adventures of our ancestors. You were given a sense of belonging and a place to call home. I can share all my stories and knowledge gained on Haunui with my future descendants and my whānau.

Here participant 14 recognised the importance of the voyage not only for connection to whakapapa with tūpuna that have gone before us, but the significance that the Haunui journey will have for those that come after us. This statement from participant 14 can be seen as reflective of the Ngāi Tahu whakatauki which entitles *Ngāi Tahu 2015* "Mō tātou, ā, mō kā uri ā muri ake nei" "For us and our children after us". Thus the significance of the Haunui voyage to Te Waipounamu exemplified whakapapa connections because waka allow us to experience and identify ourselves. Participant 10 explained this by reflecting on an outcome of the voyage "seeing the light in the eyes of kaumātua and tamariki alike when they suddenly feel the pride of being Maori and being a descendant of great ocean going ancestors". Participant 10's comment reflects the deeper significance that they felt this journey had on tamariki and kaumātua. For a lot of whānau they may have lost some connection to waka and therefore a part of their whakapapa and identity. Waka traditions and stories as with many other Māori cultural institutions were once at risk of being lost and have often been romanticised in non-Māori accounts of Māori migration to Aotearoa. However participant 10's acknowledgement of "great ocean going ancestors" and the Haunui journey to Te Waipounamu are examples of how we know that our tūpuna sailed here and the taonga tuku iho they provided us in the form of stories.

Whenua - landscape, place and locality

In addition to feeling connected to whakapapa, another major theme was the connection to place through waka. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu³⁸ identifies whenua as another pillar of Ngāi Tahutanga, this pillar is explained as landscape, place and locality. Over half of the participants made reference to landscapes and place. Whenua is a fundamental part of identity and well-being³⁹. The importance of whenua from a Ngāi Tahu perspective is explained in detail in their strategic document *Ngāi Tahu 2025*. Whenua and the natural environment are central to Ngāi Tahu identity thus this research found that visiting sites of significance, especially from the participants that crewed Haunui in the Otago-Southland region was significant; being able to be connected or reconnected to different places because of Haunui was unique and special. For example, Participant 5 stated

"Sailing into Waikouaiti Bay from Te Tai Araiteuru and into the Waikouaiti awa, bringing the whole crew into my special place in the world, it was so amazing and special. To pass by the sunken waka Araiteuru, to see all our mauka from the sea gave everything a different perspective to what I usually connect with... The welcome and amount of people on and off the water as we sailed into Karitane was sooo amazing and humbling – the energy Haunui brought into our community is immeasurable."

Ngā Uara - Values and Beliefs

A further major finding of this research project were the values and beliefs embedded and shared throughout the course of the Haunui voyage. Whānaungatanga, manaakitanga and kaitiakitanga are key values of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu were all values present during the Haunui voyage to Te Waipounamu. Whānau and whānaungatanga appeared as important values within the majority of participant responses. Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu⁴⁰ identifies whānaungatanga as a key value describing that "Whānaungatanga (*family*) we will respect, foster and maintain important relationships within the organisation, within the iwi and within the community" (n.p). The response from a number of the participants was reflective of this, the whānaungatanga that occurred between those that crewed Haunui and the people who became connected throughout the journey, Participant 5 reflects this

"The whānaungatanga I felt is something hard to put into words but I truly have a new family made from my fellow crewmates. The trust, aroha, support, laughs, learning and teaching are memories to be treasured for life"

Furthermore manaakitanga experienced by both crew and haukäinga at each of the different places was significant and allowed all of the people that were able to visit or go on Haunui feel welcomed immediately. Manaakitanga is also identified by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu⁴¹ as one of their guiding values "Manaakitanga (looking after our people) we will pay respect to each other, to lwi members and to all others in accordance with our tikanga (customs)". The responses from the questionnaire showed both the crew and the members of lwi and hapū who had the opportunity to be a part of the voyage felt that manaakitanga was expressed reciprocally. Similarly the notion of kaitiakitanga was strengthened and fostered for a number of people that were part of the voyage, especially those that were able to crew Haunui in their own rohe. Kaitiakitanga is described by Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu⁴² as stewardship saying "we will work actively to to protect the people, environment, knowledge, culture, language and resources important to Ngāi Tahu for future generations". This was shown in some of the responses to the questionnaire, for Participant 26 this kaupapa that Haunui carries was significant "the kaupapa of environmental friendliness, becoming a part of the Haunui whānau." Participant 26's comment reiterates that the kaupapa of kaitiakitanga becomes imbedded in those who are able to sail on Haunui for an extended period of time. Being out on the ocean and in that environment enables you to be able to see the impacts that we can have on our environment which creates an inner feeling of responsibility to protect it. Participant 22 also supported this idea saying "Watching and accepting the moods of the moana, and how we affect our environment, and learning how we should look after it." Here, Participant 22 is highlighting the idea of looking after ocean which expresses the kaupapa Māori principle of kaupapa and its centrality to the mission of Haunui.

For Participant 5 being a part of the voyage meant a greater understanding and strengthening of kaitiakitanga

"the significance of being out at sea on Haunui in that realm has hugely strengthened my Kaitiakitaka values and responsibility that I feel". Participant 5's notion that their feelings of kaitiakitanga were strengthened shows that Haunui can be used as a vehicle to encourage kaitiaki and to strengthen people's responsibility to uphold this in their rohe and in their waters.

Ā kāinga, Ā hapū, Ā lwi - community engagement and participation

Ā kāinga, Ā hapū, Ā lwi is the final key finding which was about community engagement and participation, and is a further pillar of Ngāi Tahutanga identified by the Ngāi Tahu Fund. The voyage of Haunui waka to Te Waipounamu affected whole communities positively. This voyage was a reflection of how powerful a common vision and kaupapa can be for supporting the aspirations of Māori communities. For example the Interview Participant stated that

"[Haunui] builds the relationships with the whānau on the wakas, your own whānau pani and then your wider whānau too...Yeah, and it is that's exactly what it is, it's a vehicle that's not just bringing someone on for a ride, it's bringing the wider community together and it's such a strong vehicle too and it's also the people on that vehicle too...even when they did their presentation at the museum...and most of the people that went there didn't go on the waka so they were from the wider community so yeah the one's that went on the waka their immediate whānau, their wider whānau but also the wider community".

This participant's korero reiterates Hoturoa's thoughts of the waka, that Haunui acts as a mobile lwi connecting whanau and community along the way⁴³. This participant's views confirm this thought from Hoturoa in that the wider community was connected through being involved with Haunui waka and the kaupapa that Haunui promotes.

Furthermore Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki were instrumental in supporting the Haunui journey to Te Waipounamu, which is consistent with their aspirations to connect and reconnect more whānau with their local awa and moana using waka. Participant 5 explained that the project was significant for their entire community in Karitāne "The welcome and amount of people on and off the water as we sailed into Karitāne was sooo amazing and humbling – the energy Haunui brought into our community is immeasurable." Participant 29 who is also from Karitāne commented that their favourite part of the voyage was "My own opportunity to experience this first hand and the wider community having the chance to be part of it.".This response from participants concluded that waka like Haunui have the ability to connect whānau and the wider community through a common kaupapa.

Conclusion

In conclusion one of the main reasons that this voyage and research project were able to happen is because there was a strong kaupapa. The key aspiration of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki as outlined earlier is reconnection with Te Ao Takaroa through waka. Haunui waka has a similar vision for reconnection and kaitiakitanga therefore the success of the voyage and research can be seen as a result of this. Waka have the potential to connect not only whānau and communities but also nations. The kaupapa of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki and Haunui Waka expand into the wider Polynesian whakapapa that we are all a part of Te Mana o Te Moana the voyage Haunui was built for was clear and transcended geographic boundaries "seven canoes, one voice". The research acknowledges the wider kaupapa that Haunui fits within and the hope that this waka was brought not only here but to places and islands all across the Pacific and the larger impact that we might see it have for community rõpū such as Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. As a final note,

"In terms of the bigger kaupapa, to be honest, I think it might take a couple of generations for the significance of his visit to truly mature within each of us. Hopefully by then, it won't be such a one off magnificent event because the voyaging of such waka will be normalised and a part of how we live and function as indigenous peoples of Aotearoa again. This voyage is a part of that, perhaps a catalyst to the revitalisation of voyaging culture in Southern waters."⁴⁴

Haunui one

We are whānau are all connected through Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki, from Te Toki Voyaging Trustand the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences. We work collaboratively to ensure the kaupapa of ngā waka me Te Ao o Tangaroa. Amongst us we whakapapa to Ngāi Tahu, Waikato, Taitokerau, Tūwharetoa and Te Tai Rāwhiti.

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- 4. HEHA healthy eating, healthy action was a government initiative funded through the Ministry of health to promote positive nutrition and healthy eating in schools and communities.
- 5. Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki Inc. (2012)
- 6. (2012)
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- Mules (2007)
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- 7. (1997)
- 18. Evans (1997)
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- 21. (1998)
- 22. Mules (2007)
- 23. Evans (1997); Anderson (1998); Herries-Beattie (2004)
- 24. Anderson (1998)
- 25. ibid
- 26. Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki Waka Club (2012); Kāti Huirapa Rūnaka ki Puketeraki, (2014)
- 27. Pacific Voyagers (n.d)
- 28. ibid
- 29. (2014, n.p.)
- 30. Pacific Voyagers, n.d; Te Toki Voyaging Trust (2014)
- 31. Flack. B, (2014) Te Karaka
- 32. ibid
- 33. Te Runanga o Ngāi Tahu (2006)
- 34. Panelli & Tipa (2007)
- 35. (1996)
- 36. Bishop (2008)
- 37. Walker (1990)

- 38. (1996)
- 39. Durie (1994); Rochford (2004)
- 40. (1996)
- 41. (1996, n.p.)
- 42. ibid
- 43. Hoturoa Kerr, (2014) personal communication
- 44. Participant 13, (2014).



Artist's Page

Whina Pomana



Ngāpuhi

3rd year Bachelor of Communication Design Student.

Whina is in her final year of the Bachelor in Communication Design and has enjoyed studying these past three years. Her final project pictured here stemmed from a visit to her teaching friend's classroom. The teacher used a daily word activity for his students and Whina thought that the activity would make for an interesting book. The book Whina has created along with some mini fold out cards is fantastically designed. They have a great sense of humour to them. Using her knowledge of communication design she has managed to create a very engaging teaching aide.

DETERMINING THE EXPECTATIONS OF MĀORI STUDENTS WHO CHOOSE TO STUDY AT OTAGO POLYTECHNIC, INSTITUTE OF SPORT AND ADVENTURE

Megan Gibbons and Simon Middlemas

Introduction

There are a number of reasons that learners achieve in tertiary education (TE), and as many reasons why they do not. Factors such as poor choice of programme, lack of personal motivation to study, inadequate academic progress, and inadequate finance have been cited as reasons for non-continuation of study¹. The decision to undertake tertiary study can be a life changing event, and the emotional, social and financial consequences of withdrawal/noncontinuation of study can potentially be overwhelming. Interactionist theories² suggest that if students feel that they are unable to integrate, then they may regret having chosen to study at an institution and seek to leave. This 'fit' may be influenced by both social factors, such as making friends, positive contact with academic and support staff, and academic factors, such as enjoying the subject material and methods, and study, and having academic self-efficacy (belief that you are doing well) and will continue to do well. Recent data suggests that 33% of student (EFTS) allocation - between 1998 and 2003 - was taken up by students who dropped out in their first year of study³. Research into the expectations of students entering TE is therefore important to raise awareness of why students enter education, to enable TE providers to design strategies (e.g. open days visit days, prospectuses and web pages) that help to address these issues⁴. Research suggests that if a student's academic and social characteristics match those of the educational institution then a high level of integration is achieved and the student often goes on to graduate⁵ if educational institutions are able to identify areas of congruence and misconceptions early on, they can identify appropriate social support systems to meet students' needs.

Māori are often examined as a subset of achievement to ensure that we have educational methods and pedagogy that is as suitable for Māori as it is for non-Māori. Given the projected Māori population growth, it is argued that there will be a greater proportion of Māori tertiary learners in the future⁶. The 2014-2019 Tertiary Education Strategy identifies the completion of degrees by Māori learners as a key outcome⁷. These factors suggest that as an educational institution we should be considering the needs and expectations of our Māori learners. Research completed at the University of Otago suggested institutions may benefit from examining whether and how Māori learners are orientated towards the expectations of the institution upon entering tertiary education⁸. Retention, persistence and completion in post-school education in New Zealand has received growing attention in recent years. However, there remains a paucity of research in the area of student retention and student support within New Zealand⁹.

Robinson, Hohepa and Lloyd¹⁰ have identified the primary challenge for education is to raise achievement and decrease disparity; a secondary challenge is to improve educational provision for and responsiveness to Māori learners. New Zealand researchers have proposed a leadership model that includes Māori values in designing

the systems and processes that meet the needs and expectations for all learners. Ford¹¹ offers three concepts: 1. Whānau: developing relationships for quality teaching and learning, 2. Kawa and tikaka: the systems and structures and 3. Ako: creating a culture of learning. The author argued that these concepts, or principles, need to become integral to the leadership, the whole educational institution and the wider community. While Ford's case study was conducted within an urban primary school setting, these principals are clearly transferable to tertiary educational settings, particularly the positioning the student at the centre of the learning culture.

Māori achievement and overall school morale

The aim of this research to examine the motivations of Māori learners who choose to study at Otago Polytechnic, Institute of Sport and Adventure (OISA), and the expected outcomes of their chosen path of study.

Methods

All learners who started at OISA in 2015 were asked to complete an online survey. The design of the questions was around four key concepts; 1) Motivation – exploring the reasons why students decided to study at OISA, e.g. to enhance employability to be near friends, academic reputation, and recommendation from significant others; 2) Outcomes – what they would like to take from their studies at OISA, e.g. improve life for self or others, graduation, practical experience, and financial value; 3) Learning Needs - what will help them to learn effectively at OISA, for example guality of teaching, academic support, personal support, and guality assessments; 4) Support Services - what support services will help them to complete their studies, for example counselling, financial, study skills, and support with stress. The question pool was developed from the AUSSE¹², an internationally validated online survey, from previous literature in this area¹³ and input from experienced lecturers currently working within tertiary education. By using the same question pool, there is the opportunity to compare to previously reported results from the AUSSE. In addition learners were asked to identify the programme of study they had enrolled in, whether their parents or siblings had attended a tertiary institution and to self-identify ethnicity. Answers were based on a ranking scale where 5 was really important and 1 was not important. Rankings were averaged and key factors from the question given a numeric value between 1 and 5. For reporting in the results factors were important if the average rank score was over 2.5 and unimportant if the average rank score was less than 2.5. This method of analysis allows us to determine the importance of factors to these students, and will be important in developing strategies in the future. The study was approved by the Otago Polytechnic Ethics Committee, and in partnership through consultation with the Kaitohutohu office.

Results

One hundred and eighteen learners completed the online survey and of these, twenty three learners identified as Māori (19%). The student management system report¹⁴ for ethnicity lists twenty three first year students who identify as Māori and therefore we have concluded that we have surveyed 100% of our first year Māori learners.

There were twelve male and eleven female learners, the average age was 21 years. There were 4 learners who were studying at degree level and nineteen studying at level 4 certificate level, of these, 4 were studying outdoor pursuits, 4 were studying sport management and coaching and eleven were studying personal training. Of the twenty three learners, there were eleven (48%) who were the first in their family (parents or siblings) to attend a tertiary institution.

Motivations

The higher motivations for studying at OISA were career path (4.0), Otago Polytechnic reputation (3.8), enhance employability (3.7), good study-life balance (3.7) and Institute of Sport and Adventure reputation (3.7). No motivations were below 2.5 however advice from school (2.6) is at the lower end of important. See Figure 1.

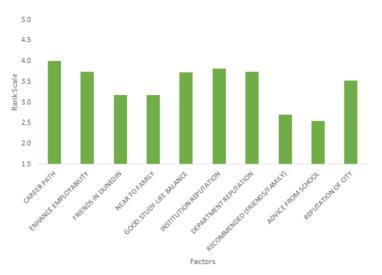


Figure 1:The motivations of Māori learners to study at OISA

Expected Outcomes

The factors that were higher in expected outcomes from studying at OISA were to graduate (4.8), practical experience (4.6) and employment in their area of passion (4.4). No factors were unimportant when looking at outcomes. See Figure 2.

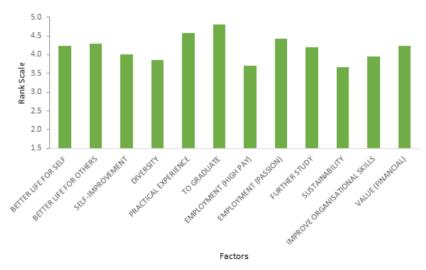
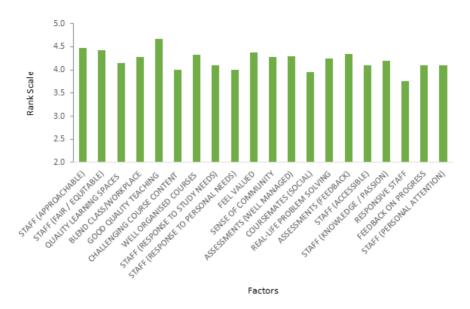
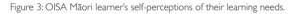


Figure 2:The expected outcomes of Māori learners when they study at OISA

Self-Perception of Learning Needs

Other questions were asked around the learners perceptions of learning needs, where the most important factors were good quality teaching (4.7), approachable staff (4.5) and staff being fair and equitable (4.4). No factors were deemed to be unimportant. See Figure 3.





Study Support Services

The final area of questions examined the support services Māori learners felt were important to enable them to achieve in tertiary education. The most important was assistance in finding paid employment to support them financially during their studies (4.2), and careers advice (4.2). Study skills support was ranked 3rd highest on (4.0). Again no factors were seen as unimportant. See Figure 4.

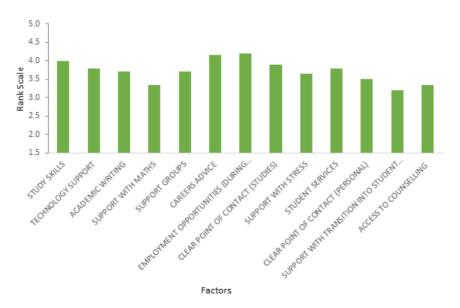


Figure 4: Māori OISA learner's first impressions of the importance of study support services.

Discussion

The findings of this study highlight the importance of engaging Māori learners in the shared task of building and nurturing a supportive environment in which they can thrive. The environment these learners identified, includes providing practical experience in their learning, opportunities for industry experience in jobs that meet their passion and good quality teaching by educators who were not only approachable but also fair and equitable. By seeking to understand the learner's expectations of tertiary education (why they choose to study, who influenced them, their learning outcomes and support needs) educators are better placed to put in place structures and systems which can support Māori learners effectively. Of importance to these learners was the need to support themselves financially during their studies and get career advice. The main motivators for Māori learners to enter study at OISA were to develop a career path and enhance their employment opportunities, and they had chosen to study with OISA based on the reputation of Otago Polytechnic and the school. These findings are supported by the literature¹⁵ where it has been suggested that to create communication and relationships, and ultimately to meet expectations and increase retention within the tertiary education setting, institutions and educators need to create an institutional culture that is learner centred, focus on fostering positive relationships between learners and significant others in the institution, nurture institutional support structures, and services.

The findings reveal a complex range of expectations influencing young (and older) Māori students considering a course of tertiary study. In practical terms, Māori students who choose to study at TE, may be expected to feel some apprehension and anxiety at the prospect of having to adjust themselves to a new and strange environment, and uncertainty in how to support themselves socially and academically. They may have some difficulty in settling into life as a student. Student loans and allowances, such as provided by the Māori Education Trust, have enabled many Maori students to access tertiary education. However, with growing numbers of Maori students each year,¹⁶ there is limited funding to meet the demand and the needs, and many students are forced to take on significant debt and secure part-time work to pay for their studies. These anxieties and uncertainties can, to a point be addressed by establishing Māori student support groups, and by establishing positive links with Māori support services within the institution. However, institutions will also come under increasing scrutiny from students 'value for money'¹⁷ from the learners themselves.

This study suggests that the factors important for Māori learners are not dissimilar to what the polytechnic sector believes is important for other tertiary learners¹⁸. If we follow the model of supporting the learner to feel valued (whānau) within high quality systems and structures (kawa and tikaka) then learning (ako) will be enabled. This is also recognised as communities of learning, where cohort or collaborative learning is established and a sense of whānau is fostered to maximise the positive effects of peer support¹⁹. Therefore as educators we should be acknowledging their expectations and work with our learners in a culturally appropriate pedagogy, to achieve their outcomes and be successful, as we do this we respect the mana of the learner and they in turn create the mana of the organisation. Educators are accountable to their Māori communities and the attitudes that educators hold about Māori students do contribute to their levels of achievement, motivation, desire to stay at school, resilience and the realisation of their potential²⁰. It is important that these educators are well-informed about why Māori students engage with TE. Future research should aim to track student responses at follow-up points throughout their study to explore if expectations and perceptions change, and why this may occur.

Megan Gibbons is of Ngāpuhi descent and is the current Head of School for Sport and Adventure at Otago Polytechnic. She has a Doctor of Philosophy from Auckland University. Her research interests include workplace health and wellness, pediatric and micronutrient nutrition. More recently she has become interested in understanding the learner in the tertiary setting and how we can best meet their needs and expectations.

Simon Middlemas currently works as a Research Coordinator and Lecturer at the Otago Institute of Sport & Adventure (Otago Polytechnic). Completing his Msc and PhD at Loughborough University in Sport Psychology, Simon worked as a sport psychology consultant within elite sport for a decade, attending two Olympic Games.

Prior to this, he worked as a university widening participation officer, running awareness and aspiration raising projects aimed at addressing the discrepancies in the take-up of higher education opportunities between different social groups. He lives in Karitāne with his wife, Heidi, and dog, Etta.

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^{15. (2015)}

Artist's Page

Crichton Tahana



Ngāpuhi/Tainui

Ist year Fashion Design student.

Crichton is a first year Bachelor of Fashion student who stumbled upon his love for fashion out of the blue. He originally had a strong interest in product design, however he ended up doing a Certificate in Fashion as a bridging course. There, he discovered he had a talent for fashion. He eventually enrolled in the Bachelor of Fashion Degree programme. Crichton's work has an urban and contemporary style. His featured work is part of his end of year project where he has decided to mix streetwear and old school rock and roll, his colours are adventurous and fun.

Essay

REFUGEES, IMMIGRATION, MULTICULTURALISM, AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR BICULTURALISM

Anaru Eketone

At the same time as the Māori people were slowly getting a degree of traction over recognition of their status as indigenous people in New Zealand, it was complicated by the mass immigration of Pacific, Asian and African peoples. It is projected by Statistics New Zealand that by 2026 16% of the New Zealand population will be part of the Māori ethnic group but 26% will be of Pacific Island or Asian heritage.

This population change, and the prospective increased refugee settlement in New Zealand, has significant implications for health, education and social service providers, many of which have benefited from the Government providing resources to lift Māori achievement and lessen Māori deprivation. In recent years a shift has developed from a focus on bi-cultural approaches to one of multi-cultural approaches. This paper argues that these terms are not mutually exclusive, and discusses some of the contentious issues that have crept into the discussion on multi-culturalism, immigration and the worldwide problem of refugees. This article is based on a presentation to the Third International Indigenous Social Work Conference in Darwin 2015.

Māori are the indigenous people of New Zealand who were largely marginalised by British colonial settlers in the 19th Century. Our losses included 95% of our land, and by the end of the 19th century our population had decreased so markedly that many thought we would become extinct².

The 20th century was one of slow revitalisation that saw a growth in our population and a developing political engagement. By the last quarter of the 20th century, at the same time that Māori and the settlers' descendants were seeking to resolve their differences through a process that included a policy of biculturalism, matters were being complicated by a huge influx of Asian and Pacific peoples³ who now jointly out-number the Māori population. In 2013 the New Zealand census recorded a population of 4,242,051. Of these, 598,602 identified as belonging to the Māori ethnic group, 471,708 identified as being part of an Asian ethnic group with 295,941 identifying as part of a Pacific Islands ethnic group⁴. While today Māori make up 14 % of the New Zealand population, it is projected by 2026 that Māori will make up 16.2% of the New Zealand population. However, by 2026 it is projected that Asian, Pacific and Middle Eastern Groups will make up 26% of the New Zealand population⁵.

This rapidly increasing non-Māori and non-European group has called into question the notion of biculturalism where some have called it the "privileging" of Māori and Māori culture over other cultural groups⁶. When the term "privileging" is used the insinuation is unwarranted privileging. The privileging of British culture, language and values in New Zealand is so hegemonic that this form of privileging is almost invisible to the dominant culture⁷.

While many Māori continue to push for biculturalism, it continues to be countered by mainstream New Zealand's recent dogma that states we are no longer a bicultural country, we are a multicultural country⁸. But are we? Those demographics would seem to indicate that New Zealand is, and is increasingly becoming, a multicultural society. However, it depends on your definitions as when we discuss terms such as multi-culturalism and bi-culturalism what do we actually mean?

Multiculturalism

Many societies have a plurality of cultures and ethnicities living within their borders, and the term multiculturalism is often used to recognize the existence of diverse populations in a society. People of these diverse groups may set up their own cultural institutions, such as places of worship and community centres, and may start businesses that meet the cultural or personal needs of their populations. Some of these businesses, especially restaurants, allow local populations to feel they are interacting with these cultural groups.

To define multiculturalism more succinctly Canadian researchers Berry & Kalin⁹ have come up with a framework that defined multicultural societies and identified them as having three primary features. The first one is the belief that cultural diversity is valued within a society¹⁰. A society that practices multiculturalism is open to the arrival of other cultures, in fact sometimes societies are proud of the number of different cultures or ethnicities that live within that society. A recent press release from New Zealand's Statistics Department¹¹ proudly declared that even though New Zealand is a geographically isolated country "New Zealand has more ethnicities than the world has countries". Cultural diversity can be celebrated in popular culture. A well known New Zealand song writer, Dave Dobbyn, saw an anti immigration rally by a small number of National Front activists and in response wrote a song 'Welcome Home' that became an anthem to multiculturalism¹². The song expressed a sentiment of welcome to new immigrants and included the words "welcome home, see I made a place for you¹³."

The second feature of multiculturalism is that groups are permitted to maintain their cultural expressions as long as they don't violate the laws of society¹⁴ of which underage marriages, physical punishment of children and forms of slavery are some examples. Sometimes practices are discouraged or cause public consternation such as the wearing of the burqa¹⁵, and sometimes the law is changed to deliberately exclude some of the practices of immigrants, such as what became known as female genital mutilation¹⁶. However, barring a small number of practices does not prevent cultural groups from expressing themselves and their culture. Sometimes some of these expressions become festivals that may even be celebrated in the wider community. The Pasifika Festival in Auckland, Chinese New Year in Dunedin and the Diwali Festival of Lights, also in Auckland, are important examples.

The third feature of multiculturalism is that, "all of the ethno-cultural groups within a nation are able to participate in a fair and equitable way in that society^{17"}. You have to have both the maintenance of the culture and the participation in society, otherwise you don't have a multicultural society¹⁸. They go hand in hand. If immigrants are encouraged to become indistinguishable from their white neighbours in values and behaviour then the society is not multicultural. If they find it difficult to get a job because they wear cultural or religious headdress, speak English with an overseas accent or have names difficult to pronounce, it is not a multicultural society.

In summary, multiculturalism is; the welcoming of diversity, peoples being able to maintain their culture and being able to participate in society. Already by this definition, Māori people may legitimately question how long this has been true even for us.

I well remember the first time in public that I heard an academic from the University of Otago's medical school state "we are not a bicultural country we are a multicultural country". It was at a departmental feedback on the experience of fourth year medical students placements with the Māori Mobile Health Unit I was working for at the time. The statement at that time, and every other time I have heard or read it, carries with it the same meaning. Biculturalism and multiculturalism are mutually exclusive. You can't have one and maintain the other. Again, it depends on what you mean by biculturalism.

Biculturalism

Firstly, biculturalism, as a term, is not unique to New Zealand. In the western United States it means to be bi-lingual particularly within Hispanic dominated areas, while in other parts of the US it can refer to being able to move between two cultural worlds and even adapting or synthesizing two cultures¹⁹. In other words, these forms refer

to the biculturalism of individuals rather than of societies. For a societal example of biculturalism we can turn to Canada where their 1960's policy of biculturalism recognised the two main cultures of Canada i.e. French and English. It didn't last long and moved to recognition of the multicultural nature of Canada. Interestingly it changed not because of the recognition of its indigenous peoples but because of the objections of Ukrainian Canadians who felt that calling Canada a bicultural nation excluded them²⁰.

New Zealand's form of biculturalism is different. Biculturalism came about through the recognition of the monocultural nature of New Zealand's institutions. In 1840 the British reached an agreement with the 512 Māori leaders who signed the Treaty of Waitangi where the British were permitted to set up a government (primarily in Māori eyes to control British settlers²¹) while agreeing to Māori maintaining power over their own affairs and properties and at the same time granting them British citizenship.

However within 14 years, when the first New Zealand parliament was set up, the British Government handed over power to the British settlers. The marginalisation of Māori ensured that the institutions of the state would be run by one cultural perspective, one value base, and one language. This consciously and subconsciously created a hierarchy whereby one culture (British) determined whose values and language were used in the development of policy, the implementation of law, and the distribution of services such as health, welfare, education, and justice. It also ensured the marginalisation of the Treaty of Waitangi, allowing the settler government to ignore the guarantees inherently and specifically promised to Māori within the document²². The settlers were in charge of the legislative and judicial processes and were not prepared to share any form of power. Therefore, the Māori population had to adapt to the ways of a foreign country, foreign values, a foreign language and foreign processes. Māori ways of knowing, valuing and communicating were largely ignored. Māori processes were considered inferior. Māori relationships and obligations were marginalised.

The arrival of a progressive Labour Government in 1984 brought about a number of changes including a permanent commission of enquiry whereby the Waitangi Tribunal could look at historic actions of the Crown back to its signing in 1840. The Government seemed to take seriously Māori complaints over the monocultural nature of New Zealand's laws and institutions. This led to a de facto government policy of biculturalism²³, with the requirement for all Government departments to report on their responsiveness to Māori and to the Treaty of Waitangi²⁴. The implementation of the Treaty in Government policies and procedures was beginning to be seen as the "basic tenet"²⁵ of biculturalism.

Biculturalism became about Māori language, values and practices being reflected in "society's laws, practices, and institutional arrangements"²⁶ and "to make state operated facilities more culturally amenable to Māori as with the recognition of Māori preferences and practices in schools, hospitals and prisons"²⁷. It was also about settling past grievances, creating greater political equality and power sharing. Today it has led to joint administration over fisheries, rivers, national parks, and Māori involvement in overseeing the delivery of education, welfare, justice etc.

In summary, multiculturalism is the welcoming of diversity, maintenance of the culture and being able to participate in society. Whereas biculturalism brought indigenous values, customs and processes into Government agencies and those it funds, it required Government departments to report on their responsiveness to Māori and to the Treaty of Waitangi, and included some power sharing.

These are not the mutually exclusive terms that many would have us believe. One is about recognising that immigrants have a valued place and the other is about New Zealand also being a Māori country. They are compatible but they recognise indigenous people as part of two majorities, not one of a number of minorities.

To New Zealand Māori, multiculturalism does not carry the same expectations as does biculturalism. I don't think that there are any societies that are genuinely multicultural – that is, where all participatory cultures have a degree of equality with their values being recognized and included within government institutions and policies. Berry and Kalin's²⁸ multiculturalism suggests a dominant culture should "allow" minorities to be accommodated, but only

insofar as they do not disrupt a country's laws and customs. This leaves little room for the possibility that a country's laws and customs may need to change. Their multiculturalism is a lesser form of intercultural arrangement. A more accurate term for these so-called multicultural societies would be cosmopolitan or multiethnic. They may be tolerant of people of another culture but hesitant to apply the others' values into their own structures. Immigrants or minority ethnic groups may be welcome, but only as long as they do not expect the locals to endorse or be personally influenced by the minority values. Immigrants may participate equitably, as long as they adapt to Western approaches and assimilate or integrate into the dominant culture's way of doing things.

Another issue with the term multiculturalism is, as mentioned previously, that it can be used as an excuse to ignore bicultural obligations. The statement that "we are a multicultural society, not a bicultural one" is often, not as it seems, standing up for other minorities, but used to uphold monoculturalism. In other words, we can't learn every culture, therefore we shouldn't have to learn any²⁹. In Berry and Kalin's³⁰ form of multiculturalism, new immigrants are expected to acculturate into the new society; there is an expectation that when they come to a new country they may hold onto their traditions, but they will have to adapt their ways to fit into institutions, policies, and laws of the land. This power dynamic, whereby the privileged maintain their power, is what prevents genuine multiculturalism in many countries. To some extent, it still prevents genuine biculturalism from existing in New Zealand. Under multiculturalism the elite still maintain their influence, their processes, and their language is the dominant one. We can play being indigenous at home but that has no effect on the state or challenges inherent injustice. Multiculturalism is not about power sharing or integrating other people's values into decision making, under the West's view of multiculturalism, the power remains with the dominant culture.

Discussion on Refugees

Immigration policies also suit the values of the ruling elite. In New Zealand it has been claimed that immigration is used as a tool to keep wages down³¹ and that even skilled workers are often bought in as a cost saving measure rather than training the local population³².

Even the current focus on Syrian refugees is about doing their bit to assuage their consciences in the light of what other countries are doing; doing the minimum conveniently possible. But it will also impact on us as indigenous people. The social services budget will be strained, and our people will miss out, we already see that with other marginalised minorities in New Zealand, where there is an increasing number of immigrant families in need of support. So what do we do? As indigenous peoples we need to be at the forefront of fighting for immigrants and refugees. We should say to them, white people forced their way in here – but look, we are creating a place for you, and you are welcome.

Currently anyone coming to New Zealand sees the relative disparity between Māori and Pākehā New Zealanders. The new comers see Pākehā as superior to Māori. They come to New Zealand with aspirations, and their aspirations are not to join Māori at the bottom of the pile. Māori can also be seen as a threat and we have a history of immigrant parents telling their children not to associate with Māori or to not be like them³³. Is it any wonder they would not want to join our side?

But in the case of refugees, we have to help, we have to have compassion, because if we can't have compassion for them, why should anyone have compassion for us. It is also better to have them as our allies rather than join those who still see Māori as a threat or irrelevant to New Zealand society.

As an individual, it is surprising how quickly things change. One week I'm grumbling about the number of immigrants coming in, the next week I'm feeling guilty over my selfishness in light of the plight of refugees all around the world. As the indigenous people of this land we have to get ahead of the game. We can't stand on the sidelines scowling, looking resentfully at new immigrants or refugees. If we do we may pay for it in the long term. They are coming no matter what we think and we are better off with them as our allies, rather than as our competitors or enemies. Otherwise we will see the perpetual re-colonisation of our lands.

We have to be the ones they are grateful to. We have to be the ones who stand there with open arms. We have to be the ones who make them feel like they belong, because we are the ones who can truly make them feel like they belong. Around the year 2000, the minister of the church I attend asked me if I could do something for him. A family from the congregation had just attended a citizenship ceremony to become New Zealand citizens. The minister thought it would be nice if I would welcome them in the church service as new citizens. I did "my thing", welcoming them first in Māori and speaking about their right to be in the country granted by the Treaty of Waitangi and as an individual Māori person I welcomed them to the country. I noticed this did a number of things. Firstly they said it helped make them feel like they belonged here. Secondly, I think it made the Pākehā in the congregation squirm a little. They and their ancestors often hadn't been particularly welcome and hadn't worried if they were welcome or not, just forced their way into the country because their British Government said they could. My mother's family came from some of these immigrants; they escaped the poverty of the Scottish clearances and were grateful to come here. They weren't grateful to Māori.

Immigrants and refugees will not forget who made them feel welcomed and who did not. New Zealand, Australia and other colonised countries were often colonised by economic refugees. Scots from the clearances, Irish escaping famine and oppression, English turfed out of their communities by the industrial revolution or seeking religious freedom. Those economic refugees were supported by the British government who were often glad to get rid of them, they forced their way in, killed our peoples and took our resources. That is one of the reasons we need to embrace these new refugees, so that these new refugees will be better guests than those past ones.

Anaru Eketone belongs to the Ngāti Maniapoto and Waikato tribes. He is a qualified Social Worker and a Senior Lecturer in Social Work at the University of Otago. He has twenty years' experience working in Māori communities in South Auckland and his hometown Dunedin as a Youth Worker, Social Worker and Health Promotion Advisor. He is married to Margaret and together they have two adult children.

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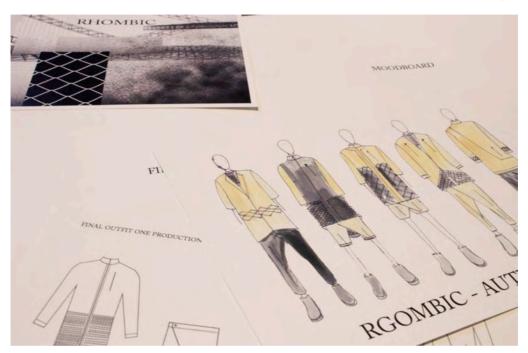


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Artist's Page

Cruze Kapa



Ngāti Porou

2nd year Bachelor of Fashion Design student.

Cruze is in his second year of the Bachelor Fashion Degree. Shown here is his final project for the year, it is a beautifully tailored, stylish autumn menswear collection. His work features a nature themed aesthetic, the colours are based on the natural colours featured within the landscape of Aotearoa. Cruze was inspired by contemporary Asian fashion for this collection. He is looking forward to his placement in his third year and eventually would like to start his own fashion label.

Poem

THE ORIGINS OF MISREPRESENTATION – POEMS FROM THE INSIDE

Jeanette Wikaira



Figure 1. Māori weapons and carvings, c. 1915, S.M., & Co.'s series Box 308-004. Hocken Collections, University of Otago.

The Reordering of Me

You collected up my world and reordered it. You removed me from my life. You put me under microscopes. You put me on shelves. You put me in storage. You made meanings that mean nothing to me. You created a complicated and painful relationship that continues to spiral out of my control. You relegated me to a primitive past. You decided that I am myth and legend. You made vague descriptions of me. You made it impossible for my people to find me. You sweep me into an extinct past. You think I am problematic and so you attempt to classify me. You mislabel me. You fracture and disconnect me from my being. I exist only to narrate a story about your success in dominating me. You tell me I am unidentifiable.

You tell me I am unknown.

You take away my power.

You deny my existence.

You dismiss my voice.

You silence me.

Confront your ignorance and your colonial past!

No whispering to objects

You are cool and heavy in my hands.

My heart races.

I want to hold you to my cheek, feel your pulse;

caress you.

But I wear white gloves and we are in a white environment.

There will be

no whispering to objects;

no speaking of your visits in my dreams;

no acknowledging of your desires, of your power.

This will all be done in private;

between you and me.

They will speak about you as if you are not in the room; as if you cannot hear them!

they will not ask you what you want;

they will not listen for your answers to unspoken questions.

But I do. I will.

and when I have to say goodbye,



Figure 2. Hongi Hika, self-portrait (1814), n.d., photographer unknown, 80/887. Hocken Collections, University of Otago.

I will hold you one last time.

Hongi; caress your cheek; feel your pulse and whisper.

Still life with Manu

With an unnatural turn of the neck

it was a Ruru who marked the beginning

her name was spoken into the dark

so close and insightful



Figure 3. Mr Melland's N.Z. Birds, c. 1900, Richard Henry P1996-004-011. Hocken Collections, University of Otago.

there was instant recognition

that her voice would come from

a breath in

a breath out.

Along the Western passage

with each passing day

it was a Kāhu who crossed her path

soaring, swooping, patrolling

with feathers a brilliant bronze,

her hawk eye ever present

attuned to all and everything,

scanning the way ahead.

Then, circling back to the South

heralded by Kākā, feathers aflame;

a flashing, tumbling marvel

ensuring their presence felt

by piercing her thoughts

pulling her close

for warmth in the damp; in the cold.

Further East

it was whanaunga of the Kawau

grey and unassuming; still

with a zen like stance

a meditative heavy eye

presiding over the water ways

and an endless sea of green

forcing a yearning for home in her.

Head high and turning ever Northwards

to the daily kapahaka performance

of the Pīwaiwaka

bravado within arm's reach

taunting and cheeky

flaunting and tempting

luring her closer

with a come hither fan flick of the tail.

The eventual return

was marked once again

by the screeching Ruru

whose piercing impatient karanga

clear and exact

sent three screams into the dark night

of welcome; of portent; of life.

Her head thrown back

a breath out

a breath in.

Jeanette Wikaira, Ngāti Pukenga, Ngāti Tamatera, Ngāpuhi. Jeanette is currently employed as the Kaituitui Māori - Māori Services Librarian at the Hocken Collections, Unversity of Otago. Jeanette's research interests explore the intersections of cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and relationships between Māori and Indigenous communities and their collections held within cultural heritage institutions. Jeanette's work traverses issues within Aoteaora of openness and access in relation to Māori cultural protocols and taonga Māori collections. These poems are a creative response to images held within two important Heritage institutions, the Hocken Collections and the Alexander Turnbull Library.

KO TŌKU MARAE TŌKU TURANGAWAEWAE – EXCEPT WHEN IT ISN'T

Richard Kerr-Bell

When a marae is not your place to stand

Two tangi, two Māori men who grew up around the marae but after the tangi did not want to rest at their own marae or be buried at their urupa. What happened? Does it matter?

There seems to be a generation; my father's generation (who died this year at 75) who, in his words, were told, "Leave here, find a pākehā women, she will make things good for you". Having heard these words several times from Kuia and Kaumatua on his marae, Dad left at age 18 to find work away from his rohe (Hokianga, Northland). He made his way to a steady job in Tokoroa and its surrounds working in forestry, and along with his school teacher pākehā bride they made a home in Tokoroa. Every year he took us back home to his mother's and his last home in Kohukohu. Occasionally they would go to the marae which, for those who know the Hokianga, was on the south side of the harbour, a ferry ride and then about 30 minutes' drive. As his mother aged, the trip to the Marae was mostly for tangi until she moved to the Auckland region to be looked after in her final years by her youngest daughter.

As time passed and as their children left home Laurie and Gail, my parents, headed to Auckland and a few years later to Russell to manage a property before retiring in Paihia. This was close to sea near where he grew up, near his old friends (those who were still alive) and not far away from all the names he knew and the places of his younger days. When Dad and I talked about why he chose to live on the East coast and not his homeland of the Wild West Coast. I mostly got a shrug and, "nothing there for me anymore". We still made the short trip across the island to visit the marae when his moko were visiting to bury a placenta at his mums grave in the whānau urupā, or to visit his sister still living in Kohukohu, but not to live.

And then, Granny up north died. We affectionately called her this to distinguish her from Granny in Te Awamutu, Mum's mum, and so we returned together as a whānau to our marae. At the tangi my uncle held the pae and asked if I would sit with him. He would instruct me when to speak, what to say, and having some reo I would do as I was instructed. At some point during the three days we slept in the whare tūpuna for the tangi. One kaumatua spoke aggressively to Dad about why he couldn't speak Māori and why he hadn't returned to sit on the pae. Dad who was by now angry, retorted that it was in fact them, the Kaumatua and Kuia of the time who told them quite clearly to leave, to move away, find a job and marry a pākehā women so they could have a better life. Dad being the eldest son/child at the tangi and as a man of integrity stayed to complete the process, and after returning for the post burial hakari and service we all left.

A year later Dad and I returned for the hura kōhatu¹. There was no animosity, it seemed the elders had become a lot older, and I again spoke for Dad who gave tautoko with a waiata. We spent time eating and talking, and listening, even being on the pae. Then after the karakia we left. We continued to make an annual visit to the marae but this was mainly to show and familiarize my children with the marae.

It wasn't until later that I realised the impact of that conversation on that first day of the tangi, it meant that Dad did not want to be buried at the urupā where we had visited a number of times before and since Granny's death. On further discussion about where he did want to end up, one consideration was to be buried with his father at the Kohukohu cemetery who had no whānau with him, having sailed from Scotland as a 21 year old in the late 18th century. I understood the intention was still to rest on the Marae before being placed with his Dad. As it finished up, we buried Dad at the Returned Servicemen's cemetery in Paihia over looking the bay of Islands from the Paihia exservicemen's club having rested 3 and a bit days at his and mum's home where we welcomed whānau and friends.

So, does this final journey matter?

In short, yes and no. Yes it matters for a number of reasons: whānau, mana, and continuity of knowledge, the lost generation, the tono and the sadness.

Whānau

Our marae is essentially a whānau marae, three whānau hold the mana – Diamonds, Dunns and Dawsons (our lot). If whānau stop using, utilising, supporting, or experiencing the tikanga on their marae, that then is lost, such as the continuity of knowledge², a sense of belonging and the practice of that knowledge. This keeps that tikanga alive in the way that is specifically expressed as the hapū of Ngāti Wharara, of the Iwi of Ngāpuhi at Waiwhatawhata. When one is in a place of significance for themselves and as part of a bigger picture, this place gains a foothold on them. It embeds itself into their bones and they carry that where ever they go. It is the place where Barlow describes tangihanga as one of the few remaining institutions of Māoridom³.

Mahara and whenua

When I taste grapes like the naturally growing ones, small and black like my grandmother, and very sweet, like Dad, I am taken instantly back to the days of my early childhood in Kohukohu in January at her place in the heavy dew of the native bush that surrounded the house and Kaikuia grass. This has only happened once or twice since that powerful memory was formed. When one does not connect with the ukaipo, is it still an ūkaipō as "land is our link to the ancestors"⁴. Even though ones placenta is buried there, is this enough to strengthen the tie?

To have buried Granny at the urupā from St Paul's church at Waiwhatawhata and to have grieved as one, in our dark little wharetūpuna with uncles and distant relatives, old kuia whose wrinkled skin resembled the chiseled tā moko of past days. This added to my story of belonging, of a first breath breathed in the mists of time to Rahiri and Kupe, Hokianga Whakapau karakia and the many stories I have heard and told. To be led onto the marae by a kaumatua responding to a karanga – a practice that doesn't happen everywhere, or to go into the whare where a mate is lying, to go straight in, to pray prayers I grew up with, then hongi the tupapaku, the kiri mate then the kaikōrero by the hunga kainga and the response. To know one's own kawa is best learned/taught at one's own whare with whānau.

Yes: mana.

Mana tuku iho, mana motuhake of that whānau, and mana retained by those acts that touch the ahi kaa. Mana tuku iho passed down from the one remembered at the tangihanga whose stories are recounted in the place of memory – whakapapa appropriate to the whānau/whānaunga.

Mana motuhake of the whānau in that as part of the hapū they have a particular identity and this is reinforced by being present and practicing being part of the hapū, the marae⁵.

While they may not frequent the marae to assume or be acknowledged as ahi kaa the whānau does or can keep their name alive by visits at significant times. By being on ones own marae the guests, their kõrero, mana, and numbers reflect (at least traditionally) possible tono⁶, a sense of the mana of the mate, uplifting the mana of the whānau and marae as well.

Yes continuity of knowledge

The tikanga is passed down through the generations because it is experienced by the whānau and the individuals who may return for tangi or another kaupapa at a later time. I wonder if people can forget where their marae is, or if a generation later one becomes tourists in their own marae with a cognitive comprehension that somehow they belong, but they lack the internal resonance, the wairua, the voice of their tūpuna speaking to them.

Knowledge of place, of smell, of sound, of whakapapa, recognition by others of your characteristics. The retention by retelling the stories that relate to those who once connected and brought you to the marae, the knowledge of a real place that grounds me deeply. Ko Ngāti Wharara ahau. I hear the stream, I hear the movement of the trees and 13 varieties of harakeke, I sense the age of the carvings and feel the aged wooden benches of the wharekai.

Yes the lost generation

It matters when the places that mattered to the oldest generation are no longer part of their yearning and longing. When they no longer hold a memory strong enough to draw them back, what does that say to us? (by us I refer to those left behind) what does this say to the holders of the mana and the tapu of our marae?

A generation not really lost because they are as real to their whānau and their communities as every other, often more so because they carried a work ethic that technology, wealth, and city or town living doesn't always require. I don't have to repair it; I can buy a new one cheaper or take it somewhere to get fixed. This generation who did not learn or practice te reo while understanding a lot, and understanding tikanga. Those sent forth to conquer, to survive the new world (most of whom did survive and thrive), have families who are healthy, educated and employed. Some returned for tangi or for working bees, or to see whānau. But the distance, the new life, the spouse's family and expectations, all these influenced the history of some marae, of some whānau.

We might call them lost, lost from the marae, sort of, lost from te reo definitely, lost from tikanga, partly. We know they are never lost from their identity, but were battling prejudice from their first day in the new world. Dad told the story of their honeymoon where Mum had to book their room because when Dad (obviously Māori) showed up they were always "full". They battle it today as we do, they took the full force of racism and ignorance without a choice and later, through choice to challenge or refuse to accept being the butt of jokes or second class citizens. For some lost to the rites and lores that was their right and privilege because of the distance, the weight of life, the lack of knowledge of those they left behind but not lost from whakapapa.

Yes the tono

In some cases whānau held a strong ahi kaa relationship, had never left or lived close enough to return often or whose employment enabled them to answer the tono. The call for the tupapaku to return from where ever the person was, even as a sign of aroha of the mana of the person. I guess too many in their daily grind and pursuit of a better life for their children were not locatable in time, where not held in the minds of those on the marae, "at home". This generation perhaps also meant that those left behind could not maintain the marae, their lives and the diaspora spread around the world. They were too young to hear the stories of this one and that one, of the debt owed to that whānau, the utu or the tikanga required to call, to relate back, to draw on the many who temporarily disappeared.

Yes the sadness

There is a sadness of those of us who inherit the challenge of our loved and respected parents, such as elders who do not wish to be returned to the marae (home marae) who do not even wish to be buried in the urupā of their whānau whanui. We understand the kawa, the tikanga, the ideal. We have often witnessed the oppression or heard of it. We rarely heard of the pain or the lack of opportunity, the hardships and the anger (though many may have had

this taken out on them) that going and finding another life in another world creates. And having found this world, learned its language and even begun to succeed, return to be castigated and told off.

The sadness relates to our own journey, or mine in this case that in general terms attempted to recover the lost ground, the reo, tikanga, experience, kawa, lore of our tupuna, the practical expressions of our identity as Māori: As in my case, Ngāti Wharara hapū and Ngāpuhi lwi. We at once appreciate the expectations, challenges and roles that our parent(s) didn't have the cultural capacity to fully meet, as their kaumatua expected or as they themselves were more than a little aware of. It hurt them, embarrassed them and their pain hurts. So in the final farewell when they no-longer place as a priority the rites due them by whakapapa it has sadness attached.

And no, no it does not mater

Kei te whānau te mana motuhake. Rangatiratanga and mana are generally agreed to reside to some degree in each of us, and magnified by virtue of different particulars that one inherits, acquires, is bestowed or recognised by others. It certainly is accepted that by whakapapa and inherent being we each possess the potential and presence of self determination and mana. In this way if a whānau, or person decides that for whatever reason they chose to acknowledge a different part of the whakapapa of their life and follow the tikanga that comes with it, this is a choice they can make. We are free people and free as whānau to choose.

But what of the obligation/expectation to lwi, hapū and whānau?

The history of lwi, hapū and whānau is not solely the collective generalised homogenised version that is of necessity written about or compiled or used as a reference or guide in representative matters. The history of our tūpuna is all of these and none of them. Each story revolves around the experience of storytellers, memory and purpose. Each is contexualised within the world of the storyteller and does not nor can be claimed the one truth, the one story. And so it is that the kaumatua or koroua that I am referencing here chose not to be laid on the whānau marae or to be buried in their hapū urupā.

Their obligation/expectation is as strong as the connections maintained by both sides. Ahi kaa can be a warm welcoming home fire or a weak ember with more potential than light/heat; it can also be so strong that one cannot get close to it, or perhaps even be burnt? Or the distance away provides enough of the warmth of the home fires as they feel they need to satisfy their sense of belonging.

Those left to determine, interpret and carry out the wishes of the loved one passed have a personal charge to carry out the will, or desire of the mate. The personal relationship is closest and felt most keenly (in most cases I am assuming here) and this connection or duty can act as part of the legacy left or handed to them by their whānau member.

The act of whānau acting for themselves is very Māori⁷. Whānau make up hapū, and hapū make up lwi so in its simplest form, whānau act from within its leadership structure and are within their home or land, the sole sovereign guide for the kawa and tikanga related to their business.

The fact that blood, whakapapa, past debt or utu and shared lore/tikanga and mana maintains external relationships to other whānau and hapū and to the lwi is obviously relevant. The degree to which each directs the other in mutually beneficial terms can decide how choices are made but not without at least a debate.

Today with the population and expansion of whānau all over the world means that more and more whānau and individuals are left to make up there own minds, chose the way they will or will not connect. The powerlessness of many to return home or to wish to return home by virtue of cost, lack of connection, or knowledge of what happens or should happen may also be a factor.

In a world view where the past is always present, where there are not different worlds but one world with many layers, filters or perhaps planes, the encounter with tupuna, kaitiaki, atua is not limited by time or space. It is not restricted to where one is laid to rest or buried and thus access is not limited. This is also a reason that it does not matter if one is buried in the hapū/lwi urupā. The kawa mate⁸ is one way to address the places the deceased did not or could not lie, the act of remembering and "carry them" there after their death. It is a beautiful and relational tikanga of belief and action.

Conclusions:

Two tangi, two Māori men 75 years of age who grew up around the marae but at their passing and resulting tangi did not want to rest at their own marae or be buried there. What happened? Does it matter?

It matters deeply and it doesn't matter at all. When a loved one is lost to us in Te Ao Marama and lives in Te Ao Wairua or in Christian terms Te Ao o Te Atua – either way they are among the ancestors. They become as our language tells us as a star in the heavens. Beyond the veil and in the bosom of the earth Papatuanuku. A shared fate or gift, an eternal pathway each must walk ka apiti hono, tātai hono. Where we leave from will not determine the journey we make. It is more for those of use left and those who may wish find us mai ra no and I ngā ra a muri nei.

Both express mana, to be at home supported by the greater whānau,⁹ to be or rest where one chooses and is supported by friends and whānau, brothers or sisters in arms because that suits me best.

There is not one answer there is not a right answer. In the end I believe there is the experience and the story, the whakapapa, the whānau each adding to the ongoing kõrero of Māori, of Ngāpuhi, of Ngāti Wharara, of the Tahana's (Dawsons), Tiamana (Diamonds) and the Dunns.

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TIKANGA: CULTURAL AND CREATIVE PRACTICE

Ross Hemera



Figure 1. Aho Creative, Fashion Shawls, 2008

Ross Hemera, Ngāi Tahu artist and designer has been involved in several creative projects commissioned by his tribe. These commissions seek to visibly raise the profile of Ngāi Tahu culture through the creation of a cultural landscape to tell stories of who Ngāi Tahu are, where they come from and their connections to the land. The selection of artists for such commissions are based on the genealogical connection that the artist has with the tribe, and to the localities selected for the commissions. An appreciation of the significance of creative work in Ngāi Tahu visual and material culture is also equally expected.

These requirements and understandings are founded in the tribal concept known as tikanga. Imbedded in traditional beliefs and values tikanga protocols and practices guide individual and group behaviour, responsibilities and relationships.

This article will discuss the concept of tikanga in relation to his personal creative practice. In particular he will talk about some of the commissions he has been involved with over recent years.

Profile

Ross Hemera is an established artist, designer and arts educator and has built a practice that honours and reflects the cultural and artistic traditions of his Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu Iwi, whilst incorporating new interpretations. His art continues to expand the tradition of Ngāi Tahu visual culture including such concepts as whakapapa, whenua, mana, taonga and whānau. His expertise includes Māori rock art, Ngāi Tahu visual and material culture, contemporary Māori art and design and Iwi art and design practices. Examples of his work include: Paemanu (2009) Installation, wall sculpture and drawing. Toi Tū Te Pai Tawhiti segment of the 'Mō Tātou, Ngāi Tahu Whānui' exhibition at Te Papa Tongarewa: Museum of New Zealand; Kauati Globes (2009). Three related artworks designed for Ngāi Tahu's Pouwhenua project at the Post office Precinct in Queenstown, New Zealand; Tuhituhi Whenua (2010). A window mural which adorns the Hereford St frontage of Te Hononga, the new Christchurch Civic Buildings, Christchurch New Zealand.

Mihi

The Māori term "Tikanga" can broadly be translated as customs and practices.

This paper is about my creative practice as a Ngai Tahu artist and designer. In particular, the paper is about those aspects that give rise to the function and purpose of the created art works included. The paper is about the process by which a personal tikanga is developed.

The first aspect concerns identity and in particular, Ngāi Tahu identity. Ngāi Tahu territorial boundaries stretch the length of most of the South Island of New Zealand. Ngāi Tahu Iwi is an amalgamation of the early South Island tribes of Waitaha and Māmoe, and later North Island tribes.

While it is from my Ngāi Tahu whakapapa or genealogy that I speak, one reoccurring question about identity continues to be asked: where do I/we come from? As Māori, we ask; ko wai koe: who are you? Part of the answer is, an even more inquisitive question: Ko wai au: who am I? This question sits deep within Māori concepts about origins, descent, belonging and identity.

The question, ko wai koe? is posed from a very young age. A lifetime is spent learning about the complexity of customs and traditions associated with answering it.

My cultural practice originates back over many generations, back to the time of our ancient tipuna or ancestors. Consequently, this paper is not about what I do! It is more about, who I am as Ngāi Tahu.

The implication is not just about reciting your personal name, but also about the full extent of your whakapapa. As important is, whom you descend from and who your whānau or family, hapū or sub tribe and lwi are. It explains your connections to people and to the land.

In essence, then, the "ko wai au?" question is about explaining the relationship between one person and another. It is the basis of explaining the relationship between the individual to the family, and families to extended families, and sub tribe to tribe. It also incorporates an explanation about the relationship between people and things, and people and places. It not only explains connections and relationships, but it is the basis of understanding and knowledge about the world in which we live.

The cultural process of asking and answering this question is a way of establishing a sense of collective association and belonging. The process for doing this is called pepeha.

Recitation of pepeha is a very deliberate process steeped in traditional custom and rigorously adhered to. Adherence to customs such as these is known as tikanga. For example, at a whānau, hapū or lwi gathering it would be acceptable to begin a pepeha by reciting kinship ties with lwi, hapū and whānau. It would only be towards the end of the pepeha that work and skill attributes are described.

Now I will introduce myself to you using a visual pepeha

The following is a brief version of my whakapapa, describing who I descend from.



Figure 2. Aoraki.

Aoraki is my primal ancestor. Ngāi Tahu trace their lineage through genealogies that personify the entire universe. Aoraki and his brothers are recognized as primal ancestors. Tribal narratives tell of how they were turned to stone when they were unable to return to their original homeland. It is because Ngāi Tahu trace their origins back to this mountain, that I also, descend from this mountain.



Figure 3. Ancient rock drawing of a seated figure.

This drawing is my ancient tipuna created by my Waitaha ancestors. He is invested with their wairua or spirituality and as such is the living essence of my ancestors.

My Waitaha and Māmoe ancestors were the first people to settle in Aotearoa New Zealand. They first landed in the

South Island and began to establish a relationship with this new land by consecrating it with their wairua and mana or authority. They did this through habitation activities, including creating drawings such as this.



Figure 4.Tahu-pōtiki Meeting House.

This house is my tribal ancestor, Tahu-pōtiki. As with the rock drawing this is not just a meeting house, it is the living, spiritual essence of Tahu-pōtiki. Our tribal name comes from our founding ancestor, Tahu-pōtiki. As a name Ngāi Tahu means the people who descend from Tahu. It is also through Tahu-pōtiki that we relate to other tribes in Aotearoa. Tahu-pōtiki is the younger brother of Porourangi, from whom the Ngāti Porou people get their name.

This house is located on tribal and family land, at the very bottom of the South Island. As well as confirming my relationship with Ngāi Tahu, this house also confirms my relationship with the land of this particular region.



Figure 5. Motoitoi.

This is my matriarchal ancestress Motoitoi. She is my great, great grandmother. She traces here genealogy back to Tahupōtiki, and it is through her that I directly link to our tribal ancestor and family land.

Our land includes small islands off the south coast of the South Island, known as the tītī or muttonbird islands.

So I guess you have come to know me a little better now. And I have not mentioned anything about what I do, only about who I descend from.

This next section describes a little more about who I am, by describing something about my father and the things, that through him, I descend from.





Figures 6 & 7. Dad as a boy on the tītī Islands.

This is my dad as a boy, on the tītī islands. Aside from their remoteness and ruggedness, these small islands are the nesting place for this seasonal sea bird. This image shows where his whānau would come to harvest this southern delicacy. On the left is the makeshift family dwelling with my dad sitting on the barrel. One the right is my dad with a string of tītī chicks.



Figure 8. My dad, with his family on the tītī island.

This image illustrates a particular tikanga associated with collecting tītī. All the members of the whānau are together undertaking the essential annual activity of harvesting the tītī. Everything about this activity is governed by customary practice and ritual. In this instance, tikanga prescribes which family groups have harvesting rights on these islands. It is in this way that the tikanga associated with tītī are recognised for their role in the demarcation of territorial boundaries. The tikanga for harvesting is also governed by the seasons. The chicks are only gathered when they are plump and fat, just on the verge of beginning to fly. Tītī raise their chicks in burrows in the ground and therefore they are gathered just before they leave the nest. This image shows the birds being plucked. They are gutted, and split down the front, opened out, and packed. They

are then stored in specially made bags and preserved in their own fat. This is all consuming work where everyone has a part to play in not only getting it done, but also getting it right.

The whole activity is governed by tikanga because preparing provisions for latter consumption and hosting visitors back on the mainland is paramount.



Figure 9. Pōhā bags made for preserving and storing tītī.

Pōhā bags are made from rimurapapa or giant kelp. Similarly to harvesting tītī, there is a particular tikanga that prescribes the harvesting of kelp and the process for making pōhā. Just as much consideration is given to the making of pōhā, as there is to the preparation of the birds stored in them.



Figure 10. My dad by the grader.

This image of my dad is a complete contrast to the tītī images. This is my dad as I remember him when I was a boy. He is standing by a Ministry of Works grader or road-planing machine, which he drove for most of his life. This is the enduring image I have of him. While this then is an image of a grader driver, it illustrates little about who my dad really was as Ngāi Tahu. This image illustrates a time of change for many Māori of my dad's generation. It reflects a time across all Māoridom where, who you are, was of much less concern than what you did. His aspiration was to show that he was a competent and dedicated grader driver.

Fortunately, I also knew he had a different side, a Ngāi Tahu side. I knew he had knowledge and experience in certain cultural practices, like harvesting the tītī, hunting, fishing and gathering.

As an artist, I am keen to celebrate the tikanga associated with my dad, and creating artworks that give expression to that tikanga.



Figures 11 & 12. Tiki Whenua, sculptural artwork, 2004.

The Tiki Whenua, works are about acknowledging our whānau cultural practices. In particular, by placing the grader in the body of a work it signifies the pride that my dad had in road making. The form of the work refers to ancestral rock drawing images of a human figure. Also depicted is the pūkeko or native swamp hen. The pūkeko is included because my dad used a special approach or personal tikanga when catching these birds. As objects, the grader and pūkeko are at the opposite end of my dad's identity, but both are important in expressing who my dad was.



Figure 13. Whānau Manu Whenua, sculptural work, 2008

In a similar way to the Tiki Whenua work, this work also celebrates my dad's identity. A photographic image of my dad is placed in the body of this work. The form of the work is also an interpretation of an ancestral rock drawing, this time referencing the birdman figure.

This work acknowledges the tikanga he used regarding the catching and eating of birds and fish. This tikanga originated from his childhood upbringing, and was part of the way he and his family did things. They were whānau

cultural practices; like leaping out of the grader and chasing pūkeko across the swamp; like catching eels with only some frayed twine; like sometimes telling stories about how the "old people" did things; like eating muttonbirds.

My dad had a particular tikanga for eating muttonbirds. He had a ritual for the whole process including cooking the muttonbirds. Then sitting down at the table full of expectation for the delicacy he was about to consume, and that real enjoyment of using his fingers to pick and pull apart the flesh. He would savor each and every mouth-full and suck out every last bit of juice from each and every tiny little bone. Then sucking the ends of his fingers and placing the bones aside making a neat and tidy pile of them. He taught us children how to do this! Titī or muttonbirds are a true delicacy especially when eaten according the tikanga given to us by our father.

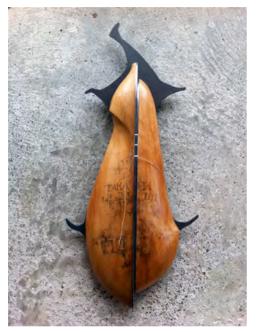


Figure 14. Takata Tītī, sculptural work, 2011.

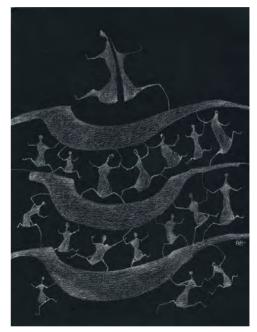


Figure 15. Takata Waka, drawing, 2014.

The title of this work means, the people of the tītī. It is a reference to the tikanga surrounding the harvesting of the tītī. Tītī continue to be harvested today, and as much as possible, our southern families continue the traditional tikanga for harvesting them. In this way the tītī remain a symbol of our identity and who were are.

This image illustrates the tītī carcass split open, and at the same time, the pōhā bag being stitched together.

These art works are my visual pepeha. Through them, they describe who I descend from and the places and practices I descend from. The works refer to my whakapapa, to my dad, my dad's whānau, the tītī islands and my Waitaha ancestors. From a creative perspective, they are a culturally appropriate reference point for developing a personal tikanga.

Tikanga governs the relationships between people and places, people and objects, and people and people. Tikanga provides ways for people and groups to meet and interact. It prescribes patterns of behavior for groups and individuals. For example the tikanga that unites individuals to a common cause is empahis through the symbolism of the waka or canoe. Events in life are governed by tikanga, including birth, meeting, greeting, acknowledging, marriage,

health, work, play, war, sickness, and death. Within a collective society, tikanga implies the correct way of doing things including appropriate ways of behaving in everyday life.

Tikanga processes are a fundamental part of what it means to be Māori and what it means to be Ngāi Tahu.



Figure 16. Whakawātea opening ceremony Post Office Precinct, Queenstown

This image illustrates part of the opening ceremony for the Post Office Precinct in Queenstown. The Precinct is owned by Ngāi Tahu, and was refurbished by the property development section. I was commissioned to create three artworks as part of visual identity for the project. This ceremony is part of a tribal event know as a whakawātea or opening ceremony. The ceremony is just as much a part of the work as the commissioning and making of the work itself.

The whakawātea is a particular kind of ceremony used to clear the way for occupancy to begin. The ceremony desensitises the tapu or sacred aspects of the site, so that normal activities can be assumed. Two aspects are included. One is the cultural practice of conducting such a ceremony, and the other is the actual process of the ceremony itself. Both these aspects are governed by tikanga.

Prior to opening, the site is considered sacred and restricted. Tikanga accounts for the need to negotiate correctly through this state of tapu, in an appropriate and safe manner.

The ceremony is undertaken at dawn in recognition of the Māori concept relating to the creation of the universe. The narrative includes the evolution of night into day or darkness into light. The ceremony retells this narrative and symbolizes the clearing away of darkness, and reaffirms the Māori concept of the world as we know it today being a place of light.

While the recital of karakia or prayers is a tapu act, it at the same time clears away tapu. Only tribal experts who possess the necessary attributes, skills and authority are permitted to carry out and perform the karakia. This authority is called mana. Because karakia include the words of ancient ancestors only certain people possessing the appropriate mana recite such words.

The ceremonial stick is called a tokotoko and is an aid for the speaker in his recitation. By association the tokotoko is also considered tapu. The korowai or traditional cloak is also a symbol of mana and in this case a mark of rank. The korowai is normally worn by an elder or expert when reciting prayers.

As an artist, this ceremony is just as much a part of work as the work itself. For me, the ceremony confirms the invitation to do the work. Both the invitation and the ceremony provide a description of the artist's role in the

project. Even before the work is undertaken the whakawātea is part of the production of the work. The artist's role is prescribed in the invitation by describing the tikanga that should be associated with the works. The standard by which the work should be undertaken is clearly laid out. Because the standards are centered on the attribution of mana, they are particularly rigorous. Tikanga ensures that things are undertaken in the appropriate and correct manner and it is through this assurance that mana ensures. Mana is upheld when cultural practices are preformed with honour, dignity, finesse and expertise, or in other words, according to tikanga.

These aspects of cultural value and tikanga are an ever-present consideration in my creative practice. It is also for this reason I do not consider the work to be mine alone. The work is part of the Ngāi Tahu collective conscience.



Figures 17 & 18. Hakitekura Balustrade and Kauati Globes, Post Office Precinct Project, 2009.

The concept for this project was to celebrate the extraordinary accomplishments of local tipuna, Hakitekura. There were several tikanga requirements that governed the production of the works, including the tribal expectations described in the invitation. In particular, the attribution of mana was to be infused and manifest in the work. Not only were the extraordinary accomplishments and exploits of Hakitekura to be expressed, but also her mana had to be conveyed as well. Additionally it was incumbent on the artist to develop appropriate imagery through which to tell Hakitekura's story.





Figures 19 & 20. Tuhituhi Whenua Mural, on the southern exterior entrance of the Civic Building in Christchurch, 2010

The mural above is based on a specific kõrero by Ngāi Tahu ancestor, Matiaha Tiramorehu. In a partition to Queen Victoria, Matiaha described how Māori and Pakeha settlers might live together. It was written in 1857, in both Māori and English.

Kora tēnei ko te aroha ka tukuna e taku lwi ki te Kawana me te tūmanako kia kotahi ai te motu, ngā tikanga me ngā ture kia tu rangatira ai te Tangata Whenua me te Tauiwi Kia mau ai te rongo, kia tau hoki te rangimarie ki a tātou katoa

This was the love that was laid upon thy governors, that the nation be made one, that the white skin be made one, and that he be made just equal with the brown skin that we might all enjoy a peaceful life.

As with the Hakitekura work, several tikanga requirements governed the production of this work based on the following themes. Because the speech was written in both Māori and English, a bicultural partnership model is expressed and is one that Ngāi Tahu continues to endorse today. This acknowledgment of equality, between peoples of different race prescribes the tikanga to be followed. Ngāi Tahu elders continue to uphold this approach because it is their wish to see Matiaha's words used as the tikanga for the partnership between Ngāi Tahu Iwi today, and the Christchurch City Council.

Final thoughts

The overriding consideration for these works has been the development of a personal tikanga that accounts for tribal aspirations, mana and tikanga. They help me know who I am.

It is through a culturally intensive creative practice that relationships with people, places and objects are formed and strengthened. It also provides a means to ask and to answer in some depth, the question: Ko wai koe?

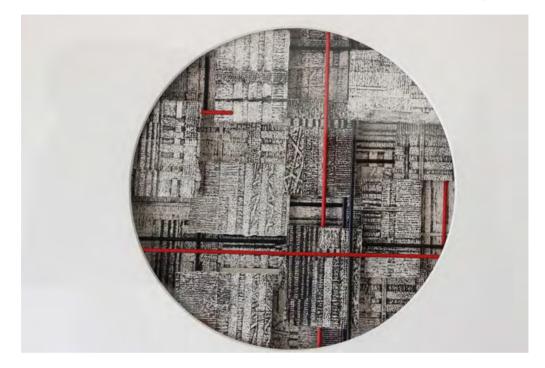
Ko Ngāi Tahu ahau

Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou katoa

Ross Hemera is an established artist and designer whose practice honours the traditions of his Waitaha, Ngāti Māmoe and Ngāi Tahu Iwi. His art expands such concepts as whakapapa, whenua, mana, taonga and whānau. His expertise includes Māori rock art, Ngāi Tahu visual and material culture and contemporary Māori art and design.

Artist's Page

Michelle Hayward



Whakatōhea

Bachelor of Visual Arts, 2nd Year Student.

Emergence, Collagraphic Board Intaglio Prints and Mixed Media. 2015. Dimensions.

This work reflects the connections (and disconnections) that we encounter in our lives. Michelle says that "the work is symbolic of how these phenomenological experiences and interactions directly influence the process of self-evolution and revelation of our own inner truth".

Michelle feels that printmaking enables her to work with tone, texture, and pattern dimension, light and shadow in the form of geometric abstraction. Sustainability is an important consideration in her artistic practice where she constructs collagraphic boards (pictured here) for intaglio and relief printing out of repurposed materials. She is currently researching non-toxic printmaking techniques for future metal plate etchings.

Reflective Essay

THE MAURI THAT BINDS US

Anne Marie Jackson

Ko Pokopoko te taniwha	Pokopoko is the taniwha
Ko Rangiriri te rākau whakangau tai	Rangiriri is the log which floats against the tide
Ko Hoeroa te ngaru	Hoeroa is the wave
Ko Mahuhu te waka	Mahuhu is the canoe
Ko Rongomai te ariki	Rongomai is the captain
Ko Ngāti Whātua te iwi	Ngāti Whātua is the tribe

My whānau connections firmly tie me to Tai Tokerau, with my Mum being from Ngāti Whātua. While we have whakapapa across the Far North, I will share a glimpse of our whānau story from Ngāti Whātua and our marae of Te Houhanga-a-Rongo. Te Houhanga-a-Rongo is located in Dargaville in the Kaipara and is one of the places we call home. This pēpeha that I provided above is one that is often spoken by our whānau. I start with this pēpeha and by locating where I'm from because this is important when you are a guest in someone else's place.

For the past 8 years I have worked alongside Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, a hapū of Ngāi Tahu. In 2007 I attended a hui at Ōnuku Marae in Akaroa. The hui was part of a research group called Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai. The aim of Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai was to bring people together around the central kaupapa of mahinga kai. In a Ngāi Tahu context, mahinga kai or mahika kai refers primarily to sites and practices of customary food gathering. For the most part, Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai was based on supporting Māori in customary food gathering practices in order to sustainably manage fisheries resources now and for generations to come. I now co-lead Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai alongside Dr Chris Hepburn who is a researcher based at the University of Otago, Department of Marine Science'.

At that Ōnuku hui in 2007, there were a series of research projects that were generated, one of which was for a student to examine the taiāpure process. Taiāpure are gazetted local fisheries that emerged from the Treaty of Waitangi fisheries settlements with an aim to allow better provision for rangatiratanga¹. In the summer of 2007, I started my relationship with Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki and specifically the East Otago Taiāpure Management Committee (EOTMC) as a Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga summer research student which then turned into my PhD alongside the EOTMC. I completed the PhD in 2011 and then began an academic position at the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences. I continue to support the hapū, primarily through the EOTMC, Tamariki Ora Programmes (marae based tamariki holiday programmes) and Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki (ngā waka club). This paper will describe my journey of working alongside and within Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki and some of the lessons that I have learnt along the way.

Not Being From Here

One of the first lessons I have learnt, when working with Māori communities, is the importance of understanding your 'place' and perhaps more so when you do not have a genealogical connection to that community. As I stated at the beginning of this paper, I whakapapa to Te Tai Tokerau and do not have a genealogical connection to Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki. As a whānau, we are always cognisant of this fact.

I quite clearly remember my first EOTMC hui at Puketeraki Marae in 2007. I introduced myself at the beginning of the hui and then I said very few words after that. I took along a small packet of biscuits that I'd bought from Couplands, because Mum said "to never turn up empty handed". When it came my turn to talk towards at the end of the hui I briefly described the Ōnuku hui and how one of the projects that emerged was the potential to examine taiāpure processes. I asked the EOTMC whether this would be something beneficial for them. The EOTMC were supportive but there was also a catch – excuse the fisheries pun, but it was an important one, the committee did not want to invest in me if I was only going to be there for the I0 weeks of the summer internship. They had had researchers come into their community, invested time and energy in them, and then once the researchers had gained what they needed, the researcher left and the committee were no better off. I suppose I took that advice somewhat quite literally, as I am writing this paper now, it has been almost 8 years since that first EOTMC hui.

Although I have attended countless hui, wānanga and noho at Puketeraki, I know that it is not 'my place'. Something I am always wary of is that the stories and kōrero from Puketeraki are not mine to tell and so I always seek permission and ask for advice. While the answer is usually yes – it is important to know that it is not my right, nor that I can assume to represent the communities' viewpoints on all occasions.

Another important part of working within a community that is not your own is the differences in tikanga. The valuable advice from my Mum is this "When in Rome – do what the Romans do". To me, the differences in tikanga add to the richness and beauty of our culture, and highlight those nuances and subtleties that exist across marae. I am certainly guided by those members of the communities that hold the mana in this area, and it is privilege to understand and be shown those differences.

Turning Up

My next reflection is the importance of turning up. Relationships with communities are built through shared experiences. There are three experiences that stand out for me, which I will describe. The first is the East Otago Taiāpure proceedings to the Environment Court against Port Otago Limited, which started formally in 2011, the second is the paua reseeding effort of 2013 and the third is the waka voyage of Haunui Waka to Otago and further south in 2014.

Port Otago dredging

The EOTMC were one of the opposition groups to the Port Otago Limited proposed dredging resource consent on the Otago Harbour. The concerns were based on the impact of the dredging activity on the kaimoana of importance to the taiāpure. Leading up to the Environment Court hearing we were involved in meetings sometimes up to 3 to 4 times a week and numerous late evenings working on submissions, briefs of evidence and various official documents. This continued over a period of approximately 2 to 3 years and is still going on. On reflection, through those experiences myself and my colleague Dr Chris Hepburn and some of his students at the time (and now colleagues) moved beyond being researchers and advisors, to becoming people who had a shared commitment to the purpose of maintaining the mana and guardianship of the ocean and the resources within as well. As each of the other opposition groups were slowly worn down by process or drifted away from the main purpose, we were one of the few groups who were still advocating for the environment. This shared experience provided a new found meaning of accountability and mutual respect. Looking back, the process also highlighted the relevance of separating those who talk about doing things and those who actually do it. There were times when we would be returning home around 11 pm to 12am to our homes in Dunedin and being very tired after the meeting and the weight of the kaupapa. In that process, we were able to utilise the skills that we had gained working alongside the EOTMC to actually better their position. In a paper 1 wrote in 2008, at the beginning of my PhD, I discussed some of the realities of becoming an academic and trying to understand my role at that time as a PhD student, and that at the end of my study, I would be 'Dr' Anne-Marie Jackson³. There is a certain amount of status that is associated with having those two letters in front of your name. I tried to think about what would the community gain in return, and more than the 'feel good factor of 'giving back'. How could I at that time, as well as into the future, provide that utu or reciprocity to the community?

Pāua reseeding

The second experience was the pāua reseeding effort where approximately 500, 000 live juvenile pāua with a limited life expectancy if not introduced to the ocean quickly. They were gifted by Ocean Beach Pāua Farm in Bluff and were released in different customary fisheries areas from Bluff to East Otago by the EOTMC, whānau, community members and researchers⁴. My personal involvement was small, other than to be a driver and supporter while the groups were reseeding in and around Otago. I will share one moment that comes to mind, which reflects the importance of having the right amount of "blind faith".

I received a phone call from Brendan Flack who is Chair of the EOTMC, to ask me whether I was able to help him and a vehicle load of people to go to Bluff from Dunedin the next day to see the possibility of being given approximately 500, 000 pāua. There was a very small window of opportunity, and for a serendipitous moment, everything seemed to align. Unfortunately I was unable to be involved in this mission, however I told Brendan that I knew someone who would be able to – that someone was my younger sister Samantha. Brendan said that he wasn't sure if everything was going to go ahead, as there were still a few loose ends that needed to be tidied up. I mentioned this phone call in passing to Samantha, and we thought nothing else of it. At about mid-morning the next day, I received a second call from Brendan and he asked whether Samantha would be ready in an hour or so, to travel to Bluff, for an undetermined length of time as well as for an outcome that we weren't exactly sure of. The rest is, as they say, history.

But for me, an important part of this story is that as researchers working with communities, and these are becoming more and more frequent, that you will have requests placed on you that require the right amount of blind faith. For our whānau, we have been interconnected with the whānau at Puketeraki and while I was unable to be involved, my sister could. There were times over that weekend as well where my Mum was able to support too. I suppose one word of advice for those wanting or who are already working within communities, is that when a phone call, an opportunity or when you are asked something, that the right answer in reply is "Yes". Did my sister; my mum or I know anything about pāua reseeding? No. But did we believe in the person who was asking, and the kaupapa of why they were asking? Yes. I think my point is, is that opportunities and an ability to "say yes" is built through shared relationships and experiences which emerge through being present and turning up within communities.

Haunui Waka

My final experience that I'll share is being involved in Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki. Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki is a ngā waka club based in Karitāne. The example that I will specifically share within Hauteruruku is the Haunui Waka voyage from Auckland to Te Waipounamu in April last year. Our whānau involvement in the Haunui kaupapa was somewhat fortuitous as well. Samantha and I had just returned from our marae centenary in Tai Tokerau. My son Charlie, and Mum were still in Tai Tokerau and were not due back in Dunedin until a week or so later. Because of timing, and our marae centenary, we had missed the Haunui arrival into Puketeraki. The Haunui crew and whānau had been at Puketeraki Marae for a few days and were enjoying the sites and scenery of Puketeraki and Otago. On that evening (when we returned from Tai Tokerau), Hoturoa Kerr (Kaihautū of Haunui Waka) gave a public lecture at the Otago Museum about waka voyaging and this particular voyage "He Herenga Waka". Samantha and I attended and we

met a number of the Haunui crew for the first time that evening. We saw the Flack whānau (Brendan, Suzi and their daughters Georgia-Rae and Savannah) and other whānau from Puketeraki and they encouraged us to come out to Puketeraki that evening and to crew Haunui. Samantha and I smiled and nodded and then discreetly slipped out the side entrance of the Hutton Theatre at the Otago Museum while the crew was greeted with questions from the public. We felt uncomfortable that we had literally just flown in from Northland and then would be given an opportunity to become directly involved in sailing Haunui because we didn't want to be 'taking someone else's place'. So, as we slipped out the door, and then went home, we were feeling pretty sorry for ourselves! By this time it was 9.30pm at night. Our house was quiet, dark, cold and lonely. We were flicking through the rom-com movie channels on TV feeling a little deflated. Ten minutes later, I received a phone call. How guickly the mood changed. Brendan Flack was on the other end of the phone, and he said that he knew that we would try to slip out unnoticed from the Otago Museum and for us to get our gear together ASAP, so that we could be part of the crew to sail from Puketeraki to Ōtākou. The waka was scheduled to leave at approximately 2am the next morning. Samantha and I were crazily running around the house, yelling, yahooing, heel clicking and dancing while we packed our gear to crew Haunui. We arrived at Puketeraki nearing on midnight, after a well controlled, staying to the speed limit drive. We were guickly introduced to the crew, had a short nap and then sailed from Puketeraki to Ōtākou. I then went on to sail from Bluff to Rakiura and my sister sailed from Puketeraki to Rakiura and for the return trip.

Our little waka club of Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki through the vision of Brendan and Suzi Flack and their whānau, Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath and the rest of the whānau involved in Hauteruruku were able to see the crystallisation of a dream for both Brendan and Hoturoa of a traditional double hulled sailing waka being in Southern waters. It is through my connections with the EOTMC and Hauteruruku ki Puketeraki that I have become involved with Haunui, and only in a small way. These two short sails that I have been on and some of the tautoko we have been able to provide has shown the value in supporting community vision and getting out there and doing it.



Figure 1. Samantha Jackson and Khyla Russell, Otago Peninsula with Haunui Waka in the Distance, April 2014.

Two of the special moments for me were being with Khyla Russell and her whānau as Haunui departed from Ōtākou. We watched Haunui from the cliff top, with a final karanga of farewell, spurred on by the lullaby of the pumotomoto, as the sunset painted the sky a lonely, dull crimson, on his next adventure to sail further south to Bluff. We all felt a deep connection in that moment and a sense of yearning.

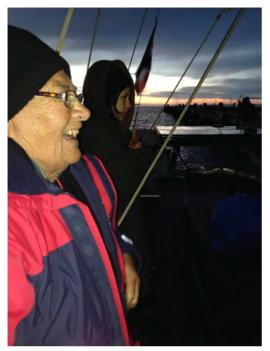


Figure 2. Samantha Jackson and Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath on board Haunui Waka, Bluff, April 2014.

I was fortunate to then sail from Bluff to Rakiura. described as the southern most point of the Polynesian triangle. For those who know Foveaux Strait or Te Ara a Kiwa, it can sometimes be a treacherous trip. For me, growing up in Southland, and having spent a lot time with my Dad and whanau fishing and at the beaches in Western Southland, we often heard of stories of the unforgiving nature of Foveaux Strait. The proposed day that Haunui was to sail from Bluff to Rakiura, there were high winds and heaving seas, and so the call was made that Haunui would not leave. I arrived at Te Rau Aroha Marae that evening and joined the crew. I was on watch that night and just tried to follow all of the instructions of Mama Liz as best I could. As dawn broke, a couple of the other crew members arose ready to swap shifts, my sister Samantha, Brendan and Savannah Flack and Hinerangi Ferrall-Heath.

This photo (Figure 2) captures the excitement and anticipation of the day at hand, which was to sail to Rakiura, past Ruapuke Island where we shared a special moment with Hinerangi.The sea was calm, and toroa were circling overhead. We all had tears in our eyes as she recounted a story from her childhood about Ruapuke Island and how extraordinary is was

that she was now seeing the island again, many years on, with her whānauka from the South as well as her "cuzzies" from the North; as Hinerangi often quips "It's the head and the tail, it's the head and the tail!"

In sharing some of these experiences about working with Kāti Huirapa ki Puketeraki, each of the new experiences and challenges that occur we become more and more tight knit. As I was reflecting during the Ki Uta Ki Tai Volunteer Week of September 2015, after planting numerous plants and grubbing along the Waikouaiti River, Huriawa Pā and surrounds, that some of the very first plants that I planted alongside the Waikouaiti River would now be 6 years old. I remember this because I have a photo of my son Charlie when he was 16 months old when we planted those first trees with Patti and Joel Vanderburg and others.

We meet peoples' families, friends and wider communities and they meet ours. There is a shared kinship and sense of belonging. We have seen loved ones pass on as well as welcomed new arrivals, the never-ending cyclic nature of the world. A quote that I share with my students and one that I refer to and think about often is from Ngāpuhi philosopher Māori Marsden⁵ who stated "the route to Māoritanga through abstract interpretation is a dead end. The way can only lie through a passionate, subjective approach...It is important to remember that Māoritanga is a thing of the heart rather than the head"⁶. I have come to realise that these are the spaces that I operate within as a researcher. The adages of being objective, and disconnected, maintaining distance and perspective between the researcher and the researched, to me, are irrelevant.

Conclusion

To provide some concluding statements, it is critical to know your 'place' within any given community and to always remember that the mana remains in the community. It isn't always easy. As academics and as Māori academics it is often difficult to locate accountability. We can sit within the 'lvory Tower' and not necessarily need to, or want



Figure 3. Charlie Jackson aged 16 months taking a rest after planting on the Waikouaiti River.

to, connect with the 'real world'. In my experience to date, working directly alongside communities has meant that I am accountable to the people behind the email addresses and faceless messages. These are actual people, who are immersed within their lived realities of trying to advance their communities. It's about having a positive attitude and possessing a good amount of blind faith. We have to turn up, be present in the moment, and to follow through. It's also about thinking of who's next, whether it's our whānau, generations to come, the students we teach and supervise or the next generation of community members who will continually guide us. This final photo taken with my 300 level physical education students at Huriawa Pā highlights the realm of infinite possibilities, right before Tamanui-te-rā breaks the dawn. Infinite possibilities exist within our communities and within each other and part of the joy of life is to realise them.



Figure 4. Students from the University of Otago, School of Physical Education, Sport and Exercise Sciences at Huriawa Peninsula, May 2014.

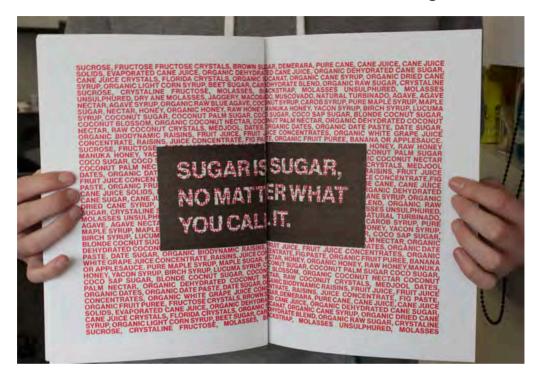
What I have come to understand more and more as I engage with the landscape and waters of Kāti Huirapa is that each time I am fortunate enough to be there supporting the different kaupapa, is that a small piece of me and my whānau is left there. This has been often said at poroporoaki after wānanga and noho. Somehow I think that as I further reflect upon this, I am drawn into understanding the mauri that binds us, tangata ki te whenua, tangata ki te moana, tangata ki te tangata. It is this intangible nature of our existence that can only be felt and experienced when we are in the place and it cannot be found when simply sitting in the office and sending an email, disconnected from our communities. Nō reira e hoa mā, he paku mihi ki a koutou. Ka tihei, ka tiere, mauri tipu, mauri ora, ki te whaiao, ki te ao mārama, haumi ē, hui ē, tāiki ē!

Anne Marie Jackson is from Ngāti Whātua, Ngāti Kahu o Whangaroa, Ngāti Wai and Ngāpuhi. She is a lecturer of Māori physical education and health at the University of Otago, School of Physical Education,Sport and Exercise Sciences.

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Artist's Page

George Chalmers



Kai Tahu

3rd year Bachelor of Communication Design Student.

George is in his final year of the Bachelor of Communication Design; Featured here is his final project, which is a mini magazine about the effects of sugar, cleverly named Sugarcoated #1. The idea for this project originated when he himself embarked on a no sugar diet. With its plain but bold colours that illustrate research on the effects of sugar on the brain he has managed to produce a very informative yet enjoyable edition.

TOOLS FOR DIABETES TRANSFORMATION

Justine Camp

This paper will outline two parts to a three part model created by Mason Durie¹. The missing component is the well-known Whare Tapa Wha. The other two parts of his work support my research argument that the inclusion of whānau is important to caring for a loved one with Type II Diabetes, sometimes referred to in this paper as PWD. As my research was centred on the impacts of diabetes upon whānau rather than the PWD, I have not included his section on Hua Oranga. Durie has identified six strategies for whānau capacity building (see section A below). In this paper, these strategies are expanded on in relation to Type 3 Diabetes or the social effects of Type 2 Diabetes on Māori quality of life. Also, his strategies for community capacity building (see section B below) complement ideas about whānau capacity building and together the strategies form a discussion model for transformation.

A: Whānau Well-being:

I. Manaakitaka

Durie² identifies manaakitaka as the capacity to care. This term denotes hospitality, and the provision of food and shelter for visitors. One's individual mana, the collective mana of one's whānau, the wider hapū and lwi mana, is dependent on an ability to show generosity which in a Māori world-view this lies at the very core of manaakitaka. In Western culture, Mauss³ argued that a giver does not merely give an object but also part of himself; for example "the objects are never completely separated from [those] who exchange them" Because of this bond between giver and gift, the act of giving creates a social bond with an obligation to reciprocate on the part of the recipient. To not reciprocate means to lose honour and status. Mauss⁴ played a large role in explaining something about Polynesian culture to Westerners. In Polynesia as in New Zealand, failure to reciprocate means to lose mana, one's spiritual source of authority and wealth. Mauss⁵ distinguished between three obligations, giving, the necessary initial step for the creation and maintenance of social relationships; receiving, for to refuse to receive is to reject the social bond; and reciprocating in order to demonstrate one's own liberality, honour and wealth.

Within the context of a patient suffering from Type 2 Diabetes, the notion of the 'gift' or manaakitaka does not involve the exchange of material objects rather the provision of time, support and the creation of a context within which the patient can share thoughts and fears, while receiving care. Reciprocity would involve the whānau exchanging support with the PWD, with each other and with the wider community. An important aspect of Mauss's conceptualisation of gift exchange is that in a commodity economy – dominant within Pākehā culture – there is a strong distinction between objects and persons through the notion of private property. Objects are sold, meaning that the ownership rights are fully transferred to the new owner. The object has thereby become 'alienated' from its original owner. In a gift economy, however, the objects that are given are not alienated from the givers; they are 'loaned rather than sold and ceded'. The identity of the giver is invariably bound up with the object. This causes the gift to have a power which compels the recipient to reciprocate. Because gifts are inalienable they must be returned; the act of giving creates a gift-debt that has to be repaid. Gift exchange therefore leads to a mutual interdependence between giver and receiver. According to Mauss's, the "free" gift that is not reciprocated is a contradiction because it does not create social ties. Mauss's? argument is that solidarity is achieved through the social bonds created by gift exchange. In Māori culture Mauss's gift would be known as tā koha, a gift that has to be returned at a time decided by the recipient if prior to death, or by the recipient's whānau to the gifter post mortem.

Within Māori culture, the giving of non-tangible objects in relationship building and maintenance such as the giving of time and energy plays an important role. Some examples are how reciprocity in kind occurs can be seen when a person passes away and the immediate whānau members (kiri mate or skin of the dead) gather to grieve. In such situations members of the extended whānau come to support the grieving family. They provide support through various acts of kindness and practical acts of work such as: cooking; delivering the speeches of welcome to mourners who farewell the dead; singing (kīnaki) which support these ceremonies; digging of the grave, providing for the visitor's needs - temporal, physical and emotional. In other words, the wider whānau can be seen taking care of all the activities which would be too difficult for the grieving people to undertake for themselves at such a difficult time.

In the case of the Type 2 Diabetes patient, tā koha is most clearly evident when the extended whānau may spontaneously provide food, babysitting, respite care, transport and other support. Tā koha thus plays a core role with regard to whānau capacity building as it continues to strengthen whānau through relieving the burdens associated with illness. Furthermore manaakitaka and its associated tā koha is about well-being of the whānau and all its members; it is about reciprocity between members so that each person feels cared for and has a sense of identity within the group. It is about whānau having good quality lifestyles and independence⁸. Before showing generosity to visitors, Durie argues that manaakitaka towards one's own family is of paramount importance. All of these outcomes are consistent with the tikaka concept of manaakitaka. Mead⁹ shares this explanation of manaaki, and considers a person who displays manaaki towards others to be a person who 'is a caring person who is helpful to others and considers the welfare of others besides themselves''.

2. Whakawhānaukataka

Whakawhānaukataka is about building and strengthening connections with others within and outside the whānau. These relationships (based on trust and love) need to be strong as these are the basis of community interaction within Māoridom. Whakawhānaukataka is, in health terms, about the capacity for consensus and creates the need for whanau to develop and have decision-making processes that reflect consensus and develops strength¹⁰. Living with chronic illness is stressful and testing. Without whanaukataka the relationships would not endure the ups and downs associated with an illness such as diabetes. Manaakitaka and tā koha cannot manifest themselves if the relationship is not based on solid foundations. The relationships should be built upon shared vision, trust and common understanding and goals. Durie¹¹ highlights this concept as it is important in promoting interconnectedness. In Māori culture such interconnectedness is based on whakapapa or genealogy. Whānau members are irrevocably tied to one another through kinship involving intergenerational ties. The concept of whakapapa is described as genealogy and was often used to ensure the legitimacy of rakatira and ariki, a legitimacy which gave them the right to wealth and power¹². In a broader sense, however, the notion of whakapapa is extended in Māori culture to include whakawhānaukataka or relationships, whānau and whānaukataka literally meaning "relationship". Hence we have a whakapapa of knowledge; one of disease; one of war and settlement of whawhai; in all of these whawhai lwi include struggles or disagreements in relation to personal and generational wrongs, real or perceived. These types and layers of the histories surrounding the whawhai have a whakapapa (layers) of their own and their connectedness to people, places, occasions, illness and anything else imaginable to the human thought process.

In regards to the Type 2 Diabetes patient, relationships are very important as these are what sustain the possibility of continuing manaakitaka. For example Metge¹³ stated that "Whakapapa was an extremely important and complex body of knowledge". Because of this each whānau, hapū and lwi had tohuka (experts) responsible for the preservation and passing on of this knowledge. This knowledge is still important today in terms of a strong identity but also in relation to the genetic (ira takata) makeup of the whānau.

Understanding an illness such as diabetes, knowledge of whakapapa is vital for exploring genetic and familial history. As Mead¹⁴ describes "Whakapapa legitimises participation in hapū affairs and opens up the doors to the assets for the iwi. It provides a right to be buried in the local urupa (cemetery) and a right to succeed to land interests of the

parents...in short whakapapa is belonging. Without it an individual is outside looking in".

3.Whakamana

Whakamana is the third of the whānau capacities that Durie¹⁵ explores in order to address the overall well-being of whānau. Durie¹⁶ translates whakamana as empowerment; as the ability or capacity of the whānau to facilitate the participation of its members into society, both Māori and mainstream. Mana is a term that underpins manaakitaka. The mana of the whānau is dependent on their ability to show manaaki towards other people. One way of explaining mana is to think of integrity, for example it is about keeping your own integrity intact while maintaining relationships with other people. Respect is important to keeping integrity intact and is another principle associated with mana. One can only empower someone else when one empowers themselves and to achieve respect from others one has to respect oneself.

For whānau to be able to participate they have to be respected by the community and they have to earn the respect of the community. Durie¹⁷ contends that "a good outcome is where whānau members can participate fully, as Māori in Te Ao Māori (the Māori world) and Te Ao Whānui (wider society), and whānau are well represented in community endeavours". People with diabetes report that they feel like they lose self-respect¹⁸ due to fear and denial in addition to a sense of alienation within the context of the Western medicalised world with its emphasis on the individual rather than on the individual as embedded in whānau relationships. Re-empowerment strategies are necessary with the capacity of whānau to support the mana of the patient becoming crucial. This, in turn, builds the capacity of the whānau: again, interconnectedness is paramount.

4. Whakapumau Tikaka

Whakapumau tikaka is described as the capacity to promote culture, in order for the whānau to build its capacity consistent with tikaka they need to have the understanding and daily use of tikaka in the first place. It may not be tikaka as described within an academic or historical text and may be very different from tikaka as enacted as part of formal ceremonial undertakings, but it will be tikaka as practiced within a particular whānau and to which they adhere in their own way.

Whānau need access to the knowledge and skills to be able to transmit the knowledge of the tikaka and management of illness and wellness. The outcome therefore would be that whānau have access to the systems that would assist them to do so. Namely; other whānau, the marae as well as institutions that teach and promote their interests, such as Māori diabetes education systems. This is what the application of whakapumau tikaka in action can enable for whānau as it promotes understanding at a number of levels and thus is connected into the whakapapa of the whole person and their associated needs, and to the whānau and the associated knowledge of systems, their own and others.

Pupuri Taoka

Pupuri taoka is the collective management of the estate. "The capacity for guardianship, expects whānau to act as wise trustees for the whānau estate – whenua tipuna (customary land), heritage sites such as fishing spots, environmental sites of special whānau significance, urupa and wahi tapu"¹⁹ Guardianship extends to the whānau. It further extends to their personal management of their daily lives, to the tautoko or support to manage the lives of those in their care; and, to the collective management of the affairs and things of importance including health and cultural practices associated with their enactment of tikaka. If the current members do not make sound decisions about the estate, then the future capacity of the whānau will not have foundations and resources and all subsequent generations will not have the capacity to achieve well-being. Likewise, if the same members do not make wise choices and decisions in the management of their individual and collective health and well-being, the future whānau will not have the type of strong base upon which all subsequent generations will build their capacities to achieve well-being mo ake tonu atu (forever). Here, taoka (taonga or treasure) for Māori goes beyond something one can treasure and wear on the self; display on a wall; hang in a wardrobe / deposit in a safety deposit box. The person, their health, and well-being form part of the taoka which is whānau, hapū and lwi connected through whakapapa as pupuri taoka. Without all of the above there may well be no future generations because the present one is too unwell to sustain new members yet to be born²⁰.

Whakatakoto Tikaka

Whakatakoto tikaka is the ability to anticipate for the needs of the future generations. It is about being wise now in order to provide for the future. Durie identifies the ideal outcome as being "where systems are in place to protect the interests of future generations and whānau have agreed upon broad strategies for further whānau development"²¹. All of those sections described above, which have preceded this one constitute for whānau systems, ways of being and ways of knowing which have been eroded through external influences whether health related or other causes. Parts of those losses have been the capacity to operate within tikaka as best practice.

If we explore these tikaka as the tasks that whānau undertake in order to achieve and maintain good health then these tikaka or capacities or values could also become the underpinnings of an improved Māori patient and Western health system relationship. This can only happen if this relationship is to move away from the binary that currently exists and which impacts negatively on the Māori patient presenting with diabetes. For this to happen, a trialectic model – rather than a binary model – needs to be set in place, based upon multiple knowledges.

В

Te Ngahuru: The Well-being of the Māori Population

Durie²² looks at measuring the well-being of Māori as a population using Māori specific indicators and measures. There are five principles that underpin the measures which are divided into two capacity building models: The first is human capacity and the second is resource capacity. Durie calls this "Te Ngahuru". This concept will be outlined here and then discussed in relation to whānau and their needs. The first part of Te Ngahuru is similar to that of the whānau well-being in that it includes cultural identity, the Māori estate, Te reo Māori and collectiveness. By considering the well-being of the Māori population and measuring these using measures that are meaningful to Māori such as partipication in Te Ao Māori we can effect changes to the current social indicators.

Te Ngahuru is a matrix and has two domains; human capacity and resource capability. Human capacity outlines the way Māori people participate in society and at a whānau, hapū and lwi level. Its focus is on individuals and groups. The resource capability aspect examines the resources available to Māori, such as intellectual and cultural resources and physical resources such as land. The domains are then divided into outcome classes: Te Manawa or a secure cultural identity, Te Kahui which are collective Māori synergies; Te Kete Puawai or the cultural and intellectual recourses; and Te Ao Turoa or the Māori estate²³. These concepts will be subsequently discussed. Durie then takes the above broad outcome goals and breaks them down into more specific interventions and policies. Te Manawa is divided into two sections: participation as Māori and participation in Te Ao Māori.

We will consider the first domain of Human Capacity. This is about using Māori specific measures when examining Māori participation in society. Most societies and New Zealand is no exception, measure the well-being of its members by using generic categories such as educational achievement, health indicators, employment and income. What these measures do not show is that participation of Māori is different from participation as Māori²⁴. Both of these concepts are important to measuring the well-being of Māori. For example, Māori are able to participate more fully in society in general if they have a secure cultural identity²⁵, and they are more likely to participate in Māori society for the same reason.

Te Manawa

Te Manawa is realised when Māori people are able to participate in activities of Māori society and this is not limited to the marae, but can include Māori specific groups and organisations and educational institutions such as the Māori Women's Welfare League. These specific Māori organisations and groups allow a Māori person to engage and strengthen their identity. One of the findings of my master's thesis research was that people who were members of these groups noted that such groups provide support for whānau who were caring for a member with diabetes by doing such things as visiting and letting them know what was going on in the Māori community and bringing them food.²⁶

Participation in Te Ao Māori

Active involvement in Te Ao Māori in different institutions, activities and systems can be measured by looking at involvement in marae and Māori networks and is also linked to a secure identity as outlined in the measurement of whānau well-being. A secure identity starts with knowledge of whakapapa, as this contributes to people's ability to be involved in Māori institutions and activities. As previously discussed whakapapa also provides membership of such institutions and activities. Participation in Te Ao Māori is essential to Māori identity; they provide the way in which Māori identities are formed²⁷.

Whakapapa is important to the well-being of Māori, as having membership and access to Te Ao Māori provides not only a secure identity but it also provides its members with the support needed to maintain their well-being. In 2004 Te Puni Kokiri²⁸ held a hui Te Ara Ahu Whakamua (the path forward) so that Māori could define their health needs. This hui also provided Māori with an opportunity to meet with mainstream health leaders to focus on some key questions, one of which was "what constitutes a healthy Māori?" The answer to this question was tied up with a strong sense of identity and strong whānau support. Māori identity, and as a consequence, Māori health is clearly tied up with Māori participation in Te Ao Māori.

When one aspect becomes separate one from the other an imbalance occurs; and when a person's whole self has one piece out of alignment this weakens the whole making the person susceptible to external influences that may have a detrimental effect on their overall well-being²⁹.

Participation as Māori

Participation as Māori is different to participation in Te Ao Māori, in that while identity is important here this is about being Māori in the wider society. Durie looks at measuring such participation by using indicators such as being on the Māori electoral roll or being employed in Māori-specific positions or organisations. The reason a secure identity is important to being successful is that this type of participation is questioned at the personal, community and political levels. With the continued emphasis on nationhood and the national identity, Māori identity is constantly eroded and there is a constant threat to Māori identity that is enshrined in all our systems.

The impact of this was that inappropriate structures worked to break down traditional Māori society by weakening its base - the whānau, the hapū and the lwi. Either intentionally or unintentionally, weakening the tribal structures meant reducing the primacy of those identities that were meaningful for Māori³⁰.

For example, "in 2000 the newly elected Labour Government of Helen Clark reconstructed the health sector and inserted a reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in health legislation. That clause was watered down in response to objections that such a clause would privilege Māori in accessing services"³¹. These types of objections can have an impact upon Māori utilising Māori health services that can be effective for them. Such threats to identity have made it extremely difficult for Māori to participate as Māori in society and this has impacted on the well-being of Māori and whānau. Participation is guaranteed to Māori by the Treaty of Waitangi , and this guarantee should be honoured in all instances.

Te Kāhui

Te Kāhui is about the well-being of the community being a contributing factor in the well-being of the individuals within the community. It is a measure of the well-being at the community level. Diabetes is a major threat to the well-being of any community and it is important that the link is made between the community well-being and the well-being of the members of whānau, hapū and lwi.

Current statistics in health show that the well-being of Māori is seriously affected and that Māori are over-represented in negative health statistics. "Māori are more likely to suffer from cancers, heart disease, diabetes, infectious diseases, mental illness, drug dependence, suicides, and injuries both intentional and unintentional"³². These and many other statistics like these indicate a real need to look at strategies to address the ill health of the Māori community.

Vibrant Māori Communities

Durie³³ suggests that the vibrancy of a Māori community is reflected in the way that community is made up and how it functions. Like whānau, communities are diverse and may be based on whakapapa such as hapū and rūnaka or they could be made up of members who have come together for a specific purpose such as a kapa haka group. What is important is the positive involvement of the members.

There is a link between a vibrant community and the well-being of its members but in any case the vibrancy of the community is itself a measure of outcome because it suggests a level of involvement that builds on collective energies and contributes to a collective sense of welfare, safety and motivation.³⁴

Because of the stresses whānau who are caring for a PWD can experience, their ability to be involved in wider community activities is not always a possibility. Their experiences and requirement to provide due care can be onerous. Diabetes is a factor can impact on the community and its vibrancy. The opposite of this is that a vibrant community can also have a positive and helpful impact for whānau by providing support.

Enhanced whānau capacities are important, if the whānau are healthy or their capacities to be whānau are strong then their participation in Māori communities are likely to be positive this adds to the vibrancy of those communities.

Autonomy

Durie's³⁵ informants discussed the importance of autonomy as an outcome; he explains that autonomy is important for Māori and whānau to be able to have control over their own outcomes. In terms of Māori communities and diabetes it is perhaps fitting that both whānau and Māori communities have input into their health outcomes but also the ability as whānau and communities to have control over how they meet their own needs.

Autonomy is guaranteed to Māori under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi: "The Treaty does provide a model for cultural autonomy, and it is one that is consistent with the Ottawa Charter of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and its model of health promotion and community development"³⁶.

Te Kete Puawai

Te kete puawai is about strengthening and measuring Māori cultural resources; it is linked to the other outcomes. In order to fully participate in Te Ao Māori you need to be able to access and utilise te reo and tikaka. Te reo is a good measure of the health of Māori society; it is the tool for understanding tikaka; it is also important when passing down knowledge from one generation to another; this is how the culture survives. Other cultural resources include matauraka Māori (Māori knowledge) mahi toi (Māori art) mahika kai (customary harvest) and kai hau kai (trade, barter). All of these cultural resources and strategies contribute to the foundation of Māori society as they are informed and governed by tikaka. Māori have also asked for policies that give status to te reo and tikaka in health services for Māori.

Te Reo

"The use of Māori language is widely regarded as a major indicator of 'being Māori'. Language has been described as the essential ingredient of culture and a key to cultural identity. It is therefore included as an outcome goal in its own right"³⁷

The use of te reo Māori is important for participation as Māori in both the Māori world and the mainstream world. Firstly, many Māori who are not fluent in te reo or have very limited use of te reo are often whakama about participating in Māori community affairs and are often put off attending certain events run by the community. The flipside of this experience is that those who do have te reo and also participate in the wider society often do not see their reo and culture reflected in those wider communities. This in turn may lead to Māori not participating in those communities because of an obvious lack of fit for them within that arena. In other words, there is no place for Māori to place themselves since they do not recognise themselves as part of or included within these communities.

In terms of Type 2 Diabetes and whānau, the use of Māori language is important in the education diabetes intervention as it then becomes identifiable to Māori and it then becomes something that is part of who they are. The extent of usage by Māori [is important] and second is the number of domains where it is possible to speak, hear, read or write Māori. There is evidence to suggest that unless multiple domains of usage are available, the use of Māori language will be confined to narrow 'cultural sites' that may act as disincentives to some people.³⁸

A good outcome would be one where te reo Māori was spoken, by large sections of the Māori population and in many domains. Indicators include the number of adults able to converse in Māori; number of Māori enrolled in Māori language courses;³⁹

Such emphasis on the normalisation of Te reo in more places where Māori are involved in mainstream activities lends recognition of it and access to it for all Māori.

Culture, Values, Knowledge

Although tikaka and kawa vary according to lwi and hapū, we need to look at our shared core values such as; manaakitaka, kaitiakitaka, karakia. By exploring these values, we are able to then produce good outcomes for all Māori, lwi and hapū.⁴⁰This does not mean that they will not vary from place to place only that by starting with these core values and looking at how they can benefit each group can we make sure that the outcomes do not benefit a select few. "A positive outcome is one where Māori values form an integral part of everyday lives, Māori culture is expressed on a 'taken for granted' basis, and traditional Māori knowledge is both retained and developed"⁴¹

In terms of diabetes management this means that tikaka and kawa should be an integral part of the service provided to lwi, hapū and whānau as well as other Māori communities. Current successful diabetes programmes are run on marae. However, these programmes are not getting to the many Māori communities that need them. By using tikaka in diabetes practice other Māori communities are able to receive the services they need in any appropriate forum and these programmes can be effective if they are based on Māori values such as those mentioned above.

Te Ao Turoa

Te Ao Turoa is about the natural resources that Māori have a role in preserving for future generations. The cultural resources outlined above are based upon access to and knowledge about land and the environment. For example, knowledge about the moon and tides is fundamental to being able to harvest or gather kai moana (sea food), and without such knowledge we cannot ensure the resource will be there for future generations. On the other hand, without access to and growth of the important resources the knowledge is no longer needed and the cultural assets along with the physical assets diminish and the health and well-being of current Māori and future generations deteriorates. Lyver et al⁴² support this argument through exploration of matauraka⁴³ and its need in building cultural resilience

for sustainability.

Continuance of harvesting is crucial for maintaining knowledge, identity, and sense of place. These in turn are fundamentals of commitment and confidence to exercise effective and sustainable environmental management which in turn will deliver cultural and individual well-being⁴³.

The practice of mahika kai and cultural harvest is essential to defining individuals, whānau, hapū and lwi in terms of their role as kaitiaki over the natural resources and their ability to provide manaakitaka as outlined in the section on building whānau capacity.

Regenerated Land Base

Some Māori resources such as land are owned by hapū or whānau; others, including Fisheries are associated with an lwi⁴⁵. As discussed in Te Ao Turoa, having access to the environment and the resources it holds are integral to identity. Without the land there is no access. Land is an important resource for all Māori and there needs to be education and a drive to retain what land we still possess. We should work to gain further land for future generations. "The loss of land resulted in the alienation of Māori from their cultural and spiritual source of identity and well-being. The loss of an economic base further compromised whānau health status. This process resulted in the fragmentation of traditional structures, and the dislocation of support systems which adversely affected individual and collective health and well-being".

The land was essential to survival and the health and well-being of Māori people and will continue to be so at both a spiritual and physical level. Land and access to land was the foundation of the Māori social system, just as whakapapa is still important to identity. Whakapapa is also tied up in the landscape; in Polynesian culture everything has a whakapapa and a mauri and Māori, like their Polynesian counterparts, use whakapapa to locate their place in the landscape. This is known as cosmological whakapapa and it is often recited in the form of chants which they describe the origins of the universe⁴⁷.

Resource Sustainability

The resources that physically belong to Te Ao Māori are generally under threat. Fish, flora, and fauna have been harvested to the point of actual extinction (in the case of the huia) and near extinction (in the case of kereru). Customary harvest is at odds to commercial gain. In Te Waiponamu each area has a resource that is of significance to the hapū; Otakou is well-known for their cockles, this is a big part of their identity and they take their role as kaitiaki of that resource seriously. There is a commercial venture just outside of the Otago Harbour and those commercial fishermen would like to extend their catchments into the area where Otakou's cockles reside. This will have serious implications for the future and the identity of the hapū at Otakou. "As with other components of the Māori estate, an important consideration is ensuring that future generations are able to inherit resources that have been considerably enhanced in value. Without development is not compatible with obligations of one generation to those yet to come"

Summary

This paper has outlined and applied to diabetes, two aspects of Mason Durie's comprehensive health model that can fully address the health needs of Māori and their whānau. While most people are very familiar with one part of his model; the Whare Tapa Wha, many are less familiar with the rest of it, and thus when people attempt to apply it they are often missing important aspects. Durie's model provides a unified theory for health, and more importantly, it provides a basis for including whānau participation in diabetes services. Whānau are at the centre of the well-being of an individual (taha whānau) and the well-being of Māori communities. The first part of this paper looked at the need to build the capacity of the whānau so that they can be at the centre of the health and well-being of its individuals and the community. This was done by exploring Durie's six strategies for building whānau capacity, and

this was then discussed in relation to people with Type 2 Diabetes.

Following this, the well-being of the Māori community as a whole was examined. Several important aspects of being Māori in the Māori world and being Māori in the wider community were discussed. Following this, the physical resources such as land and sustainability were discussed as te ao turoa, land and its resources, are vital to well-being both in a spiritual and physical sense. Spiritually, Māori form their identity in terms of the landscape. Physically, Māori are able to gain resources and wealth from the land, thus adding to their ability to provide for their needs. I chose not to add in the Tapa aspect in this paper as my research has been on the inclusion of the whānau into diabetes care.

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- 39. Durie (2006, p,9).
- 40. Durie (2006).
- 41. Durie (2006, p,9).
- 42 Lyver, P.O.B., Davis, J., Ngamane, L., Anderson, A., Moller, H.& Clarkin, P. (2008). "Hauraki Māori Mātauranga for the Conservation and Harvest of Tītī, Pterodroma Macroptera Gouldi," *Papers and Proceeding of the Royal Society of Tasmania*, 142(2), p, 18
- 43. Matuaraka is the word used for traditional knowledge and in this instance it is used also to denote traditional ecological knowledge.
- 44. Lyver et al (2008 p, 18)
- 45. Durie (2006).
- 46. Ministry of Health (1998). Whāia Te Whanaungatanga: Oranga Whānau The Wellbeing of Whānau: The Public Health Issues.
- Roberts, M., Haami, B., Benton, R., Satterfield, T., Finucane, M. L., Henare, M., et al. (2004). "Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct: Some Implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification of Organisms." The Contemporary Pacific, 16(1), 1-28.
- 48. Durie (2006, p. 11).



Artist's Page

Hannah Cockfield



Ngāti Tuwharetoa

2nd year Bachelor of Visual Arts Student.

Hannah is a second year Bachelor of Visual Arts student who is majoring in Painting. Hannah's painting is an acrylic on canvas 800-1000mm. The project brief was based on people. The two figures shown in the painting are two of her cousins and she used two separate photos for reference. The style of this painting is urban and contemporary. The word 'Tangata' as well as being the Māori word for people, was positioned there in place of gang affiliated markings in one of the original pictures.

Article

MEATA HAERE KĀ NGARU

Khyla Russell

I am writing this paper at the same time I am writing another called "From The Crest of a Wave". What is different about that article "From the Crest of a Wave" and this one is that the other is about biobanking, genomic study and creation of the ethics. In particular the biobanking article focusses on ethical research and the approach of researchers when engaging indigenous people to participate and a careful and considered approach when taking and storing tissue and bloods so that kawa, tikaka and the tapu nature of such of such koha (gifts) are respected. No less important to the holistic health of lwi is applying these same principles of kawa and tikaka in all we do as gatherers of kaimoana (shell fish) and mahika kai of other foods. The practices around the collection, storing, gifting and exchanging; and, finally the knowledge around phases of the moon to ensure such kai are harvested at the correct time in the lunar cycle as the sea is also governed by the same cycles that govern ethical practices.

Mason Durie has three contemporary publications that have a good fit with this concept. The first is titled; "Tides of Māori Endurance: Ngā Tai Matatū", in which Durie analyses the position of Māori as a people and all associated Māori and lwi interests at the beginning of this and into the next millennium. He speaks largely to non-Māori as well as to those who may have no real connection to their lwi. For lwi Māori who have retained a close bond, there is an understanding that our journeys from the past may or do enable us to make projections for our future while introducing new skill sets as we identify issues that inevitably arise in all areas where change occurs. Durie's work canvases recent knowledge about how the rest of the world's people are developing and how these developments have influenced Māori lives and Māori resources, as we too continue to develop as Māori. This is happening within an ongoing process while as Māori we are always wrapped around or cloaked by the certainty of this past knowledge which **arose from distant beginnings** and which will have **no real ending**. We are therefore, sure that it will always be for us, that our past, connected in time and place, using suitable practices that will lead us into future times where eternity is reflected in the Māori title of his work, Ngā Tai Matatū. Durie describes the form of an ever shifting nature of the tide upon which many of us depend as a resource, as well as the various tides of life's experiences.

Navigating Māori Futures: Ngā Tini Whetū² the second publication of Durie refers to the ways in which Māori are moving towards futures that include vastly altered and ever changing forms of technology, the uses of which enable us to undertake different forms of commercial business and create new business partnerships. Durie talks of scales of economy and greater or increased layers of achievement which will equip us appropriately to be prepared with a response to these inevitable changes; but to do so in a way that still allows us as whānau, hapū or lwi to prosper.We, whilst being an integral part of a changing world, do so in every sense as *Māori*. Durie has always argued that we are and so must *be able to live and work or study* as Māori. In other words we ought never to have to be assimilated to belong or be expected to leave our Māori–ness at home. Rather he contends that being and living as Māori is so much a part of who we are that it cannot and should not require us to be separated from our Māoriness.

The third of his publications that I am referencing is, The Dynamics of Maori Health; Mauri Ora³ in which Durie sees the embedding of culture, identity, and socio-economic factors as being relevant to maintain Māori health and wellbeing whilst allowing us to gaze into the global as well as national and tribal with new insight through retaining our lwi identity. He goes on to note that as Māori we are then be able to attain greater parity with our fellow citizens in all areas of health, education, employment and wellbeing. Whenever then we are prevented from living (and working or studying) as Māori our total health and wellbeing is compromised and we become unwell.

Thus this paper links traditional practices with the ideas above and within these, a small snapshot into how we see and understand the tide really and metaphorically from the crest of a wave, and, alongside that sits the safety aspects underpinning our ture a moana (our family tide rules). Though this may make for easier understanding when it is directly around or located in the sea (moana), we are no less connected with the specific knowledge needed to read the waves in our world whether real or in metaphor as it pertains to our daily life-ways. It is also about how as lwi Māori in western models of tertiary institutions or government funded agencies constantly need to read or reread the rules in these places and to make sense of the signs and shifts that arise unexpectedly in all workplaces. For us to do this successfully we have created for ourselves a work-type whanau; that is, one which gives us support and strength as a unit to discuss ways and means for us to remain Māori but to negotiate as carefully as we are able to more fully comprehend what our colleagues seem unable to grasp or fully understand how we are always Māori, not brown Tauiwi. The laws of traditional life ways include knowing how to know the ways and behaviours of waves at sea or on the whenua (land) looking out towards it. Our capacity to read the waves and how these affect us will vary depending on the direction from which winds are blowing and whether these winds are onshore or offshore. Such seemingly simple necessities require our full attention, understanding and interpreting at all times for our safety and survival at sea, or near it on the foreshore. It is essential wherever we are gathering as a whānau or larger grouping to kohi (collect) kai moana from coastal areas or other resources near home or far inland; it applies no less around our kaik, nohoaka (traditional camping sites) or in lwi specific designated places for obtaining food; for the use of the places as a resource and to manage and monitor our resources. These forms of knowledge and associated systems are always about best practices, of safety whether in the moana for pleasure of kai gathering, or knowing about other uses of wai in awa and roto (water of rivers, streams and lakes) for later, rather than immediate consumption. It applies at the places where and when we gather to enjoy the gift of Takaroa (the sea) for immediate use or trading. So not only is there tikaka around gathering of kai but there are kawa associated with its distribution and the consumption of it. We must always honour the gift (of kai) and never take more than is necessary and, we must be aware of the lunar phases to guide our gathering or leaving of the resource until another time because the signs show us it would be beneficial to leave it well alone. Sometimes these signs are easily read, such as high seas, strong winds and a waning moon to name some; the knowledge of less obvious signals takes a great deal of time to learn and successfully receive and build upon and over time, pass the knowledge on to others younger or newer to the area.

As tamariki (children) we are slowly shown and gently guided into the waves real and metaphoric which are associated with the gathering of kaimoana (seafood) or whenua based kai and associated resources. These guides also steers us towards the when and the how of gathering. This knowledge is directly related to and heavily influenced by the lunar cycle and its significance to all else we do as we grow in our understanding of the role it plays. Within each lunar cycle are days which despite what the weather might be doing, may be good or bad days for gathering and fishing. These we are able to do and interpret for ourselves once literate. We can add the reading to the experiences of childhood and repeating of cycles around food and other knowledge making as recorded by or about us in traditional calendars (maramataka). These are not mere dates but are practices which allow us to have greater experiences of kawa and tikaka when all the while we are ensuring the sustainability of the resources we seek to gather and to assure the safety of us as a resource. These rules of both safety and common sense must be adhered to as they are regularly practiced by those of us still able to be living and working as Māori. By so doing, we are deepening the knowledge of specific cultural and ceremonial practices and meanings which we undertake whenever we are gathering kai of any kind. As with any culture where the significance of food and of speech making is embedded with teaching and learning, story-telling is another means of educating and becoming socialised into a group. However, it is experience and daring to test boundaries we place on ourselves which gives us a greater understanding through the mistakes made and learned from. So all knowledge of ours or of others comes in waves, as layer upon layer, adds to the depth and breadth of our understanding. This is just like whakapapa which too is a layering of people over generations to places over millennia. The knowledge which comes from ancestors in their various waves of two way voyaging as they gained more experience became acknowledged as experts by way of their capacity to assist others' learning

In any lunar cycle, wave action at sea alters and changes sufficiently so that familiar beds of kaimoana also alter from time to time. Recognising the wind shifts, the patterns on the sand and in the clouds or the altered formations a tidal area or an ocean beach are also easily observable when we know how to read them because we visit them regularly. We apply these same principles of safety and correct times to gather despite whether we may or should access the kaimoana. These tohu (signs) can also show that from one new moon to the next, the kaimoana may well have moved or sand banks when explored reveal a new place or a new bed of kaimoana. Only with full attention to the tohu and years of watching waves, tides and moon as a whole can these shifts be seen and our safety as closely as possible be ensured for all time. So how did we come to absorb and learn so much without ever being in a structured formal learning place as opposed to experiential learning? We observed and learned through familial practices; by trusting in the knowledge that was keeping us (including themselves) safe; knowing that they did their best to protect our resources as our parents and grandparents and whānau whānui of the kaik. By honouring the practices, valuing the knowledge as each new wave came our way. We absorbed through repetition and noticed changes just as surely as we did the tide and the difference between gentle waves to play in and the waves which became wild and dangerous and how quickly such changes occur.

So our training began when we were just young children of the 1950s who gathered kaimoana, went night spearing; harvested native spinach and puha; planted and harvested Māori chief potatoes at specific times. Though as youngsters we did not do these chores we were alongside those who did. For each of these was a significant activity directed toward the correct part of the lunar month. We also substituted our everyday food with non traditional kai such as, often keeping a house cow, growing beef sheep and keeping hens. We also had gardens of vegetables with flowers interspersed to attract the right kind of insects. Others in the kaik had small orchards of apples and pears which were shared and exchanged with relatives. The way of or attitude to our fishing and gathering from our home always seemed to be a carefree and a rewarding experience as well probably because those around us made it interesting rather than it being a chore to be undertaken. Likewise our swimming, boating and learning the art of lifesaving and age appropriate safety in and around water of any kind was instilled into us. Therefore, as each of these activities was practiced and mastered, at all times it was undertaken in a totally safe manner even when we were unaware of the preparation we were going through. Certain cultural practices such as karakia before and after them to keep enjoyment and safety around us for all of these pleasures and treasures we sought and caught was never done in an obvious manner, yet we knew we were never endangered. We occasionally thought we knew this already during the repetitions before each foray, but we never questioned this. We were mostly eager to get into the gathering of kai. Nor did we consciously think about what we were being given before, during and after being in the water. There were of course safety instructions and protection from harm as nearly as possible⁴. Some of these unknowns came by way of conversations which were happening where we were, sometimes through stories and pre-histories of our hapū and whānau being fisher-people and with the sharpest reminders came the loss to Takaroa of our whānau members and relatives. The significance of those messages that were relayed to help keep us safe in our villages and established ahi kā kaik ultimately took on meaning as we grew up. Ahi kā really is applied to those of us still on our lands, long settled, always being there and with that come responsibilities and guardianship of the resources and knowledge. The living and learning derived in and from this sea of islands in which we live, was always around gathering kaimoana and fishing under supervision and have always been part of the lives for those my age in similar east coastal kaik in southern Te Waipounamu. Learning waves was like learning words and making sense of both; thus we were reading them and as we grew in knowledge and age our comprehension of both was essential to feeding the kaik and the lives of us in it. This is much less practiced now as times and opportunities came and went so those who left learned additional and new skills and their children did not have access to the kinds of knowing that their parents and hapū had, so we adapted as our futures were laid before us.

As Iwi Māori are moving towards a future involving new technologies, political and commercial alliances, local as well as global economies have required different kinds of achievement at different and new levels of understanding, especially in a commercial sense. Likewise, so too has our whānau but fortunately not at the loss of our ahi kā, kawa and tikaka. Thus since the 1950s our whānau have been both commercial and traditional fishers and have

had to adapt to the technologies of the present. We are at the same time becoming equipped to respond to the changes in ways that enable us to prosper and live in a changing world as Māori blend tertiary learning alongside our whānau knowledge. Our cultural practices are still retained and maintained even in the day to day workplace, though undertaken in more subtle ways than if we were going to kohi kaimoana as a whānau. Such adaptations show whānau, hapū and lwi resilience and transformation. All the while though, being clear about what was always underpinned by lwi knowledge and practices. Even so, despite our grasping of their learning tertiary institutions can be a difficult location for indigenous researchers who face a system that honours print more than oral traditions and who rewards those who play it safe more than those who are honest in speaking the truth to power⁵. This power is manifested in many ways and requires experience to recognise all or any of the following which often like huge waves, swamp and exhaust indigenous researchers. Nonetheless indigenous researchers have continued to provide much in moving their mixed communities toward self-determination. This has come through healing, mobilisation, transformation, development and decolonisation in its varied phases, as languages, traditions and waves with many unanticipated outcomes swamp us'⁶.

Waves in the workplaces just like waves at sea require an equally important capacity to recognise and negotiate. To successfully succeed in these places we need to be able to navigate where possible collaboratively with other Māori staff. Acting as if we are a whanau in the workplace means we give and receive strength from the larger grouping. Negotiation and the survival from these waves can have equally devastating effects on us and our capacity to live and work as Māori, even when we are a collective but the effects of a pseudo whānau offers a korowai of kaha and tautoko (strength and support). As a consequence of acting thus to protect the resources (ourselves) and the knowledge we bring as Iwi Māori alongside our areas of specialty, fits beneath the whakatauki in the paper's title. This safety as we ride or have a view from the crest of a wave applies equally to the workplace. Always we remind ourselves to go with caution and with support from the work whānau or kāhui for we who continue to live as Māori. As we do so we continue to apply the traditional knowledge of our safe whānau practices in our daily work lives. Our capacity to navigate a path through the waves of opposition that come as a consequence of power over processes and the lack of fit for us as exerted by the power-holders, means that smooth sailing seldom happens when culture clashes arise. Waves like these, that are so difficult to interpret or preempt as they are so very tricky and not easily read, interpreted or be prepared for. Thus these waves may be or are very difficult to negotiate because of the many unknowns they contain. Likewise as seafarers, we have never paddled facing backwards into the waves as do most western rowers; our kaihautū (captain or caller) faces the same way we the kaihoe (paddlers) paddle, facing ahead. We are placing our trust in the expertise of the kaihautū. We assume always in a relationship built on trust that his or her directions or calling to us will be steering us in the direction towards which we agreed we would head...One of the earliest lessons instilled into us was to never have our backs to the waves. Different approaches to these work, waves means we are often consumed by their intensity and subsumed to a point of feeling as if we are drowning. Despite our collective years of experience in tertiary workplaces we still have not become immune to or can easily read waves which knock us as they approach us from behind, from the side or as full frontal as the surf when we prepare for and assume that such occasions will always be from an honest and up front approach. This is what my greatest hope and dreams will be as I end my time as Kaitohutohu. That it will be a better place with more understanding and the absolute commitment to allow Māori students and staff to live and work as Māori for them to better to āta haere from the crest of the wave as they learn and share their learning with all in and of their world.

Khyla Russell, Kaitohutohu, oversees the incorporation of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Polytechnic's Memorandum of Understanding with four Kāi Tahu Rūnaka*, in day-to-day operations. She facilitates relationshipbuilding between the institute and the wider Māori community and tertiary sector organisations. She performs an advisory role in any Māori-related research embarked on at the Polytechnic, and undertakes her own research and provides post graduate supervision and consultancy outside of the organisation. Her whakapapa is Kāi Tahu, Kāti Mamoe, Waitaha and Rapuwai on te taha Māori, and Polish and Northern Irish on te taha Tauiwi.

1. Mason Durie, Nga Tai Matatu: Tides of Māori Endurance (Oxford University Press, 2005)

- 2. Mason Durie, Navigating Māori Futures: Ngā Tini Whetū (Huia Press 2011)
- 3. Mason Durie, Mauri Ora: The Dynamics of Maori Health (Oxford Press 2001)
- 4. That was never an absolute guarantee as we have lost numbers to drowning but seldom when we have attended to the duties of appropriate preparation before putting to sea or going into the tide to gather however that may be undertaken
- 5. Linda T Smith, in an abstract prior to an online presentation by Professor Smith on MANU AO (2013)
- 6. Linda T Smith MANU AO (2013)

