Ngā Pae o te

Māramatanga

Tihei Oreore

Monograph Series - INTERN REPORTS

Dec. 2005 - Volume 1, Issue 3

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Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement

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Explanation of Title:

The title ‘Tihei Oreore’ heralds
the awakening of indigenous peoples.
This monograph provides a forum for the
publication of some of their research and writings.

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NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

INTERN REPORTS

Summer 2004—2005

Series Editor

J.S. Te Rito

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Bruce Duffin, Phoebe Fletcher and Jan Sinclair

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Loes van der Laan

Background on Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga is one of seven Centres of Research Excellence that were funded by the New Zealand Government in 2002. It was established as The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement and is hosted by the University of Auckland. Its participating entities are spread throughout New Zealand. The Institute offers three distinct but intersecting programmes: Research, Capability Building and Knowledge Exchange.

Whakataukī (Proverb)

Ko te pae tawhiti arumia kia tata	Seek to bring the distant horizon closer
Ko te pae tata whakamaua	But grasp the closer horizon
Kia puta i te wheiao ki te aomārama	So you may emerge from darkness into enlightenment

The Māori name for the Institute means “horizons of insight”. This is symbolic of the role of the Institute in assembling a critical mass of excellent researchers to undertake high quality research that leads to practical outcomes which result in the development and advancement of Māori.

Directors

Professor Michael Walker and Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

FOREWORD

"Ka pū te ruha, ka hao te rangatahi"

This proverb is about valuing our youth. Literally it means: once the old fishing net is worn, it is cast aside to make way for the new fishing net. In this case, the old net represents the older generations, while the new net represents the younger generations.

The following reports are the work of Māori senior undergraduate through to masters level students from various tertiary institutes throughout Aotearoa (New Zealand). These are students who were awarded summer internships by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga during the summer of 2004–2005.

The purpose for providing these internships was as a step in putting these students on the pathway towards a career in research. The establishment of this monograph provides a forum for interns to undertake a small piece of research and to publish it. Although it is not a refereed journal, it does provide budding research students with the opportunity to gain more experience in the field of research and its publication. The reports provided here have had minimal editing and minimal input from the students' supervisors. Therefore they should be read with this in mind. The whole exercise was also beneficial to the supervisors, in extending their experience of having a student researcher work alongside them. From the perspective of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the summer internship programme also allows us to identify potential researchers for the future and to know their areas of interest.

Many Māori researchers have returned to education in later life. Consequently, while the researchers who have contributed to this publication are all interns, they are not necessarily all youthful—although the majority here are. The contents of this monograph span a wide spectrum of subject areas. These reports stand as evidence of the capacity for research and critical analysis which is strengthening as numbers of Māori tertiary students continue to grow. Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga wishes to thank its 2004–2005 summer interns, and hopes that their new net spreads wide, and brings in a harvest that will benefit all in Aotearoa/New Zealand and indeed the wider world.

Joe Te Rito
Series Editor

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Ko ngā kohinga waiata tuhi ā Te Mākarini mō ngā whakataetae kapa haka ō Aotearoa 2002

Te Mākarini Tēmara

I roto i tēnei tuhingaroa, tuatahi ka āta whakatakotoria e au ētehi pūtoi kōrero, ētehi tuhinga whakaaro ā te hunga tuhi pukapuka aromātai kia hāngai ai ki tēnei kaupapa. I pēnei ai te whakaaro nā te mea ko te tino matū ia o ēnei kohinga kōrero, he aromātai ake i ngā whakaaro ā te hunga tuhi kōrero mo te waiata, tae noa he nao rapu atu i ētehi o ā rātau kōrero mo ētehi wāhanga mo te tito waiata. I tua atu i tērā, he whakamātau ake i te whakaaro meina e tika ana te pātai, "te tito waiata he tūturu he tikanga mātauranga Māori." Ko te wherawhera hoki i te whakaaro mēnā i tohunga anō ō tātau tīpuna ki te tito waiata. Ko te hanga anō hoki i te kaupapa nei i runga i ngā huihuinga raupatu whenua o taku iwi ā Tūhoe hei hāpai i ngā whakaaro ō nāianei. He titiro hoki ki ngā tito waiata o te ao tawhito, ki ngā kaitito o ēnei rā, tae noa ki te hunga e ngākau nui ana ki ēnei mahi. I roto anō i tēnei wāhanga he pai tonu kia tirohia ko te waiata mai ko te tū ko te korikori. Ka huraina ake ētehi o ngā kōrero ā Royal mo te whare tapere ā te Māori.

Ka rua ko te waihanga ake i ngā whakaaro mo te hanga kau ake i te ana whare tū kōrero[1] e whai wāhi ai te aro ake me pēhea e tutuki ai tēnei kaupapa. Ka whai ahau i tāku i whakatakoto i te hui wānanga i tū ki Hopuhopu i te marama o Kohi-tātea 29 o tēnei tau.

Inā koa he whakaata ake i te ana whare tū kōrero, kia riro ko ngā waiata i titohia mo ngā whakataetae kapa haka o te motu i te tau 2002 hei ana whare tū kōrero. Anei e whai ake nei:

Te Ana Whare Tū Kōrero	Ngā Tito Waiata
• Whakaeke	Hikinuku ki Ōrākau
• Waiata tawhito	Maungapōhatu
• Poi	Mīreirei
• Waiata-ā-ringa	Ka aha rā tō tātau reo
• Haka taparahi	Te Tirahou
• Whakawātea	Kua takoto te mānuka

He whakatakoto ake i ngā kupu o ngā waiata me ōna whakamārama hei whakamahuta nui i te whakaaro, i tīkina ai ko ēnei waiata o te tau 2002 hei mahina māku e oti ai tēnei tuhinga roa. Hei

[1] Te Ana Whare Tū Kōrero, Conceptual or Structural Frame Work – My interpretation.

whakakapi[2] ake i tēnei wāhanga ka tāpirihia atu he rīpene pouaka whakaata hei whakareia[3] i tēnei kaupapa kia hāngai ai ki ngā kupu o te ana whare tū kōrero. Anei te ingoa e whai ake: Ngā Whakataetae Kapa Haka O Aotearoa 2002, Te Rōpū o Ruatāhuna.

Ko te tuatoru he whakahoki anō i te pātai e kī ana, "Te tito waiata he tikanga he tūturu mātauranga Māori." Ko te tino pūtake o te hoki anō ki tēnei kōrero, he hoki i runga i te whakaaro mēnā he whai hua anō ngā kohina waiata ā Te Mākarini. Inā koa, mēnā he māramatanga, he mātauranga anō kei roto i ēnei waiata. Ākene kāre kau noa iho. He tāpiri kau ake i ngā kaitito waiata ō nāianei tae noa o te ōnamata. He whakamātau hoki i tēnei kia hāngai ai te tō atu i ngā whakaaro ki te tuhingaroa paerua[4] whakamutunga e oti ai tēnei kaupapa. He āta titiro i tōna hanga.

TE TINANA O TE KAUPAPA

Ngā Pūtoi Rapunga Kōrero[5]

Kei roto i te tuhinga whakapae ā Royal e takoto mai ana ngā kōrero mo te ahunga mai o te whare tapere. Huhua ana whakaaro hōhonu kua wetewetehia e Royal mō te whare tapere. I tangohia mai e ia mai i ngā kōrero ā Te Peehi arā ā Best, tae noa ki a Marsden, arā ā Māori Marsden, nāna nei i tuhi ētehi kōrero mo te mātauranga Māori. He maha noa atu ngā kōrero ā Royal i tīkina atu e ia hei whakairo hāere i te kaupapa mo te whare tapere. Mai i ēnei i runga ake nei ki roto mai i tōna whānau, i tōna hapū i tōna iwi hoki i rapua e ia te kōrero. Koinei ka wherawherahia e au hei tō atu i te matū kōrero e pā ana mo te whakapae tuhinga ā tēnei kaupapa. Ko te wāhi tū tēnei, ko te wāhi kori, ko te wāhi whakaatu atu tēnei i te waiata.

Nōreira he pai tonu tēnei kaupapa hei ruku atu hei whakapoutoko[6] i te whakaaro ki te whakaatu atu i te waiata ki tōna taumata. Ko te hāngai ia o ngā kōrero ā Royal, he kōrero nōna i te ahunga mai o te mātauranga Māori i te tuatahi, e whai wāhi ai te whare tapere i muri mai i tērā. He tika tonu te whakaaro ia kia rukuhia te ahunga mai o te mātauranga Māori hei whakarewa i te kaupapa ake ki tōna taumata. Koinei te titiro ake i tā Royal whāki ake i te kōrero hei tuarā mo tana kaupapa i rangahauhia, e ia arā ko te whare tapere.

He kohikohinga waiata ēnei nā ēnei tokorua ā McLean rāua ko Orbell. Ko te ingoa ia o te pukapuka nei ko te: 'Songs of a Kaumātua sung by Kino Hughes'. Kei roto i tēnei pukapuka e whakaatuhia mai ana te mātatoru o ngā waiata mōteatea ā Tūhoe. Ono tekau rawa ngā waiata kei roto i tēnei pukapuka. Ko te kaituku i ngā waiata nei ko Kino Hughes. Koia tonu hoki kei te waiata i te nuinga o ngā waiata.

[2] Whakakapi – to conclude
[3] Whakareia - elevate
[4] Tuhingaroa Paerua – Thesis. My interpretation.
[5] Ngā Pūtoi Rapunga Kōrero – Literātūre Search. My interpretation.
[6] Hei whakapoutoko – to prop up. My interpretation.

Ko te mīharo ake ko te tapiringa mai o ngā kōpae pūoro whakatangi i ngā waiata hei whai mā te kaiwhakarongo i aua waiata. Mātua noho taha ana ngā whakamārama ō ia waiata hei whakamārama i te āhua o te waiata tae noa i te hōhonu o te waiata me taku whakaaro anō, kāre tonu e tino mau i te reo Pākehā ngā whakamārama tae noa i te wairua o te kupu Māori i roto i ngā waiata. Ahakoa he Pākehā ēnei nā rāua i kohikohi ngā waiata nei kia kōpakihia i roto i tēnei pukapuka. Kei te mihi ahau i te mea kua oti he taonga pupuri waiata mā tātau katoa.

Ko te mihi ake ki ngā kupu ā ngā kaitito waiata i te mea ko te hōhonu ia o te whakaaro kei roto i te kupu, ko te hōhonu o te kōrero rere kau ake i tōna arearenga ki te ao.[7] Anei ētehi e whai ake nei:

Taku Rākau[8]

Taku rākau e	Oh my weapon
Tau rawa ki te whare	That lies in the house
Ka ngaro a Takahi,	Takahi is gone
Te whare o te kahikatoa	From the house of the kahikatoa
Hai ngau whakapae ururoa	Hau & you others if attacked and stranded
E Hau ma e kai waho kei te moana e	Be stranded like a white shark out in the ocean
Kāore aku mihi, aku tangi mō koutou	I send no greeting, I do not weep for you
Mau puku ko te iwi, ka moai tonu te whenua	The people are silent, the land
E takoto nei.	Lies desolate.

Ki ahau he hōhonu rawa atu tēnei waiata me te aha kei te rongonui tonuhia tēnei waiata e Tūhoe, e Mātaatua, e te motu hoki. He waiata tēnei nā Mihikitekapua o Tūhoe. Ko te tiki atu i tēnei waiata, he toro atu i runga i te whakaaro kia wetewetehia ngā whakamārama ā ēnei kaikohikohi waiata,a McLean rāua ko Orbell ki ngā kōrero ka tuarihia ki mua o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi i te wā kei Waikaremoana. Ka tae Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi i te rā o 17 – 22 Mahuru 2004. Ko Pou Tēmara kei te whakatakoto i ngā kōrero mō Tūhoe ki mua i te aroaro o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Koinei tētahi o ngā waiata kei roto i ngā rārangi waiata ka kōrerohia ki Te Tarāipiunara i te wā ka tae ki Waikaremoana. Nōreira, he maha noa atu ngā waiata kei roto i tēnei o ngā pūtoi rapunga kōrero. Heoi anō, ko tēnei he tiki atu i tētahi o aua waiata hei taki ake, tatū noa, hei whakahāngai anō ki te kaupapa take nui o te tuhingaroa nei.

Koinei ka whakauruhia ēnei whakamārama, ēnei whakapākehātanga āku, o "Taku Rākau", hei whakawhanake i te rerekētanga o te whakaaro o te Pākehā, i te whakaaro o te Māori.

[7] McLean.M. & Orbel.M.I 2002pg91. Taku Rākau – He waiata nā Mihikitekapua o Tūhoe.
[8] Ibid, pg91

Taku rākau e	My walking stick
Tau rawa ki te whare	Comes into contact with the house
Ka ngaro a Takahi e	Takahi is lost, as is the sound of footsteps
Te whare o te kahikātoa	From the house of a once-many chiefs
Hai ngau whakapae	Hence a gnawing loneliness befalls me
Hai whakapae ururoa	Like the loneliness of the white shark
E hau mai nei kei waho kei te moana	Which roams aimlessly out in the wide ocean
Kāhore aku mihi e	There is no-one here to greet me
Aku tangi mō koutou	Nor for me to lament
Mau puku ko te iwi e	I am left to bear the pain of the people
Ka mōai tonu te whenua e takoto nei	Whose loss leaves this land here lying desolate

He maha, he tini ngā kōrero e hua paihia[9] mai ana e tēnei pukapuka e kīa nei ko 'Ngā Mōteatea, The Songs'. Nā Ngata me Jones, arā, ā Pei Te Hurinui. Kātahina te reo tohunga ō ngā mātua tūpuna i whakairo, i whao i te kupu ki te ngākau o te tangāta. Anei ētehi kōrero e whai ake nei.

Te Tohungatanga O Ngā Tautitotito

Kei ngā waiata nei ka kitea te tohungatanga o ō tātau tīpuna ki te whakatakoto i ngā kupu o te reo Māori. Kei muri nei hoki, kei te wā Pākehā ka tatauria te kōrero, ka putuputu te whatinga ā te kupu, me te kōhungahunga e hikoi ana. Ki tā mua ia i kōpakina ngā tikanga maha ki ngā kupu ruarua, anō he whakataukī te reka, te tohunga, te tātangi o te kī.

Koinei anō taku titiro ake ki ngā kōrero ā ēnei pūtoi putunga kupu o te pukapuka nei. Autaia ana ngā kōrero whakairo waiata o neherā. Ka kite tonu atu koe i te tohungatanga o ngā whakaaro o ngā tohunga tito waiata ō werā wā. Nō muri nei, nō tēnei wā ka āhua rerekē te whakaaro o te hunga tā kupu ki te waiata. E kore e tātata ake ki te ao o neherā. Anei e whai ake nei ētehi kupu hei whakaaro hei tauira.

Te Reo Māori tawhito[10]	*Te Reo Māori o muri ake nei*[11]
Nā tōna rite he paenga whakairo ki roto o Kaiweka	Anō te rite he tohorā e paea ana ki uta ki roto o Kaiweka, te tini o te toa, te tini o te rangatira, te hunga i tā ia ki te moko
Ko āna kaimakamaka i aroha nei au, ko te waka te toia, te haumatia.	I aroha ai au i te tangata, he tangata pono. Ka hāere ia ki te hī ika, ka mau mai, ka hoki mai ki uta, ka

[9] Hua Paihia ana – that lies before you. Sometihng that is presented before you. In this case in the book Ngā Mōteatea.
[10] Apirāna.T & Jones.P, 2004pgxvii
[11] Ibid,pgpgxii

	maka noa ia i te ika ki te tini, ki te mano. Nōreira hoki ka hui noa te tini o te tangata ki te tōtō i tōna waka, Kāore e karangatia.
Tirohia mai rā aku pewa i taurite tēnei titoko, kei te ngaro whakateo e tere i Taupō	Tirohia mai rā aku pewa, i mua e tauriterite ana. Engari i nāianei nā te pānga mai o te mate nei ki a au ka titokona, anō te rite kei te ngaru o Taupō, e pana te tūpuhi ka whakatūtūtia, rite tonu ki te mata rākau.
E kore au e mihi mei riro ana koe, i te puta tū ata i whakarakea i te awatea	E kore au e mihi, e tangi ki a koe, mehemea i mate koe i te aituā i roto i te pakanga, i te whawhai i tērā e whiti ana, ahakoa he parekura e tahia ai te tangata, e pēnei i te rākau o te waerenga e whakawāteatia nei.

Ki te āta tātarihia e tātau ēnei kōrero i runga ake nei kua kite tonu tātau i te mana nui, i te tapu nui o te reo Māori tawhito o ngā mātua tūpuna. I hangaia e rātau te kupu i runga i te whakaaro, 'iti te kupu, nui te kōrero'. He ruarua noa iho ngā kupu e tīkina atu ana hei whakaputa i te whakaaro hōhonu ā te kaitito waiata. Ko ēnei kupu o runga ake nei i tangohia mai i ētehi o ngā waiata kei roto i te pukapuka nei o 'Ngā Mōteatea'. I pēnei ai te whātoro ki ēnei kupu kia whakahokia anō ngā kōrero ki te tuhinga whakapae o te pātai.

Ko te whāki anō i roto i ngā kōrero ā Orbell i tana pukapuka e kī ana: 'Waiata, Māori Songs In History - An Anthology Introduced And Translated By Margaret Orbell'. He maha tonu ngā kōrero kei roto i tēnei pukapuka me te whakamārama mai anō i aua waiata hei wetewete ake i tēnei kaupapa āku. He wahine rongonui ā Orbell. He maha noa atu ana pukapuka kua tūhia e ia, hua noa hoki ka tirohia anō erā hei takitaki hei whakatōpū kōrero e whakareia ai te tuhinga whakapae kōrero ka hora ake nei.

Ko ngā tuhituhinga o tēnei pukapuka he maha, he nui. Ko te ingoa taitara o te pukapuka e kī ana: 'The Sounds Of Oceania'. Nā M. Moyle. tēnei pukapuka. Ki te whakamāorihia e au 'Ngā Oro O Te Moana'. He pukapuka tēnei e whakaata ana i ngā momo pūoro whakatangitangi ā te Māori. I tīkina ai ēnei kōrero hei whakatōpū whakaaro e tautokohia ai ngā whakapae kōrero mo te tūturutanga mo te tikanga o te tito waiata mai i te mātauranga Māori. Ka hāngai tonu ēnei kōrero ki te tuhinga whakapae kōrero ō taku tuhingaroa, nā te mea ko te oro ō ngā pūoro he tūturu te rongo, he tikanga tō rātau tae noa ki te whakaaro he whakapapa tō rātau, arā ngā oro. Nōreira koinei te take ka wherawherahia ngā kōrero ō ngā oro e tēnei kaituhinga kōrero hei whakawhānui atu i ngā rangahau o te ahunga mai o te tūturutanga ō ngā oro. Koinei te tino take ka rukua tēnei pukapuka.

Ko 'Ngā Waiata Haka Ā Hēnare Waitoa' i kohia e Dewes, ara, e Koro Dewes ētehi kōrero kua tirohia e au, hei tō atu i ngā kōrero ō tēnei ruku i te whakaaro i te mea, ahakoa nō iwi kē te kaitito waiata ō

ēnei kōrero, ō ēnei waiata. Ko te whakaaro ia, ko te tūturutanga ō ngā waiata, ko te aro ake hoki o te ahunga mai ō ēnei kōrero mai i roto i tōna iwi ō Ngāti Porou.

Ko te āwangawanga pea, he iwi noa atu a Ngāti Porou. He rerekē noa atu tēnei mai tōku iwi a Ngāi Tūhoe engari māku e kī he Ngāti Porou tētahi wāhanga o taku whakapapa. Ko te mea nui kē ia, ko te ruku i te matū whakaaro o te wetewete o te tātari ake i ngā kōrero i whaitūturuhia ai te nako o te kōrero e hangai ai ki te kaupapa tohenga whakapae o tēnei tuhingaroa.

He urunga whakaputa whakapapa hoki kei roto i te pukapuka nei. Koia tēnei ka mihi ki a Koro Dewes nāna i kohikohi ngā waiata ā te kaitito nei ā Henare Waitoa.

Koia tēnei te mihi ake ki a Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal mo ana kohikohi ake i ngā waiata ā tōna iwi ā Ngāti Raukawa. Ko te taitara e kī ana: 'Kāti Au I Konei, He Kohikohinga I Ngā Waiata A Ngāti Toarangatira, A Ngāti Raukawa'. Hua noa nei te matū o te kupu kōrero e huapae mai ana i roto i ēnei kohinga kōrero kohinga whakapapa tatū noa i te waiata tito kau o ngā kaumatua o tōna iwi. Kātahina te kaituhi kōrero Māori ko Royal i ana rangahau i ngā waiata o ana tūpuna hei rumaki hei wherawhera mā ngā tauira ruku kōrero ō tēnei āhua. Ka mihi ki ana kōrero e kī ana:

> Tēnei te tuku atu nei i tā matou pukapuka kia whitingia e te rā, kia puhipuhia e te hau. Kia rāngona i ngā tōpito o te ao, kia tirotirohia e te katoa. Kei konei ia – ōna piki, me ōna heke, ōna tika me ōna hē – hei tango mā te tangata. He rau tēnei nō te rākau o te mātauranga. Ā tōna wā, ka kitea mehemea ka piri tonu atu, ka makere iho rānei.[12]

Koinei te tohungatanga o tēnei mokopuna ō Ngāti Raukawa. He tātai tironga nā te tohunga ō ēnei rā ki te tāmoko i te kōrero ki rō pukapuka noho ai. Koirā ka hiahia ahau ki te wherawhera i ngā kōrero ā te Māori ka whakaaro Māori ake i roto i ana tuhituhi.

Ngā Whai, Ngā Hanga O Te Kaupapa

Ko te whai ia o tēnei tuhingaroa e tutuki ai ōna kōrero ki te kaupapa ake o te pātai tautohe, he rapu koa ake i ngā ara tau whāiti[13] e hāngai ai ki te kaupapa. Ko tētahi o ngā ara ka whāia e au, ko te hāere ki ngā hui raupatu ā Tūhoe ka tū ki mua i Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi ka whakarongo i ngā kōrero e hāngai ana ki te whenua, ki te iwi, ki te ahurea[14] tatū noa ki te whānau, ki te hapū, ki te iwi hoki. Ko te tino hāere kē ia, he hāere ki te whakarongo i ngā kōrero mō ngā waiata ka puta ake i ngā take[15] ka kōrerohia ki mua i te aroaro[16] o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Ka tū ēnei hui ki roto i te rohe pōtae o Tūhoe. Ka tītama mai ngā hui ā Te Tarāipiuna mō Tūhoe ki roto o te Waimana, ka neke ki Waiōhau,

[12] Royal.T.C, 1994pg1
[13] Ara tau whaiti – avenues of focus. My interpretation.
[14] Ahurea - cultūre
[15] Take – issues.
[16] Aroaro – in the presence of, in front of. My interpretation.

ka hāere ki Ruatāhuna, ka hāere atu ki Murupara, mai i reira ka neke atu ki Te Whāiti-nui-ā-Toi, tae atū hoki ki Waikaremoana, ka ahu atu ki Rangiāhua. Ka mutu ki reira, ka hāere atu ki Ruatoki. Ka whakaotia ngā hui katoa mo te raupatu ō Tūhoe ki roto o Maungapōhatu.

Anei ngā marāe ka tū ngā hui: Ki te Waimana, ko te marae o Tātaiahape; ki Waiōhau, ko te marae o Tamakihikurangi; ki Ruatāhuna, ko te marae o Te Whai-ā-te-motu; ki Murupara, ko te marae o Rangatahi; ki Te Whāiti, ko te marae o Te Murumurunga; ki Waikaremoana, ko te marae o te Kūhāwāea, ko te marae o te Waimako; ki Maungapōhatu, ko te marae o te Māpou, ko Tānenuiārangi te tipuna whare; ki Ruatoki, ko te marae o Tauarau, ko Rongokārae te tipuna whare. Koinei ngā marae ka tū ngā hui raupatu ā Tūhoe. Kāore hoki e kore ka arearehia[17] ngā kōrero ō ngā waiata, inā koa ka tuarihia ki mua i te aroaro o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi.

Ko te pātai pea, ka pēhea te hono o ēnei kōrero ki te kaupapa tuhingaroa ake? Ko te kaupapa whakapae kōrero ā tēnei tuhingaroa e pēnei ana: "Te tito waiata he tikanga he tūturu mātauranga Māori." Ko te titiro, ko te whakarongo koa i roto i ngā hui raupatu nei ki ngā kōrero mō ngā waiata ā ngā tohunga tito mō ia hapū, mō ia iwi i roto i te rohe pōtae o Ngāi Tūhoe. Tatū noa ki te tito waiata hou hei hopu i ngā whakaaro ō tēnei reana tangata i runga i te rerenga o te kōrero i ngā hui raupatu.

Ngā Kupu O Te Waiata

Koinei anō tētahi tino kaupapa ka āta wetewetehia e tēnei tuhingaroa i te mea ko te hōhonu o te whakaaro kei roto i te nako[18] o te kupu. Ko te matū[19] o tēnei kōrero, kia mōhio rawa te kaituhi ki te rerenga o te kupu kōrero, ki te whakaaro ia o taua kupu kōrero, ko te mutunga atu o taua kupu kōrero. Hua ia ko te whakamahi i taua kupu, i tua atu hoki, ko te whakatakoto o te kupu i roto i te waiata. Mo tēnei wāhanga o te tuhingaroa, he maha tonu ngā waiata ka tirohia e au hei kapo[20] atu i ngā whakaaro o te hunga kaituhi waiata. I pēnei ai te taki o te kōrero, tērā kia mātua tuarihia te hāngai ki te take nui ake o tēnei tuhingaroa.

Anei e whai ake nei ētehi o ngā kaituhi. Ko Mihi-ki-te-kapua tērā, ko Pikihuia tērā, ko Kūoro tērā. Kāore ahau i te kī ka tīkina katoa ngā kaituhi waiata katoa o Tūhoe ēngari ko ētehi noa iho. I pēnei ai ngā whakaaro, tērā kia hāngai tuatahi ai ki te pātai ake ā te tuhingaroa. Tuarua kia mārama hāngai hoki ki ngā kōrero ka tuarihia i mua o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Inā nei, koinei te wāhi ki ōku whakaaro e tino whakamātauria ana te mana nui o te mātauranga Māori ahakoa he aha te kaupapa. Menā ko te waiata tēnā, ka whakamātauhia e te mana nui o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Menā ko te whakapapa tēnā, ka pērā mō tēnei, ka whakamātauria e te mana nui o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Meina ko ngā tikanga ā te Māori, ka whakamātauria e Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Koinei te take nui e tino whāia

[17] Arearehia – resonate as in sound or be heard.
[18] Nako – Essence. My interpretation.
[19] Matū – Depth with essential element that broadens the meaning. My interpretation.
[20] Kapo – to grasp, to grab, to take hold of. My interpretation.

pēnei nā , nā te mea ahakoa he aha tā tāua te Māori ka whakauauahia[21] e te mana nui o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. He mana ki te mana tēnei ki a au.

Ka hoki mai tēnei āhua me kī te mana ki te kaituhi o te waiata, nāna nei te waiata i tuhi. I pēnei ai aku kōrero i te mea koia ake kei te mōhio i te tino hōhonu o te kupu whakaaro kei roto i taua waiata. Ka hoki mai ia te mana ki tōna whānau, ki tōna hapū, ki tōna iwi. Koinei ki a au te hōhonu o te mana. Ko te whakapae hoki ā tēnei tuhinga roa, he mea nui rawa atu te mana ia o te kupu kei roto i te waiata. Ka tirohia hoki te ahunga mai o te mana me ōna hua ia, e whanaunga ai ki ētehi atu tikanga nui ka rongohia i roto i te waiata. Ko te tapu tēnā, ko te ihi tēnā, ko te wehi tēnā, ko te wana tēnā. Ka āta wherahia[22] ēnei tikanga i roto i tēnei tuhingaroa i te mea e mau ana ahau ki te whakaaro, he hono, he herenga tō wēnei tikanga ki te waiata ahakoa he aha. Kāore hoki e kore ka tirohia te ahunga mai o ēnei tikanga i roto i ngā kōrero o ngā atua Māori tūturu ake. E hoki ai tēnei ki a Io, heke noa mai ki a Ranginui-e-tū-iho-nei, ki a Papatuanuku-e-takoto-nei, ki ā rāua tamariki ka rongohia i roto i ngā waiata. Ko Rongo, ko Whiro, ko Tāwhirimātea, ko Tūmatauenga, tēnā ko Tāne, ko Haumietiketike, ko Ruaumoko hoki. Ehara i te mea ka tirohia, ka wheraina te katoa o ngā atua, ēngari ka tīkina atu ērā ka hāngai ia ki te waiata e tohua ana e te kaitito o ngā waiata ka rangahautia.

E pono ana te kaituhi o ēnei kōrero, ki te āta rapua ngā kōrero o ngā atua tūturu ā te Māori, ka kitea te hōhonu o te whakaaro ō ngā kaitito waiata me kī ō tērā rau tau neke atu, kātahi tonu nei ka pahore[23] atu ka ngaro atu. Me kī, e tata atu ai tāua ki te tino mārama o te waiata. Kei roto pea i te momo waiata ka kitea te mārama o te kupu o taua waiata. Nōreira i runga i tērā whakatakoto whakaaro, ka āta tirohia ngā momo waiata ō ngā kaituhi. Inā nei ko te momo waiata e ai ki ngā kupu kei te takoto e mōhiohia ai he haka, he manawa wera, he tiwha, he waiata tangi, he waiata aroha, he waiata whaiāipo, he waiata kaioraora, he waiata kanga, he waiata whaiwhaiā rānei. Ehara rawa i te mea he uaua ki te kimi, ki te rapu i ēnei kōrero , ēngari tērā pea ka tirohia ngā kōrero ā ngā tohunga kua takoto i a rātau ēnei tūmomo kōrero mo te āhua o te waiata. Ehara rawa i te mea ka kōrerohia te katoa o ngā momo waiata, heoi anō ko ētehi anake. Ko te mea nui o tēnei tiki atu i te kōrero kia pēnei, kia noho whāiti ai ngā kōrero ki ētehi waiata noa iho e hāngai ai ki te nako o tēnei kaupapa.

Hei tino whakatepe[24] ake i tēnei tuhingaroa ka wetewetehia ētehi kōrero mō ngā āhuatanga noho kau ake o ngā kaituhi i ā rātau waiata. I te mea e whakapae ana tēnei tūhingaroa, ko te noho kau ā te kaituhi i te wāhi i tūhia e rātau ā rātau waiata, he mea nui tonu. Ko te tironga ake o tēnei tino ruku i te whakaaro, ko te noho ā te kaituhi i roto i tōna pūtaiao.[25] Ka whakaaro ahau i te pātai:

[21] Whakauauahia – Be made difficult or is quite difficult. My interpretation.
[22] Wherahia – Sift through, uncover. My interpretation.
[23] Pahore atu – Rubbed away, lost and disappeared. My interpretation.
[24] Whakatepe – alevate, uplift. My interpretation
[25] Pūtaiao – environment. My interpretation.

- I pēhea rā ngā āhuatanga i te wā i tūhia tētahi waiata?
- He aha ngā take nui i te huri hāere i taua wā i roto i te hāpori[26] ā te kaitito waiata?
- He aha ngā kaupapa tōrangapu whakakeokeo[27] i te hinengaro e puta ai he whakaaro i te kaitito waiata?
- I pēhea te tau ohaoha[28], te taumahoko rawa[29] ā te kaituhi waiata e rerekē ai te tito ā tēnā kaituhi waiata, ā tēnā kaituhi waiata huri noa?
- He aha rawa te mea rerekē i rerekē ai tēnā kaituhi waiata mai i tēnā, i tēnā, i tēnā huri noa?
- He aha ngā tau o te kaituhi o te waiata ka tirohia e tēnei tūhingaroa?

Koinei ki a au ētehi ō ngā whakaaro hei wherawhera ake mo te kaupapa nei. Anei ētehi kōrero e whai ake nei e hāngai ana ki ēnei kōrero:

> In traditional Māori society there was great deal of singing, in everyday situations as well as on special occasions. The choice of song depended upon the circumstances. When there was different assertion rather than complaint, a song was usually performed in recited style, without melodic organization. Such recited songs were associated with vigorous action or a strong social challenge. They include, among many others, paddler's songs (tuki waka), dance songs (haka), womens vaunting songs in reply to insults (pātere), and watchmen's songs (whakaaraara pā).
>
> There are also three kinds of songs that were mainly concerned with the expression of love and sorrow, and often took the form of a personal communication. These songs were sung rather than recited, with a melody repeated in each line and the language shaped accordingly. The kind known as oriori were usually sung to communicate to a boy or girl the tribal circumstances they had inherited, and the relatives who would offer their support. Those known as pao were epigrammatic couplets, mostly sung for entertainment, which expressed love, extended greetings and commented upon local events and scandals.[30]

Koinei i whakaarohia ai kia wherawherahia ngā pātai i runga ake nei. I te mea kei te pono te kī, he maha noa atu ngā momo waiata i titohia e ngā mātua tūpuna. Ko ēnei kōrero i runga ake e kōrero nei i ngā momo waiata e whakaae, e toko ana i te whānauitangā atu o tēnei whakaaro. Ko te honotanga o ēnei kōrero, ki te tuhi whakapae, he nanao ake ki ēnei tūmomo kōrero hei whakatūwhera i te whakaaro āe e tini kau maha ana te waiata ā te Māori i ōna wā. Ahakoa he aha te waiata, i ngā mātua tūpuna aua waiata. Mo ētehi, kei te waiata tonuhia aua waiata rā i tēnei rā. Ka kōrerohia hoki ētehi o aua waiata rā i mua i te aroaro o Te Tarāipiunara o Waitangi. Koinei te mana, te tapu o ngā waiata ā ngā mātua tūpuna. Kua riro mā ngā waiata nei e whakamārama ake ētehi o ngā kūrakuraku i nā ngawe[31] o te iwi i runga i ngā take raupatu ā Ngāi Tūhoe. Kei roto hoki ngā momo kōrero katoa e tāea ai ki te wetewete i ngā whakamārama mo ngā take nui i waengā i te iwi.

[26] Hāpori – community. My interpretation.
[27] Williams.H.W, 2001:114.Whakakeokeo – Peaked, peak, pointed, high.
[28] Ibid, 2001: 237. Ohaoha – Generous. Suggest wealth.
[29] Ibid, 2001: 331. Taumahoko rawa – Suggest economic situation. Rawa – as in goods, property.
[30] Orbell.M, 2000pg1
[31] Ngawe – issues of resentment, hurtful feelings, concerns. My interpretation.

Ko Te Waiata Mai, Ko Te Tū, Ko Te Kori[32]

Koinei tētahi wāhanga o tēnei tuhingaroa, he titiro ake i te waiata e whakaatahia mai ana. Inā nei ko te tū ā te kaiwaiata. Ko te pātai ia, ka pēhea tōna tū i roto i ana momo waiata kua titohia e ia. Ko te waiata ia i te waiata i runga tonu i tōna momo āhua tito. Ko te kori, ko te haruru ia o te waiata, ahakoa he aha, ka pēhea te whakatutuki ia i taua waiata e puta ai ko te ihi, ko te wehi, ko te wana ā te waiata. He take nui tonu hoki tēnei i te mea ki te kore e tika mai te waiata, kua kīa kua hapa[33], kua korapa te waiata. Kei konei kua heke te mana, te tapu o taua waiata, tatū noa te tangata i waiata mai. Inā koa, ahakoa koia e waiata mai rā, ka tirohia kē atu ko tōna whānau, ko tōna hapū, tōna iwi kē. Mai tēnei, kia kore ai e hapa, e korapa[34] rānei, ka ruku rawa tēnei tuhingaroa ki te raparapa[35] hāere i tēnei tikanga ā tātau te Māori.

He kaupapa take nui tō ngā kōrero o runga ake nei i te mea ki a au, he hononga tōna ki te whare tapere ā te Māori, i akohia ai te Māori i roto i wēnei whare ki ngā mahi ā Rehia. Ehara i te mea ka tīkina rawa ngā kōrero katoa mo te whare tāpere, engari he wāhanga tōna ki roto i tēnei tuhingaroa. Inā koa, ko te whare tapere, he tino whare nō tuawhakarere i hangaia mō ngā kaupapa tukutuku waiata ā te Māori. Anei tā Royal kī:

> The whare tapere was sometimes a particular building set aside in a typical pā village for the purposes of entertainment and amusement. Sometimes no specific building existed, rather the term whare tapere was used to describe a set of entertainment and amusement activities that might have taken place at some place in the pā such as the marae-ātea or in a convenient building nearby The activities may have taken place outside of a pā at a site set aside for this purpose.[36]

I ēnei rā kua kore tēnei mea a te whare tāpere i roto, i runga rānei i te marae, hei ako i ngā whakatupuranga ō nāianei. Kua kore katoa, ko te whakaaro pea kia whakaarahia mai anō. Kei te whakapae ahau ko te whare tāpere ake kua tangata tonu kē. Ehara kau rawa ko te whare ka tū ki wāhi kē o te marae, engari ki a au, ko te whare tāpere, ko te tangata tonu kei a i ia ēnei tū momo taonga e pupuri ana. Koia tonu taua whare. Koia kei te pupuri i aua taonga rā. Kāore pea mā whare hanga rānō ē mōhiohia he whare tāpere kei te tū. Ko te tangata tonu ia tērā. Koirā tāku hei whakauru tomo atu ki roto i tēnei tuhingaroa. Ka rite pea tēnei ki te whare karioi e kōrerohia ana e Royal anō:

> The whare karioi, from a small piece of information, appears to be a travelling whare tapere. It might simply be a whare tapere group which travelled from village to village. Hence the troupe convened by Tinirau and Hine-te-iwaiwa might be properly described as a whare karioi.[37]

[32] Performance of Waiata – My interpretation.
[33] Hapa – mistake. My interpretation.
[34] Korapa – serious blunder, serious mishap. My interpretation.
[35] Raparapa – continuously searching. My interpretation.
[36] Royal.T.C, 1998.pg163, pg164.
[37] Ibid,pg164

Ka hāngai tēnei ki tāku e kī rā i runga ake nei, ko te tangata tonu e waiata rā te whare tapere. Koinei tāku ka tohe ake i roto i tēnei tuhingaroa, ko te tangata tonu, te whare tapere ā te Māori.

I whakatūria, "Ko Ngā Kohinga Tuhi Waiata Ā Te Mākarini" o te tau 2002 hei ana whare tū kōrero mō tēnei kaupapa. Ko ngā waiata ēnei i titohia mō ngā whakataetae kapa haka o Aotearoa i tū ki Tāmaki-makaurau i Takaparawhā. Nā Te Mākarini i tito ngā waiata katoa hei ara whakakake i te rōpū o Ruatāhuna. Kotahi o ngā waiata nei i titohia e Te Kāhuirangi Te Kirihou Tēmara. Ko te whāea tēnei ā Te Mākarini. Ko te Waiata Tawhito tērā nā Te Kāhuirangi i tito.

Te Ana Whare Tū Kōrero	Ngā Tito Waiata
• Whakaeke	Hikinuku ki Ōrākau
• Waiata Tawhito	Maungapōhatu
• Poi	Mīreirei
• Waiata-ā-ringa	Ka aha rā tō tātau reo
• Haka Taparahi	Te Tirahou
• Whakawātea	Kua takoto te mānuka

Whakaeke - Haka Manawa Wera: *"Hikinuku Ki Ōrākau"*

Kaitito: Te Mākarini Tēmara Te rangi: Te Mākarini Tēmara

(Kaea) 1	Whakarauika kau ana ā Tūhoe	Tūhoe who gathered
	Ki te rohe o Te Waiariki	In the region of Te Waiariki
	I kō tata ake nei	Not so long ago
(Kapa)	I ā hahā	Yes indeed
5	Hiki nuku, hiki rangi	Off they went
	Ka whakarara ki Ōrākau	Rumbling towards Ōrākau
	Pōkaihia te whenua	Cutting through the land
	Kumea mai ngā tapuwae	Pulling towards the footsteps
	Maringi toto, parekuratanga	The spilt blood & tragic loss
10	O ngā whakamataku	Of the many gallant warriors
	Ihoiho i tū i totohe	Who stood and fought
	Ki ngā tini mano hōia	The thousands of soldiers
	A Kuini Wikitōria i āhaha!	Of Queen Victoria
(Kāea.T)	He aha te kupu mō te	What is your response
15	Upokokōhua wahine nei	To this bastard of a women
	E taku Mareikura e?	My Amazonian queen?

(Kāea.W)		Wahine iti rawa	Oh little lady
		O runga o te rangi	From above
		Tuku iho ki raro	Who ascends down
	20	Ka hē ō kōrero	O how wrong you are
(Kapa)		Kīhai koia	Hence should you be
		Werohia ki te taoroa	Speared by my weapon
		Ākina ki te parāoa	And be beheaded by my patu
		Kia whakataukī ake	Oh thou art arises the proverb
	25	Te mamae aue taukuri e	That pains deep within
(Kāea.W)		I a nana e taku	Tis I urge indeed
		Whatukura e!	My mighty warrior
(Kapa)	30	Puhi kura, puhi kura, puhi kaka	
		Ka whakatautapa ki Kāwhia huaki!	
		Huakaina, huakina	
		Tahi ka riri, toru ka whā	
		He matamata, hopukia!	
	35	Hōmai rā tō whiri kaha, toro kaha	
		Kia wetewetea, wetewetea, wetewetea	
		A te, a ta, a tau aue.	
(Kaea.W)		Haramai ana te riri	The rumbling of anger comes
		I raro o Muriwhenua	From beneath Muriwhenua
	40	I a Maha, i a rā	And Maha ia rā
		Ehara he kete pakupaku e kō	Tis it is no easy task
		Ehara he kete pakupaku e kō	I repeat tis it is no easy task
		Kei te uru, kei te tonga	To the west to the north
		Kei te uru, kei te tonga	To the west to the north
	45	Kei te rākau pakeke	And towards the great tree
		Kss aue, hi!	Kss aue, hi!
(Kaea.T)		Kī mai nei ā te Ua e	Te Ua declares
	50	Māna anake te koki	He alone shall lead the charge
(Kapa)		Au, au, au mate te koki	Oh, oh, oh lead us to victory
(Kaea.T)		Kī mai nei ā te Hiatara	Te Hiatara asserts
		Māna anake te kororā	Only he can give the signal
(Kapa)	5	Au, au ,au mate te kororā	Oh, oh, give us the victory signal
		Tēnei kukutia, tēnei kokopia	Tis clamp it and stomp it
		Ki te tohe mai koe, tena wherahia!	Should they contest kill them
		He aha te kai mā te niho kehokeho	What shall my teeth of anger bite

		He keho anō, ā tū ana te kehokeho	Oh yes a sweet keho to uplift me
(Kaea.T)	60	Aue ngaua ki ō niho	Oh grit it tightly
(Kapa)		Au	Yum
(Kaea.T)		He mamae poto	A moments pain
(Kapa)		Au	Yum
		Kei pakoko, kei tua te rā Waikure	Oh victory looms before me
	65	Tihei mauri ora!	Behold there is life!

Whakamārama

He haka manawa wera e whakanui ana i te hāere ā Tūhoe ki Ōrākau i te wā o te pakanga. Tae noa i kō tata ake nei i te hāere ā Tūhoe whānui ki Ōrākau. He hāerenga nā Tūhoe hei whakatutuki i etehi wāhanga o tana raupatu. He whakaaraara ake i ngā wāhi i hāere ai ngā tūpuna ki te pakanga i runga i tā rātau hāere ki te āwhina i ā Ngāti Maniapoto i roto i tōna rohe. He hokina mahara ki te hunga i parekurahia i te pakanga o Ōrākau. He amo ake i ngā wāhi i noho rātau.

He wai e kōrero ana i ngā nōhanga ā te tipuna nei ā Tūhoe. Te okiokinga ā te tipuna nei, inā koa, mate kē atu aia he whenua kē. Koia te aroha ake ki tō tātau tipuna ā Tūhoe Pōtiki i puta ai te whakataukī nei mōna, 'Tūhoe moumou kai, moumou tāonga, moumou tangata ki te pō'.

Waiata Tawhito: *Te Pātere ā Ruatāhuna Ki Ngā Whakataetae A Te Motu*

Kaitito: Te Kirihou Tēmara Te rangi: Mākarini Tēmara

1	He atua, he tipua, he taniwha Maungapōhatu	Maungapōhatu full of mystery
	Te mana motuhake o Tūhoe tuakiri ki te ao	The sovereignty & identity of Tūhoe to the world
	Tiwhatiwha te pō, tiwhatiwha te ao	The night and light resounds
	Ka whakaaraara, ka uruuru whenua	As I get ready to traverse I invoke
5	Ki ngā mana atua o Rangi-ō-Nuku	The prestigious gods
	Ngā pouamokura, ngā tapu ioio	The many sacred sentinels
	Ka tuohu ki te whakanui	Bowing in all humility
	Ki te maimai aroha atu e te iwi	To acknowledge their awesome power
	Tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou e…i	I greet you all
10	Hikinuku, hikirangi o riri ki te ara	Hence I begin my journey
	Hōkaia ki Tarapounamu ka titiro atu	Towards Tarapounamu and gaze at
	Ki Tūwatawata, ko Ngāti Whare	Tūwatawata to Ngāti Whare
	Kumea mai te whenua, ko Tangiharuru	Pulling towards Tangiharuru

	Ko Ngāti Manawa, tika rere ki Te Arawa ko Mokoia	Stands Ngāti Manawa, in the direction of Te Arawa is Mokoia
15	Te Kauhoetanga o Hinemoa ki a Tūtānekai	The swimming of Hinemoa to Tūtānekai
	Taku herenga ko Te Rangiaorere, te rauikatanga o te iwi e..e..i	My connection being Te Rangiaorere, hence the place where Tūhoe gathered
	Mawhiti Tūhoe ki te riu o Waikato	Tūhoe who moves towards Waikato
	Ko Kīngi Pōtatau, ko te mokopuna o te motu	To King Pōtatau, and also the grandchild
	Te Atairangikāhu, he piko, he taniwha	Te Atairangikāhu of the people that celebrates, for every bend is a rangatira
20	Tihohe Tūhoe, pōkahia te whenua	Tūhoe who glides, cuts through the land
	Ki ngā tihi tapu o Tāmaki-makaurau	To the sacred peaks of Tāmaki-makaurau
	Te huihuinga mana, te herenga waka	The gathering of rangatira and waka
	Kumea mai te papa te mura o te ahi	Pulling itself towards the stage of fire
	O Tūkariri,Tūkaniwha, Tūkaitaua e	Of angry Tū, of berserk Tū, of Tū who eats war parties
25	Taiāhaha, taiāhaha	Hence my arrival to the showdown
	Ka tūtaki tātau tārewa kau ana te Ngākahi	Hence we meet to allow all hell to break loose
	Tukutukua, hāpainga te kaupapa	To strut your stuff to support the cause
	Kia haruru, kia ngaoko te whenua, tutū te puehu	So that the land will rumble & dust be stirred
	Tānukunuku ngā maunga, ngā paritū kārangaranga	And that the mountains are given the opportunity speak to one another
30	Ki te papa pouwhenua, poutangata	To the home land and the home people
	Whakamenemene, whakaminamina, whakangahau	Enjoying a good performance of entertainment
	Te riro ki te rangi e	Giving it their all
	Hinepūkohurangi te tipua, te kāwai o te iwi	Mist maiden is our ancestor that binds us
	Taura here o te kōhanga ō Tūhoe	To the nest of Tūhoe
35	Whenua tītohea koawaawa	A land that is isolated
	Ngāweki ana Te Wao-tapu-nui-ā-Tāne	Filled with the forest of Tāne
	Ngā pae maunga ko Manawaru, ko Huiarau, ko Panekire	Its mountains Manawarū, Huiarau and Panekire
	Ko Ruatāhuna kākahu maukū, Ruatāhuna paku kore	Ruatāhuna clothed in maukū, Rautāhuna of meagre means
	Pūkohukohu ana, mau ana te wehi e	Filled with awesomeness of the mist
40	Ngā ture tinihanga ā te ūpokokohua Kāwana	To also remind us of the deceiving acts and deeds

	nei	of the Crown
	Te murunga whenua, te murunga mana, taonga tuku iho	The loss of land, loss of mana, and our treasures of the past
	Te ārero teka, ngā kōrero whakawai i marara ai ngā whakaaro	The liars, the deceitfulness that distracted us all
	Ka tinihanga, ka tipi hāere, tipi nuku, tipi rangi,	That robbed us and severely affected us
	Taka kē atu ki raro i te Iho Matua ā te Pākehā	Making us fall victims to its philosophies
45	Pā rawa te mamae ki te tau o te ate	Hence the hurt that gnaws deep within
	Taukuri te raru o te iwi e ... i	Troubling my people
	E hoki ki ngā Atua tūturu kia rongo ai i te wehi, te tapu	Return to our own gods so that we may once again connect to our sacredness
	Te taumata o te mātauranga hai kōkiri i ngā kaupapa raupatu	The depth of knowledge it has to offer to implement our land claims
	I riro whenua atu, me hoki whenua mai, kia manawanui, manawaroa	Hence the land that was lost, return them, be steadfast and be patient
	Tū toa, tū pakari, whāia te kotahitanga Tūhoe kei roto ngā niho, ngā matā	Be bold, brave and persistent Tūhoe, most of all stand together
50	Hai wero i te taniwha Karauna e pēhi nei i te mana o te iwi Māori	This is your greatest weapon to defeat the Crown that suppresses our sovereignty
	Koi noho ka pakū pērā i rāwahi e haruru mai rā i ā Penerātene	To not do so may lead us to what is happening overseas with Osama Binladen
	Koinei ka whiu au i te kupu o ōku tīpuna	Hence I assert the words of my ancestors
	Ko wai hai rangatira mō tātau?	Who shall govern us?
	Ko wai, ko wai? Ko tātau anō e…e….i	Who, I ask you all? Ourselves of course
55	Nera?	Isn't that right?
	Ae!	Of course it is!

Whakamārama

He pātere mōteatea nā tēnei ō ngā kuia tito waiata ō Tūhoe ki roto o Ruatāhuna. He waiata e whakahua ana i tōna maunga a Maungapōhatu. Te rongo i tōna tapu, i tōna ihi, i tōna wehi. He maunga whakarongo ki ngā paritū kārangaranga o ētehi maunga o te motu.

He tohu i te manamotuhake ō Tūhoe. He tukuna mai nāna ki tēnei tira kapa o Ruatāhuna i runga i te kite ake he tuatahitanga tēnei mo Ruatāhuna ki te uru atu ki ngā whakataetae o te motu. Ko Maungapōhatu tōna tuakiri ki te ao. I runga i te putanga o tēnei kapa ki te ao, he wkakatau, he

whakanui, he uruuru whenua ki ngā mana, ki ngā tapu, ki ngā wairua ō ngā rohe hāngai atu ki te huarahi ki Ākarana e whakatata atu ana ki te mura o te ahi i Tāmaki-makaurau.

Taiahaha, taiahaha!! He tohu kua tae ki te mura o te ahi.

Te Poi ā Ruatāhuna: *Mīreirei ana*

Kaitito: Te Mākarini Tēmara Te rangi: Te Mākarini Tēmara

He tohu nā te aroha e
A te Whatukura o te iwi e
Te matemate-ā-one e
Ā te Māreikura ki tana tau...u...u...

1	Haruru kau ana te moana	The sea rumbles
	Pupuhi ana a Tāwhirimātea	The wind blows
	Pīoioi oi ana ngā rākau	Trees sways side to side
	Korikori koa ana te ngākau	The heart is filled with joy
5	I te koa i te hari, memene	And gladness hence I smile
	Mīreirei ana ngā mahara	Thinking about you
	E te tau, purotu e	My sweet-heart
	Kānapanapa ana ngā whetū	The stars flicker
10	Whitiwhiti ana te marama e	The moon shines
	Rere kau ana he wairua	My spirit is moved
	Minamina mate kanehe e	Discreetly I make eyes at you
	I te koa i te hari, memene	Filled with joy, smiling
	Mīreirei ana ngā mahara	Thinking about you
15	E te tau, purotu e	My sweet heart
	Koinei te kawa o te whaiāipo	Tis the ways of bonding
	Pūremu wairua mate ki te tau	The heart is moved
	Kōrero te tinana me ngā kanohi	The body is consumed
20	Tīremiremi e hope whai ake	In such excitement
	I te koa, i te hari, memene	And jubilation tis I smile
	Mīreirei ana ngā mahara	Thinking about you
	E te tau, purotu e	My sweet heart

Whakamārama

He waiata whakanui i ngā moemoenga o aku kuia, o aku koroua ō Tūhoe. Inā koa he whakarongorongo nā te kaitito ki ngā kōrero o ana whāea, o ana pāpara mō ngā huihuinga tāne/wāhine i roto ngā mahi waiata, haka, puta ai i roto i te kapa haka. E haere ai ki raro i ngā whetū mahi ai. E kitea ai hoki i roto i ngā pāti huihuinga i ngā kanikani ā te Māori. Tatū noa, e kitea ai i roto i ngā mahi ā Rēhia e mīreirei ai tetahi ki tetahi, e mate kanehe ai.

Koinei ā rātau mahi. Ka rongo koe i ā rātau e kōrero ana i te wā e noho noa iho ana te whānau, te hapū. Mo ētehi, he hokina mahara ki wā rātau mahi i te wā e tamariki ana, e puta ana tēnei āhua.. Ko tā te Rangihau kōrero mo tēnei āhua, "kua pu te rūhā." He hokina whakaaro nā te kaumātua i a ia e tamariki ana, e kaha ana ki ēnei mahi. He ahuaranga hoki kei te kitea tonu i roto i ngā uri whakaheke ō Tūhoe. Koinei hoki ngā kōrero ā taku whaea ā te Kirihou i roto i ā ratau tūtakitakina ngahau, ā mahi hoki i ngā mahi ā Rēhia, ā Tānerore. Ina koa, ko tana kī, ā, i te haka mātau, ā mea rawa ake kua kite mātau i a mea e piri ana ki tetahi. A mea rawa ake, ā kua moe tahi rāua. Ara, koira aua mahi mīreirei rā i waenga i tēnā, i tēnā, i tēnā ō mātau.

Waiata-ā-ringa ā Ruatāhuna: Aotearoa e...e...e

Kaitito: Te Mākarini Tēmara Te rangi: Te Mākarini Tēmara

1	Aotearoa e, tēnā koutou katoa	Aotearoa greetings
	Kua emi nei e, e rauika nei	To you who have gathered
	I te hui nui ā te motu	At this prestigious occasion
	Te raupiri nui ā te iwi	The coming together of us
5	Te huihuinga o ngā mana	The meeting of chiefs
	Te herenga o ngā waka	The uniting of canoes
	E tau nei, Haere mai	That have landed, Welcome
	Ko te kōhanga ō Tūhoe tēnei	We are the nest of Tūhoe
10	A Ruatāhuna kākahu maukū	Ruatāhuna cloaks of maukū
	A Ruatāhuna paku kore e	Ruatāhuna of humble means
	E iti rearea teitei kahikatea nei e	That is striving for the top
	Mei kore ka puta, mei kore ka tāea	In the hope it will do its best
	I runga i te kī	Based on the words
15	Te manu kai i te mātauranga, nōna te ao	The bird that partakes of knowledge owns the world

	Aotearoa e, ka aha rā tō tātau reo	Aotearoa, what will our language be like
	Rua tekau tau ā muri nei?	20 years from now?
	Hākune ka rite ki te moa	Perhaps likened to the moa
20	Akune ka kaha kē atu	Perhaps it will get stronger
	Ākene ka ora	And even survive
	I runga i te kī	On the belief
	Koia ka mōhio ki tana reo	Tis, who know a language
	Ka kīa he tangata	Are referred to as a people
	I runga i te kī	Even further believing
	Koia ka mōhio ki tana reo	Tis, who know their Māori language
	Ka kīa he Māori	Are known as Māori
25	I runga i te kī	In believing further
	Ki te kōrerohia taku reo	Should I speak my native tongue
	Ka kīa au he Tūhoe e x2	I'm known as a Tūhoe
a	*(Hakaina*) Tūhoe moumou kai	Tūhoe wasters of food
30	Moumou taonga	Wasters of treasures
	Moumou tangata ki te pō	Consigns people to the night

Whakamārama

He waiata e mihi ana ki ngā mana, ki ngā ihi o te motu, arā ki a Aotearoa whānui. He waiata e whakatau ana i te āhua ki te hunga kua emi, kua rauika mai nei ki Tāmaki-makaurau. Ko tōna kī, te huihuinga ō ngā mana, te herenga ō ngā waka e tau nei, haere mai.

He waiata e whakatau ana ko wai a Ruatāhuna. Koia te kōhanga ō Tūhoe e kai nei i te mātauranga kia puta ai ki te ao.

He waiata e pātai ana i te pātai, ka aha rā tō tātau reo rua tekau tau ā muri ake nei? Kia mātau he pātai nui tēnei nā i te mea kei te itiiti hāere ō mātau kuia, koroua e mātatau ana ki te reo. Me kī rā a whakamataku mā. Ko ētehi kei te ora tonu, engari me te whakaaro ake i runga i te pātai, ko ētehi kei te ora tonu rua tekau tau ā muri ake nei. Ko ētehi tērā pea kua piko kē ngā tuarā pēnei i ā mātau pakeke ō nāianei. Kua mōrehuhia. Tērā pea ka rerekē noa atu te mita o te reo kōrero. Waiho tonu. Ākene ka rite ki te moa. Ko tā Ruatāhuna kī, ākene ka kaha kē atu, i runga te kī, koia ka mōhio ki tana reo, ka kīīa he tangata; koia ka mōhio ki tana reo, ka kīīa he Māori; i runga i te kī, ki te kōrerohia taku reo, ka kīa au he Tūhoe

<u>Haka A Ruatāhuna Mo Ngā Kapa Haka O Te Motu</u>: *Te Tira Hou e*

Kaitito: Te Mākarini Tēmara Te rangi: Te Mākarini Tēmara

Ngāti Whātua whakarongo mai rā
Ki ngā hau o Maungapōhatu
Ara tū, ara te, ara tau
He aha?
Ara tū, ara te, ara tau
Mo te aha?
Mo Te Tirahou e
Mo te aha?
Mo Te Tirahou e
Kei hea?
Kei Tāmaki-makaurau nei, kei te mihi, kei te mihi
Ki ngā whakatau o aku tuākana, me koutou
E i tū ai a Te Tirahou e
Purua ki te whakatau e
Taku ora, taku ora, Ngāti Whātua
Taku toa, taku toa, te uri ō Tūmatauenga e
Kia mōhio mai koe, toru tekau tau ki muri
Nā Te Tirahou, nā Tūhoe ki Pōneke
I tīmata Te Hui Ahurei ā Tūhoe i te Waiariki e
Kākahu maukū, aha paku kore e
Paparuahia te whakatau e
Taku ora, taku ora, Ngāti Whātua
He tipua, he tangata
Ka whakareia e ki runga, aku rangatira, aku tuākana
Nā te rawea, ko te whiwhia, ko te waimaria o ngā mokopuna
O te kohu ki te noho ake i roto i a koutou
Taku ora, taku ora Ngāti Whātua e
Tēnā koe mo Te Tirahou i hau mai ēnei kupu
I a Te Kooti Rikirangi e
Anei rā, e whai nei i te kura nui, i te kura roa
Koinei ngā tohutohu ā Te Matua Tangata e
Ka hoki ngā mahara ki ō pakanga ki te Karauna
Ki te Kaunihera, ko te Pirimia ko Māurutūnu e
Ūpokokōhua poaka i tonoa mai nā pirihimana

Nā hōia ki te whakataha i a koutou e i runga ake nei
Taku ito, taku ito ki ngā mahi taurekareka
Ā te Karauna ki a koe ki te motu hoki e
Nōreira ko koutou, ko tātau, e te motu
Te Tirahou o te tau rua mano!
E pakū mai rā ō rāwahi i ngā kariri ō Amerika
Taku wehi, taku wehi ki te parekuratanga o te hunga
I ngaro ki te pō, hāuna ngā whare aumangea mahanga
Ka tāea te whakatū, engari ngā tāngata, papahoro ana e
Ngaro noa, ngaro noa ki te pō, pō tango, pō ngaro atu e
E hika, Penerātene (Osama Benladen)
Rite kau ana koe ki a Te Kooti Rikirangi e
I hunaia e tana iwi a Tūhoe, e tana rahi, ana pononga
O te Urewera e tohe nei e, e ora nei e
Kore rawa, kore rawa i mate ia i ngā kariri ā te Karauna e
E te motu Te Tirahou o te tau ruamano
Kei hea te ora mō tātau e?
E hoki, e hoki ki ngā atua tūturu ō ngā tūpuna
E rongo ai i te wehi, te tapu, te taumata o te mātauranga e
Hei kōkiri i ngā kaupapa raupatu ki te Karauna e
Taku ora, taku ora, ko taku mana Māori e
Taku ora, taku ora ko taku mana ō Tūhoe e
Mana Atua, mana Ariki, mana Tūpuna,
Mana moumou tangata ki te pō e
Hi!

Whakamārama

He haka e whakatau ana i ngā hau ō Maungapōhatu. He haka e whakanui ana i ngā mātua tīpuna e takoto mai rā i te tītohea kōawa paritū kārangaranga tahataha ō Maungapōhatu. Takoto mai rā koutou e koro mā, e kui mā i Tāwhārangi. He heri, he kawe atu i te au mihi o te au kaha, o te au rona o ēnei koroua, o ēnei kūia ki a Ngāti Whātua whānui ki te motu hoki. He hono i ngā wairua o ngā tīpuna o Ngāti Whātua ki ēnei o mātau o Tūhoe.

He mihi ki a Ngāti Whātua mo te whare e kīa nei ko Te Tirahou. He whare tēnei kei waenganui tonu i a Tāmaki-makarau. He mihi ki a Ngāti Whātua mo tā rātau tautoko mai i a Tūhoe nā rātau nei i whakatū i runga i te tautoko mai o te hunga kāinga. He mihi nā ō mātau koroua a Te Rangihau mā, a Te Mākarini pakeke mā, a Te Pūrewa Pītara, ā Pani Turei, a Hori Tait mā mo te tautoko mai ā te iwi

kāinga i te wā i haere atu ēnei koroua ki te whakatau atu i te kaupapa mo te whare nei ki a rātau. Koia ka mihi ki a rātau.

He haka e whakanui ana i te ingoa o Te Tirahou, o te whare hoki. He ingoa i hau mai i ngā tohutohu ā Te Matua Tangata a Te Kooti Rikirangi. He ingoa e kōrero ana mo te āhua o te hunga ō nāianei e kīhia nei ko Te Tirahou. Ko tātau rā ēnei e noho nei i te tau rua mano.

Nōreira koinei tōna āhua. He haka hoki e mihi kau ana ki a Ngāti Whātua mo ētehi o ngā raru kua tau mai ki runga i a rātau i te wā ko Māurutūnu te Pirimia, arā a Muldoon. Ko Takaparawhā (Bastion Point) tērā. Taku ito rawa atu ki ngā mahi ā te Kaunihera, ā te Karauna ki a Ngāti Whātua ki te motu hoki.

Ko tātau te motu, te Tirahou o te tau rua mano, kāore e tāea te karo, kāore e tāea ki te whakataruna hāere anō nei kei te hē tēnei whakaaro, i kapohia rānei i te rangi. He nui ngā āhuatanga kei te pā mai ki a tātau a Ngai Māori, a Aotearoa. Arā e pakū mai rā o rāwahi i a Penerātene (Osama Binladen). E tonotonohia nei ā tātau hōia Māori ki tāwāhi hei hōia rōpū whakamau i te rongo ki ngā iwi kē.

He haka e whakatau ana i te parekuratanga i Amerika i te marama o Hepetema i te rā o te 11, 2001. He haka hoki e kōrero ana mo te tangata e kaingākauhia nei e te Pirimia o Amerika, kāre nei e kitea e ia. Ka rite hoki tēnei ki Te Matua Tangata. Inā koa i hūnaia e tana rahi e Tūhoe. Kore rawa te kariri ā te Pākehā i pā ki a ia. Kia kaha koe Penerātene.

Ko te pātai kei hea te oranga mō tāua, mō tātau? Kei te kī a Ruatāhuna, e hoki ki ngā atua tūturu, kāore i tua atu.

<u>Whakawātea</u>

Kaitito: Te Mākarini Tēmara Te rangi: Te Mākarini Tēmara

Kua takoto te mānuka
O taku Whatukura
E maioha nei
E akiaki nei e
Kua tau te rau e
O taku Māreikura
E karanga nei e
E hari koa nei e...
Kia piki te ora o te iwi
Te mana motuhake ō Mataatua

Te raupiri nui o te iwi
Te hui ahurei o Aotearoa
Ka hoki nei e
(Hakaina)
Ka hoki nei kia purea ai
E ngā hau ā Tawhirimātea
Aha taku ora, taku ora
Ko wai e?
Ko Ruatāhuna kākahu maukū
Ko Ruatāhuna paku kore e
Kei hea?
Kei Manawarū
Kei Huiarau
Kei Maungapōhatu
Te kōhanga o Tūhoe e
Purua ki te whakataukī
Iti rearea, teitei kahikatea ka tāea
Kotahi nā Tūhoe e kata te Po…hi!

Whakamārama

He waiata e whakanui ana i te Whatukura, i te Mareikura. He amo ake i ēnei ingoa tawhito o tātau o Ngai Tūhoe. He kōrero mo te rangatira, ā tāne, ā wāhine. He whakanui i a rāua i roto i ngā mahi whakahirahira ā te iwi.

He tohe hoki ki te iwi, koi noho rawa te whakaaro e kore te hui ahurei e hoki anō ki Ruatāhuna kākahu maukū, Ruatāhuna paku kore e. Me kī rā ki tōna kōhanga i raro i ngā maunga ā Tūhoe. Koi noho rawa tērā whakaaro hei whakapōrearea i te iwi i ngā tau ka heke, arā te kī, "iti rearea, teitei kahikatea ka tāea." Hei tohe atu i tēnei tohe, hei whakapūmau, ka korowaihia ki tērā o ngā kīnga, "kotahi nā Tūhoe, e kata te Pō."
Ka whakamāramahia e Tāmati Kruger:

> Ko tētahi hoki o ngā kōrero kāre e tino kōrero whānuihia ana i waho atu o konei nā, e kī ana nā, pēna he tika te kōrero e kī āna e tātau nā kai runga tātau i Te Ika ā Māui e noho ana, ko te hiku o taua ika kai ā Ngā Puhi, ko te ūpoko o taua ika ā kai ā Te Āti Awa kai Pōneke āna koinei te manawa o taua ika nē, ko tēnei wāhi (ko Ruatāhuna).[38]

[38] Tāmati Kruger, W 8/6/2002.

Ka tika te kōrero, ko Ruatāhuna te manawa ō te ika ā Māui. Ko Ruatāhuna te kōhanga o te rohe potae ō Tūhoe.

Te Kapina O Te Kōrero[39]

'Te tito waiata he tikangā he tūtūru mātauranga Māori'[40]

Koinei te mutunga o te tuhinga whakapae kōrero i runga i ngā uiui hāere kia kimia he kupu, he kōrero tika e whakamāorihia ai te taitara hanga kau ake i tēnei kaupapa. Ko ngā wetewete o te taitara o runga ake nei e kī ana:

- he tikanga tō te tito waiata
- he tūturu te āhua o te tito waiata
- he mātauranga tō te tito waiata
- he mātauranga tō te Māori
- he mātauranga tūturu tō te Māori
- he mātauranga tikanga tō te Māori[41]

Koinei ngā whakaaro tohe ake ā te tuhingaroa nei he whakamātau ake i te tokonui o tēnei kōrero. No te mea hoki ko ngā kupu whakanui i te "legitimate" e ai ki tā te Māori anei e whai ake nei:

- he tūturu
- he pono
- he tika
- he hāngai
- he hōhonu
- he whānui
- he taketake
- he nui
- he roa
- he hiranga
- he urutapu
- he whiwhia
- he rawea[42]

[39] Te Kapina Ō Te Kōrero – Conclusion.
[40] Kruger.T. 2004-10-22 Composition of Waiata as Ligitimate Body of Mātauranga Māori. This was Krugers interpretation as he critically and systematically tested the title of this proposal. This was at the Waikaremoana Hearings of the Waitaingi Tribunal mo ngā Raupatū Whenua a Tūhoe.
[41] Ibid, Kruger
[42] Ibid, Kruger

Koinei ngā āhua ka tirohia e tēnei tūhingaroa he whakamahuta[43] i te kī, "Te tito waiata he tikanga he tūturu mātauranga Māori." He wherawhera, he raparapa, he tīnaonao i te matū koa o tēnei take nui. Koinei i whakaarohia ai tuatahi, "Ko Ngā Kohinga Waiata Tuhi A Te Mākarini" ō te tau 2002 mō ngā Whakataetae Kapa Haka ō Aotearoa hei kaupapa tuhingaroa kōrero mo tēnei rīpoata. Tuarua hei tīmata whakarewa i taku tuhingaroa paerua e kīa nei ko te 'Thesis'. Tuatoru hei tīmata i te kohikohi i ngā waiata kua tūhia i roto i ngā tau ka huri.

Papa Kupu Whakamārama

ana whare tū kōrero	conceptual frame work
ara tauwhāiti	pathway, avenue
ahurea	culture
aroaro	presence
arearehia	resounding, when hearing someone
aronga	the meaning behind, underlying message
awe	soon
hapa	mistake
huhua	abundant, multitudes
hahu	dig up, delve, explore and search
huapae	lying broadside
hāpori	community
hanga kōrero	construction of ideas and of words
hāngai	aligned, relevant
kohikohi	collect, collate
kaupapa	proposal, purpose
kaupapa whakapae tuhituhinga	thesis proposal (hypothesis)
karo	avoid
kakarihia	pursue with vigour
korapa	serious blunder
mātauranga māori	indigenous knowledge
manakohia	hoped for, desired
nako	essence
ngawe	issues that are unresolved
Ngai Tūhoe	Tūhoe tribe
nako ia o te kupu	essence of the word
pūtoi kōrero arotāke	literature review
pukenga kōrero	the depth of literature

[43] Whakamahuta – highlight, emphasise. My interpretation.

pukenga o te kupu	the depth of words
puea	to rise
pūtea kōrero	resource of words, resource of literature
pūtaiao	environment
pahore	rubbed away, lost, disappeared
rapunga	findings, search, research
raupatu whenua	confiscated lands
rau mahere	strategy plan
takena mai	origins
taitara	title
take	issues
tautohe	debate
tarāipiunara o waitangi	waitangi tribunal
tahā whakaora	calabash of health, vessel of health
tōrangapū	politics, political indications
tōrangapū whakakeokeo	political issues plaguing the mind
toko	uplift
tuturu	legimate, authentic, have meaning
tutuki	to complete
tuitui	to connect, to collate and interpret
tuhinga whakapaerua	thesis
tuarihia	presented, to put something before someone
whānui	broad
wherawhera	sift through pages
whakakorikori	to perform and sing
whaimana	credibility, reliability
whakakeokeo	peaked, high
whai pakiaka	gain some grounding, foundations
whaiwhainga kōrero	pursuit of words, pursuing some ideas
whakakapi	to summarise
whakairi	to suspend, to bring to a close
whaiwāhi ai	opportunity
wetewete	analyse
whakaurua	that will be entered, be included
whakatepe	elevate
uiui	communicate, interact and question
upoko	chapter

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Unequal Treatment: a feasibility study of pain management in an emergency department

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Background

Disparities in the provision of health care continue to be a major feature of many societies, and hence, a major problem for health care providers and systems as they aim to achieve equal standards of treatment for all patients. There are well documented disparities in health status and outcomes, and evidence over recent years has shown that indigenous populations and ethnic minority groups[44] continue to receive a differential quality of health care compared with non-minority groups [1]. One area where this has become increasingly prominent is in the treatment of pain. The reasons behind these findings, however, have yet to be uncovered, with differential pain expression, variation in the experience of pain, problems with effective communication across cultural barriers, and physician bias being raised as possible explanations. This is an important area of research, as pain is often a major feature in a patient's own perspective on their quality of life.

[44] In this document, the terms 'race' and 'ethnic minority' are sometimes used, as much of the literature referred to is derived from the United States, where the terms are in common usage. These terms may not be appropriate within the New Zealand context.

Despite living in a country where a lot of attention is focused on highlighting inequalities between ethnic groups, the area of pain treatment between varying ethnic groups has yet to be examined. While evidence of disparities has begun to appear in overseas studies published in the last ten years, no such study has been undertaken within New Zealand to our knowledge. There has, however, been emerging evidence of differential treatment within other areas of health care such as the provision of epidural pain relief during childbirth, and within the receipt of coronary heart disease interventions [2, 3].

To identify whether these examples are isolated instances within certain parts of the New Zealand medical system, and following on from international studies within this area, we aimed to investigate the feasibility of a study on the subject of differential pain treatment by ethnicity in the Emergency Department (ED) of a New Zealand hospital.
This paper has two parts:

1. a review of the relevant literature on differential pain management, and
2. a discussion of general the issues involved in undertaking a study in a New Zealand ED, including examining the available statistical data on long bone fractures, performing power calculations, and considering the local context. Although the project involved collaboration with CCDHB staff, specific information obtained is excluded from this paper. Ethics approval was also obtained.

Literature review

A key part of this study was to identify the literature that had already been published in this area. Both international and domestic literature was investigated to find relevant articles and following this a review was carried out in order to identify key points highlighted by the results of these publications. Combinations of the following search terms were used:

- Analgesia
- Race
- Ethnicity
- ED
- Treatment
- Pain
- Māori
- New Zealand

The following electronic databases were utilised as the main source for retrieval of relevant studies, most of these arising from international sources.

- Medline 1966 to November Week 3 2004
- PubMed
- ProQuest 5000

An internet search using the Google search engine was also undertaken, along with a review of the bibliographies of the papers retrieved from the initial database search.

Summary of international publications

Over the past 10-15 years, significant international evidence has begun to emerge describing ethnic disparities in the treatment of pain in emergency departments. Two review articles were published in 2003, one by Green et al. [4] and the other by Cone et al[5], looking at the literature which has been produced on this topic. Both found that racial and ethnic disparities were evident within the treatment of pain, as well as other areas of patient care.

The following is a summary of the relevant international evidence that was collected and reviewed for the purposes of this study.

Todd, Samaroo and Hoffman (1993)

In 1993, Todd, Samaroo and Hoffman published "Ethnicity as a Risk Factor for Inadequate Emergency Department Analgesia" [6]. This was the first article published analysing disparities in pain treatment based on a patient's ethnicity, and has since led to the initiation of a number of similar studies in this area. The objective of this retrospective cohort study was to determine whether Hispanic patients with isolated long-bone fractures were less likely to receive emergency department analgesics than non-Hispanic white patients. [45] The emergency department records of 139 patients who were discharged from the emergency department with a diagnosis of an isolated long-bone fracture were included, of which 31 were Hispanic and 138 were non-Hispanic white.

The results showed that Hispanic patients were more than twice as likely to receive no analgesic with 55 percent of Hispanic patients receiving no analgesia, compared with 26 percent of non-Hispanic white patients. Controlling for a range of covariates including patient characteristics, injury severity, physician characteristics, and potential intoxication, provided no significant change in the relative risk. Even when all covariates were controlled for at the same time, the strongest predictor of no analgesic was still ethnicity. The authors concluded that while there was a possibility that their findings were an isolated example from their institution, they could find no basis to suggest that similar results were not generalisable to other physicians and hospitals.

Todd, Lee and Hoffman (1994)

The ability of physicians to deduce the severity of pain in patients from a different culture to their own was suggested as one of the possible explanations for the results found in the first study. To examine this, Todd and his colleagues published a follow up to their 1993 study a year later, focussing on "The Effect of Ethnicity on Physician Estimates of Pain Severity in Patients with Isolated Extremity Trauma" [7]. This prospective study involved 207 patients presenting to the UCLA Emergency

[45] This includes fractures of the radius, ulna and humerus in the arm, as well as the tibia, fibula and femur in the leg.

Medicine Centre with isolated extremity trauma, including 69 Hispanic patients and 138 non-Hispanic white patients. Both patient and physician interpreted the severity of pain on a visual analogue scale.

The results showed no differences between Hispanic and non-Hispanic white patients' or physicians' pain assessments. Although there was a difference between physician and patient pain scores, it did not differ by ethnic group. Todd et al. controlled for multiple potential confounders, but the level of discrepancy between patient and physician remained the same even after this had been done. The outcome of this paper led the authors to conclude that the findings in their previous study may have been due to bias by physicians, meaning that they were less likely to treat pain when the patients were of Hispanic ethnicity.

Todd, Deaton, D'Adamo and Goe (2000)

In 2000, Todd, Deaton, D'Adamo and Goe published their most recent study, "Ethnicity and Analgesic Practice", in the *Annals of Emergency Medicine* [8]. The aim of this study was to determine whether black patients with extremity fractures were less likely to receive emergency department analgesics than non-Hispanic white patients, and hence support the generalisability of their original study to other ethnic groups and/or hospitals. The study involved 217 patients discharged from an emergency department with a diagnosis of isolated long-bone fracture, consisting of 127 black patients and 90 white patients. This retrospective cohort study covered a 40-month period.

It was found that there was a significant increase in the likelihood of receiving analgesics for white patients in comparison to black patients, with 74 percent receiving analgesics compared with 57 percent respectively. This equated to a 66 percent increased risk of receiving no analgesia for black patients, compared with white patients, even after controlling for multiple potential confounders.

This study produces some evidence that the findings of Todd and colleagues' previous study are not limited to Hispanic patients, but also include black patients in terms of a physician's decision whether or not to provide analgesia for isolated long-bone fractures in an emergency setting. It also shows that the findings of their earlier study were not necessarily an isolated feature of emergency care from the first hospital, and that these results may be generalisable to other emergency departments.

Karpman, Del Mar and Bay (1997)

The first study by Todd and colleagues was the influence behind a number of similar studies that were produced by other researchers in other areas of the United States. One of these studies was "Analgesia for Emergency Centre's Orthopaedic Patients: Does an Ethnic Bias Exist?" by Karpman, Del Mar and Bay, published in 1997 in *Clinical Orthopaedics and Related Research* [9]. This study focused on determining whether Hispanics were prescribed less analgesia than white patients with similar extremity trauma. The study had a small sample size of 84 adults, with 29 Hispanic patients and 55

non-Hispanic white patients. Patients selected for the study were those who had been diagnosed with an isolated long-bone fracture requiring a closed reduction.

The results of this study were in contrast to the original study by Todd et al., with Hispanic patients having a relative risk for not receiving analgesia of only 1.03 compared with white patients, which was not statistically significant. A comparison of high and low dose analgesia was also undertaken, but this too showed no significant difference with 50 percent of Hispanic patients receiving the high dosage compared with 32.3 percent of white patients.

The authors identified the small sample size as a limitation to this study, however, when the proportion of Hispanic patients within the study group was measured, it turned out to be larger than that in the original study by Todd et al. (35 per cent compared with 22 per cent). This study was based in a community hospital, and the results posed the question of whether or not the type of facility, and/or the demographics of the patients who present to that facility, have an effect on the prescribing practice for the treatment of pain. This also showed that the findings from Todd and colleagues' studies might not be generalisable to other locations and hospitals.

Tamayo-Sarver, Hinze, Cydulka and Baker (2003)

A more recent study on "Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Emergency Department Analgesic Prescription" by Tamayo-Sarver, Hinze, Cydulka and Baker was published in the *American Journal of Public Health* (2003) [10]. It mentioned the studies by Todd et al. as concerning in the fact that they showed that some patients may be being treated with insufficient amounts of analgesic, and that this may disproportionately affect minorities. As the previous studies had been based within single institutions and with small sample sizes, Tamayo-Sarver and colleagues decided to investigate whether racial and ethnic disparities were evident in the practice of prescribing analgesics on a national scale, by looking at three years worth of data from the American National Hospital Ambulatory Medical Care Survey (NHAMCS), from 1997 through to 1999.

Data from a total of 67 487 patient records were included in the study, comprising 42 926 white patients, 15 108 black patients, 7 523 Latino patients and 1 930 patients classified as being from other ethnic groups. Differences between the groups included a higher mean age, more visits classified as urgent and higher rates of admission for white patients. The mean age was shown to be lowest for Latino patients. The patients in each group rated pain severity at a similar level, but as the sample size was large, the small difference detectable was shown to be significant.

No association was found for the prescription of any analgesic, compared with no analgesic, based on patient ethnicity. Some results showed discrepancies between the ethnic groups, however, with black patients being less likely than white patients to have opioids prescribed for migraines or back pain.

Latino patients and white patients showed smaller differences in the use of opioids, and these were not found to be significant. In terms of long bone fracture, race was not found to be a significant predictor of analgesic prescription.

The authors note that the findings in this study may have been affected by the publishing of the original study by Todd et al. in 1993. If this was the case, then any national differences that may have been present in 1993 may have been minimised by the time when the data featured in this study was collected (four years later). Differences in methodology were also stated as possibly contributing to the contrasting findings of the two studies.

Fuentes, Kohn and Neighbour (2002)

A further recent study on "Lack of Association Between Patient Ethnicity or Race and Fracture Analgesia" was published by Fuentes, Kohn and Neighbour in *Academic Emergency Medicine* in 2002 [11]. This was another follow up to the earlier studies by Todd et al, aiming to determine whether the results from these papers were reproducible in a different location. The study involved 323 participants, of whom 181 were white patients, 58 African American patients, 46 Hispanic patients and 38 Asian patients. Comparable to previous papers, the authors looked to determine whether ethnicity had an effect on the receipt of analgesics for long-bone fractures in the emergency department setting. This was again retrospective in design, and covered a one-year collection of ED records from the San Francisco General Hospital.

No ethnic group was shown to be more likely than another to receive analgesia, with the overall risk for no analgesia being 20 percent, and no parenteral (administered intravenously or intramuscularly) analgesia being 31 percent. When evaluating potential confounders such as age, sex, specific bone fractured and whether there was any need for reduction, the Hispanic, African American and white ethnic groups were found to be comparable. The Asian group, however, showed some minor differences, with a tendency to be of a younger age, less predominantly male, and require fewer reductions. A subsequent result that was of interest from this study, but not related to its main objective, was that men had a greater risk of no analgesia than women, with a relative risk of 1.9.

Again this study produced contrasting results to the two studies by Todd and colleagues from 1993 and 2000. The authors commented that although they tried to employ the same methodology as Todd et al., differences in staff education and ethnicity, and in study population demographics, could account for the differential results. They also mentioned the possibility that the publishing of the results of the studies by Todd et al. could have affected the practice of analgesic prescription within their emergency department.

Yen, Kim, Stremski and Gorelick (2003)

As can be seen from the summaries above, most of the studies on this topic have focused on adult populations from single institutions. In light of this, and to further test the generalisability of the studies by Todd and colleagues, Yen, Kim, Stremski and Gorelick published a paper titled "Effect of Ethnicity and Race on the Use of Pain Medications in Children with Long Bone Fractures in the Emergency Department" in the *Annals of Emergency Medicine* (2003) [12]. The objective of the study was to examine analgesic use among a paediatric population with varying race and ethnicity that were diagnosed with isolated long bone fractures and consequently treated in a United States emergency department. Patients younger than 19 years were identified in the 1992 to 1998 survey data from the NHAMCS who had attended EDs with isolated long bone fractures. A total of 1 030 children were included in the study, 792 of those being non-Hispanic white, 111 black and 127 were Hispanic white.

Once again the results were in contrast to those of Todd and colleagues, with the different racial and ethnic groups being shown to have similar rates of analgesic and opioid analgesic prescription. It was found that 64 percent of black children, and 57 percent of both non-Hispanic white and Hispanic children received analgesic medication of some type while in ED. After taking into account a number of risk factors, ethnicity and race failed to produce any effect on the probability of being prescribed pain relief medication.

It was concluded that these results suggest that the earlier studies from single institutions may have represented isolated incidents, rather than a national trend. However, this study was undertaken with a population of exclusively children, and therefore it is not possible to discount the earlier findings totally using the results of this study, only to speculate on a possible explanation for the different outcomes. Once again it was noted that possible differences during the period that the earlier studies were produced might have since been reduced. The main finding here was to suggest that the discrepancies in analgesic prescribing, found previously in other emergency departments, do not seem to affect the paediatric patients that present within the same setting.

Choi, Yate, Coats, Kalinda and Paul

In 2000, Choi et al. published another study on the effect of ethnicity on analgesic prescription, but this time the institution was in London (the Royal London Hospital), and focused on a comparison between Bangladeshi patients and white patients, as a quarter of the population surrounding the hospital was Bangladeshi. Their study, entitled "Ethnicity and Prescription of Analgesia in an Accident and Emergency Department: Cross Sectional Study" was published in the *British Medical Journal* [13].

307 patients between the ages of 15 and 55 years were identified from a retrospective study of emergency department records at the hospital. 224 were white patients, 42 were Bangladeshi and a

further 41 patients were either unclassified, or classified as of other ethnic background. Results showed a small difference between the two groups, with 78.5 per cent of white patients received analgesia compared with 81 per cent of Bangladeshi patients, yet this was noted to be not significant. The groups were all similar in relation to a number of variables, including admission rates, injury mechanism, specific bone fractured and percentage of patients requiring reduction. The only differences between the groups were in terms of sex and age, with more male patients, and a lower average age in the Bangladeshi group.

One possible significant limitation to this study was the option to leave out potential confounders. The authors suggested that differences in pain threshold, expression of pain, and the staff-patient relationship could have been affected by ethnicity, but these factors were not investigated. Subsequent studies in this area would be needed to determine the generalisability of these results, as other studies so far have been based in America, and have focused on different ethnic groups.

Tamayo-Sarver, Dawson, Hinze, Cydulka et al. (2003)

As can be seen from the summaries above, evidence of ethnic disparities in the treatment of pain has been conflicting, and as of yet, no explanation has been provided for why these disparities may occur. Tamayo-Sarver et al. decided to produce a study which would examine whether or not the reasons behind some of the ethnic discrepancies found could be due directly to physicians' predispositions based on a patient's ethnicity, race or social desirability. Their paper, titled "The Effect of Race/Ethnicity and Desirable Social Characteristics on Physicians' Decisions to Prescribe Opioid Analgesics", was published in 2003 in *Academic Emergency Medicine* [14].

2 872 practicing emergency physicians from the American College of Emergency Physicians membership list participated in the study, with 2 441 identifying as white, 373 as non-white, and 58 of unknown ethnicity. Physicians were asked to complete three clinical vignettes (migraine, non-traumatic low back pain, and ankle fracture), with either no occupational information, or with details suggesting a 'high-prestige' occupation, to provide an indicator of social standing. Race/ethnicity was indicated using photographs to show patient skin colour and also with 'racially identifiable' names. The proportion of patients prescribed opioid analgesics for each condition by race/ethnicity were as follows:

	African American	Hispanic	White
Migraine	47%	49%	48%
Back Pain	85%	84%	83%
Ankle Fracture	86%	87%	86%

As can be seen from the table, patient ethnicity did not influence the physician's decision on whether or not to prescribe analgesics. Differences between the groups were not significant. The rate of prescribing increased for the migraine and back pain vignettes by 4 per cent and 6 per cent respectively when social details were included, although this difference was not significant clinically. In contrast, no alteration in rate of prescribing was found when this information was included in the ankle fracture case.

The findings in this study suggest that physicians' decisions, in terms of opioid pain relief provision, are not altered by patient ethnicity, but may be somewhat influenced by a patient's social status. This influence, however, is dependent upon the presenting condition and possibly its severity. Areas identified in other studies, such as communication and expression of pain, were unable to be studied in this paper, and may provide an explanation for the lack of any discernible difference between the ethnic groups.

Studies of pain management in other settings

Differential pain management has also been investigated in other settings and for other clinical conditions. The following articles were included in the review as they were deemed to be relevant to our study and also because many compared their results to the original study by Todd and colleagues in 1993.

Ng, Dimsdale, Shragg and Deutsch (1996)

In 1996, a paper studying the effect of ethnicity on the treatment of post-operative pain was published by Ng, Dimsdale, Shragg and Deutsch [15] and was aimed at determining whether the findings in Todd and colleagues' 1993 study could be generalised to post-operative pain treatment. A retrospective review of medical records over a two-year period from the University of California San Diego Medical Centre, Orthopaedic Service was carried out which identified 250 patients with limb fracture. Included in this sample were 36 black patients, 100 Hispanic and 114 white patients. Treatment with analgesic medication, over a seven-day post-operative period, was examined for each patient.

It was found that white patients were consistently treated with higher doses of analgesic compared with both black and Hispanic patients. These results were highly significant, and remained so even after controlling for age, insurance status, sex and number of diagnoses, showing ethnicity to be a strong predictor of amount of analgesic prescribed. The authors speculated that one possible explanation was that the lower dose received by Hispanic patients may have been due to a language barrier, but then made the comment that this would be unlikely to be the sole reason as black patients also received less analgesic, yet they were not perceived to have the same 'communication barrier'.

They also mention that their study could not distinguish whether the disparities found in post-operative pain treatment were due to the behaviours of the patient or the physician.

Ng, Dimsdale, Rollnik and Shapiro (1996)

To follow on from the study above, Ng, Dimsdale, Rollnik and Shapiro published another paper on the treatment of post-operative pain, this time focussing on patient-controlled analgesia (PCA) [16]. This meant that the study could focus on both the physician's prescribing practice, as well as the patient's own self-administration of analgesia.

454 patients were identified for the study, all of which had been prescribed PCA following surgery. The group consisted of 314 white patients, 73 Hispanic patients, 37 Asian patients and 30 black patients. If patients did not use the PCA immediately in the post-operative period, they were excluded from the study. Information was extracted from patient records over a six-month period. Significant differences in the ethnic groups were noticed in terms of age and insurance status, and were controlled for in later calculations.

Results showed that numerous factors influenced the physician's decision on what the original PCA prescription would be. These included sex, age, surgical site and whether or not the patient had received pre-operative narcotics. These findings do not seem that surprising, but what was surprising was that when all of these factors were controlled for, ethnicity was still a significant predictor of how much narcotic a patient would be initially prescribed. White patients were prescribed more than Hispanic patients, and black patients were prescribed more than Hispanic and Asian patients. There was no significant difference found in the amount of narcotic self-administered, or in the maximum and minimum pain score reported by each group.

The authors commented that these results may imply that ethnicity influences the way a patient's pain is perceived and treated by a physician. The small sample size was a noted limitation to the study, and also the lack of information on patient's body size and language spoken, both of which could possibly influence the results if the groups showed variation within these variables. It was suggested, however, that the Asian patients seemed to have smaller body sizes on average, yet they were prescribed more pain relief than the Hispanic patients.

Bartfield, Salluzo and Raccio-Robak (1997)

Bartfield and colleagues published a study in *Pain* during the following year entitled, "Physician and Patient Factors Influencing the Treatment of Low Back Pain" [17]. They commented that previous retrospective studies (including Todd et al., 1993) had not been able to take into account whether the physician's impression of the patient's pain influenced analgesic prescription, and so decided to study

this. The hypothesis was made that how the physician interpreted a patient's pain would have an effect on analgesic use, rather than the patient's ethnicity or race.

A prospective study was carried out over a three-month period involving emergency department patients 18 years or older in age, who were treated for low back pain. A small sample of 91 patients was identified, with 59 of these being classified as Caucasian, and a further 32 as non-Caucasian. Both physician and patient assessed pain severity on a visual analogue scale, with both being blinded to the others' measurements. Patient ethnicity was not found to be significant in terms of analgesic administration, with 28 percent of Caucasians receiving pain relief, compared with 44 percent of non-Caucasians. The only factor that significantly influenced administration was the physician's pain score.

The authors of this study had previously conducted a study of non-pregnant woman with abdominal pain [18], and found similar results to Todd and colleagues' 1993 study, with ethnicity being the only predictor of analgesic use. Following this more recent study, they have concluded that the physician's interpretation of a patient's pain does not appear to explain their previous results, or those of Todd et al. The limitations of this study include both the small sample size, and also the fact that physicians knew that they were participating in a study, which may have influenced their decisions on whether to prescribe any analgesia.

Rust, Nembhard, Nichols and Onole et al. (2004)

The final, and most recent study reviewed, was published in the *American Journal of Obstetrics and Gynaecology* in 2004 by Rust et al. [19]. The authors were looking to determine whether ethnicity affected the likelihood of patients receiving epidural analgesia during labour and normal vaginal delivery.

The records of 29 833 women aged between 15 and 44 were included in the study after a one year review of Medicaid claims data, all of whom had experienced normal labour and vaginal delivery during 1998. This included 13 849 white patients, 13 930 black patients, 1 473 Hispanic patients and 440 Asian patients. 20 patients of American Indian or Alaskan Native ethnicity were also identified, but as the number was small, they were excluded from further analysis. It was found that Hispanic women in particular had consistently lower epidural usage rates, with 59.6 percent of white patients, 49.5 percent of black patients, and 48.2 percent of Asian patients having an epidural procedure, compared with 35.2 percent of Hispanic patients. It was also of note than in the age groups of 30 to 34 years and 35 to 44 years, the Hispanic patients had usage rates which were roughly half that of the white patients.

The authors provided a number of possible explanations for the differences found between the ethnic groups in terms of patient, provider and systemic factors, but commented that even with these explanations, the disparities in care between the low-income earning patients in this study, all with identical insurance status, were still concerning. As this study was centred on only one southern American state (Georgia), it is unclear whether the results are generalisable to other areas of the country.

New Zealand literature

The literature search was unable to find any literature from New Zealand that dealt directly with the issue of differential pain management by ethnicity. The only published data identified was related to epidural pain relief. In 2004, the New Zealand Ministry of Health (MOH) produced a publication entitled "Report on Maternity: Maternal and Newborn Information 2002" [20]. The results showed epidural pain relief was used in 13.9 per 100 births for Māori patients of all ages, compared with 28.8 per 100 births for European patients. The overall rate of epidural usage for all ethnicities was 24.8 per 100 births. No statistical comparisons were made.

There was some related literature on differential access to interventions within the New Zealand healthcare system, namely in the area of heart disease. Westbrooke, Baxter and Hogan published a paper in 2001 entitled "Are Māori under-served for cardiac intervention" [2] that showed that although Māori hospitalisation rates for heart failure were much higher than those of non-Māori patients, intervention rates were still much lower. This implies that Māori patients may not be able to access the same level of care in terms of interventions for cardiac problems as non-Māori patients.

Another paper was published in the following year by Tukuitonga et al. focussing on "Ethnic and gender differences in the use of coronary artery revascularisation procedures in New Zealand"[3]. Some gender differences were found, with rates of revascularisation being lower in women than men from all ethnic groups. In terms of ethnic differences, Pacific and Māori men were found to have lower rates of procedures than other New Zealand men. The major point of finding was that even though morbidity rates in terms of coronary artery disease were higher for Māori and Pacific people, revascularisation rates continued to be lower.

Conclusions

The main body of literature identified came from studies based in America, and compared adult patients who were either Hispanic, black or white with each other. Even though the study design was similar in many cases, the results from each of the studies were widely variable with some studies showing Hispanic patients to be more than twice as likely to receive no analgesia, while others showed no significant difference between the ethnic groups. In relation to differences in pain relief by ethnicity, the suggested explanations arising from the literature involve factors associated with

patients, health care providers and healthcare systems. These include communication, decision-making, access to medication, bias and stereotyping.

While there was no literature identified that focused specifically on differential pain relief in emergency care, the related articles from New Zealand raise issues about equity of care within the New Zealand healthcare system and hence provide further rationale for a study to investigate the area of differential treatment within the emergency department.

Issues in conducting a study in a NZ Emergency Department

The remainder of this paper will focus on the general factors associated with undertaking a study on pain management within a New Zealand emergency department. The type of study proposed is a retrospective cohort study of pain management of presentations of isolated long bone fractures to New Zealand emergency department. Factors that need to be taken into account in such a study include:

- The New Zealand emergency department context
- The amount of relevant data available (that is, the number of patients with a diagnosis of long bone fracture) and the necessary sample size for the study
- The availability of access to emergency department records and the format in which it is stored
- The quality of the data available including reliability and consistency of recording
- The length of time for which records are kept
- Whether the recording software is able to facilitate searching the records (i.e. by diagnosis)
- Whether key variables needed to complete the study are available
- The need for collaboration with the relevant DHB

The New Zealand context

In replicating overseas studies, some differences between the New Zealand and international health systems need to be taken into account. For example, several of the international studies controlled for covariates such as insurance status, which is unlikely to be as significant within the emergency setting of public hospitals in New Zealand, as patients are generally treated for free under these circumstances. For this reason, we did not include consideration of after hours medical facilities in this feasibility study, as use of these services come at a cost to the patient. Any procedures that need to be carried out which may incur a cost are also often subsidised by the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), depending on the circumstances of the events surrounding the injury. It is likely therefore, that most long bone fracture presentations will be covered by ACC, as many of these are 'accidents'.

Frequency of long bone fractures

The majority of overseas studies on differential pain relief within emergency departments have looked at patients with a diagnosis of long bone fracture, and therefore, in the interests of providing a comparative study within New Zealand, we propose to investigate the same condition. We also chose to investigate isolated long bone fractures because of the relatively small amount of variability in

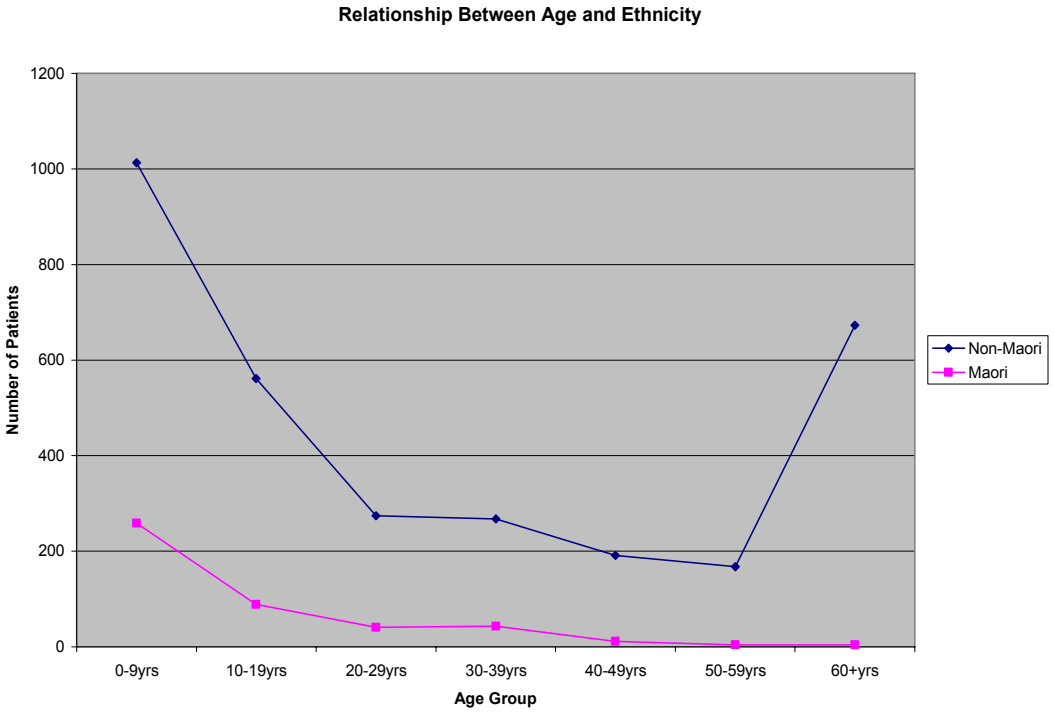
treatment options. By definition, a long bone fracture encompasses fracture of the radius, ulna, humerus, femur, tibia and fibula.

In order to evaluate the feasibility of replicating the overseas studies, it is necessary to have an indication of the frequency of the condition of interest in the New Zealand setting. It was not possible within the timeframe to obtain data showing the number of long bone fracture presentations to the emergency department specifically, so as an alternative we looked at data sourced from the New Zealand Health Information Services (NZHIS): National Minimum Data Set (NMDS). This gave us an initial overview of the numbers of patients admitted to Capital Coast District Health Board (CCDHB) hospitals, from 1996 to 2003 inclusive, with a diagnosis of long bone fracture based on ICD-9 (International Classification of Disease – 9th Revision) codes. These numbers are likely to be lower than the number of patients who actually presented to the emergency department and can therefore provide an estimate of the minimum number of long bone fracture presentations that can be expected in the CCDHB.

A total of 3 880 patients were identified as being admitted to hospitals in the CCDHB area from 1996 to 2003, including 3 396 recorded as non-Māori and 484 as Māori. These were then limited to acute admissions, as these were the most relevant admissions for the purpose of this study, lowering the numbers to 3 148 non-Māori and 451 Māori. This equates to an average of 349 non-Māori and 56 Māori admissions per year.

Information about these patients such as age, gender and ethnicity was compared to identify any associations present. A statistically significant association between ethnicity and age was found ($p<0.05$, $\chi^2=186.15$). The table below shows the results, followed by a graphical representation:

	0-9yrs	10-19yrs	20-29yrs	30-39yrs	40-49yrs	50-59yrs	60+yrs	Total
Non-Māori	1013	561	274	268	191	168	673	3148
Māori	259	89	41	43	11	4	4	451
Total	1272	650	315	311	202	172	677	3599



As can be seen from these results, some trends were observed for both Māori and non-Māori long bone fracture admissions. Over 50 percent of Māori patients admitted were younger than 10 years of age, with numbers gradually decreasing as age increased. Very small numbers of Māori over the age of 50 were admitted. Non-Māori showed a similar relationship, with nearly a third of all patients being younger than 10 years of age, and again a decrease in numbers as age increased. In contrast, non-Māori presentations over the age of 59 dramatically increased with over 20 percent of admissions in the 60+ age group.

A significant association was also seen between ethnicity and gender. Both groups were made up of a majority of male patients, however non-Māori had a higher percentage of female patients (45.5 percent compared with 37.5 percent), while Māori had a higher percentage of male patients (62.5 percent compared with 54.5 percent). The differences were shown to be statistically significant with a p-value of 0.002. The results are outlined in the following table:

	F	M	Total
Non-Māori	1433	1715	3148
Māori	169	282	451
Total	1602	1997	3599

After reviewing the results above, we attempted to provide likely reasons for the associations found. The first set of results show an association between ethnicity and age for long bone fracture admissions, and imply that if a study is carried out, it is unlikely that many Māori patients will be able

to be identified from the sample population within the older age groups. When this is combined with the association between sex and ethnicity, it also shows a likelihood of finding a large number of non-Māori, female patients in the older age bracket. These findings may not be applicable to data including patients who presented but were not admitted, as patient characteristics may differ in this group. For example, it may be more common for non-Māori females in the older age groups to be admitted, hence providing a reason for the association found between ethnicity and age.

Sample size and power

In order to determine the number of records that would be required to carry out this study, a meta-analysis of findings from previous studies was undertaken. The meta-analysis incorporated pooled data from five of the international studies on pain management of long bone fractures (footnote) where the study designs were comparable, and looked at the overall likelihood of receiving no analgesia compared with receiving any analgesia, by ethnicity. The meta-analysis was carried out using a statistical software package, Stata (Version 8). The table below outlines the Relative Risk of receiving no analgesia in each of the five studies and the pooled Relative Risk (1.27, 95 per cent CI: 0.89, 1.81).

Study	RR	95% CI		% weight
Todd et al, 1993	2.12	1.35	3.32	21.27
Todd et al, 2000	1.66	1.11	2.50	22.72
Karpman et al, 1997	1.03	0.62	1.70	19.65
Fuentes et al, 2002	0.90	0.57	1.40	21.28
Choi et al, 2000	0.87	0.45	1.70	15.09
Pooled	*1.27*	*0.89*	*1.81*	-

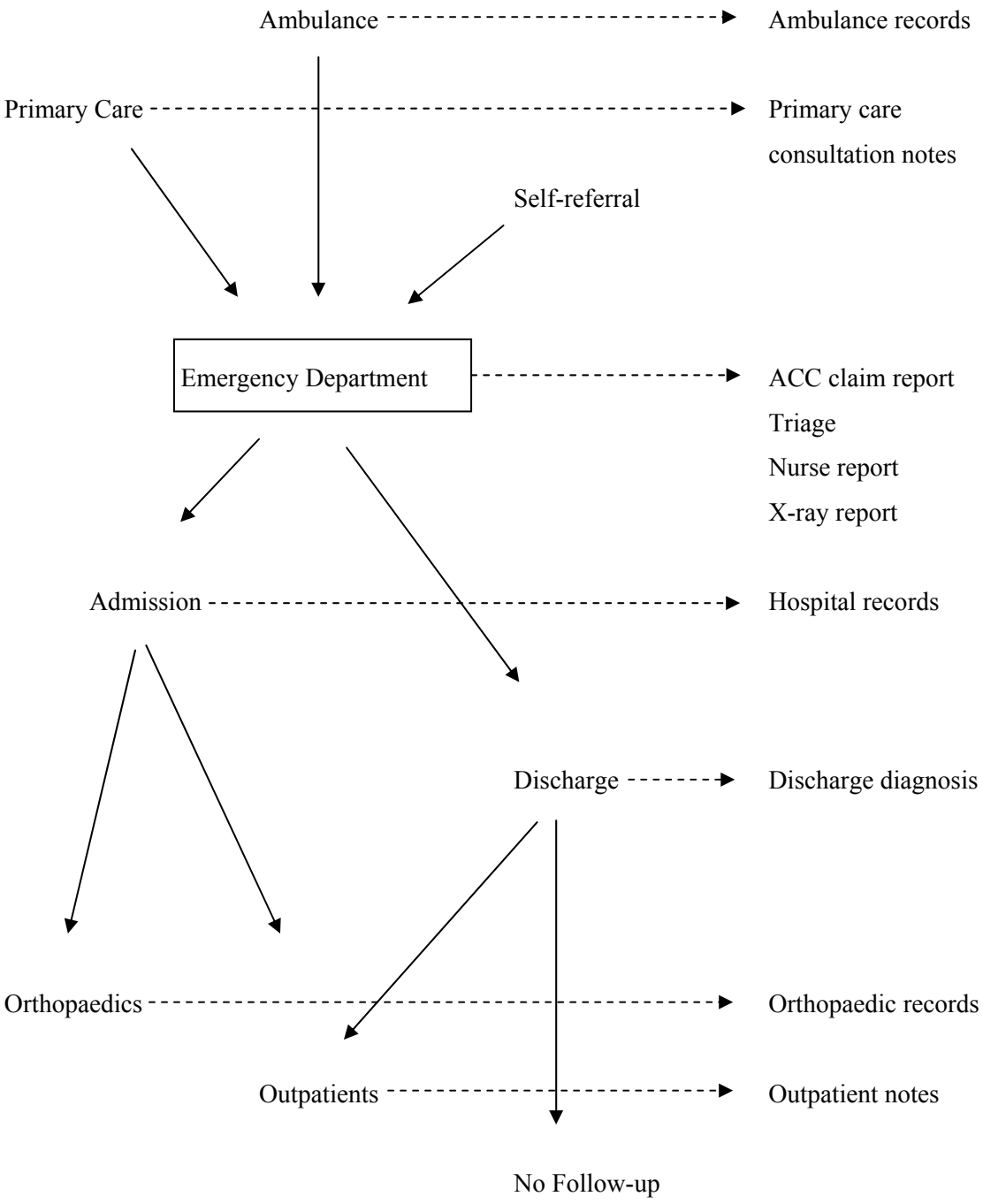
Heterogeneity chi-squared = 10.87 (d.f. = 4) p = 0.028
Estimate of between-study variance Tau-squared = 0.1035
Test of RR=1 : z= 1.29 p = 0.196

Based on the pooled relative risk of 1.27 and a 24 per cent of non-Māori not receiving analgesia, a study would require 770 Māori and 770 non-Māori records to have 80 per cent power to detect a significant difference. Alternatively, based on a ratio of 2:1, the required sample size would be 1 166 non-Māori and 583 Māori. This would be more feasible given the differences in the number of long bone admissions between Māori and non-Māori that were noted in the above section.

Availability and quality of data

There are different sources of data on long bone fracture presentations. A pathway examining the specific areas where information is produced during a patient's encounter with the emergency setting, based on a presentation of a long bone fracture, was produced. This is outlined below.

Information Sources from a Health Care Pathway



As the pathway demonstrates, the information for the study could be available from a number of sources. Ideally, it would be available from Emergency Department records (although this information could be supplemented by data from other sources). Following is a list of the main variables identified from the literature review that a proposed study would be interested in looking at, and which are likely to be available from the patients' records system of an Emergency Department:

Available Variables

- Age/Date of birth
- Ethnicity

- Diagnosis
- ICD codes
- Time of injury
- Time and date of presentation
- Analgesic
  - Type
  - Route
  - Dose
- Injury
  - Mechanism
  - Specific bone involved
  - Open/closed fracture
  - Need for reduction
- Time in ED
- Admission/transfer
- X-ray report
- Pain score
  - Physician's assessment

Some other variables that were investigated in the studies reviewed earlier may not be available. These include mental status, level of intoxication, time taken till x-ray and primary language spoken. A few of the studies also looked at insurance status, but this may not be documented in the patient notes here in New Zealand as patients are often covered by ACC (as explained earlier). It is also uncertain as to whether access to physician information is available, as this information is not kept within the patient notes (other than name of treating physician).

Assessment of the availability and completeness of data requires consideration of individual hospital systems and practices. Different hospitals use different software, and this may affect the way information is collected, stored and retrieved. In addition, as the proposed study is a retrospective study, the historical availability of information is also important. A review of patient notes would be necessary to comment on the completeness of data, but this was not able to be completed within the studentship timeframe.

Collaboration with the DHB

To carry out a study of this nature, it is important to work collaboratively with the hospitals and staff involved. It would be important to work with the Emergency Department to ensure that any study would not only address research questions but also provide information that is useful and relevant for the Emergency Department themselves.

Discussion

The three main areas of interest, in terms of evaluating the feasibility of this study, are the findings and results of similar studies that have already been published, the statistical data available on the intended sample population, and a review of the data and processes involved in Emergency Department record

systems. Having completed these, we now look to evaluate the outcome of each, and how it may impact on the achievability of the final study.

Evaluation of literature review

Due to the variability of study findings in the international literature and differences in setting, it is not possible to generalise the results of these studies to our sample population. Alternatively, these results also provide a rationale to undertake a similar study in the New Zealand setting, as it is not possible to determine whether or not a difference in analgesic use based on ethnicity would be found within a New Zealand emergency department.

Evaluation of statistical data

Associations were found between the age and ethnicity of the patients admitted to CCDHB hospitals with long bone fracture, as well as ethnicity and gender. The age and ethnicity association is likely to have been a result of the younger age structure of the Māori population compared with the non-Māori population. The gender-ethnicity association is likely to have been interrelated with the effect of age on the sample population as long bone fractures appear to be more common in women in the older age group, and hence with less elderly Māori women in the sample, there is a smaller percentage of Māori women with long bone fractures.

The implications of these associations for any subsequent study seem to be that we would be unlikely to get many Māori patients in the middle to older age groups, but possibly a large number of non-Māori women. It would be important to keep these findings in mind if a study is carried out in the future.

Most of the studies we reviewed had relatively small sample sizes of less than 500, with only three having a sample size greater than 1 000. From our initial look at the numbers of patients admitted with a long bone fracture over an eight-year period, 3 599 patients were identified with acute admissions, however, the number of presentations is likely to be higher as mentioned previously. Based on the meta-analysis and power calculations, a study in New Zealand would need a total of 1 749 patients (583 Māori and 1 166 non-Māori) to have 80 per cent to find a significant difference in the risk of receiving no analgesia (compared to receiving any analgesia). It is difficult to estimate the length of time it would take to obtain the necessary sample size. Based on the data on admissions, it would take approximately 10 years to obtain sufficient numbers of Māori admitted in the CCDHB area. However, as noted previously, admissions are a subset of presentations of long bone fracture, so 10 years represents the maximum study period. The next step would therefore be to establish the number of presentations of long bone fracture per year and/or the number of presentations that result in admission. It may also be worth considering a multi-site study to achieve the appropriate sample size within a shorter time period.

Evaluation of Emergency Department record system

The major factors affecting the study in terms of the record system are the amount of computerised records available, the ability to search for and extract the relevant information, and the accuracy of recorded information.

As mentioned above, data from several years would need to be extracted to achieve sufficient power. Depending on the date of computerisation, it may be necessary to wait until enough data has been accumulated before a retrospective cohort study is feasible. The amount of data available in the emergency department records is not yet known, however, as we are only making estimates from the information in the NZHIS data. We were not able to access the emergency department records directly when completing this feasibility study.

An important feature of finding the relevant data is the ability to search the records by diagnosis. Without this facility, it would be necessary to search the records manually to identify all patients who were diagnosed with an isolated long bone fracture. Obviously this would have been extremely time consuming, and have adversely affected the feasibility of this study.

The accuracy of recorded information is also very important. Data that is misspelled or entered incorrectly may not be retrieved through an automatic searching facility, and would hinder the accuracy of the results collected due to some records being left out. Details entered into free-text fields may require manual searching. Hence, although it may be relatively easy to identify patients with long bone fractures, further relevant details such as medication prescribed may need to be extracted through a manual search of the identified records.

Alternative options

Even though the overall study seems feasible in terms of the information we have been able to assess, unforeseen barriers may still present themselves before the study can be completed. Due to this possibility, we have provided some alternatives to the initial study plan.

Firstly, if problems arise in terms of access to the emergency department and its records, it may be possible to complete the study using records from the orthopaedics department. When a patient is referred from the emergency department to the orthopaedics department, their records are transferred with them. This means that if necessary, the record of a patient's stay in the emergency department may be able to be retrieved without direct access to these files. The drawback with this method would be the increased potential for information to be lost during data transfer, and also the fact that any patients not admitted to the orthopaedics department would be automatically excluded from the study.

Secondly, problems may also arise in finding enough patient data to achieve the necessary power for the study. If this occurs, it may be possible to look at a more common diagnosis, different to that of long bone fracture. The problems with this method arise in the consistency of treatment guidelines for the chosen condition. If the treatment options differ greatly, then any differences found between ethnicities may be due to the variety of treatments instigated for each patient. The study would also become less comparable to the original study by Todd et al. and the subsequent studies produced that focus on this particular area.

A study design based on the international papers already published would be ideal in terms of comparison, but as this may not be possible, the options above are listed as alternatives. However, the feasibility of these methods would need to be investigated before considering them fully as plausible alternatives.

Conclusions

After reviewing the literature published on this topic, analysing the available statistical data and determining the data available in the emergency department records, the study, in principle, seems to be feasible. This cannot be determined conclusively until the study itself is trialled, as some unforeseen obstacles may only present themselves once the study has begun. Because of this, we recommend that a good option would be an initial pilot study carried out in one region. We also recommend that a study of a similar nature at a national level be investigated, as this would help to determine if any regional differences are present. This is due to the fact that it is unlikely that the results of the final study would be generalisable to other areas of New Zealand. A national study may also help to explain any differences, if found, by comparison of population demographics.

It is promising to note that studies of this nature have been completed successfully in other countries, and we believe that this will also be the case here in New Zealand.

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In terms of Māori-medium television programmes, are Government agencies meeting their objectives and fulfilling their responsibilities and commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi?

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Abstract

The purpose of this research is to gain an understanding of the development of the Māori broadcasting policy. I will review current literature, statement of intents, annual reports, surveys and any relating documentation on Māori broadcasting from government agencies Te Māngai Pāho, New Zealand on Air, Te Puni Kōkiri and other agencies concerning broadcasting.

As a result this research will identify how these policies determined funding allocations and on-air time-slots for Māori programmes. This report highlights equity issues in the distribution of funding and also a tendency for these programmes to be shown in off-peak time-slots.

A critique of the above readings will demonstrate how the funding processes and time-slot allocations impact on Māori programmes.

This will determine whether the Government agencies are meeting their commitments and responsibilities to te reo Māori under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Recommendations will also be made to ensure that Māori broadcasting policy maintains continued sustainable development.

Objectives

The objectives of the research are:

- To outline processes in the development of Māori broadcasting policies (historical overview).
- To explore different preferences in relation to Māori broadcasting (groups who have influenced Māori broadcasting).
- To establish how agencies determine funding allocations and time-slot allocations, and whether equity issues as required by Section 36a and 37b of the Broadcasting Act are being appropriately utilised.
- To explore what opportunities have been presented for Māori programme producers (how beneficial is the assistance given to Māori programmes?).
- To explore whether Māori broadcasters and Government agencies hold fast to importance of te reo Māori within broadcasting (status of te reo Māori).
- To provide recommendations and acknowledge the importance of Māori programmes in New Zealand's television spectrum.

Methodology

Historical overview:

An important aspect of this project will review the history of Māori broadcasting and how it has been affected by Government processes and procedures. Particular interest will be paid to the commitment—or lack thereof—of the Government to te reo Māori under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. I will also discuss how Māori have continuously challenged these policies and procedures, which highlights equity issues in Māori broadcasting.

Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee 2000 Report—Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy

This report signified a turning point for Māori broadcasting in both radio and television and deserves its own heading as it was pivotal in effecting change. The MBAC in consultation with the Māori broadcasting community had to assess the adequacy of current approaches to Māori broadcasting to find better options. From here strategies would be developed to ensure that;

- Through quality Māori broadcasting, the Māori language will be revitalized and will survive well to the end of this century and into the next century.
- A broadcasting service in this country makes provision for Māori kaupapa to be presented and debated in both English and Māori.

In terms of this research, there will be a focus on some of the pressing issues identified in this report and also the recommendations that the MBAC made specifically for television. Comment will also be made on those recommendations that have been taken on board and those that are still outstanding.

Discussion and Results To Date

This section will comment on statistics, documents and statements produced by Te Māngai Pāho, Television New Zealand and other Government agencies. Issues relating to policies, funding and time-

slot allocations for Māori programmes will also be discussed and the focus here will be to decide whether stated objectives are being met or not. These results will also show clearly whether Government agencies are still paying 'lip-service' to te reo Māori, or whether they are implementing their own policies and therefore showing real commitment to te reo Māori through broadcasting as stated under Article 2 under the Treaty of Waitangi.

- Te Māngai Pāho Māori Broadcasting policy (objectives)
- New Zealand on Air—Māori Broadcasting policy (objectives)
- Te Māngai Pāho funding allocations for Māori programmes
- Funding allocations of Māori programmes (2002–2004)
- te reo Māori content in Māori programmes (2002–2004)
- Increase in Māori programmes on television (2002–2004)
- Time-slot allocations (2002–2004)

Issues arising and Recommendations:

Results will be summarised and arising issues pertaining to sustainable development of Māori programmes will be discussed.

- Commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and implementation of policy
- Te reo me ōna tikanga
- Indigenous identity
- Future structure for Māori broadcasting
- Advertising
- Issues arising and Recommendations

Key groups affecting Māori broadcasting

- Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee
- Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo Māori
- Ngā Tamatoa
- New Zealand on Air
- Television New Zealand
- Te Māngai Pāho
- Joint Māori/Crown working group on Māori broadcasting policy
- Māori Television Trust
- Te Puni Kōkiri
- Radio New Zealand
- National Māori Organisation
- Ministry of Commerce
- Ngā Ahowhakaari

Historic Overview

In the history of Māori broadcasting it is important to understand the framework in which policies relating to Māori broadcasting have been developed. This report will look at the process and events that have influenced these policies since the 1970s to the present date. Particular interest will be paid to the commitment/or lack thereof of the Government to te reo Māori under Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi.

While the focus of this project is on Māori broadcasting relating to television, this historic overview will initially look at both Māori radio and Māori television and how their roles have executed those of a "tuakana—teina" (older sibling—younger sibling) relationship, radio being the tuakana and television the teina. The vision has always been radio and television; however it is radio that has led the way and provided the opportunity for television to become a reality. Therefore, in this report, radio will only be referred to in terms of broadcasting history and the development of broadcasting policies.

The 1970s showed a significant decline of the Māori language. As a result many movements and initiatives of Māori language revival, renaissance and revitalisation emerged.

1985 The WAI 11,Te Reo Māori Claim, lodged by Huirangi Waikerepuru and Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i te Reo, resulted in Māori language being recognised as 'taonga' in accordance to Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi".[46] The Crown accepted a commitment to the revitalisation of the Māori language and agreed that their primary obligation to Māori broadcasting was to promote "te reo Māori me ōna tikanga" through broadcasting. This resulted in an amendment of the Broadcasting Act 1989.

1987 Whatarangi Winiata commissions the report *A Global Approach to Māori Radio*.[47] This report outlines broadcasting at this time as being either "unable or unwilling" to provide for Māori.[48] Māori began to design a new model of broadcast based on "rohe/iwi/waka".[49] Eventually this model became the iwi radio network.

1988 These same Māori claimants lodged a claim objecting to the transfer of broadcasting assets to the new State Owned Enterprises—Radio New Zealand and Television New Zealand.[50] The claimants expressed concern that adequate arrangement be made for Māori language in broadcasting before State assets were transferred to State owned enterprises.[51] The Māori claimants' case was taken to the High Court where it was rejected. The High Court took into account that the Crown had made some provisions for the promotion of Māori language and culture. The claimants then took their case to the Court of Appeal, where it was once again rejected. The claimants appealed to the Privy Council. The case was dismissed after the Crown submitted a proposal to establish funding and the development of a Māori broadcasting policy.[52] The Court considered this sufficient enough safeguard for the protection of the Māori Language and transferred television assets to Television New Zealand.

[46] Durie.M 1999:61
[47] Wai 150
[48] Wai 150, 0070 EO2
[49] Beaton 1996:88
[50] Walker.P
[51] Kaiwhakapumau I te Reo 1999
[52] Te Puni Kōkiri 1995

1989 Broadcasting Act—Section 36

36. Functions of the Commission: The functions of the Commission are:

(a) To reflect and develop New Zealand identity and culture by:

(i) Promoting programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests, and

(ii) Promoting Māori language and Māori culture;

(b) To maintain and, where the Commission considers that it is appropriate, extend the coverage of television and sound radio broadcasting to New Zealand communities that would otherwise not receive a commercially viable signal.

1989 Broadcasting Act—Section 37

37. Promotion of New Zealand content in programming:

The Commission shall, in the exercise of its functions under section 36 (a) of this Act:

a. Consult from time to time with:

(i) persons who have an interest in New Zealand broadcasting and the production of programmes in New Zealand; and

(ii) Representatives of consumer interests in relation to broadcasting; and

(iii) Representatives of Māori interests

being in each case persons or representatives who can, in the opinion of the Commission, assist in the development of the Commission's funding policies; and

b. Promote, in its funding of the production of programmes, a sustained commitment by television and radio broadcasters to programming reflecting New Zealand identity and culture; and

c. Ensure that, in its funding of the production of television programmes, reasonable provision is made to assist in the production of drama and documentary programmes.

1990 These same claimants succeeded in securing FM frequencies for Māori language broadcasters to attract youth audiences. At that time also, the court ruled for the transfer of radio assets.[53]

1990 Ngā Tamatoa criticised media professionals for the lack of Māori representation in the media.[54] In particular there was a specific focus on the lack of Māori language content, identified as a major contributing factor to Māori language erosion. Research undertaken by Ngā Tamatoa also outlined the effects of negative imaging on indigenous and minority groups.[55]

1994 P. Day in his book *Radio Years, a history of broadcasting in New Zealand*, expressed concern about broadcasting policy. He identifies Māori as being marginalised by policy that targets a

[53] Durie.M 1998
[54] Webber 1990
[55] M.Mita 1992

majority culture audience, ignoring cultural differences particularly in regard to Māori. In this period, policy at all levels of implementation held both monocultural and monolinguistic aspirations for New Zealand society.

1995 Te Māngai Pāho—a Crown agency—was established to fund and oversee Māori broadcasting.

1996 (September and November). The Ministers of the Crown and Māori advisors published two sets of reports by the Joint Māori/Crown working group on Māori broadcasting policy. This recommended substantive developments in Māori broadcasting policy.

1996 Te Māngai Pāho provided funding for a pilot television service in the Auckland region by the Aotearoa Television Network (ATN) from 1 May to 31 July 1996 (2.6m) and a further service for a short term from 1 November to 6th January (2.8m). Unfortunately policies were poorly planned and under-funded and ATN proved to be unsustainable.

1997 The National Māori Organisation produced a report on Māori broadcasting and the Ministry of Commerce produced a discussion document on Māori television policy.

1998 (May). The Government establishes a Māori Television Trust to manage the UHF frequencies reserved for the promotion of Māori language and culture. This task stemmed from their Māori television policy which recognised the Crown and its obligation under the Treaty of Waitangi to promote the Māori language (a taonga). The main purpose of the Trust was to ensure that good quality, cost effective Māori language programming went to air on prime television as soon as possible. To achieve this objective Te Māngai Pāho was given 19.2 million(GST inclusive), of which 16.875million would be new Crown Funding, with the balance from Public Broadcasting Fee revenue. The Government also provided up to 11.1 million(GST Inclusive) to assist in the establishment of a nationwide Māori television channel.

1999 Purchase and management right agreement reached with the Government for transfer of Māori television assets. The new Government put a hold on transfer of assets and funds for new channel

2000 (June). The responsibility for Māori broadcasting transferred from Ministry of Commerce to Te Puni Kōkiri.

2000 (June). Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee set up by Ministers in conjunction with Te Puni Kōkiri as a result of recommendations from Māori Members of Parliament (Māori Caucus).

2000 (Aug/September). The Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee completes and releases its report titled 'Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy'.

2002 The Prime Minister, the Minister of Māori Affairs and advisors considered the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee's report and provided further advice for establishing a Māori television service. Key Māori stakeholders begin discussions relating to this issue. Cabinet took a decision to establish a Māori television service, which would be provided for through legislation.

2003 Māori Television Service Act was enacted.

2004 On 28th March the Māori Television Service began broadcasting on UHF frequency for approximately 6–8 hours a day

Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee 2000 Report—Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy.

The Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee which released this report was set up as a result of Māori Members of Parliament(Māori Caucus) consulting with the Māori broadcasting community and Māori industry players in television. Individuals were selected for the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee based on their expertise and experience in the broadcasting industry. This was the first time Māori in the industry were asked to give advice about the current Māori broadcasting policies.

The terms of reference were set by Te Puni Kōkiri which were basically to identify and assess the adequacy of current approaches to the broadcasting of Māori language and culture through Māori radio and television broadcasting. In order to achieve this objective the MBC identified the following factors that needed to be taken into consideration, namely;

- Māori broadcasting in English
- Training for Māori broadcasters
- Māori television
- Strengthening iwi radio
- Mainstreaming of Māori programmes on radio and television.

This report was damning for the Government and MBAC literally pulled the whole Māori Broadcasting Policy to bits and dressed down any associated Governing agencies. Basically the Government was failing dismally in its commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and therefore to Māori

broadcasting. The report highlighted the fact that although there had been more than 80 years of radio and 40 years of television broadcasting in New Zealand only "piece-meal" policy and funding was evident in the presence of Māori programs in Mainstream broadcasting. In addition there was a lack of real commitment towards te reo Māori revitalisation in television. In order for Māori broadcasting to move on and also to make immediate effective changes the MBAC in their report presented a very robust and comprehensive strategy that was in line with an appropriate vision for all stakeholders. In reference to Māori broadcasting in television, the following is a summary of the recommendations that make up this strategy as formed by the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee and presented to the Crown:

- No separate Māori television channel was operating at that point in time despite 10 years' litigation and the Crown's undertakings to the Court.
- There was a need for more commitment to te reo Māori, as the declining status of te reo went from 13 per cent fluent speakers in 1973 to 4 per cent in 2000.
- The Crown needed immediately to adopt wider imperatives for Māori broadcasting policy, based on obligations in terms of :
    - the protection and promotion of te reo.
    - Māori participation in establishing the broadcasting industry.
    - development of broadcasting from a Māori cultural context.
- Funding for Māori television should be increased from the 17.1 million to approximately 50 million. It was noted that the current level of funding was totally inadequate to establish a sustainable Māori channel or to produce quality Māori programmes.
- The charter of TVNZ should be changed to include a requirement for that broadcaster to broadcast at least 15 per cent Māori programmes instead of the current 3 per cent. There would be a progresssive increase every year.
- Existing institutional structures should be re-defined to establish a structure for the co-ordinated governance, management and further development and delivery of Māori broadcasting policy. The MBAC named this structure as The Māori Broadcasting Corporation or the MBC. Te Māngai Pāho and the Māori Television Trust would be merged into this Corporation.

Although the following recommendations were made for Māori broadcasting in radio because there was no Māori television at the time, they are still relevant today in terms of the establishment of the Māori Television Station in 2004.

- Direct Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Education ,Treasury, Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori and Te Māngai Pāho to work with MBAC to investigate the options fro training incentives.
- The Government should investigate and carry out further research and analysis on the implications of advancements in technology for the effectiveness of its current Māori broadcasting policy.

These recommendations also included an establishment of a Māori television channel and an increase of its funding from $17.1 million to $50 million and were made on the basis of:

i) Comparisons with costs to make programmes funded by New Zealand on Air (NZOA) for broadcast on mainstream television;
ii) The level of funding provided to overseas models of language revitalisation.

In regard to mainstream television the MBC also made the recommendation for an increase from three per cent to 15 per cent of Māori programmes in mainstream programming.

In its favour, the MBAC supported the Government's efforts to introduce a system of local quota content in New Zealand. Therefore, there would be more emphasis on the broadcast of Māori programmes and the viewer would see more primetime spots for Māori programmes.

Discussion and Results To Date

Māori have challenged and continue to challenge the Crown's responsibility to protect and promote the Māori language through broadcasting. In the past, due to "piece-meal" commitment to policy and therefore insufficient funding, it is clear that the historical development of Māori broadcasting has been hampered by obstacles and barriers. These equity issues are still continuing in the 21st century, however, Māori have seen some major developments in issues affecting Māori broadcasting.

The new millennium began with the publication of the report *Toward a Māori Broadcasting Strategy* (Sept 2000), written by the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee (MBAC). In terms of this research, this report signified a turning point for Māori broadcasting in that it identified and emphasised the flaws and inadequacies of the Government plan of the time, and presented strategies needed to rectify this. These key factors and recommendations are an integral part of some of those strategies that have been adopted and implemented by the Government to date. However there are still some huge gaps and recommendations that are still outstanding.

The next section will discuss whether these recommendations have been put into action. This will be done by critiquing objectives in relation to policy of Te Māngai Pāho and New Zealand on Air.

Te Māngai Pāho Māori Broadcasting Policy (Objectives)

Under section 37B of the Act Te Māngai Pāho is required to:

- Promote Māori language and Māori culture by making funds available, on such terms and conditions as it thinks, fit for broadcasting and the production of programmes to be broadcast.

Section 37B of the Act also requires Te Māngai Pāho to:

- Have regard to the needs and preferences of children participating in te reo Māori immersion education and all persons learning Māori.
- The promotion, use and retention of te reo Māori among Māori and other New Zealanders is the heart of Te Māngai Pāho's statutory functions.

In this broadcasting policy Te Māngai Pāho is staunch, clear and perceptive of its commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi (te reo me ōna tikanga) and Māori broadcasting. However, it is the implementation of these policies that make a working relationship and therefore a working document.

New Zealand On Air—Māori Broadcasting Policy (Objectives)

- To ensure a presence in mainstream broadcasting for programmes, predominantly in English and reflecting a Māori perspective, especially in primetime.
- To maximise the screening opportunities across a range of channels for Māori programmes.
- To encourage programme makers to include Māori language, culture and points of view where ever relevant in programmes of all genres.
- To fund programmes which feature Māori talents, stories, interests and perspectives intended for mainstream audience.

In this broadcasting policy New Zealand on Air's commitment is limited to featuring programmes that contain a Māori presence or perspective, specifically for a mainstream audience. However, it is also questionable whether some of these programmes do contain a Māori perspective by Māori or show Māori from a Mainstream perspective. This policy should also ensure the screening of programmes at primetime and show a positive Māori perspective/presence as well as the negative and sensational.

Te Māngai Pāho Funding Allocations For Māori Programmes

As per recommendations made by the Māori Broadcasting Advisory Committee in 2000, the diagram below shows an increase of funding to TVNZ Māori programmes, Māori Television Service and independent production houses from 2002 to 2004.

Te Māngai Pāho Funding Expenditure for television from 2002—2004	2004 ($000)	2003 ($000)	2002 ($000)
Māori Television Services	11.9	8,154	0
TVNZ Māori Programmes	5.1	4,905	4,961
Other Programmes (independent)	17.37	13,473	16,532

To ensure that the funding allocations reflect an increase to the overall projects of Māori programmes on television, we will look at performance overviews from Te Māngai Pāho.
In 2003 the performance overview states that:

- During 2002—2003 Te Māngai Pāho purchased over 1,000 hours of Māori television programming and in addition to this allocated funding for a further 1,083 hours to be provided by the Māori Television Service.
- Māori language comprised over 70 per cent of the language content of television programmes funded.

- Programmes targeting tamariki and rangatahi—priority audiences for Māori language promotion and use—made up nearly a third of funded programmes.

In 2004 the performance overview states that;

- During 2003–2004 Te Māngai Pāho allocated funding for 1,212 programmes hours to be provided by the Māori Television Service. In addition to this, they purchased 603 hours of Māori television programming from other broadcasters and independent production houses. The launch of the Māori Television Service in March 2004, meant that for the first time these programmes were available at primetime.
- Māori language comprised over 86 per cent of the language content of television programmes funded. This represents a further advance on the result of 2002/3 and shows an increasing appetite for programmes with higher levels of language content on screen.
- Increase of programming at targeted audiences.
- Surveys show that first 12 weeks on air to June 2004, over 350,000 viewers watched Māori Television Service via UHF frequency (This does not include viewers using Sky Digital).

Māori Television Service

On 28th March 2004 the Māori Television Service (MTS) began broadcasting on UHF frequency, for approximately 6–8 hours a day. As per recommendations from the MBCA, not only had a Māori television station finally materialised, but there was also an increase of funding to the Māori Television Service (MTS) which jumped from $ 17.1 million to $36.8 million. Further funding was also allocated which took the sum up to $ 45 million.

There are two types of costs to run the Māori Television Service: operational, and funding for the production of Māori programmes. However this research will only be looking at distribution of funding for programmes. Officials estimate that up to $7 million per annum will be required to fund programmes for the future broadcasting of Māori television programmes. (Refer *Te Māngai Pāho Annual Report*—Funding Expenditure, below.)

Te Māngai Pāho Annual Report—Funding expenditure	2002/3 ($000)	2003/4 ($000)
Māori Television Services	8,154,000	11,900,000

Funding Allocations Of Māori Programme (2002–2004)

Funding allocations are pivotal to the making of Māori-medium television programmes. Funding has a big impact on the quality of resources being used and the quality of programmes being produced. Te Māngai Pāho's projected outcomes do show development in the increase of funding for Māori programmes.

Television New Zealand (TVNZ): Seven years ago NZ On Air introduced a policy of setting targets for minimum number of projects with substantial Māori creative involvement and featuring some aspects of Māori life and culture to be included in each of the umbrella strands it funds (e.g.

Documentary New Zealand and TV3's *Inside New Zealand*. In 2001, funding for Māori programmes stood at $4,961,000. In 2002, the funding allocation decreased to $4,105,000. In 2003, funding has now increased to $5,100,000. Although the allocation of funding for Māori programmes in mainstream has shown a fluctuation in the past, recent statistics show an increase.

Independent production companies: In 2001, funding for Māori programmes stood at $16,532,000. In 2002, the funding allocation decreased to $13,473,000. In 2003, funding has now increased to $17,370,000. These results are similar to those of Television New Zealand (TVNZ), an increase in funding is also evident.

However these production companies have also been provided assistance. Independent production companies apply for funding on a individual basis from Te Māngai Pāho. To help these companies access this funding, Te Māngai Pāho has set up workshops (two a year) for writing proposals and submitting applications. Consequently, these workshops have played a small but significant role in the increase in Māori programmes being produced.

Māori Television Service: Due to the establishment of the Māori Television Service there have been more opportunities to produce more Māori programmes. In terms of Māori programmes, approximately $22.9 million was allocated to Te Māngai Pāho and New Zealand on Air in 2000—2001 for the production of Māori programmes. In 2003 the Māori Television Service (MTS) was allocated $8,154,000. and in 2004 the funding allocation increased to $11,900,000 for Māori programmes. Funding allocation for future development of Māori programmes is an issue that is still processing. No comment at this stage.

Therefore funding allocations distributed to Māori programmes in relation to the Crown's commitments as stated in the Māori broadcasting policy, are being appropriately utilised and show that sustainable development is in process.

Te Reo Māori Content In Māori Programmes (2002–2004)

As Māori broadcasting history outlines the purpose of establishing a Māori Television Service was to ensure the survival of the Māori language through broadcasting.

Te Māngai Pāho: Te Reo Māori percentages within Māori programmes overall have increased from 70 per cent in 2003 to 86 per cent in 2004. Māori television has played a major role in this increase. Effectively Te Māngai Pāho has successfully made an endeavor to maintain and promote te reo Māori through broadcasting.

Television New Zealand (TVNZ) Most Māori programmes in Television New Zealand are predominantly in English and encouragement for producers to include Māori language was never relevant. Television New Zealand's commitment to Māori language as outlined in their objectives is very minimal.
However there are programmes that are predominantly in the Māori language for example: *Waka Huia*, *Marae*, *Te Karere*, *Tikitiki* and *Tū Te Puehu*.

Mainstream local programmes like news programmes, *Shortland Street*, *What Now* —and advertising companies—have made an effort to implement the Māori language. Although these efforts seem minimal, Māori language within Māori programming and mainstream programming is increasing. This increase gives Television New Zealand (TVNZ) the opportunity to compete with the Māori Television Service (MTS) and if it means an additional increase of Māori language on mainstream television, so be it.

Increase Of Māori Programmes On Television (2002–2004)
With regards to maximising screening opportunities of Māori programmes, the Māori broadcasting advisory committee recommended an increase of Māori programmes on television from 3 per cent to 15 per cent. Once again results above show that the Māori Television Service (MTS) has provided more opportunities for Māori programmes to be viewed. Māori programmes screened on Television New Zealand (TVNZ) have received more funding and as a result has seen a slight increase in hours produced.

In 2004, a protocol agreement between New Zealand on Air (NZOA)and Māori Television Service (MTS) will be finalised and put into effect. They will be seeking to ensure Māori projects made with funding from NZ On Air are able to be retransmitted at early dates on Māori Television Service (MTS). Where New Zealand on Air provides funding for projects with a commitment to re-screen the programme on a national free-to-air network will be requirement for regional television. New Zealand on Air will continue the current initiatives to facilitate re-transmission opportunities for funded programmes on free-to-air regional broadcasters. This includes the supply of fully funded programmes at no cost and access to a comprehensive database of programmes funded by New Zealand on Air. New Zealand on Air will work closely with TMP to identify projects which may be suitable for joint funding again with the objective of ensuring transmission on a national to free-to-air channel, as well as the Māori Television Service. Estimated funding for general mainstream programmes featuring Māori is $3,700,000. However, NZ On Air provides funding for projects with a commitment to re-screen the programme on a national free-to-air network will be requirement for regional television.

Time-slot Allocations (2002–2004)

Māori broadcasters and producers historically have had to fight for peak hour time-slots which cost the earth but which ensure wider audience appreciation. Te Māngai Pāho does not play a role in this area as their area of management is in funding Māori programmes. Time-slot allocations are the responsibility of television stations, being the Māori Television Service (MTS) and New Zealand on Air (NZOA).

Māori Television Service: The Māori Television Service has given Māori programmes the opportunity to be shown in peak hour time-slots. However taking in to consideration that the television service only operates from 10:00am—11:00am and then from 4:00pm—11:00pm, many primetime opportunities for children's programmes in the early morning and early afternoon are missed. In Māori broadcasting policy, children are a targeted audience. How can a targeted audience be presented if the time allocation is unavailable?

New Zealand On Air (NZOA): New Zealand on Air's Māori broadcasting policy states the aim: "To ensure a presence in mainstream broadcasting for programmes, predominantly in English and reflecting a Māori perspective, especially in primetime". In regards to primetime screening of Māori programmes in mainstream. NZ On Air has worked to support Māori programmes during primetime, such as *Mataku*, *Ngā Reo*, *Documentary New Zealand*, *Inside New Zealand*, *The Brown Factor* and *Nesian Mystik*. New Zealand on Air's annual report notes a 15 per cent increase of Māori programmes during primetime.

However New Zealand on Air's policy also mentions that while many funded programmes are targeted at special or minority audiences (Māori)—and will therefore screen off-peak, Māori programmes which are strong in Māori language tend to be shown in off peak time-slots or alternatively in a unsuitable times.

- Example 1: On Channel One on Sunday mornings *Waka Huia*—a history programme aimed at a mature audiences—screens on Channel 3. At the same time *Tū Te Puehu*—a programme aimed at youth—also screens. Children are forced to compete with their grandparents/parents to watch their programmes.
- Example 2: On Channel One *Te Karere*—a Māori news show—screens weekdays at 5:45pm—6:00pm (unlucky for those who finish work at 6:00). However the news will not screen at this time if sport events are on, e.g. the Olympics, Cricket, the America's Cup. Although mainstream news will still be at its usual time, *Te Karere* may get an opportunity to screen at an alternative time-slot (not primetime) that day; or alternatively you would have to switch to Prime Television (Channel 6).
- Example 3: *Tikitiki*—a children's programme in te reo Māori—screens at 6:00am on Sunday mornings. This is only beneficial for kids who are up that early.

Commitments to providing primetime-slots for Māori programmes have increased. However, New Zealand on Air's objectives marginalise Māori programmes which are predominantly in the Māori language. They do not receive the chance to screen at primetime and are forced to compete with their own families. Peak hour time-slots are hard to come by for Māori programmes in predominantly the

Māori language. It is the audience that will make the ultimate and final decision but sadly for many Māori broadcasters and producers they have been denied this opportunity.

Issues Arising and Recommendations.

There are many issues arising that will need further research, but are listed as future recommendations.

Commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and the Implementation of Policy

In terms of Māori broadcasting government agencies need to become more rigorous and accountable in their efforts to meet their objectives and fulfill their commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi.

Recommendations

To ensure this happens there must be equity in the distribution and allocation of funding so that:

- Policies and procedures rigorously retain, maintain and facilitate Māori language and culture content in broadcasting.
- Quality professional development and expertise can be accessed, and therefore diverse quality Māori-medium programmes can be produced.
- Resources both human and material can be accessed.
- Peak hour time-slots for Māori medium television programmes can be guaranteed as well as those Māori programmes predominately in the Māori language.
- Access to free-to-air television in rural areas is available.

Mainstream television broadcasters should not rely on the current Māori television station to meet their commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi in respect of the above recommendations.

Recommendations

- That mainstream broadcasters maintain their current Māori programmes
- That mainstream broadcasters become more competitive in acquiring quality Māori programmes which will ensure primetime-slots, to be monitored and managed by proposed governing structure.

Te Reo Me Ōna Tikanga

Absolutely paramount is the responsibility of all those stakeholders in Māori broadcasting to protect and promote te reo Māori me ōna tikanga so that the Māori language can be seen and heard by all New Zealanders, and its survival guaranteed for this century and beyond

Recommendations

- That training/training institution be provided for upskilling opportunities for Māori broadcasters/staff in terms of te reo Māori at all levels.
- That more Māori language learning television programmes are made to suit different levels of fluency.
- That more Māori language television programmes reflect the identity the stories and tikanga of iwi, hapū and whānau.

Indigenous Identity

Māori broadcasters and producers need to ensure that quality Māori-medium television programmes in either the English language or te reo Māori truly represent the face of Māori television and further position Māori as a distinctive indigenous identity not only nationally but internationally.

Definition of a Māori programme

Is it a programme that:

- is produced by Māori?
- is produced by Mainstream with a Māori perspective?
- is produced in te reo Māori?
- is produced in English but shows a Māori perspective?
- shows Māori perspectives from a Māori point of view?
- shows Māori perspectives from a mainstream point of view?
- shows Māori culture and customs?

Issues arise of

- Whose points of views are being acknowledged?
- What happens when there is no Māori advisory role?
- Do mainstream programmers determine which aspects of Māori language and culture will be present on screen and for what kind of audience?
- Who makes the final decision on time-slots for Māori programmes?
- Is there an opportunity to filter out issues that are irrelevant and as a result compromise the quality of Māori broadcasting?
- Therefore a vital question keeps coming up: are Māori perspectives being recognised or are they being compromised?

Recommendation

- That a Māori advisory role be an integral part of the wider Māori Broadcasting Corporation/Trust as recommended by MBC.

Future Structure For Māori Broadcasting

This research supports the MBAC recommendation whereby a Structure (Corporation of Trust) is proposed that would consist of the merging of the current Te Māngai Pāho and other associated Government agencies. The MBAC have given the example of the Māori Broadcasting Corporation.

Recommendations

This structure would:

- Co-ordinate governance, management, further development and delivery of all aspects of Māori broadcasting policy.
- Directly consult with Māori broadcasting communities and Māori Industry players.
- Directly consult with Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Economic Development, Minister of Culture and Heritage, Minister of Māori Affairs, Treasury and Te Māngai Pāho.

- Co-ordinate the establishment of a separate Māori television and Māori radio structure based on overseas models.

Advertising

An aspect of Māori broadcasting is advertising with its implementation of te reo Māori. This is a relatively new venture and needs to be explored as it is a source of revenue. 'Māori' advertising on mainstream television has been confined mainly to health initiatives in the hope that they will alleviate high Māori health statistics, e.g. Smokefree/Auahi Kore, and ACC. The current Māori Television Service also uses these 'health' advertisements but now they have begun to attract other companies like The Warehouse to advertise, by providing a verbal or subtitled translation in te reo Māori. Māori television is still new to this game and to date they have also carried out promotions of weekly programmes in Māori and English. It is commendable that Māori television has made a commitment to advertising in the Māori language. As history has shown, especially in terms of advertising on Māori radio, some individual Māori radio stations have compromised te reo for other priorities. Māori radio was started to revitalise te reo Māori me ōna tikanga and therefore by choosing the English language specifically for financial gain is counter-productive to this important objective.

Recommendations

- Māori broadcasting (radio and television) must be wary of outside influences that may compromise te reo Māori me ōna tikanga in advertising.
- The Government needs to make additional funding available, which is specifically targeted for professional development in advertising and marketing so Māori broadcasters (radio and television) are able to attract companies to advertise their products and services in te reo Māori.

Conclusion

It is the intent of Māori to become self-sufficient and set up their own economic base but this will only happen if the tools, expertise and opportunities are made available. The commitment from Government agencies to the Treaty of Waitangi is well overdue and Mainstream need to be aware that for Māori:

> maintaining cultural values and identity is of indescribable worth; where at no price will we ever be able to regain a language that had become lost to us (Mane Jo, 2000)

Leonie Pihama suggests that the media are a key vehicle through which representations of knowledge, language and culture occur. It is equally a site at which representations of knowledge, language and culture are suppressed. This research opens the door for Māori to look at developing their own strategies, models and structures that they know will work for them and ultimately be beneficial for not only Māori people but for all New Zealanders (Pihama 1997). Consequently Māori-medium

programme broadcasters and producers can then become respected players in television broadcasting within local and international arenas.

He Korero Maumahara nā Julian Wilcox

Hotuhotu te Manawa mo tōku reo rangatira	Despondent is my heart for my language
Hotuhotu te manawa mo te reo ō ngā tūpuna	The language of my ancestor
Kua tutuki te wawata	The aspirations have been realised
Kia pukana mai te pouaka	By the fiery eyes of Māori Television
Mā wai e hāpai ngā moemoeā ā rātou mā?	Who will uplift the dreams of our ancestors?
Whakakotahitia e ngā whakatipuranga	Unite tomorrow's people
Kia tihei mauri ora	And breathe life into this treasure
Kaua e wareware i ngā tokatūmoana	Do not forget our leaders
Kua huri ki tua o kitenga	Who have turned beyond sight
E kui, e koro mā i te pō, maranga mai	To our leaders who have passed, arise
Hoki wairua mai e ngā tongarerewa	Esteemed dons, may your spirits return
Ki tēnei ao marama	To this world of light
Whakaarahia ake ngā whakatipuranga	And guide the people of tomorrow
Ngā kupu ā te kāhui kahika	By the teachings of our forebears
Ngā titoki o te reo Māori e	The keepers of the Māori language
Mā wai e whakamana	*Who will revere*
Te Matawhaura?	The Highest Council?
Te reo rangatira?	*The Māori language?*
Te Matawhaura	The Highest Council
Ko te whakatāuteute i Te Matawhaura Council	The battle for its survival at The Highest

Nā te hunga whakapūmau i te reo e te Reo	**Was performed by Ngā Kaiwhakapūmau i**
Ahakoa ngā whakapātaritari mai	Despite of all the negativity of the time
Te ihi, te wehi, te matakana!	They stood strong in the face of adversity!
Nō Ōwhatirangi, nō Ōwhatinuku timeless	Its origins are classical, its application
Kei ngāwekiweki i te hārakerake	Lest Māoridom be lost to the cultural milieu
Kei rehurehu ki te korekore e	And disappear from existence
Whakakōwhitawhita i te ahi o te reo	Let us reignite the fire of the language

Tū ake, tū ana, te mataku e	Let it stand in defiance
Ka tū wanawana ko te puha o te kupu	The fruits of their labour are now evident
Ki te ao matatini e tū nei	In conventional society
Ngane ana te maringi o te reo Māori	The language still flows
Taku tongarerewa kahika e	An heirloom from time immemorial
E tūtokotoko taku kurupounamu	May my noble gift stand tall
Koia Waipapa e ara e!	And through Waipapa, it lives on!

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Independent Investigative Journalism in Iwi Radio

Malcolm Mulholland
Ngāti Kahungunu
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

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Chapter One: Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a context in which this study is occurring. Failure to recognise the historical journey undertaken by the various iwi radio stations results in a lack of appreciation of iwi radio today. Thus, any criticisms noted should be weighed against the relatively short operational time span iwi radio has been in existence and, perhaps more importantly, the struggle of iwi radio to develop its own unique voice.

The Power of the Media

Professor Ranginui Walker has described the New Zealand media as being "The Fourth Estate". Along with the Crown, Parliament and the Church, Walker argues that the media is one of the key institutions that shape peoples belief systems:

> From the nineteenth century to the present day, the Fourth Estate has played a consistent role in the way it selects, constructs and publishes news about Māori. This one-sided discourse has resulted in Māori seceding from mainstream media to construct their own positive stories…[56]

This view is reinforced by an MA thesis submitted by Tim Aitken:

[56] Walker, R in *Chapter 14: Māori News is Bad News. What's News?: Reclaiming Journalism in New Zealand*. Ed. Comrie, M and McGregor, J. Dunmore Press. Palmerston North. 2002. p.231.

> The press masquerades as a mitigating agency outside the social structures when in fact it is a fundamental component of these structures and its symbolised role is fundamental to the socialisation of each individual in society[57].

As to what perceptions are held by Pākehā about their Treaty partners due to interaction with mainstream media, former Race Relations Conciliator, Chris Laidlaw[58], when in office had this to say about the issue:

> There is a growing concern amongst media commentators about news coverage in the general area of race relations. Episodes such as Kill a White incident and the Māori Loans Affair and more recently the Lower Hutt Social Welfare Office issue are credited by several commentators as helping determine the tone of race relations in New Zealand. The development of harmonious race relations in New Zealand depends upon the creation of understanding by the public. Journalists have a responsibility to help create that understanding.[59]

Spoonley and Hirsh comment that the media highlight unconstructive stereotypes about minority groups[60]. They argue that the media determine what becomes public knowledge. In doing so, they reinforce negative views pertaining to minority groups and the way in which that information is presented.

New Zealand commentators' analysis of the media's distortion of cultural perceptions is not alone internationally. In a chapter entitled *The Colour of Evil is Black – The Media Demonize the Black Male,* commentators note that "[T]he racial stereotypes fostered by the obsession of television news with black crime is heightening racial tension in the U.S."[61] Not only can the media shape societal perceptions in general, but it obviously can castrate racial sectors also. Based on the proof within New Zealand and America, this may be an international trend that most definitely needs to be overturned.

Historical Māori Media Stereotypes

The origins of disapproving publicity surrounding Māori are well documented, even as far back as the period when interracial interaction first occurred. As the following quotation notes, media was used to articulate and espouse ideologies brought into New Zealand by the settler population:

> …the New Zealand Company Officials saw newspapers as components of their plan of colonisation.[62]

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[57] Aitken, T. *The Role of the Press in Maintaining Social Ideology; A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts in Journalism*. University of Canterbury. Christchurch. New Zealand. 1998. p.42.
[58] Laidlaw was the Race Relations Officer from 1989 to 1992.
[59] McGregor, J. *Te Orenga Waha Ki – 'In Search of a Voice'*. Office of the Race Relations Conciliator. Auckland. 1991. p.4.
[60] Ed. Hirsh, W and Spoonley, P. *Between The Lines – Racism and the New Zealand Media*. Heinemann Reed. Auckland. 1990. p.32.
[61] Harvard Law Professor Charles Ogletree, in Rivers, C. *Slick Sins and Fractured Facts: How Cultural Myths Distort the News.* Columbia University Press: New York. 1996. p.160.
[62] Day, P. *The Making of the New Zealand Press – A Study of the Organisational and Political Concerns of New Zealand Paper Controllers 1840-1880*. Victoria University Press: Wellington. 1990. p.234.

This is endorsed by Walker who states that "[T]he focus of this chapter is on the ideological function of the press in supporting the hierarchy of Pākehā domination and Māori subordination in the colonial and post-colonial modern era."[63]

The motivating factor behind biased reporting, especially within early New Zealand newspapers, is expressed by Day as being for the following reason:

> …financial profit was seldom possible for newspapers and they were orientated principally in terms of political ambitions of their controllers. Newspapers acted as political advocates for individual politicians.[64]

Comparative studies conducted by Walker between 19th and 20th century New Zealand newspapers conclude that not much has changed in terms of the racist attitudes articulated by some publications. The following quote is a direct reference to the settlement of Parihaka, prior to the invasion of 1881:

> The Taranaki Herald stated, 'We are at liberty at any time to do our best to extirpate them as [we should] any other animals of wild and ferocious nature.[65]

Contemporary events of Māori being depicted unhelpfully in the press includes the play *Maranga Mai*, the 1981 protest action at Waitangi, the Māori Loans Affair, and Tāriana Tūria's comments regarding Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome.[66]

With the wave of historical evidence alluding to the influential role of the media in shaping people's perceptions on particular issues it is not a quantum leap to suggest that the same tools can be utilised in order to reverse media stereotypes that have long been held by society. Thus, if independent investigative journalism is held to be one of, if not the most effective instrument in repealing this negative trend within the media, the question that needs to be asked is, "Does independent investigative journalism exist within the media controlled by those who have worn the brunt of disapproving typecasts as portrayed by mainstream media?" This paper attempts to answer that very question.

The Case for Separate Māori Journalism

According to Derek Fox, mainstream media has performed dreadfully in their reportage of Māori issues:

> …it [mainstream media] has done an appalling job at covering recent events [Waitangi Day Celebrations, 1995], creating a misguided view among Pākehā of what Māori really want. I

[63] Walker, R. Chapter 14: *Māori News is Bad News*. p. 217–218.
[64] Op.Cit.
[65] Ibid. p. 218.
[66] Ibid. p. 223–231.

> see unwillingness within the media to come to terms with the real issues, the coverage being, at the very best, only skin deep.[67]

John Saunders took into consideration the occupation of Moutoa Gardens:

> Very few journalists bothered to trace the history of the Whanganui River Iwi, or even discover the validity of the case, how the grievance came about. Most stories reflected the bias of the middle-class Pākehā journalists handling the story.[68]

Saunders concludes by stating:

> So where to from here? The overall conclusion must be that political issues affecting Māori ill-equipped to meet the challenge of reporting Māori politics.[69]

In a report filled by the Office of the Race Relations Conciliator in 1991, Judy McGregor conducted a survey amongst senior journalists within the New Zealand media[70]. Some of McGregor's findings were alarming to say the least. The following are statistics from the study conducted, followed by statements made by McGregor as to why the statistics may exist or what consequences the statistics may have.

Contact with Māori

Nearly three quarters of the survey (73%) said they had either "no" contact, "little" contact or "some" contact with Māori people, and only 12% said they had "close" contact with a further 15% indicating they had "regular" contact.

> It can be argued that limited contact with Māori people means news executives are less likely to see news opportunities involving Māori people. They are also less likely to have breadth of social experience to bring the selection and presentation of stories about Māori people and issues. (MacGregor)

Understanding of Māori Culture

Most news executives (85%) rate their understanding of Māori culture as "some understanding" or "moderate understanding."

> The results add to the picture of a lack of preparation within the media to cover Māori news (through eduction, training and experience) reported in the 1988 National Survey of New Zealand Journalists

Understanding of Māori Issues

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[67] Saunders, J. *Chapter 12: Skin Deep: The News Media's Failure to Cover Māori Politics*. Ed. McGregor, J. Dangerous Democracy? – News Media Politics in New Zealand. Dunmore Press. Palmerston North. 1996. p.167.
[68] Ibid. p. 167.
[69] Ibid. p. 180.
[70] McGregor, J. *Te Orenga Waha Ki – 'In Search of a Voice'*. The sample size was 194. The questionnaire had a response rate of 59.2%.

News executives in general rated their own understanding of a number of specified Māori issues as either "some" or "moderate" understanding, with only a tiny number rating their own understanding as "thorough", the category at the top end of the rating scale provided in the questionnaire. The results point to a fair measure of self-recognition by news executives of the need for improvement in order that Māori issues are better reported.

News Values

A significant majority (80%) of news executives do not distinguish between judgements made for a general news story and a story about Māori issues. Thus it can be concluded from the results that a consistently monocultural value structure is in place within the news process which fails to take account of different cultural sensitivities between Māori and Pākehā.

The material points to only one conclusion—that Māori must have a media of their own. As evidence proves, Pākehā reportage of Māori issues is woefully inadequate. This, however, does not equate to discounting Pākehā from covering such issues,[71] it merely highlights the case for Māori to report on their own issues from their own standpoint. This avenue was provided with the emergence of iwi radio.

The History of Iwi Radio

The Early Days of Radio Development within New Zealand

The following passages should been seen not as an extensive and exhaustive history of iwi radio, but rather as a timeline of significant events in the development of iwi radio. This provides the reader with a context in which to analyse the findings released later in the report.

Iwi Radio is the most developed form of media that in its entirety caters for a Māori audience. The first programmes broadcast on radio within New Zealand took place in 1925[72] and the first Māori Radio Station was established in 1983[73]. The development of Iwi Radio took fifty eight years.

In the early stages of radio within New Zealand, Māori were seen as providing entertainment pieces with such items as kapa haka and waiata:

[71] Guides exist to assist Pākehā in their reportage of Māori issues. One such examples is; King, M. *Kawe Korero: A Guide to Reporting Māori Activities*. New Zealand Journalists Training Board. 1985.
[72] NZ Broadcasting Corporation. *Broadcasting in New Zealand*. April 1964. p.2.
[73] Te Reo O Pōneke was a privately funded and operated radio station. Beatson, D in *A Genealogy of Māori Broadcasting: The Development of Māori Radio. Continuum – An Australian Journal of Media and Culture. Aotearoa/New Zealand: A New Landscape*. Ed. Hutchinson, I and Lealand, G. Vol. 10. Number 1. 1996. p.80.

> Radio and television programmes have provided excellent outlets for Māori talent, and their race's natural aptitude for music and eloquence has led to a number of Māoris to adopt broadcasting as a satisfying career.[74]

Despite the reference to Māori adopting broadcasting as a satisfying career, it would seem that in terms of presenters, Māori were few and far between. The first Māori voice heard on radio was Arini Grenell in 1927[75]. Pani Parata Te Tau was the first broadcaster in te reo Māori[76]. The following year, an additional three Māori broadcasters came over the New Zealand airwaves, with Kīngi Atawhai (2ZB in Wellington), Te Ari Pitama (3ZB in Christchurch) and Lou Paul (1ZB in Auckland)[77]. Arini Grenell continued to broadcast at 4ZB in Dunedin[78]. Up until the 1970's, the only "Māori" material broadcast over the airwaves, was the conventional news translated into te reo Māori, and other news that had little or no Māori perspective[79].

Adams Report: Radio Polynesia?

The first and significant challenge against the monocultural character of New Zealand broadcasting occurred in 1973. A Ministerial Broadcasting Committee submitted a report titled *The Future of Broadcasting in New Zealand*[80]. As a part of its recommendations, the report suggested that a Polynesian station be established in Auckland[81]. In terms of the content of programmes broadcast, the report elected that they should focus on music, language and the current concerns of Māori and Pacific Islanders. They also suggested that the station be separately funded and operated. A hui held at the Auckland Radio Theatre thought differently, arguing that there was no need to accommodate the Pacific Island community[82].

The idea initially bore no fruit. Wiremu Kerekere was appointed the Head of Māori Programming for Broadcasting Corporation New Zealand (BCNZ) in 1974[83]. Kerekere, along with Selwyn Muru and Henare Te Ua, were charged with overseeing the development of the Polynesian Station scheme.

With a change of government in 1975, the Radio Polynesia proposal was shelved by Government as it was no longer a part of the administration's policy. Despite the government change in policy, Māori broadcasting still featured highly on the list of priorities for BCNZ. BCNZ continued to pursue the feasibility of Radio Polynesia, whilst employing Derek Fox as the Head of the renamed Radio New

[74] Ibid. p.28.
[75] Beatson, D in *A Genealogy of Māori Broadcasting: The Development of Māori Radio. Continuum – An Australian Journal of Media and Culture. Aotearoa/New Zealand: A New Landscape*. Ed. Hutchinson, I and Lealand, G. Vol. 10. Number 1. 1996. p.76.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid. p.78.
[80] Ibid. This report is better known as the "Adams Report".
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

Zealand programme, Te Reo o Aotearoa[84]. The Radio Polynesia structure was to become Radio Aotearoa in 1988[85].

Ngā Kai Whakapūmau I Te Reo

In 1981, the National Government ordered the Broadcasting Tribunal to investigate the development of Frequency Modulation (FM) Radio. At the same time, several Māori groups expressed interest in pursuing FM frequencies for Māori Radio.

Ngā Kai Whakapūmau I Te Reo was also established in 1981. Ngā Kai Whakapūmau I Te Reo launched itself with the sole purpose of making assertive stances with regard to Māori Broadcasting. This gave rise to Te Reo ō Pōneke, the first private Māori radio station in New Zealand. The station began broadcasting from Radio Active's studio at Victoria University from the 4th–8th August, 1983[86]. The broadcast was mostly made in te reo Māori.

Waitangi Tribunal Claim

In 1984, Ngā Kai Whakapūmau I Te Reo Māori registered a claim with the Waitangi Tribunal. On their statement of claim, they allege that the Crown has an onus to protect Te Reo Māori, which they regard as a taonga, per Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Waitangi Tribunal's Radio Frequencies Report (WAI 26 AND 150) states that the Crown accepts:

(a) the Māori language is a taonga recognised and protected by the Treaty;
(b) the guarantee of protection obliges it to act affirmatively to sustain and protect the Māori language; and
(c) as part of these overall obligations the Māori language and culture must have a secure place in broadcasting.[87]

As the Tribunal remarked in their concluding statement, "We think that no fair-minded New Zealander would deny them what they ask for."[88]

In June of 1985, the Broadcasting Subcommittee of the Māori Economic Development Commission stated, "… [we recommend] that a statutory body should be established to ensure the broadcasting needs of Māori people were considered and met nationally."[89]

[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid. p.80.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *Māori Broadcasting Report to Māori by National Māori Organisations*. Ministry of Commerce. June 1997. p.2.
[88] Beatson, D. p.84.
[89] Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry*. September 1996. p.293.

The Waitangi Tribunal claim findings led to te reo Māori becoming the official language in 1986. Beatson states, "The doors were unlocked for Māori to pursue a Crown commitment to Māori language broadcasting."[90] Also released in 1986 were the findings of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand. The sixth Terms of Reference required the Commission to investigate the extent to which programmes build on and explore Māori culture and language and the history and current concerns of Māori[91].

The Māori Broadcasters Association submitted to the Commission:

> Television and radio have a positive role to play in raising the level of consciousness of both Māori and non-Māori in respect of Māori culture. The purpose of this for Māori and non-Māori differs. For Māori the aim is for the re-establishment and reinforcement of an understanding of their own culture and identity and the self-esteem which grows from this. For non-Māori it is to encourage understanding of Māori culture and to see this as an integral part of New Zealand society.[92]

Conclusion 84 of the Commission stated that, "Witnesses spoke of a need for a wide variety of programmes which build on and explore Māori interests and we concur"[93].

The Waitangi Tribunal Report was succeeded by a legal battle between 1988 through to 1993 concerning the allocation of BCNZ assets[94]. The relationship between the Crown and Māori surrounding the prolonged court battle was antagonistic to say the least, as articulated by former Minister Williamson:

> When I took office as Minister of Communications last November I became part of a Government which was keen to see an early end to the bickering which have characterised the relationship in recent years between the Crown and Māori in the broadcasting area.[95]

From the BCNZ case, the courts confirmed that the Crown does have an active obligation to protect te reo Māori and to develop specific proposals. In 1991 the Crown made the following undertakings to Māori:

1. By 31st January 1992, officials will report to Ministers on proposals for the establishment and initial funding of Te Reo Whakapuaki Irirangi and other aspects of a draft policy for the development of Māori television.
2. Arrangements will be made for the first meeting of the Māori broadcasting funding agency by 30th April 1992. [96]

Network vs. Iwi: Radio Aotearoa

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[90] Op. Cit.
[91] Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. *Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand*. September 1986. p.293.
[92] Ibid. p.306.
[93] Ibid. p.310.
[94] Wilson, H. "Chapter 6: Whakarongo Mai E ngā Iwi: Māori Radio." *The Radio Book*. 1994. Ed. Wilson, H. NZ Broadcasting School. Christchurch Polytechnic. 1994.
[95] Ministry of Commerce. Communications Division. *Broadcasting Te Reo and the Future: Te Whakapaho me Te Reo a mua ake nei*. Wellington. January 1991. p.4.
[96] Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry*. p.5.

In May 1986, BCNZ withdrew their financial support for Aotearoa Broadcast Systems (ABS) case for a third television channel.[97] Subsequently, with the abandoning of ABS' largest financial sponsor, ABS lost its bid for the third channel.

In what commentators consider a peace offering, BCNZ said that they would revisit the development of iwi radio.[98] The end result was the promotion of Radio NZ for a network concept, whereby a national radio station would broadcast to the entire country from Auckland. This was mooted as the most cost effective way of getting Māori radio on air throughout the country.[99]

At a hui at Takapūwāhia Marae, Porirua, on 24th/25th November 1986, Māori organisations supported the concept of the proposed network.[100] Some, however, objected, including Professor Whatarangi Winiata who advocated an iwi radio model. Winiata, under the umbrella of the New Zealand Māori Council, commissioned a report in 1987.[101] It was titled "A Global Approach to Māori Radio", written by David Hay. The report encouraged an approach of Māori broadcasting towards rohe/iwi/waka radio broadcasting on FM frequencies. From the Takapūwāhia Marae hui came the establishment of Radio Aotearoa.[102]

At the same time as the establishment of the National Māori Radio Network, other iwi radio stations were operating under their own funding.[103] They included Radio Ngāti Porou, Te Upoko O Te Ika and Radio Tautoko in the Hokianga. The Iwi Radio model became the preferred approach, with Iwi Radio stations who received funding numbering twenty in 1993.[104]

NZ On Air

The Broadcasting Act 1989, delegated responsibility for NZ On Air to reflect and develop New Zealand identity by:

(i) Promoting programmes about New Zealand and New Zealand interests; and
(ii) Promoting Māori language and culture.[105]

In its first year of operation (1989/1990), from the insistence of government, NZ On Air was directed to spend 6% of its fee licence income on Māori broadcasting.[106] Māori programmes funded included Radio Aotearoa ($1.44 million) and Iwi Radio ($4 million). By 1993, Iwi stations numbered twenty.

[97] Beatson, D. p.85.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid. p.86.
[100] Ibid. Some commentators observed that the guest list of the hui did not include people heavily involved in the radio industry.
[101] Ibid. p.88.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid. p.89.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Wilson, H. p.102.
[106] Ibid.

This also resulted in NZ On Air increasing its allocation towards Māori Radio to 9.5% of its fee income in 1992/1993.[107]

Despite the increase in funding, Iwi Radio in comparison with Radio New Zealand community stations, were being underfunded. The maximum level of funding for Iwi Radio for one year was $200,000 with one-off establishment grants of $100,000 also allowed.[108] Radio New Zealand community stations were able to access grants between $500,000 to $800,000. As Wilson writes:

> NZ On Air was aware that its present allocation was, in addition, preventing new stations from starting and freezing precious assets in a way which may not have been giving Māori as a whole the best value. Though government policy is to encourage some degree of self-sufficiency, Ministerial directives have favoured particular stations.[109]

Te Māngai Pāho

In August 1993, the Māori broadcasting function of NZ On Air was separated into a new entity, Te Māngai Pāho. Te Māngai Pāho was funded $13 million each year for the first three years of operation from Vote Communication. The inaugural Chairman of Te Māngai Pāho, Hiwi Tauroa, sets out in the first paragraph of their first Annual Report, of 1993/1994, the purpose of Te Māngai Pāho. He states:

> Te Māngai Pāho was established in direct response to requests made directly by Māori people to the Minister of Communications at a series of hui held to consider the kaupapa of what Māori people wished to have happen in the Māori radio and television development world. We now have an opportunity to exercise a considerable degree of independence with increased resources in order to chart our own course for Māori broadcasting.[110]

The legislative framework concerning Te Māngai Pāho is specified under the Broadcasting Amendment Act 1993:

> Its [Te Māngai Pāho] function as provided by Section 53B of the Act is "to promote the Māori language and Māori culture by making funds available, on such terms and conditions as [TMP] thinks fit, for broadcasting and the production of programmes to be broadcast.[111]

There were however some detractors and critics of Te Māngai Pāho:

> Principals note that Te Māngai Pāho was proposed by the Crown as part of its response to the Court. It was not an agreed solution. It was presented and included in legislation developed by the Crown. Subsequent difficulties indicate the need to be discussed and agreed as far as possible beforehand.[112]

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[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid. p.103.
[109] Ibid.
[110] *1993/1994 Te Mangai Paho Annual Report*. Te Mangai Paho. Wellington. 1994. p.5.
[111] *Te Mangai Paho – Post Election Brief*. December 1996. p.6.
[112] *Report of the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Broadcasting*. Wellington. 1996. p.23.

Commentators anticipated some issues that Te Māngai Pāho might encounter once established. The main concern centred on the evaluation of policies to counter negative social trends in relation to te reo Māori and culture. Designing and operating appropriate policies that effect social objectives (the promotion and retention of te reo Māori and culture) that are difficult to define was viewed as being the main obstacle towards success.[113]

Despite this difficult task, Te Māngai Pāho has overseen the development of some 21 iwi radio stations and the Māori Television Station. The amount of iwi radio stations and the establishment of a Māori television channel have been the primary indicators as to how well Te Māngai Pāho has performed. The crucial evaluation of the performance of Te Māngai Pāho must now be revisited to focus upon the quality of the services which it now funds. One of the many services that require providing by or to iwi radio stations must include independent investigative journalism.

Chapter Two: Research Methodology

Kaupapa Māori Research

As best articulated by Professor Graham Smith, Kaupapa Māori research:

1. is related to 'being Māori';
2. is connected to Māori philosophy and principles;
3. takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and
4. is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy' over our own cultural well being.[114]

The above methodology is more closely aligned to critical theory. As Dr Leonie Pihama states:

> Intrinsic to Kaupapa Māori theory is an analysis of existing power structures and societal inequalities. Kaupapa Māori theory therefore aligns with critical theory in the act of exposing underlying assumptions that serve to conceal the power relations that exist within society and the ways in which dominant groups construct concepts of 'common sense' and 'facts' to provide ad hoc justification for the maintenance of inequalities and the continued oppression of the Māori people.[115]

For the purposes of this report, the methodology employed to conduct research was done so from a Kaupapa Māori perspective.

[113] New Zealand Institute of Economic Research. Report to Communications Division. Ministry of Commerce. *Broadcasting in New Zealand: Waves of Change*. November 1994. p.138.
[114] Smith, L. *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. University of Otago Press. Dunedin. 1999. p.185.
[115] Ibid. p.186.

Literature Review

Some 41 publications were consulted to research this report. Most literature unearthed highlighted the plight to establish iwi radio, whilst very little material existed on any criticisms of iwi radio since its inception. The reason for this could be twofold. Firstly, as stated by Dunbar, critiquing your main source of employment is neither a favourable nor recommended practice, and he writes that "[W]rite critically about the news industry here, and you'll find your future employment options as a journalist could be very limited…."[116] Secondly, iwi radio remains a relatively new industry in comparison with its Treaty counterparts. Given time, more critical literature may be developed with regard to iwi radio.

Qualitative Interviews

This paper employs qualitative interviews as a means to obtain information surrounding independent investigative journalism within iwi radio. Qualitative interviews are defined as "…attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold the meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations."[117]

All interviews conducted were done via electronic mail with a questionnaire. Participants were selected to be approached after consultation with my supervisors. Five participants were approached and agreed to partake in the survey process. All participants signed an ethical agreement form. Anonymity was requested from the majority of participants. The majority of participants have a long and extensive history in working with iwi radio.

Defining Independent Investigative Journalism

In order to understand issues involving independent investigative journalism within iwi radio, independent investigative journalism needs to be defined. For the purposes of this report, the following is an attempt within the context of this study to define independent investigative journalism.

"Independent"

The following definition of "independent" within an iwi radio context has been gained from the accumulation of material provided by the questionnaire participants. Thus, the definition is one where the journalism/journalist is unfettered from the state, Māori authorities and other media agencies.

[116] Dunbar, J. *Can We Talk About The News? A Discussion of Media Criticism in New Zealand*. New Zealand Monographs. Number Three. January 2003. Department of Mass Communication and Journalism. University of Canterbury. New Zealand.
[117] www.ag.arizona.edu/fcs/cyfernet/cyfar/Intervu5.htm

"Investigative Journalism"

Throughout the literature review, there have been several attempts to encapsulate what is meant by "investigative journalism". The following definition provided by Warren Berryman of the *National Business Review*, best sums up what many commentators have alluded to:

> It's an attitude of mind towards a story so that you never leave something that begs the question why. You tell it in such detail that it explains why and how it happened. You just keep filling in the details so you don't have a story that reads like a book with a number of pages ripped out, that doesn't make sense, that leaves questions unanswered.[118]

"Iwi Radio"

Iwi Radio defines itself, but implicit within the phrase in the context of "Independent Investigative Journalism" is a focus on Māori from a Māori perspective.

Chapter Three: Findings

Results from the Questionaries

The following results have been deducted from the collation and subsequent analysis of results that have come from the questionaries. The process undertaken has been outlined previously in this report, within the Research Methodology section.

Does Independent Investigative Journalism within Iwi Radio occur?

Eighty percent of respondents commented that it either does not exist or exists but to a limited extent. One respondent alluded to the difficulty in quantifying independent investigative journalism:

> The word 'independent' is problematic because as a Māori radio station we receive funding from the State, so there are responsibilities which lie there and also our target audience is Māori and of course we have certain obligations to them. In short we are not 'independent' but we do try to conduct journalism that is robust, well researched, factual (i.e. evidence based), topical and relevant. In that respect the term 'investigative' is something that we constantly strive to do.[119]

Examples of Specific Programmes of Independent Investigative Journalism within Iwi Radio

Two respondents cited examples from Radio Waatea, based in Auckland. They included:

[118] Booth, P. Chapter *14: Investigative Journalism: The New Zealand Experience. Who's News?* Ed. Comrie, M and McGregor, J. Dunmore Press. Palmerston North. 1992. p.162.
[119] Respondent A.

- *Paakiwaha* (a current affairs programme from a Māori perspective in English).
- *Taawera* (a daily one hour early morning current affairs show in Māori).
- *Meretuahiahi* (a daily one hour evening current affairs show in Māori).
- *Māori News* (an hourly daily news bulletin from 7am–7pm).

One respondent spoke of inherent difficulties in describing the received news bulletins from Radio Waatea as independent.[120] The same respondent also alluded to an attempt by the provincial radio station he was involved with in providing some type of positive independent investigative journalism. Participant C states:

> However, he has conducted a current affairs/information-sharing programme entitled "Te Au Whakaputa" in which he has studio or telephone guests from a really broad spectrum of the community. These guests are youthful through to the elderly. They are Māori speakers, bilingual or English speakers. Over the years he has built up a huge list of contacts. Due to his strong tikanga Māori background and his sensitive and caring manner in dealing with his guests, he gains a great rapport quite quickly so that they enter into dialogue on a basis of trust i.e. that he will not put them down, embarrass them or put them into a compromising position.[121]

What forms does Independent Investigative Journalism manifest itself within Iwi Radio?

Sixty percent of respondents agreed that all of the below listed programme formats are examples of independent investigative journalism.

- Interviews
- News segments
- Talkback
- A series of pre-recorded segments with experts discussing an issue

One respondent, however, questioned the validity of the above mentioned formats as really "educating" people. Participant E suggested that "the programmes I have heard lack the real investigation, are limited in their presentation and appeal to the majority."[122]

What is the percentage of material used throughout the broadcast that can be deemed independent investigative journalism?

Sixty percent of respondents noted that the actual percentage of material broadcasted that could be considered independent investigative journalism, amounted to 5% or less. One respondent commented that at least 60% of material within their own broadcast was independent investigative journalism.[123] The irregularity of this result is due to the fact that the respondent is employed by a radio station that focuses on producing news and current affair items.

[120] Respondent C.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Particpant E.
[123] Participant A.

What is the estimated ratio of English to Te Reo broadcasting of independent investigative journalism?

This figure varied drastically. Respondents estimated that it ranged from 5% English to 95% Te Reo, to 50% English and Te Reo.

Do you believe that independent investigative journalism has increased or decreased over the past ten years?

Eighty percent responded with the belief that independent investigative journalism had increased over the past ten years.

Why do you believe this figure has increased or decreased?

Two respondents believed that independent investigative journalism has increased due to an increase in skilled staff. Other suggestions included:

- Change in formatting of the amount of te reo content by the various iwi radio stations
- Linkage to a National Service
- General advances in Māori educational achievement
- Greater awareness by Māori of the world about them
- Greater interest by Māori in journalism and broadcasting
- Increased experience by Māori broadcasters over time

Would you like to see more independent investigative journalism within Iwi Radio?

Eighty percent of participants said that they would.

What do you consider the main factors against independent investigative journalism within Iwi Radio?

Sixty percent of respondents noted that the following reasons are considered a hindrance to the development of independent investigative journalism:

- Governance
- Management
- Lack of sufficient training for staff
- Threat of lawsuits

Eighty percent of respondents commented on funding and political interference as being main factors towards developing independent investigative journalism within iwi radio. Other factors included

shortage of te reo speakers and the ignorance of mainstream New Zealanders regarding the Māori language. All respondents commented that the lack of trained journalists remains one of the major impediments towards providing independent investigative journalism.

One respondent commented that there exists a prevailing attitude amongst Māori that Māori media should only concentrate on the positive stories and to leave "the dirt" to the mainstream.[124] The respondent went on to comment that Māori would be better served if they told these stories themselves so they can be investigated properly the first time.

Do you have any thoughts/suggestions about how the situation could be improved so more independent investigative journalism can occur within Iwi Radio?

Suggestions provided by respondents included:

- Māori need to see the value in their stories and learn to use the media to its benefit.
- More funding of iwi radio for this purpose by Te Māngai Pāho
- Greater promotion of Māori journalism as a career by high schools
- Greater provision of training courses in high schools and tertiary institutions that cater specifically for Māori; along with fees reduction etc to improve accessibility by Māori
- Increasing opportunities for learning Māori for all New Zealanders so that they can contribute more easily to the discourse
- Promoting the idea of investigative journalism being for other than sensationalism and negativism but being also for positive stories
- A National Māori service dedicated to independent investigative journalism
- By negating the effect of internal and external political interference of political parties
- By presenting the material in a more suitable and professional fashion

Sixty percent of respondents agreed that there needs to be a focus on the upskilling of trained journalists.

An Example of Independent Investigative Journalism within Iwi Radio: Mana Māori Media

Apart from the examples previously provided of the programmes broadcast by Radio Waatea, Mana Māori Media continues to provide to some extent, a service that includes independent investigative journalism. The following is a description of the types of programmes Mana Māori Media provides to iwi radio:

> Mana Māori Media compiles five national news bulletins per day, in both Māori and English, and a nightly Mana Hour of interviews on the themes of arts, current affairs, education, health, music and sport. Mana News is strikingly different from mainstream news in the length and presentation of its items, and the historical perspective which is put on contemporary issues.[125]

[124] Respondent B.
[125] Wilson, H. p.108.

A comparative study between Mana Māori Media and mainstream analysed the type of stories covered by the service. Some of the major findings included:

- Māori stories broadcast (by Mana Māori Media) on Morning Report (Radio New Zealand) were predominately neutral (93.3%)
- Mana News (produced by Mana Māori Media) featured more equal portions of good news (37.3%), bad news (26.9%) and neutral stories (35.7%)
- A total of 88.5% of the questions asked by Mana Māori Media were judged as very appropriate or appropriate in the context of the stories they were asked.[126]

This type of service bodes well for the future of independent investigative journalism within iwi radio. However, the primary function of Mana Māori Media is to provide news bulletins to those radio stations who wish to use their services. Other programming needs to be developed, especially programming that can include independent investigative journalism.

How does Independent Investigative Journalism within Iwi Radio compare with Mainstream New Zealand Media?

There exists very little literature on the state of independent investigative journalism within mainstream New Zealand media. This perhaps is the greatest indicator that, in fact, not much, if any, independent investigative journalism occurs within New Zealand. This is supported by the following comment:

> The sad fact is that there is very little true investigative journalism done in New Zealand and some of our largest news organisations have a decidedly lacklustre record in this area.[127]

Pat Booth, a veteran New Zealand journalist who is more widely remembered for his role within the "Free Alan Thomas Campaign", laments the dearth of independent investigative journalism within New Zealand media and attributes the absence to individuals and organisations that hold responsible roles within media agencies:

> Seldom advocates of the adventurous, much less the socially, legally or financially risky, New Zealand editors and the boards who keep them in their jobs, have locked investigative journalism away in a file padlocked and labelled "too hard". No matter what part of their craft or responsibility.[128]

This is a view shared by Gary Wilson, former New Zealand Journalists' Training Board Officer and Mana Māori Media Director. However, he further attributes the ignorance of New Zealand journalism decision makers to the New Zealand education system:

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[126] The subsequent findings come from a survey; Comrie, M and McGregor, J. *Balance and Fairness in Broadcasting News (1985–1994)*. Massey University. April 1995.
[127] Crop, A. *Digging Deeper – A New Zealand Guide to Investigative Reporting.* New Zealand Journalists Training Organisation. Wellington. 1997. XII.
[128] Booth, P. Chapter *14: Investigative Journalism: The New Zealand Experience. Who's News?* p.162.

> Because the media power brokers are victims of that process themselves, they are not particularly aware of, or alarmed by, the degree of ignorance within the troops at their disposal.[129]

Phillip Alpers, former presenter of "Fair Go", speaks of the difference between television and radio, regarding investigative journalism:

> Sadly, the only people who seem to be allowed to do it [investigate journalism] these days are television journalists, certainly not radio. We don't have a group of journalists coming up who are being trained in this area.[130]

Alpers concludes by making a financial case for more investigative journalism to be produced:

> I believe there is a real thirst for investigative work. The fact that Fair Go ranks number one has a lot do to with the fact that we have changed from a series of silly skits, interminable studio interviews and funnies to a very high risk, high defamation, high investigative programme.[131]

With regard to independent investigative journalism, Māori are not alone within the medium of radio in being deprived of such material. The virtual non-existence of independent investigative journalism from mainstream New Zealand media provides some explanation as to why some Pākehā hold the views they do towards Māori. Perhaps if this trend was reversed, then harmonious race relations would be achieved as stated by the former Race Relations Conciliator, Chris Laidlaw.

Funding

Funding has been an age-old issue for Iwi Radio. The 1986 Royal Commission of Inquiry on Broadcasting and Telecommunications in New Zealand recorded the Māori Broadcasters Association as having submitted:

> Members of the MBA pointed to the lack of adequate funding for training and production; to the small amount of time allocated to the broadcast of programmes for and about Māori; and to the inappropriate scheduling of the little that is broadcast.[132]

Ten years later, The Report of the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting Policy continued to say that Māori Radio is under-resourced both financially and in terms of key personnel[133].

Crop however states that investigative journalism is not dependant upon financial resources:

> This willingness to look beyond the basic facts and dig deeper fits my definition of investigative reporting. It can and should be an integral part of every news gathering operation, regardless of size or financial resources.

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[129] Saunders, J. *Chapter 12: Skin Deep: The News Media's Failure to Cover Māori Politics*. p.173.
[130] Op.Cit. p.164.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry. *Broadcasting and Related Telecommunications in New Zealand*. p.306.
[133] *Report of the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting Policy*. p.5.

> In-depth reporting can be done on a shoestring and the best work is not necessarily produced by those with the deepest pockets"[134].

It should be noted that Crop fails to consider staffing issues which are directly impacted upon by the financial resources of the various radio stations. Crop places much trust that the staff employed will not broadcast any material which may be deemed "defamatory".

Iwi radio stations are severally impacted upon in the area of funding. Not only does it impact upon their ability to function, but it has a bearing on the calibre of staff employed. If iwi radio had the comfort of being able to appoint experienced staff, then more trust would exist and management would not fear being prosecuted because of libel.

Lack of Qualified and/or Experienced Staff

The second report released by the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting, went into more detail concerning their thoughts on Māori Radio:

> The most obvious way in which national Māori radio services might supplement the services of iwi stations was in the provision of Māori language programming and national news and current affairs, both of which required highly skilled staff which few if any individual stations would be able to employ.[135]

Wilson states that "[t]here is a severe shortage of experienced Māori broadcasters and station staff, especially managers, and salary levels are likely to attract young Māori only"[136]. Wilson also notes that the training of staff for iwi radio falls outside previous policy frameworks and is a major omission by its absence.[137]

Derek Fox commented that the development of Iwi Radio had encountered some major issues:

> But the level of financing and the level of professional and semi-professional people to run them is short…My biggest complaint [against the public broadcasting system] is the uneven way in which they've hired and developed Māori staff over the years. Because what they have done is deny the Māori broadcasting system staff and skilled people…A big difficulty is that, whereas New Zealand on Air has the brief to organise training. That's were the biggest gap is at the moment. In a way tribal stations are being kept small and inefficient, they are trying very hard, but they are operating with unskilled people.[138]

Te Māngai Pāho has made some attempts to address the shortage of available training for iwi radio staff. The first allocation of funding for training made by Te Māngai Pāho was in 1996/1997.[139] Some

[134] Crop, A. "*Digging Deeper" – A New Zealand Guide to Investigative Reporting*. XII.
[135] *Second Report of the Joint Māori/Crown Working Group on Māori Broadcasting Policy*. p.18.
[136] Wilson, H. *Chapter 6; Whakarongo Mai E ngā Iwi: Māori Radio*. p.104.
[137] Ibid. p.105.
[138] Comrie, M and McGregor, J. *Chapter 15: The Māori Perspective of the News. Who's News?* 1992.
[139] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report 1996/1997. Wellington. 1997. p.9.

commentators attribute the thin spread of resources for iwi radio to the rapid development it has had to incur:

> The growth of Māori radio and its speed has caused some current problems. NZ On Air's guidelines, worked out in 1989, were not designed to cater for the number of stations that quickly developed, and soon there was a generally feeling that the resources were spread too thin.[140]

Wilson suggests that the swift advancement of iwi radio resulted in the denigration of services:

> Sometimes this led to a re-examination of how to present the Kaupapa, when many stations did not have the resources to do it as originally planned. They were even forced to broadcast largely in English, playing a lot of mainstream music, and even in some cases taking Pākehā news service.[141]

Te Māngai Pāho attempted to address this issue by appointing a Māori Radio Industry Commission (MRIC). The MIRC was established to:

> …consider and provide advice on various issues related to Māori in the industry and to co-ordinate strategies and initiatives which many be beneficial to industry participants. TMP is currently working with them to develop a training initiative.[142]

Te Māngai Pāho is currently embarking upon a four year industry led training programme in conjunction with the New Zealand Qualifications Authority to deliver a qualification framework that targets specific skills required within an iwi radio station.[143]

There is one established training provider nationally that caters for Māori journalism. Waiariki Polytechnic School of Journalism supplies pre-training for Māori journalists as well as a number of booster and introductory courses that were initially developed by the Journalists Training Board and the former Department of Māori Affairs.[144]

The pooling together of resources to produce certain programming remains a sound strategy when the expertise is spread thin amongst several providers to produce certain programming. In this respect, independent investigative journalism should be viewed as a particular type of programme and thus the tendering process for the providing of these services to one national provider should remain intact, at least until such time as experienced and/or experienced staff are employed amongst the various iwi radio stations. This should be the long term strategy of Te Māngai Pāho, as it ensures that the rangatiratanga of each tribal authority is not encroached upon.

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[140] Wilson, H. *Chapter 6; Whakarongo Mai E ngā Iwi: Māori Radio*. p.104.
[141] Ibid.
[142] *Te Mangai Paho – Post Election Brief*. p.18.
[143] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report 2004. Wellington. 2004.
[144] McGregor, J. *News Values and the Reporting of Māori News*. Department of Human Resource Management. Massey University. Palmerston North. 1991. p.7.

The provision of qualified and/or experienced staff requires constant attention. Training providers such as the Waiariki Polytechnic need to be supported and encouraged, as does the training scheme developed by Te Māngai Pāho. Not only do experienced staff require enticements to remain with iwi radio, but succession planning is required. Failure to plan for future staffing losses will result in a dearth of relevant staffing requirements for iwi radio.

Te Reo vs. English

Respondents were equally divided over the amount of time broadcasts should be made in either te reo Māori or English. Participant E stated that "[A]s most [listeners] are not Māori speakers, attempting to provide these sorts of items in Māori does not attract nor appeal to the majority." This was further endorsed with the comments of Participant A:

> There needs to be a major philosophical change in Māori broadcasting which should start with the Government which must realise that supporting the Māori language and culture is not just about supporting Māori language programming but about supporting bilingual and English programming on Māori issues also. Its not just about the language, it's about presenting Māori perspectives and Te Māngai Paaho and Te Whakaruruhau (the executive that covers Māori radio) must realise this also.[145]

There are deliberate policies in place within Te Māngai Pāho to advance the amount of te reo used in Iwi Radio.[146] They manifest themselves in the form of funding incentives. The first reference towards language funding incentives made by Te Māngai Pāho was in 1995/1996.[147]

The literature review unearthed two examples of Māori radio stations and services having their funding cut due to the amount of te reo used not reaching specified standards imposed by Te Māngai Pāho. In 1996, Te Māngai Pāho indicated that Aotearoa Radio's funding was reduced from $1.122 million to $0.45 million[148]. Mana Māori Media was to receive $0.420 million from a previous amount of $1.030 million[149]. Both radio services produced the highest amount of what can be considered independent investigative journalism.

Inherent within the debate is the purpose for which iwi radio has been established. Their purpose is twofold: firstly, to promote and preserve te reo Māori and, secondly, to promote and preserve Māori culture.[150]

[145] Particpant A.
[146] Iwi Radio should not be seen as the only avenue open to learn te reo Māori. Educational Institutes also cater for this need.
[147] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report. Wellington. 1996. p.11.
[148] Te Mangai Paho — Post Election Brief 1996. p.15.
[149] Ibid.
[150] Throughout legislation and policy is direct reference for iwi radio to promote and preserve te reo Māori and Culture. This was illustrated when radio licences were issued for Māori Broadcasters. Ministry of Commerce. Communications Division. *Review of Māori Broadcasting Policy 1988/94*. September 1994. p.6.

The balance that needs to be struck between promoting and preserving te reo Māori and doing the same with regard to the culture, is a fine equilibrium. As noted by the 2001 New Zealand Census, 15% consider themselves very well or well within the area of listening proficiency regarding te reo Māori.[151]

Central, also, to the debate concerning the amount of te reo Māori to be broadcast is the need for audience surveys. Te Māngai Pāho noted the importance of this function at a hui of Māori broadcasters in 2000.[152] This would appear to be still within the policy of Te Māngai Pāho:

> In this, Te Māngai Pāho worked to support iwi radio's own efforts to monitor and improve their own performance by introducing a self-assessment framework for participating stations.[153]

With regard to what the Māori listeners want, a survey undertaken in 1993 by NZ On Air found that the majority of Māori listeners (72%) require that te reo Māori and English be used at least equally on air, with 20% preferring more te reo, or for it to be the sole language on air[154].

In the context of those who feel confident in listening or understanding te reo Māori, to what extent is iwi radio negating those who do not understand te reo in educating them about their culture? If a full te reo Māori format is advocated by certain iwi radio stations, then does that equate to 85% understanding little or nothing regarding their culture?

The other important consideration is to what extent are those without the te reo Māori being encouraged to learn the language via English?[155] The promotion of learning te reo Māori needs to be in a form understood by those who cannot understand. Failure to do so could result in the figure of 15% who consider themselves confident in listening to te reo Māori not increasing or, even worse, decreasing. This would also detract from the work iwi radio have completed in relation to the use of te reo Māori. The need for bilingual programming is communicated by the Chairman of Te Māngai Pāho in 1999:

> be some programming in English, or at least bilingual programming, to accommodate the listening and viewing needs of non-Māori speaking audiences and to motivate them into learning Māori.[156]

Chapter Four: Conclusion

[151] www.stats.govt.nz/products-and-services/Articles/Māori-lang-survey-2001.htm
[152] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report 2000/2001. Wellington. 2001. p.8.
[153] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report 2002/2003. Wellington. 2003. p.7.
[154] New Zealand Institute of Economic Research. Report to Communications Division. Ministry of Commerce. *Broadcasting in New Zealand: Waves of Change*. p.139.
[155] Please note that the author is not advocating the use of English to teach te reo, as this area of development falls outside the brief of the report.
[156] Te Mangai Paho. Te Mangai Paho Annual Report 1998/1999. p.5.

In conclusion, the contention for Māori to have a media of their own is well and truly entrenched in today's society. The argument for why this exists is well articulated by Māori media commentator, Derek Fox:

> The mainstream media have shown no willingness to tackle the issues, appear incompetent in terms of reporting Māori issues and make no effort to come to grips with the cultural misunderstanding needed.[157]

McGregor continues critiquing mainstream media:

> …Pākehā journalists decide what is and isn't news according to their own cultural definitions. They choose the angle, who to talk to out of their limited range of contacts (who often include no Māori at all) and the outcome is invariably racist.[158]

Iwi Radio is now an established industry within New Zealand. Attempts to include independent investigative journalism within iwi radio broadcasts, is the most effective way of reversing negative societal trends espoused and articulated by mainstream media. This, alongside the need to promote and retain te reo Māori, was the primary reason why iwi radio was established.

As Ian Stuart notes, "[I]f we look at the New Zealand news media now and beyond 2000 it is obvious that the biggest growth area is in the Māori media.[159] With regard to the future direction of investigative reporting, Stuart argues that:

> I believe we need to look to Europe, not America, for the style of news we should be teaching people to produce. The European style is to present both sides of the story, relatively judgement-free and without telling the audience what to think about the events and the issues.[160]

The qualitative interview process clearly identified that more investigative independent journalism needs to occur within iwi radio. Along with the identification of issues countering this need, and measures introduced by Te Māngai Pāho to address those issues, there is reason to believe that more independent investigative journalism can transpire within iwi radio.

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[157] Fox, D in Chapter 15; "The Māori Perspective of the News" in *Who's News?*. Ed. Comrie, M and McGregor, J. Dunmore Press. Palmerston North. 1992. p.174.
[158] McGregor, J. *News Values and the Reporting of Māori News*. p.13.
[159] Stuart, I. *Towards Bi-Cultural Reporting in Beyond 2000: Future Directions in Journalism Education – Proceedings from the Journalism Education Association Annual Conference. 6–8th December 1995*. University of Canterbury. p.61.
[160] Ibid. p.67.

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Whakamomori

Keri Newman

Abstract

While young Māori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, have the highest suicide rates in the world, prevention strategies predominantly address psychological risk, which excludes Māori culture, and the role of tapu. Today the common Māori word for suicide is whakamomori, however, traditionally whakamomori referred to a spiritual illness that manifested itself in psychological symptoms which might lead to death.

To understand whakamomori it is necessary to consider the Māori worldview, a dialectic that seeks understanding rather than definite answers. Whakamomori is a form of internal suffering likened to depression that may lead to suicide. In order to heal those afflicted by suicidal tendencies, it is important for indigenous people to draw on traditional knowledge.

> *Me tangi kaapaa ko te mate i te marama*
> Let us mourn and weep for him,
> for truly he dieth no as the moon dies.
> (Elsdon Best, 1924)

Introduction

The ancient concepts of Māori have continued to be practiced, however, they are influenced by different evolving social contexts. Knowledge has still remained but the relationship that is required for interpretation has changed drastically. Mistranslation and misinterpretation by many sources of literature about whakamomori occurred when the spiritual knowledge was removed leaving only the psychological traits. It became understood to be an insipid suffering, a depression that is inferred as mental illness and suicide. What was omitted is the spiritual illness that is derived from exposure to misfortune and death that evolves into whakamomori. This would then incite psychological suffering as one who awaits their fate at the mercy of spiritual punishment.

This report examines the state of whakamomori and the act of suicide, further exploring the relationship between them. Whakamomori has conflicting definitions that indicate it as both an illness and a death. It requires rejoining the original threads severed from cultural misinterpretation. To explore a pre-contact definition of the relationship between whakamomori and suicide in Māori society requires unravelling the many pathways that lead to whakamomori. Therefore recognising the

misinterpretation of Māori knowledge holds the key to understanding whakamomori as an illness or death. To be able to ascertain the relationship a clear definition must be elicited from the literature.

To define whakamomori consideration must be given to the different words used by *iwi* (tribe) to describe the effects of sadness and loss. A behaviour or state used by one iwi may have a different word, but mean exactly the same circumstances with another. Within whakamomori are many words that describe the shades of sadness and suffering dependent upon the circumstances leading to whakamomori. A lexical breakdown of the word implies whakamomori is a state of needing caressing or smoothing. However a dissection of the word indicates a return to a bare state. Therefore depending upon the context used to understand the content of whakamomori, it is exposed to subjective interpretation.

A definition of suicide appears to be more straightforward and is described as a loss of options by the individual in their environment. The use of suicide in early Māori society was regarded as a socially controlled behaviour and act. To commit suicide was influenced remarkably by attitudes towards death and the ability to access one's actions and *wairua (spirit)* in another world. Early Māori society viewed the intentional taking of one's life outside of cultural beliefs as a psychological illness.[161]

Whakamomori is governed by *tapu* (sacred) lore lying at the core of whakamomori occurring. Drastically altered was the relationship with tapu lore that related to spiritual wellbeing. Tapu is an ancient personal protection system evolved from working and adapting to one's environment. Infection from tapu was considered a spiritual illness and played a central role in the occurrence of whakamomori and death. Breaking tapu lore and therefore losing *mana* (prestige) were key causation factors in whakamomori and identified a spiritual relationship. From this lore it was classified as a silent illness.

Much of the literature does not define the state of whakamomori, but collective examples that have underlying related causes. This spiritual and psychological dyad represented the effect of whakamomori; however, the cause of whakamomori is the darkness of pōuri and shame of whakamā. Acts of pōuri occurred due to misfortune and were not perceived to be organically originated. Therefore death and misfortune occurred because one broke tapu lore and punishment was taken in the loss of a treasured thing. Acts of whakamā occurred when personal or communal tapu is broken leading to loss of mana causing isolation and withdrawal. Many acts of whakamā include betrayal, adultery, incest and abuse—all related as acts against one's personal space, considered extremely tapu. Regardless if the causation of whakamomori was derived from pōuri or whakamā, there were two pathways to conclude whakamomori. They are ea whakamomori or mate whakamomori. The final pathway chosen would depend upon the amount of social isolation and how far the transgression of

[161] Oppenheim, 1973:—61.

insult has manifested. The treatment involved asking for repent from the gods for actions that have caused offence, as punishment would be severe.

What is Suicide and What is Whakamomori?

This study examines the traditional relationship between whakamomori and suicide. The topic of this research is to add to the knowledge that may contribute to addressing a problem plaguing Māori today. Of prominence is Māori aged 19-24 years old with the highest suicide rates in the world and the focus on the psychological risk factors that omits culture. For Māori this occurred because whakamomori became mistranslated due to a cultural factor being excluded leaving the psychological factors that influenced the definition. It began to be classified only by its mental illness measurement, effectively dividing its true meaning. The aim of this research is to clarify a meaning of both whakamomori and suicide and the relationship they share.

Whakamomori is a Māori cultural word that is a recent addition to traditional society, previous to that it was hapū-Māori. A word uses by Ngai Tuhoe is *hopo,* meaning 'fretting or to fret fearfully', a personal difficulty to arouse from an anxious state which also describes the anxious effects of suicide.[162] A person continually awaits something that may never come or may never return. Amongst the people of Te Taitokerau[163] the word *tarona* is used meaning to strangle or hang by the neck.[164] Situational to this occurring is an act of desperate loss and sadness that reduces options and leads to death by strangulation. These cultural interpretations consider the outcomes of the suffering as the descriptor for definition.

Whakamomori encompasses the different shades of sadness and anger. Many descriptive words are used for sadness based predominantly on emotive acts that incite sadness. *Kōnohi* means to ache for something that is now missing, an emotional response to loss. A step further takes it closer to whakamomori as an antecedent to suicide, becoming *kōnohi te aroha* or to yearn sadly with loss.[165] The word *koroingo* also translates into desire or yearning, described as a feeling of emptiness for something missing. A different word *kōingo* means sadness, but intensifies when the sorrow from the loss inhibits one's recovery. *Pōuri* encapsulates the darkness behind sadness and is associated to a sorrowed sad state leading to distress.[166] The sad state over an extended period induces depression and this forms the core of whakamomori.

A form of fatal melancholia is described as *awhireinga,* meaning to draw near to the spirit world.[167] An individual resigns himself or herself to death and must be reached before they slip into a state of despair and are destined to die. Also referring to the influence of the spiritual world is the word *aroaro*

[162] Higgins, 2005.
[163] Groups of iwi from the Northern region of Aotearoa (New Zealand).
[164] Oppenheim, 1973: 55.
[165] Grey, 1956: 11.
[166] Williams Dictionary, 1971: 299.
[167] Goldie, 1903: 79.

waimate, which is a longing, derived from a strong pull of one in this world to be with relatives in another.[168] This rationale occurs as one is unable to ascertain any hope of recovering from their spiritually induced ailment. They seek a way to be reunited with a lost one, a spiritual cause of death.

A lexical definition from Williams (1971) cites *whakamatemate* as "being in a desperate mental turmoil" exacerbated by consumption of the matter creating desperation. There is no definition of the word whakamomori, but breakdown of the word reveals its structure: *whaka* means cause to do; *momori* a smooth or bare state. Therefore a semiotic examination of whakamomori can be described as 'the cause or return of a bare state'.

The literature describes whakamomori through collective examples based on acts of grief, sacrifice, dishonour, shame and suffering. Gudgeon (1906) researched a monograph titled 'Whakamomore' (sic) after extensive relationships with Māori. From these experiences he gave in-depth examples of whakamomori and clearly defined it as, "A mental condition of sullen desperation, the condition of the Māori mind when suffering under insults or injuries" (Gudgeon, 1906: 163). Gudgeon discussed this description as a state occurring as the result of settling an act of vengeance for a murder of a *rangatira (chief)*, thief of land and abuse that caused harm, risk or death.

Furthermore, Pōmare (1930) recites a story of a rangatira who is suffering depression from the sadness derived from losing his land and title. He explains, *"*Whakamomori means not only straight-out suicide but also the faculty natives appear to possess of giving themselves up to death and despair" Pōmare, (1930: 104.). From these two examples whakamomori is a state of madness or despair aggravated by an insult or injury that can lead to suicidal death. It includes a holistic paradigm and the psychological (mental state), physical (giving up to death) and spiritual (faculty natives possess, based on beliefs) states in a wider ecology.

Therefore defining whakamomori is challenged by the diverse iwi and emotional states that lead to whakamomori occurring. It is collectively described as a return to a bare state and is associated to a reunion with other dimensions. It's an internal suffering from a socially activated catalyst that can have an external effect leading to a suicidal death. It is aptly described as a sadness or depression of the spirit that may relate to bouts of anger and suffering. An accumulation of the definitions identifies whakamomori as spiritual sickness with psychological and physical effects.[169]

Suicide is defined as the intentional taking of one's own life after a traumatic experience.[170] Suicide was common in traditional Māori society, but committed mainly in conjunction with Māori beliefs and not a loss of options. The unintentional taking of one's life was not an approved Māori custom.

[168] Percy Smith, 1913: 188.
[169] Gudgeon, 1906;161
[170] Goldie 1903 & Robley 1896

Suicide with no related tikanga was strongly disapproved due to the relationship with those in the next life. It was also believed *tohunga (expert)* could communicate with the dead spirit so taking one's life did not release you from the current life as your spirit was accessible in the next.[171] Therefore those that committed suicide did so with social approval or outside of this; suicide was considered a psychological illness.

In traditional Māori society there were four factors that contributed towards death occurring: witchcraft; war; natural decay and suicide/accidental death.[172] All have a relationship with tapu; witchcraft is called *mākutu or mate atua* and described as occurring due to offence against *atua* (gods). Natural decay is called *mate tara whare* and is of female origin related to the tapu act of Māui entering Hine-nui-te-pō.[173] Suicide was called *mate whakamomori* and occurred due to an offence against atua leading to punishment of spiritual and psychological depression. A natural origin all four shared was as offences against tapu.

Mistranslation

A traditional understanding of whakamomori did not appear to mean suicide, but an antecedent to it. The social change of whakamomori has removed the essence of its original cause, as one part of whakamomori became disassociated becoming understood as a depression. Whakamomori is an illness of the *wairua* (soul) with psychological aspects. It was interpreted to mean suicide when the breakdown of esoteric Māori knowledge occurred. Christianity overwhelmed esoteric knowledge and removed the place of Māori wairua. This occurred as wairua could not be seen or measured, therefore only focusing on psychological aspects. Often an outcome of the psychological depression was suicide and interpreted as this. However, essentially it is a spiritual illness and the understanding and practice of it relates to *mana atua* (power of the gods).

Whakamomori became to be understood as suicide as many of the examples of people in a state of whakamomori took their own lives. This occurred as medical experts, researchers and colonists viewed only the cases with death as a final outcome. They were unaware of and excluded access to Māori esoteric knowledge therefore did not witness the resolved cases of whakamomori. There were two ways that contributed greatly to the mistranslation of whakamomori; through the loss of language and the loss of cultural and spiritual understanding.

The loss of te reo Māori impacted on the cohesive and identifiable symbols that gelled Māori society. Early Māori had in-depth memory databases as all knowledge was imparted and retained by oral transmission. The recitation of extensive Māori oral histories has formed the base of knowledge

[171] Oppenheim, 1973: 98.
[172] Andersen, 1907: 446.
[173] Hine-nui-te-po represents the Māori goddess of death. She resides in Rarohenga and awaits the spirits of her children living in the natural world.

validation. It has evolved from a kinetic method based on *titiro* (to look) and *whakarongo* (to listen) that help develop immense structures of memory. This formed a methodology of retaining knowledge through recitation and practices a pioneer to the immergence of kaupapa Māori theory. However, this form of research methods was altered when oratory practices became literary based; preserving pieces of Māori knowledge forever but also reducing its authenticity. Whakamomori became trapped in this void and the word began to be indicated as a sinister act.

The cultural loss was clearly identified as whakamomori as a traditional Māori state was affected by the rapid social and cultural change of colonisation. Whakamomori began to disappear by the late 1800s amongst most Māori and completely in the North by the 1930s.[174] This was predominantly due to the increasing word of missionaries who held an aversion to whakamomori as a heathen practice. Whakamomori was seen as inappropriate under Christian law as suffering and death were related to God's punishment. Therefore this removed the spiritual role in whakamomori as the taking of one's life defied the belief that God controlled life and death. Māori continuing to practice the knowledge of whakamomori did so against the civilising mission of colonisation. The cultural clash precipitated the first steps to removing Māori knowledge.

Tapu

Tapu was the key factor that all examples of whakamomori share, each one derives from a spiritual offence committed against the atua. Māori knowledge of death was derived from supernatural beliefs and its transfer to the natural world was through tapu. Two main principles were used to govern Māori society; they were *tikanga* (custom) and *kawa* (protocols). Actions that transgressed tapu and broke kawa and tikanga lead to *muru* (plundering) and *utu* (revenge).

Within these values nestles tapu as a personal possession that protects spiritual, psychological and social wellbeing.[175] Tapu is a primordial lore system that defines the tikanga and kawa for interactions in Māori society. Tapu created a lore that governed all relationships to maintain social order. Transgression of tapu precipitated fear of punishment from the atua who activated tapu and social order. [176] It was aptly described as, "Contact with tapu was equivalent to a psychological infection which resulted in physical symptoms usually followed by death" (Hiroa, 1949: 347). This demonstrates a psychological and spiritual relationship between life and death. It is a spiritual exchange, as the body remains and the wairua goes on affecting one's ability to cope. It indicates co-construct dimensions that are involved in socially mediated acts affecting the individual with dire consequences.

[174] Oppenheim, 1973: 55.
[175] Mead, 2003: 46.
[176] Best, 1924: 32.

A Spiritual Illness

A breach of rules encapsulated in tapu was attributed to sickness and death. The root of sickness was not seen as a biological influence but a spiritual one. The pathology of tapu was not derived from examining the body, but examining one's actions.[177] Tracing steps backwards a pathway of offending is revealed and the cause is a transgression of tapu leading to sickness and misfortune. Māori did not differentiate sickness and death to find meaning. It all originated from sorcery, offending atua or acts of defending one's mana.[178] However, after colonisation Māori begin to differentiate between *mate Māori* [179] and Pākehā sickness.

Mākutu or magic by sorcery was a weapon used by tohunga to avenge an insult, punish a thief or evild-oer.[180] The use of mākutu created a fear of impending misfortune or death; the mental suffering from this worry and paranoia is the element of whakamomori. A person bewitched by a spell is said to be under the influence of mākutu. The onset of disease and illness derived from mākutu would allow the *hau* (intellectual spirit) *to* be exposed and taken therefore illness sets in.[181] From there the hau would weaken the wairua and allow *aituā (misfortune)* in to create spiritual illnesses. The use of mākutu in Māori society was so powerful that patients waited to fall ill. Awaiting death they will not budge and otherwise have to be persuaded they have been cured by purification.[182] Therefore illness and death occurred due to spiritual interference that leads to psychological and physical deteriation.

A Psychological Illness

The transfer from a psychological illness to a physical suffering is elicited from the spiritual. Individuals believe they have offended the atua and that it's only a matter of time before their lives are taken to pay for their wrongdoings. This belief turns to incessant paranoia, as the individual believes his death will soon occur. They are gripped with fear as the superstitious fear turns to nervous fear, eventually working into a delusional melancholia and stupefied condition. The depression moves quickly and the nervous system becomes depressed and insipid, losing physical energy, the organs begin to stress and the heart takes the weight forcing the involuntary muscles to spasm.[183] The stress of the psychological infection begins to shut the body down and before this state of despair occurs, suicide does. One is simply unable to tolerate the spiritual and psychological sickness.

Goldie (1903) wrote about the Polynesian, Melanesian, Aboriginal and Māori practice of sitting down and willing oneself to death. First the individual suffers a deep depression that can continue for a long or short length of time. From the depression the individual has a lack of desire to live compounded by overactive nervous activity fearing their fate. A Māori that unknowingly desecrated a *wāhi tapu*

[177] Oppenheim, 1973: 76.
[178] *Status, prestige.*
[179] Māori sickness derived from cultural causes.
[180] Shortland, 1856: 67.
[181] Goldie, 1903: 31.
[182] Best,1924: 46.
[183] Best, 1924: 32.

(sacred place) was overtaken by a terrible fear based on what act of evil would happen for this offence. His actions have incurred the anger of the atua and his fear catapults him into a nervous anxious state. His fear is derived from the sin his actions have created; he knows punishment will be eminent. One then gives up the will to live and rolls himself in his mat refusing food and soon dies.[184] He does not die of starvation, but severe spiritual and psychological depression that he cannot be aroused from. Often the individual knows they will soon die and predicts death from a dispossession of the hau and wairua.

Dr. E. Levinge, the Medical superintendent of the Christchurch Asylum, reported low rates of psychologically ill Māori and extremely low numbers of Māori omitted to the asylum in the early 1900s.[185] He attributed this to the Māori social system that connected each individual to another and gave those troubled very little room to overlook abnormal behaviour. However, he primarily believed the simple way of living and freedom from anxiety and worry decreased psychological stress.[186] Māori psychological illness is understood in a Māori worldview and is known as a mate Māori in relation to its effect rather than its cause. This form of melancholia was treated with a *pure* (purification rites) and *karakia* (prayers and offertories). The Māori perceives melancholia as an incurable disease sent by the atua for a sin committed and is explained as a despondent state of mind.[187]

Much of the literature does not define the state of whakamomori; it instead describes collective examples with underlying related causes. There are two factors that present clearly in the literature in relation to examining whakamomori. These two factors are at the root either individually or both present. They are the dark sadness of *pōuri* and the shame of *whakamā*. They are the outcome of a tapu law being broken, therefore exposing one to states of pōuri or whakamā.

Pōuri whakamomori

Acts of pōuri whakamomori occurred from misfortune and were not organically originated; instead occurring from breaking tapu lore and punishment was vetted by taking a *taonga (treasured possession)*. Pōuri whakamomori originates from a fear of breaking tapu lore; it creates a spiritual illness that affected mana and mental health. Tapu law was broken and mana was dejected therefore a sense of hopelessness occurred. They would be punished by acts of aituā leading to a loss by death. The loss of a significant treasured thing also created a yearning or fretting perpetuating to a sad darkness.

Pōuri whakamomori is recognisable by a deep yearning or desiring something lost. A death precipitated many stories of pōuri whakamomori and each was associated to grief suffered. The pōuri

[184] Best, 1924:45
[185] Goldie, 1903:15
[186] Goldie, 1903:76
[187] Gluckman, 1976:226

effect caused a depression of the spirit that transferred to a depression of the psychology. A strong urge to ease the yearning and suffering would be idealised in reuniting with them in *Rarohenga* (the spiritual underworld). Many stories describe the grief of losing someone as a state of sad depression that can only be appeased by reuniting those parted. They centre on obstruction from being with another, infidelity and the suicide of wives.

Pōuri whakamomori is expressed and understood through beliefs and stories; it collectively means to suffer after a loss or insult. Expressions of grief are found in the cutting of hair and ritual scarification at *tangihanga* (rituals of death). The use of *haehae* or ritual scarification is a common socially approved response to grief of Māori.[188] Haehae was committed mainly at tangihanga for rangatira and tohunga, and was reserved for people of esteemed mana. It was practiced by predominantly women, gashing or marking their bodies until they drew blood. Often moko dye was applied to the wounds to perpetuate the mourning and grief.[189] The gashing was more irregular and distinctive then the patterns in moko. The marks were more prone to being on the face, therefore women wearing their grief for all to see.[190] It was an expression of respect for the dead; the more congealed the blood and mucus the more proof of respect one has for the *tūpāpaku* (dead body). This act was an outward sign of internal pain related to grief and the suffering was called whakamomori. It was a stage of sadness and no suicidal death occurred.

The cutting of hair also signified a sign of grief by women often cutting long hair, short. Men also cut their hair but only the side of *taha tāne* (male side), starting from the neck to the head.[191] The relationship between grief and cutting hair relates to the head, which is sacred, and this includes anything connected to it. To drastically cut hair displays a state of mourning for a loss. The birth of Māui-a-tikitiki-ā-Taranga discusses this, his mother Taranga gave premature birth to Māui-tikitiki-ā-Taranga, and grieving his death she cut off her hair and wrapped Māui in it. She then threw it into the foam of the sea. The relationship between cutting her hair for her stillborn son was done to protect Māui from the elements and to also gift her hair to his next life.[192]

Women who wanted to marry a man her whānau did not approve of also lapsed into a state of pōuri whakamomori.[193] Continual disapproval and pining away left recourse of mate whakamomori. This is examined in the story of Tātai and her arranged marriage and love affair.[194] Tātai was from Mōkōia and betrothed since infancy to an Arawa boy called Hūkiki, when he grew up he became Hikairo a rangatira of Ngāti Rangiwehiwehi. But when Tātai was 19 years old, Hūkiki took a wife from his own iwi. He sent word to Tātai that he would marry her as his second wife. This distressed Tātai to be

[188] Robley, 1896:45
[189] Taylor, 1870:217
[190] Robley, 1896:45
[191] Taylor, 1870:217
[192] Grey, 1956: 22.
[193] Heuer, 1972: 20.
[194] Cowan, 1995: 76.

relegated to his second after being promised since infancy as his principal wife. At this time she met Te Toa Haere a rangatira from Ngai Te Rangi of Tauranga. A love affair developed and the two young lovers eloped to Waikuta and made love. They returned to the home of Tātai to face her people. It was not a favourable union as the Arawa were still at war with Ngai Te Rangi. Also Tātai was the maid of the *hapū* (sub-tribe) and betrothed to a rangatira of Ngāti Rangiwehiwehi. Her hapū would not release her so lightly, especially after a frivolous love affair. Te Toa Haere was banished from Rotorua leaving Tātai broken-hearted. From this Tātai told her father she did not want to marry Hūkiki but only marry Te Toa Haere. She composed a lament crying her grief for the separation. For days she grieved and isolated herself, her heart deeply grieved by sadness. Eventually her whānau consented to her union with Te Toa Haere as they worried her state of grief would lead to death from melancholy. The pain of betrayal felt by Tātai after the infidelity by Hūkiki incited Tātai to feel whakamomori and the urge to commit suicide surfaced. This story also discusses the restriction of marriage between Tātai and Te Toa Haere that darkened her heart and she slipped into a sad illness of whakamomori. Her whānau gave consent and she resolved her pōuri whakamomori by marrying the man she loved.

Pōuri whakamomori also identifies a sadness derived from acts of infidelity. An example of a husband's grief from his wife's infidelity begins a pattern of loss and grief. Wawaua the carver of the war canoe Whenua-roa, sought payment for the canoe after it was lost in battle.[195] However, the owner refused to pay and this incensed the carver. Whilst travelling overseas he became ill and heard that his wife Rangiwae had taken another husband, after his departure.[196] The carver felt utter sadness to hear this and before his death he sung a lament to his wife the closing line defining his state of mind, "And thinks regret and loves that only one" (White, 1874: 135.)

Committing suicide the news of his death reached his wife and she wept for his death. Her brother, fearing her sad state and leaving to tell the Waikato tribes of his brother in law's death, said, "do not think of committing suicide"—he would return with their mother to care for her.[197] Rangiwae was in great sorrow and thought of killing herself, but was protected by her people, to await the return of her brother. All were aware of her pōuri whakamomori as the *tamariki* (children) were given the task of watching her whilst the *whānau* (family) worked. One morning the tamariki slept late and Rangiwae awoke early; she wrapped a *harakeke whāriki* (flax mat) around her, wept and lamented,

> This is my evil
> O ye mighty men
> How can I live?
> Thus left by me
> (White, 1874: 136.)

[195] White, 1874: 135.

[197] White, 1874:136

The grief of Rangiwae on the death of, therefore her separation from her husband, is recorded in the lament and outlines her state,

> Where grief shall cease
> To cause one pang of pain
> (White, 1874: 136.)

Rangiwae speaks of resting with those in the clouds to be with her departed and ease her pain. She slides stones into each side of her harakeke whāriki, and swam out into the river, diving down. However, when Rangiwae submerged her whāriki is caught on some logs that kept her under. People jumped into the river to release her and she is then held over fire expelling excess water, with *karakia* (prayers) recited to restore her breathing. Her mother, Te Ahi Horonga, comforted her daughter extinguishing the sorrow of her grief. This story identifies Wawaua was intensely grieved when hearing of his wife's infidelity. Unable to rectify this he commits suicide. For Rangiwae the root of her sadness is the accumulation of her husband's death, driving her to end her pain and join her husband, the hapū were aware of this and protected her whilst she was ill. Rangiwae is suffering pōuri whakamomori that affected her wairua by yearning to be with her husband. It pushes her to join him as her psychological state becomes depressed. A major theme of the spiritual and psychological state is Rangiwae wanting to feel release from her sadness, achievable by joining her husband in Te Rerenga Wairua.[198]

The suicide of wives was a common occurrence in literature; occurring due to loss; but also as the duty of a wife to accompany her husband to the spiritual world. The social approval of wives committing suicide is linked to the belief of internal life or the afterlife. It was believed wairua lingered with the body for three days and often wives committed suicide within this time. Yates (1835) describes the rationale of social approval and acceptance,

> It was not uncommon thing for a wife to be urged by her friends to hang herself upon a tree, that she may accompany her dead Lord and remain with him forever.
> (as cited in Oppenheim, 1973: 54.)

An example when Warepapa, a rangatira of Ngā Puhi was killed; his wife was handed a rope and instructed to hang herself.[199] The widow hung herself a few hours later and was found dead among some bushes. She did so from social obligation exacerbated by her grief.

Part of the tangihanga of a rangatira includes their death and that of his wives. The death of Ata Rahi a rangatira as told by Maru Wehi, another rangatira, examines this.[200] The whānau began to tangi, the death was announced and lamenting began. Preparation for his tangihanga spelt good omens for his journey to Te Reinga. Wives and female relatives took green *tuhua (obsidian)* called *pane-tao* and

[198] Multiple interpretations described Te Rerenga Wairua as the place spirits ascend too.
[199] Oppenheim, 1973: 54.
[200] Andersen, 1907: 457.

gashed arms, wrists to shoulders and faces allowing blood to dry. Two slaves were slain and the chief wife of Ata Rahi lamented and induced haehae. She retired to her house and strangled herself so she may accompany her Lord. Two slaves were sacrificed to accompany Ata Rahi as servants and two extra female slaves were slain to accompany him as his secondary wives. Once the last stages of his *hahunga (exhumination)* were completed his wife who had committed suicide to honour her husband was buried with him. The wives knew their expectations and participated fully in the farewell of the dead.

Whakamā Whakamomori

Whakamomori whakamā is a depression derived from acts of insult and humiliation. Acts that caused disrespect or betrayal of mana include abuse, adultery and incest. It relates to tapu from humiliation at breaking the lore governing the social group. Whakamā caused one to isolate themselves from the group, which is problematic in a close tribal society. Whakamā created isolation when one feels a loss of mana and a decrease in social status. Stories focus on status in society that indicates a loss or demotion when subject to acts of humiliation, betrayed through a jilted love affair or warfare. Acts of whakamā occurred when personal or communal tapu lore is broken, leading to a loss of mana causing one to become isolated and reclusive from shame.

An early and well-documented part of Māori cosmogony is the birth of natural man; this was the act of Tāne giving breath to women and eventually tamariki. Part of this creation was Tāne incestuously taking his daughter as his wife, her discovery of this bought on dark feelings of whakamā and she left to await her children in Rarohenga. Hine Titama was the daughter of Tāne and Hine-ahu-one, Tāne took his daughter to be his wife and one day she queried her husband as to who her father was.[201] He directed her to ask the *pou* (posts) of the house. Hine-titama was startled by this reply, as she knew that Tāne had built their house. Her innocence quickly turned to whakamā when she realised Tāne was both her Father and husband. She felt betrayed and intense pain at this revelation; she cast a spell on her sleeping children and husband to sleep whilst she fled. She headed to *Pou-tere-rangi* (the guard house to Hades) and lamented for she was leaving the world of light and life. She would move from *Te Ao* (everlasting light), the world of mortal living, to *Te Pō* (everlasting death), the world of death and immortality. She cried for her tamariki and would rest in Rarohenga to protect their wairua from evil. Hine titama felt a shame described as isolation due to her father's betrayal, her pain intensified from separation of her offspring. This identifies a Māori worldview of a dyadic cycle that created a supernatural and natural experience required for mortal life. The shame of one's origin is discovered and considered to be murder of one's innocence and mana. The illness of this state of whakamomori precipitated from this whakamā, eventually pushed Hine titama to commit suicide.

[201] Percy Smith, 1913: 144.

Acts of whakamā were also the basis for whakamomori, and many cases that centre on whakamā whakamomori identify a loss of mana. Whakamā is often described as an intrinsic response to one's actions that isolate them from the group and there actions often bring repercussions on the whānau. Gudgeon describes the example of Takitaki, a Māori warrior who casually walked into a British military camp and walked off with two rifles.[202] When caught and questioned as to why he wanted to bring death upon himself for larceny, he replied, "I wish to die". Gudgeon investigated the circumstances and ascertained that Takitaki had a dispute with his wife over his loyalty after sleeping at another Pā enflaming her jealousy. She made this a public situation and taunted him causing Takitaki to feel whakamā. His intent was to remove her insults and relieve whakamā by placing his death back upon his hapū. Thief from a colonial camp would mean his death; causing his people to retaliate and members of his iwi would surely be killed. Gudgeon reviewed the case but understood the death warrant of Takitaki would cause revenge and war. Instead Takitaki was sent to gaol increasing his suffering, as he wanted to die to absolve his wife's humiliation. Due to this suffering he was given his freedom and returned to his hapū. He became irate when he learnt he was being returned and said he would kill himself before they appeared. The chief that came to collect Takitaki chided him for his lack of thought for his son as his wife attempted to hang herself from the pōuri and whakamā. Also for his lack of mana as a warrior and defender of Ngā-Ruahine his actions caused the hapū to feel whakamā among the Pākehā for involving them in hapū issues. The chief associated this to women's jealousy, which is an everyday part of life and no reason for a man to make himself ill.[203]

The deliberate disrespecting of mana caused suffering and brooding. This occurs due to the reduction in one's ability to retain and live their social position within the group. To view a naked woman unbeknownst to her is considered to be an act of extreme violation and rudeness.[204] The story of Te Ao Hurihuri indicates how an act committed against her leads to her death after it causes her whakamā. Te Ao Hurihuri was married to Takaroupoko, but was taken as a slave in a raid and became the wife of an old rangatira. Every night he would expose her naked body to his friends whilst she slept. Her discovery of this caused her whakamā and she lamented her pain before leaping to her death. A loss of her mana to appease her husband's mana was seen as betrayal. Unhappy and unable to accept the betrayal, Te Ao Hurihuri longs to end her pain and she commits suicide.

The loss of mana from whakamā has wider effects within the social system and *whakapapa* (genealogy). The need to seek balance for the loss of mana is motivated by protecting tapu and the tikanga deriving from it. Acts of humiliation are often the catalyst for responses of muru and utu. The wider social group did not always have control of social action, and an individual's vengeance became the catalyst for starting inter-tribal war. In 1835, Haere Huka from Ngāti Whakaue turned a hapū issue

[202] Gudgeon. Authors personal records, 1867: 172 .
[203] Gudgeon, 1906: 172.
[204] Hiroa, 1949: 131.

into inter-iwi vengeance.[205] His state of whakamomori drove him to seek utu against his iwi due to actions that he was solely accountable for. He had no vengeance against his victim whom he murdered, but needed a catalyst to bring war and settle a grievance against his own iwi. Haere Huka felt his iwi had not looked after his interests in an affair with a woman and this was exacerbated by a default on a debt that caused his hapū to isolate him. Huka understood this to be an extreme loss of mana causing him to feel whakamā; he sought utu for this disrespect. Huka murdered a neighbouring chief called Hunga. This caused retaliation by the iwi of Hunga seeking utu. They murdered two Ngāti Whakaue rangatira as well as wiping Ngāti Pukenga out. Huka achieved his utu derived from his mental state that redeemed the lowering of his mana caused by social isolation from his iwi. He committed this act while under mental pressure and unable to annihilate his whole iwi, he brought war to them through his actions. Therefore a personal act of whakamā had drastic effects for the iwi, through generations.

Tension from whakamā created by an act of humiliation can lead to one feeling extreme grief. This form of spiritual sadness from humiliation and insult to mana is found in a story of Moe, a young boy, and an enslaved rangatira called Kai. Sitting at a tangihanga, Moe sits with his whānau including his mother, father, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts and cousins, Kai, an enslaved rangatira. Moe approaches Kai concerned about his mother who is grieving the death of her sister. However, Moe tells Kai that is not the reason for her sadness. Her sadness is due to whakamā derived from her husband's actions. Whilst sitting at her sisters feet weeping her husband approached her with cooked kūmara, which he proceeded to dab on her face. He spoke to her and said, "if your love for the dead is so great no wonder you do not obey the living because you do not love them". People laughed at my Kōkā as her face was smeared with cooked kūmara. Moe said his Kōkā was overwhelmed with whakamā, as she felt insulted from his reprimanding her for being lazy whilst grieving her sister's death. This was perpetuated by food being smeared on her face, which incited people to laugh at her.

His Kōkā then sang and taught him an *ngeri* (lament) and Moe took Kai to his Kōkā so he could also learn. However, when they went to her spot she had not left in days it was empty. Kai told Moe to stay put and he headed to the river, he followed the fresh footprints formed in the mud. It bought him to a tree and he found the wife hanging there. He grieved for her, as she had always been kind, unlike her husband who had demeaned his mana by smearing cooked food on his head.

He returned to Kai and told him to wait a little longer as he was going to fetch a meal for his mistress. Kai went to find the rangatira and told him of his wife. He also gave directions to the tree she had hung herself from. Kai followed the rangatira, but went a different way and waited for the rangatira. He did not see his wife hanging from the tree until he was directly underneath her. Kai told the rangatira you are responsible for killing that bird hanging in the tree from your shameful words and

[205] Gudgeon, 1906: 164.

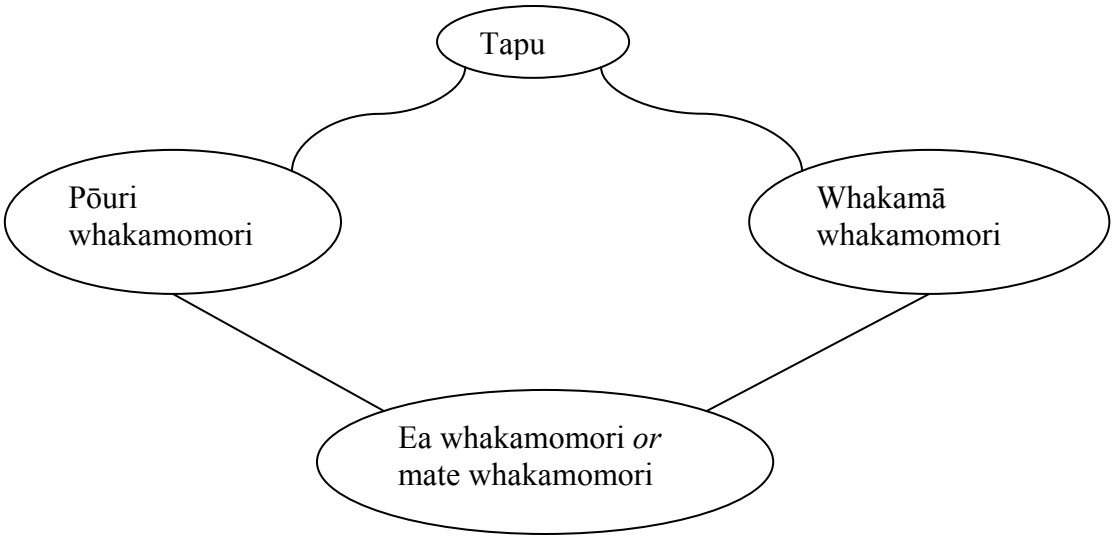
actions. You shall hang beside her and Kai smothered the rangatira till he stopped struggling. He then wrenched him up and hung him on the tree next to his wife. This story indicates society's role in whakamomori, the rangatira's actions are derived from cultural beliefs. Causing someone to feel embarrassment removes him or her from the group, recovery or retribution allows him or her to disassociate this embarrassment. If they cannot seek the opportunity to undo the shameful act then it may lead to suicidal death.

Ea Whakamomori or Mate Whakamomori.

Defining acts of whakamā and pōuri divided the state of whakamomori, however, both lead back to a state of social exclusiveness. The greatest challenge to whakamomori was the removal of the spiritual aspect, leaving only the psychological traits perceiving whakamomori as a psychological loss. Whakamomori as an internal state of depression could be remedied depended upon the circumstances that caused it. Two pathways are identified for a suffering of whakamomori; they are identified as *mate whakamomori* (suicidal death) *or ea whakamomori* (resolved illness). To seek utu for a restoration of mana that caused the state of whakamomori, leads to ea whakamomori or the resolution of an issue and equilibrium. Inability to extinguish a deep grief or rectify loss of mana deteriorates mental health and leads to mate whakamomori. This is associated to a complete loss of options and irrational thinking dominates one's existence.

There was no organic relationship between whakamomori and suicide; treatment by tohunga identified the illness occurred due to disrespecting the gods. Therefore treatment was directed at the patient's actions in relation to maintaining tikanga and kawa. Part of the ritual practice to treat those afflicted with whakamomori was to address *Io* (Supreme being), *Ranginui* (Sky Father)*, Papatuanuku* (Earth Mother) and those in the spirit world. Tohunga would practice *whakahoro* (purification) bringing the patient into moral purity. The tohunga would then address the patient in the natural world by cleansing him spiritually and mentally of past wrongs and grievances, eventually ascertaining the actions that bought on the current depression.

There is a lot to consider when ascertaining a comprehensive understanding of whakamomori, detangling it from relationships indicating it as a death, suicide and mental suffering. Therefore the diagram demonstrates a pathway that one suffering whakamomori may follow. It starts with tapu, as this is the experience that leads to whakamomori. It lies as the central point of all acts of whakamomori. It branches into two pathways—that of pōuri whakamomori or whakamā whakamomori—both leading to spiritual and psychological depression. Pōuri whakamomori and whakamā whakamomori then have the same two options: ea whakamomori or mate whakamomori. The pathway chosen is dependent upon the experience that exposes one to whakamomori; this is often out of one's own locus of control.



Conclusion

To define the relationship between whakamomori and suicide it is a spiritual and psychological relationship. A review of the literature examines whakamomori as an illness and suicide as a response to the illness. Whakamomori is a spiritual illness that leads to a psychological depression at a societal level. The relationship between spiritual and psychological is one causes the other. Tapu forms a lore that governs all civil and social relationships and identifies someone by their status. Mana is the status and supreme power and the breaking of tapu impacts directly on the position of mana. Two acts that relate closely to the transgression of tapu lore are the darkness of pōuri and the shame of whakamā. Therefore whakamomori is derived from tapu and this identifies its spiritual link.

Whakamomori became commonly referred to as suicide within many sources of early literature. However, it is not the act of suicidal death as often referred to and understood, but a spiritual illness perpetuating a sullen depression that could lead to suicide. The pathway of whakamomori has altered to mean suicide; when it fact whakamomori is a precursor to suicide. Whakamomori evolved losing its original meaning, as a disease with a cultural origin that would lead to psychological loss. The state of whakamomori has been replaced with an outcome of it.

The spiritual illness and beliefs would then consume one leading to fear and dread, exposing them to psychological illness. This would lead to deterioration of the psyche and cases of melancholia, paranoia and anxiety began to arise. The psychological illness would increase to fear and the body would suffer somatic breakdown. The psychological illness would pervade to all parts of the body and slowly shut down. This contributed and increased one's chance of suicide.

Today whakamomori is classified as suicide and the basis of this description is rooted in the psychological dominance of suicidal risk factors. It omits the cultural factor in whakamomori and therefore does not look at it holistically. Within a Māori context it is defined as mate Māori, a sickness derived from a spiritual epidemiology. Within its ecology whakamomori is a spiritual depression that leads to psychological and physical depression. The spiritual loss would come in the form of a mākutu, or a curse spoken against another, leading to spiritual exposure to aituā that would be the cause of illness. A person's actions rather than physical symptoms caused illness. These were obtainable by examining and understanding cultural beliefs.

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Kawakawa: a symbol encompassing the totality of life and death

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Introduction

Kawakawa (*macropiper excelsum)* in association with *tikanga* (custom, protocol)*, kawa* (ceremony, ritual) and *rongoā wairākau* (traditional healing practice) can symbolise the essential aspects of life and death when perceived through a traditional Māori worldview. Kawakawa has a *whakapapa* (genealogy) that connects it to the divine source and establishes its kinship with humanity. It also shares a family relationship with the kava plant (*piper methysticum*) of the Pacific Ocean that is used in ceremony and as a means of relaxation on many islands. The kawakawa plant plays a vital role in opening ceremonies, healing and in upholding rituals of death. It can represent the transition between the two states: whether preserving wellbeing and health or as a means to farewell the dead. As a means of completing the *kawa* (ritual) of opening and cleansing a new meeting-house of its tapu, kawakawa was an important part of the process of *tikanga*. As a *rongoā* (traditional medicine) the plant has been claimed to be remedy for a plethora of ills and sicknesses. Many people of Māori descent would recognise the kawakawa plant, especially in its role during the *tangihanga* (mourning ceremony). It is a plant that is still utilised today amongst many of the *iwi* (tribes) of Aotearoa New Zealand as a medicine, and as a means of upholding *tikanga* (protocol). Why have the aspects of kawakawa become so intertwined with traditional Māori society?

Kawakawa is a member of the *piperaceae* family of plant, commonly referred to as the pepper family, who are spread around the world with an estimated 1150 species (Balfour in Mohi 2001). Many of the different species are utilised by indigenous peoples in medicine and ritual. Early settlers from Britain named the kawakawa plant the pepper tree, because of its taste and similarity to its kin on other branches of the *piperaceae* family. Kawakawa is indigenous to Aotearoa/New Zealand and grows in lowland and coastal areas of the Te Ika ā Māui (North Island), the top half of Te Wai Pounamu (South Island), Rekohu (Chatham Islands), Manawatawhi (Three Kings Islands), Rangitāhua (Kermadec Islands) and on Norfolk and Lord Howe Islands. It is recognisable by *te āhua roimata,* or its tear-shaped leaves. Kawakawa also produces small orange fruits known as tākawa. The whole plant was able to be exploited in medicine, but the leaf and branches were mainly used by the *tūpuna* (ancestors) of the Māori, unlike the consumption of the kava root (*piper methysticum*) in the Pacific.

As a beginning student in the study of traditional Māori healing practices, or *rongoā wairākau*, I was given the kawakawa plant to study. It was explained that a healer is required to fully understand all the *rongoā* that is prescribed and given away. When adhering to *tikanga wairākau*, the beginning student is given a plant to research. By discovering its properties through experimentation on oneself, research into the origin of the plant and attaining understanding of its properties, then the student is ready to ascend to the next level and other plants. Kawakawa was my challenge. While it would have been optimal to interview *Kaumātua* (elders) and Māori traditional healing practitioners to determine the differing uses of the plant amongst the numerous *iwi* of Aotearoa New Zealand, this paper is by necessity a literature based undertaking. While many concepts are explored, it is hoped that the separate strands shall ultimately weave together to create a beautiful *whāriki* (mat) to display this essential plant.

Origin Myths

The traditional relationship of the *tūpuna* of the Māori regarding the natural environment was understood within the genealogical relationship of humans and the ancient gods of the Māori. Moreover in comprehending the environment, the old people developed an epistemology (philosophy of knowledge theory) that traced origins back to the *atua* (deities), to *Ranginui* (the skyfather) and *Papatuanuku* (the earthmother), and beyond to *Te Kore* (the void) the womb of all creation (Best 1995). This is symbolised in the construction of ontological (philosophy of origin) *whakapapa* to explain and empathise with nature and thus trace lineage and kinship to all things that exist within the natural world. The *whakapapa* of the kawakawa plant is no different. In the traditional understanding of the *tūpuna*, the plant is descended from Tāne te-wai-ora and so it has an intrinsic *tapu* and a distinctive place within creation. Just as the ancestors traced their origins back to the source of all, so it is necessary to return to the past to comprehend the present.

In the emptiness of *Te Kore* (the void), in the absence of reality or material structure there was a flowering. This was an unfolding of awareness that expanded to fill the empty space:

Nā te kune te pupuke	From the source of growth the rising
Nā te pupuke te hihiri	From rising the thought
Nā te hihiri te mahara	From rising thought the memory
Nā te mahara te hinengaro	From memory the mind
Nā te hinengaro te manako	From the mind, desire
Ka hua te wānanga…	Knowledge became conscious…
	(Cited in Robert & Willis 1998:46)

Within the potentiality of *Te Kore*, the ancient understanding of creation followed the perception of thought arising from the nothingness. This was symbolic of prime creation growing from a seed, roots establishing a foundation, and extending fronds to reach to the light. Alluding to Io Matua Kore awakening and extending.

> The metaphorical design of these types of whakapapa allows the metaphysical to be understood in human terms. It is an insight into the primal past by utilising human expressions to explain the aeons of time where primeval matter coalesced to create the universe. Ontological traditions of the different iwi tend to agree that from Te Kore issued the staggered graduations of Te Pō (The Night). Like Te Kore, the stages of Te Pō corresponded to the prolonged period of time when the earth came into being (Walker 1990).

Ontological or origin *whakapapa* tried to explain beginnings in a way that the human mind could comprehend. The descriptive genealogical stages can be understood as the awakening of the mind, whereby after the spark of consciousness in conception comes thought, energy, mind and therefore life (Salmond 1985). The mind is able to comprehend darkness. By the acclimatisation and growing of thought within the darkness the potential for being becomes apparent. While there were different views amongst *iwi* as to the progression of stages from *Te Kore* to *Te Pō*, the basic foundation remains the same. However the descriptive powers of the one constructing such genealogical records would seem to be just as important, because how can one describe what no human has ever seen?

Te Kore	The Nothingness
Te Pō	The Night
Te Rapunga	The Seeking
Whāia	Following
Te Kukune	The Conception
Te Pupuke	The Swelling
Te Hihiri	The Elemental and Pure Energy
Te Mahara	The Subconscious
Te Hinengaro	The Deep Mind
Te Manako	The Desire
Te Wānanga	The Wisdom
Te Āhua	The Form
Te Atamai	The Shape
Te Whiwhia	The Possessing
Rawea	The Being Bound
Hopu Tū	The Possessing Power
Hau Ora	The Breath of Life
Ātea	Space
	(Cited in Shirres 1997:117)

Ranginui and Papatuanuku were established within the darkness of night, in the emptiness of space. The interlocking lovers provided the stability on which creation was able to take root and flourish. Papatuanuku was the planet beneath, or the land. Ranginui was described as the heavens above, the sky of ever-changing nature and the atmosphere that surrounds the earth. Without Papatuanuku,

Ranginui would disappear into the vastness of space. Without Ranginui enveloping the earth and providing the right conditions, Papatuanuku would not be able to support life.

> The parents of all things are Rangi and Papa. The heaven and the earth… that's where Māori spirituality begins, with something natural (Broughton 1985:66).

> Ranginui and Papatuanuku danced within the emptiness of space. The intertwined entities produced issue, the deities who came to represent the elements of nature. This conception of life follows a pattern of natural growth that the old people perceived in the environment around them. They established their epistemology upon the foundation of the earth. This was a deliberate construct engaged by the tūpuna of Māori in order to comprehend creation by manipulating natural patterns, and therefore concentrate their view of the world, of reality and their relationship with the universe, the supernatural and with their ancestors (Marsden and Henare 1992).

> The traditional separation myth of the old people follows a standard format similar amongst the numerous iwi of Aotearoa: When the ancient gods were born of Ranginui and Papatuanuku, they had no space in which to stand, smothered as they were by the constricting embrace of their parents. Therefore the children made a fateful accord to separate Rangi and Papa. Only Tāne Mahuta amongst the brothers was able to divide the intertwined lovers. Light flooded the divorced space, becoming Te Ao Mārama: The World of Light. Ranginui wept, an inundation of heartsick tears falling from the heavens and flooding the world. Papatuanuku mourned, the land shaking with her sobbing. So she was turned from the sight of her beloved so that their pain might dissipate and not destroy the world. In the aftermath of separation, the children of Rangi and Papa fought against the other, causing conflict and devastation.

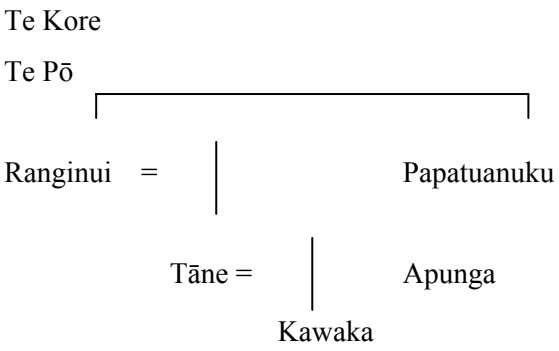
> In the uneasy peace following the war of the gods, Tāne wandered the earth, and was distraught to see his mother's naked body. So he decided to clothe her. Tāne mated with various tipua wāhine (female spiritual entities) to bring forth the flora and fauna that would dress his mother. Establishing his place in the pantheon of Māori gods as the life-giver, and the deity of the forest. In the ancient traditions, the flora and fauna were created before the ira tangata (human principle) was gifted to the first woman. Therefore because the plant world was created before humanity, and descended from the gods, it would by necessary to consider plants, and kawakawa, as being considered as tuakana (senior) to humanity (Rolleston 1988).

Whakapapa of Kawakawa

Apunga was a *tipua wahine* who was the mother of small plant species and some birds; the pīwakawaka and the kaimiromiro. Apunga existed prior to the creation of Hine-ahu-one (the first human woman). Apunga was the first of Tāne's wives (Tioke 1993). This is not dissimilar to other ontological beginnings of flora and fauna in the Māori worldview. Amongst others, Tāne mated with Hinewaoriki to bring forth the kauri trees, and Mumuhanga to bring forth the totara tree. All trees and plants were understood to have come from Tāne and the multitude of wives that he cohabitated with. This seems to be a device that traces the genealogy of flora and fauna in a way understandable to the minds of the old people. That is, the biological process of the unity of opposites, represented by male and female essences, joining together to create new life.

The kawakawa plant descends from Tāne and Apunga. This was related to me by an esteemed *tohunga puna ora* (healer) from Ngāti Maniapoto. The properties of the plant also bear testimony to this fact,

when considered using a traditional Māori framework. The *whakapapa* below, being necessarily brief, is the lineage of the kawakawa plant.



Whakapapa and mythology can mask truths, shrouding and hiding the inner meaning from the uninitiated (Marsden & Henare 1992). While it may seem laughable now that the world was created in a giant act of copulation, who is to say that the truth is so far removed from that? Māori oratory is famous for metaphorical speech. When one considers the planet earth, Papatuanuku as a living being wrapped around by the atmosphere of Ranginui it doesn't seem too far a leap of imagination to consider them as lovers from whom all things on this planet sprung from. The idea of Tāne naming and claiming as he strode the earth is another design whereby creation is personified in order to trace origins. The use of *whakapapa* was as valid as say the book of Genesis or the cycle of Greek creation myths. They contain seeds from which civilisations, beliefs and societies theorise from whence they came. It is necessary to recognise the validity of such epistemologies and ontologies in order to access the worldview of indigenous peoples, specifically Māori.

Gochet claims that there can be "no entity without identity" (2002: 266). He states that the ontological study of any thing must be defined by human thought and logic in order for that entity to be understood. Therefore the ontological patterns by which the old people defined the world were co-existent with their standard knowledge base. In order to truly comprehend an object, then it is necessary to understand its *whakapapa*. But justification is the responsibility of the people who maintain that knowledge system (Kim 2001). In the traditional worldview of the Māori, knowledge based on *whakapapa* must have been valid because it is sourced in the gods of the ancestors. Therefore in that sense, the knowledge is irrefutable. It is *tapu* (sacred) and therefore above reproach.

The Kinship of Kava and Kawakawa

Because *whakapapa* is essential in understanding the traditional worldview and epistemology of the Māori, it is necessary to trace another branch in order to harvest the fruit by returning along the sea

trails that lead to the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Clues abound when researching the relationship between kawakawa and kava when examining mythology and ceremonial use of the kava plant.

Kava (*piper methysticum*) is extensively used in the Pacific, embracing the islands of Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. The root of the plant is used to prepare a ceremonial drink, it is prescribed as a medicine and drunk as a means of relaxation. Its origins are ancient and all the different islands that imbibe the liquid beverage have a mythological tale of the origin of the plant, resonating with the ontology of kawakawa. The plant is known by different names that are yet united in the base similarities. Whether a culture calls it kava, kavakava, ‘ava or ‘awa: the plant remains the same. The plant shares ontological tales of the supernatural origin of the plant with kawakawa. For example, in Samoan tradition the kava was originally brought to earth by the god Tagaloa (Lebot 1992). Or in Hawaiian tradition, the gods Kane and Kaneloa lived on the mixture produced from awa (Beckwith 1970). In the Maquesas islands, tradition states that the god Atea was the originator of the kava plant. He cohabitated with Uene who bore Te Kava, the ava plant, in the land of Ahu-Take (Lebot, Merlin & Lindstrom 1992). These origin myths similarities with Māori ontology. A plant sacred and beneficial to the people was given by the ancient gods in order to assist humanity. Therefore the supernatural cause explains the origin of the treasured plant.

There are also myths that associate the origin of kava with death because the plant grew from actual corpses and in *urupā* (cemeteries). In Tongan legend the *Tui Tonga* (paramount *ariki* of Tonga) was visiting an island that was inhabited by an elderly couple and their leprous daughter. Their only source of food was a tree, so they killed their daughter to abide by the traditions of hospitality, because the *Tui Tonga* was leaning against it. Two plants grew from her grave: the kava and the tolo or sugarcane (Lebot *et al.* 1992). On the Pentecost Island of Vanuatu the plant grew from the body of a young girl who was killed by a rejected suitor. He went to her grave everyday to mourn. One day he saw a rat gnaw the plant and pass out. In his despair he decided to emulate the rat and poison himself. But when he tried it, instead of dying, he forgot all of his unhappiness. So he taught others how to eat the root (Lebot *et al.* 1992).

Kava was used also as a means of honouring the dead in Tonga. The body of a chief would be anointed with scented oil and laid out in state. Feasting and kava drinking accompanied the funeral ceremonies.
Kava ceremonies followed for a period of ten, fifteen or twenty days after the burial of the body (Gifford 1929).

Kava is also of prime importance in the use of ritual in many of the islands. Pacific Islanders emphasised the value of kava as a gift by elaborating on the ritual preparation and consummation of the plant. They usually drank kava at special times and places according to ceremonial practices

(Lebot *et al.* 1992). The series of ceremonies clarified social principles and social roles (Bott 1972). In the context of Samoa the foremost ritual significance of kava is on special occasions of ritual consecration such as in the selection of chiefs or at the great *fono* (community council). It was also used as a channel of divination by contacting the spiritual realm to discover a wrongdoer (Kramer 1995).

In a Fijian context the use of kava, or *yaqona* is also highly ritualistic. An example given from the Namosi village of Fiji states that: 'Drinking is mostly convivial in nature, but it is also for relaxation, strengthening kinship ties, and most importantly, for honouring and appreciating significant events' (Tokalau, Filipo, 1988: 27). In the tradition of the *Nabukebuke* (foremost clan of Namosi) the kava ceremony, or yaqona (as it is also known by), encompasses everything from the installation of a new chief, celebration of birth, honouring the triumphant victors of a war, for cleaning a cemetery, and as an offering to the spirits. All yaqona ceremonies are ritualistic in nature, akin to the other island groupings (Tokalau 1988).

In the Cook Islands, kava use did not have the same ceremonial significance as it did on other islands. There were, however, divination uses of the plant, so that ancestors or gods could be contacted. In Mangaia offerings of kava were made to the gods for blessings of abundance. However the use of kava was discouraged by missionaries who were concerned with the intoxicating effects of the root thus the practice of preparing and drinking the prepared kava fell into disuse (Hiroa 1971).

'E hānai 'awa a ikaika ka makani: Feed with kava so that the spirit may gain strength', Hawaiian proverb (Lebot *et al.* 1992). Many islands of the Pacific have a tradition of medicinal healing that included the kava plant in their stock of medicines. It seems that the leaves as well as the root were used. For example, in Fiji the leaves were used as a poultice and in Vanuatu it was used to treat constipation. The kava alleviated other conditions like rheumatism, gastrointestinal upsets, skin diseases, to prevent suppuration of wounds, tuberculosis, irritation of the respiratory tract and other lung disorders, and as a general heal all for a myriad of complaints. Kava was perceived to possess analgesic properties that made it a common remedy for various aches and pains. It also was used as a contraceptive and as an abortive (Lebot *et al.* 1992).

In a sense there are four commonalities that kava shares with kawakawa:

1. Supernatural origins: Many cultures believed that kava was a revealed phenomena gifted to their ancestors.
2. Association with death: Kava in mythology and legend relate how it can grow from corpses and in *urupā*.
3. Ritualistic use: The preparation, serving and consummation of kava is highly ritualised.
4. Medicinal: Kava is a medicine.

The greatest unity between kava and kawakawa lies in the name itself. It seems likely that the ancestors of the Māori who voyaged to Aotearoa on the great migration vessels would have had knowledge of the kava plant. However, the kava plant does not grow here. Whether that is because they did not bring any stock or the plant was unable to take root is uncertain. Linguistic analysis of the name kawakawa would seem to provide the best clue. Biggs (1998) says that the word 'kawakawa' is a morpheme, or reduplication of the base word. The word 'kawa' being modified when affixed to a plant similar to the one left on the islands. The second 'kawa' was added to the base word, thus representing the concept of 'like' to the word, for example, 'like kawa'. Benton (2001) claims that kawakawa is derived from the proto-oceanic word 'kava' and was given to another member of the same plant family. Moreover, the ceremonial associations of the original word of 'kawa' were reflected in the rituals that were practiced by the Māori.

Kawakawa was given its botanical name during the discovery journey of the Endeavour in 1769 (Robson 2001). Likely, it was the naturalist on board, J. Forster, who gave the name *macropiper excelsum* to the plant. The family name of *piperaceae* is from the Greek word *peperi* that denotes kinship to the pepper vine. *Macros* is the Greek word for large, and *peperi* or *piper* means pepper. *Excelsum* is taken from the latin word *excelsus* which means superior or lofty (Oratia Native Plant Nursery 2005). In a sense, the entire translation of the name *macropiper excelsum* could be: 'The large pepper tree of superior status'.

Analysis of the make up the chemical structure of kawakawa as revealed in its distillation for essential oil is shown to contain the following chemical compounds.

1. α-pineme
2. Camphene
3. Ketonic & non-ketonic oil
4. β-phellandrene
5. n-hexyl acetate
6. Oxygenated monoterpere
7. Ester
8. Aromadendrene or aromadendrone
9. Cadalene
10. γ-cadinene
11. Isomeric cadinenes
12. Myristicine
13. Elemicin
14. Azulenic oil
15. Palmitic acid

(Mohi 2001:11.)

Ceremonial Use

The kawakawa plant is used in ceremony, both traditionally and in a modern context. Its use depended upon the situation and the occasion. Yet it was often used in rituals that acted as a means of releasing an object or person from any lingering affect of tapu. During the *kawa* ceremony, the use of *karakia*

(prayer, incantation) was crucial to the ritual. The *kawa* was an important rite of consecration for the *tūpuna* of the Māori. It was also a class of *karakia* used in ceremonies with a new house, or canoe, and in the birth of a child. The *kawa* ritual and all the *karakia* associated with it were intended to protect (Williams 2003). It is necessary to explain the concepts of *tapu* and *noa* to link the use of kawakawa to justify the plant's use in ritual.

The incantations were the material extension of the power of the *tohunga* to correctly satisfy and release the *tapu* binding to an object or entity. When used by the presiding *tohunga ahurewa* (priest of the highest class), the kawakawa plant was of vital importance to the correct procedure of the *kawa* ritual. While other plants like the tarata, rata or karamū could also be used in these ceremonies, it seems likely that it depended on the *rohe*, the *tohunga* and the ritual being undertaken. *Tapu* overshadowed many facets of traditional life. It was a foundation of divine law, a religious or superstitious restriction, and meant sacred and holy (Williams 2003). While there were *tapu* that were of higher and lower degrees, the law of *tapu* was not to be disregarded. Best (1975) categorised *tapu* as being a prohibition that arises from a need for coherent and corrective measures by which social life was ordered. Since it was believed that the *tapu* was implicit in the divine source of life, tapu derives itself from the same spring, from *Te Kore*. Therefore all life forms contained an intrinsic *tapu* and were to be respected.

The gods were considered the medium of *tapu*, spiralling down through the ages in the lineage of each and every object. Humanity, being the creators of this knowledge, placed themselves at the top of the chain because of the ability to exploit and extend the intrinsic nature of *tapu* to other objects. For example, the human head is the most sacred part of the body as the seat of consciousness. It was believed that all objects that came into contact with the head became contaminated. Therefore those possessions became *tapu* to that person, especially if that person was an *ariki* or some other person with high *mana*. In fact it was common for any possession to have its status elevated. Tamaiharanui, a *rangatira* of Kai Tahu, once owned a beautiful *korowai* (cloak). A woman wore the cloak one day, and was considered to have defiled it because of the *noa* aspect of her femininity. The *utu* (price) for that action killed a *taurekareka* (slave) of her relative and set off a chain of escalating events that lead to the kin slaying war of Kai Tahu. This ultimately lead to the death of Tāmaiharanui at the hands of Te Rauparahā and Ngāti Toa (Hanson & Hanson 1983).

There is also the theory of *tapu* as having the potential for power (Shirres 1982). The potential for power is extended through the application of *mana*. The *mana* of a *tohunga* was believed to have been able to manipulate and proclaim objects or places as restricted through the use of the words of *karakia*, therefore providing the energy to constrain, or the power to exploit. While *tapu* can mean a physical restriction that binds, it also has spiritual connotations. If one transgresses a *tapu* site, then the extended effects of the offence would cause a spiritual sickness that could ultimately lead to death.

Whether inherent in the place or the object, or a restriction placed upon it by human means, to break the prohibition was to invite detrimental reactions (Rhys 2000).

Pure is described as 'a ceremony for removing *tapu*' (Williams 2003: 312). As such it is a means of *whakanoa* (to set free from restrictions). This ceremony is an extension of the term *noa* that can mean free from constraint or ordinary. *Noa* opposed *tapu*, in a shifting symbiotic balance, because it was essential that the sacred nature of life maintained equilibrium with the mundane, removing the weight of the sacred from the ordinary. *Pure* as a concept can also mean cleansing or purification. It is the scouring away of metaphorical dust to make the situation, location or person safe from the contamination of *tapu* that could be dangerous to health. Performing the rite of *pure* washes clean an affliction on a karmic level. Generally a person who wished to cleanse himself from the contamination of *tapu* or a transgression would perform the *pure* in water (Marsden 1981).

The rite of *whakanoa* was performed in the opening of a new building. During construction the building was placed under a *tapu* that barred women and others not directly involved from entering in order for the process of building to be completed correctly. Before the building could be used safely it was necessary for *tohunga* and the local people to remove the restrictions (Marsden 1981).

An interesting illustration as to the use of kawakawa is the 1900 AD opening of the carved meeting house Rauru in the *rohe* of Te Arawa. The reference to the use of the kawakawa plant in the *kawa* ceremony is called *tāingakawa.* The two *tohunga,* Te Rangai-Tahau of Te Arawa and Tumutara-Pio from Ngāti Awa competed to perform the appropriate divisions of the *kawa* ceremony. Tumutara performed his *karakia* with a branch of the rata tree. Te Rangi-Tahau held in his hand a kawakawa branch with which he intoned his incantations and struck the walls of the house. Kawakawa was burnt in the central firepit inside, wrapped around the *toko-ihi* (front central post) and also placed at the base of the *pou toko manawa* (central house post). Moreover, the kawakawa placed inside the house by the *pou toko manawa* had another purpose as illustrated in the following text:

> Rangi-tahau stooped down and with his hands scraped up some of the earth of the house floor and formed it into small mounds (puke). In each of the little hills he stuck a small twig of the kawakawa, to symbolise the paths of war and peace (Cowan 1987: 270).

Malcolm (2001) corroborates the use of kawakawa in opening houses in a modern Te Arawa context, no doubt drawn from a historical custom. By striking the walls of the house with a branch while reciting *karakia,* the *tohunga* will *whakanoa* or 'free' the house of *tapu.* In the Williams Māori Dictionary, there is a phrase *"Tā i te kawa*: Strike with a branch of kawakawa" (Williams 2003: 354). This is a direct reference to the building being struck with a kawakawa branch to remove lingering vestiges of *tapu* whilst upholding the *kawa* of opening a meetinghouse.

Another instance of kawakawa being used is in the ritual of encounter is in the Tainui legend of the love affair between Puhi-huia, the *puhi* (young noble woman) of Maungawhau (Mt Eden) and Ponga, a young man of Awhitu (on the southern shores of Manukau harbour). Punga was in an *ope* (group), made up of the young people of Awhitu visiting the *pā* of Maungawhau. Ponga fell in love with Puhi-huia whilst watching her performance of *waiata* (song) and *haka*. She returned the heart-felt feelings. But because she was the daughter of the *ariki* (high chief) of Maungawhau and he the descendent of lesser chiefs, the relationship would not have been sanctioned by her *iwi*. So they eloped, absconding to Tipi-tai, the *papakāinga* (village) of Ponga. There was division between the people of Tipi-tai, at Awhitū, as to whether they should invite Puhi-huia in. Peace had only recently been settled between the *iwi* of Ponga and Puhi-huia after a protracted war. So it was felt that the presence of the high-ranking woman would rekindle the flames of war. Yet the original reason for the visit of the young people to Maungawhau was to secure the peace.

After a lengthy wait, Puhi-huia was finally welcomed into the village and a feast was prepared to honour the occasion. All the *kai* (food) was heaped up into the centre of the *marae ātea* (open space in front of the *whare-nui*). The *rangatira* of the *iwi* then proceeded to bless the food whilst holding a branch of kawakawa. Upon the completion of that act, the old chief said:

> This food is for all the tribes, even in every place'. He then allowed Puhi-huia (as the highest ranking person in the village) to speak. She held a fern stalk in her hand, broke it into pieces and stuck them in the ground supporting the old chief in the exclamation of division of food. The chief then rose again and proceeded to strike the portions of food with his branch of kawakawa. Separating the portions between Puhi-huia, the *hau kāinga* (local people) of Awhitū, and the branches of that tribe no matter where they may be residing. The people took their portions, including that which was to go to other areas, and began to feast (White 2001).

Kawakawa was therefore an aid that helps the successful adherence to ancient customs. It is a tool that can be used to dispel the vestiges of *tapu* and is a means of ceremony in itself. Whether opening a house or a feast, the plant adds its tear-drop leaves to the rite. Ceremony and ritual was a condensed representation of social life. It released and protected society from the destructive side of *tapu* so that the normality of life could continue unhindered by restrictions (Bott 1972).

Fertility, Contraception and Birth

Kawakawa has also been used in fertility rites to aid in conception of a child. Murdoch Riley relates an interesting story of how this was done in his noteworthy book *Māori Healing and Herbal* (1997). It is not clear what *rohe* or *iwi* this example was from. Apparently the *tohunga* would give a sprig of kawakawa to a woman who was having difficulty conceiving. She would place it under her *whāriki* before having sexual intercourse with her *hoa-tāne* (partner). In the morning the *tohunga* would come by and pick up the sprig, taking it away to initiate *karakia* to facilitate conception.

However, the opposite has also been stated whereby kawakawa was used as a contraceptive. While researching into Māori healing practices at an antenatal clinic in South Auckland, Claire Parsons (1985) was told by a young pregnant woman that her grandmother had prepared a brew from kawakawa that would inhibit pregnancy. This concoction was to be drunk after sexual intercourse. While the sister of the patient had avoided pregnancy for several years, the patient obviously hadn't, or in the young girls own words, "Nana couldn't keep up with the demand!" (Parsons 1985: 225). There is also evidence that the base chemical myristicine has such effects as being an abortive and causing miscarriages especially if used in the form of an essential oil (Ryman 1991). A kawakawa steam bath could also ease menstruation problems (Paul 1987, Riley 1997).

Kawakawa was also used in the *tohi* (baptism or consecration) ritual. The *tohi* in this case was a ritual of consecrating a newborn child. This ceremony always made use of a branch of a green tree and water. An example is from the *rohe* of Ngāti Whātua ki Kaipara: "…the grandfather was on the east or right side of the (male) child. The grandfather with a bush of karamū or kawakawa dipped into a stream and sprinkled the child whilst this karakia (not quoted here) was repeated" (White as cited in Riley 1997: 200).

The rite of *tohi* was carried out in a source of water set aside by the old people for such rituals. The role of *wai-ora* (living water) was essential in such cases and it became *wai-tapu* (sacred water) for the purposes of the ritual. *Wai-ora* was a cleanser. Water had much to do with the correct use of *karakia*, in that it connected the *wairua* (spirit) of the land with the inner spiritual planes of the person (Ra 1999). This *whakataukī* (proverb) defines the importance of water: *"Te ora o ngā mea katoa ko te wai; ki te kore he wai, kāore he painga o ngā mea katoa*—Water is the health of all things; if there is no water there will be no wellbeing". Therefore the use of *wai-ora* was vital in the successful completion and overall protection of the child. This ceremony involved *tapu*, and as such it was necessary to release that *tapu* at the conclusion via the *pure* ceremony.

The dual use of kawakawa in fertility and contraception, perhaps depict the different forms of use: incantations to aid fertility and imbibing the liquid as a contraceptive. It was necessary to know the correct *tikanga* and when to apply it to the right situation. In the rite of *tohi,* dependent also was the knowledge and power of the presiding priest who would determine the effectiveness of the *tohi* to protect a newborn child. A case in point is the mistake that Makeatūtara (the father of Māui-tikitiki-ō-Taranga) made when performing the *tohi* over Māui. The *hapa* (mistake) left a breach in Māui's protection that would eventually lead to his death from Hine-nui-te-pō (Walker 1990). When the ritual was performed properly all things flowed as they should. When mistakes occurred, consequences would follow.

Belief and Healing Practices

The healing virtues of kawakawa have been utilised by Māori for generations to maintain the wellbeing of the body, spirit and community through traditional healing practices. Kawakawa has antiseptic and analgesic properties, as evidenced in the active ingredient, myristicine. The literature sources relate how the healing properties of the plant were exploited in conjunction with traditional spiritual practices as represented by *karakia* (prayer, incantations). Its use in *rongoā Māori* today continues the ancient utilisation of the plant world to aid humanity as stipulated by kinship and its *tuakana* status. There are many sicknesses that kawakawa is claimed to heal, making it amongst the top cures known to Māori.

Formerly when medicine was administered, the *tohunga* who had ascertained the ailment would also perform *karakia* to aid the healing.

> The medicine for the ailments of the Māori, as many a Māori has told me, significantly pointing to his protruding tongue, "was this". In other words it was the incantations backed up by the power of the tohungas, that cured' (Buck 1910:67).

This quote illustrates the power of the word in aiding healing. The *karakia* supported the medicine, but it also had authority in itself because the former belief as to the cause of sickness was that it had supernatural origins and was thus a spiritual disorder affecting the whole being, and not just the body. This is demonstrated by the accreditation to *Whiro* and other such *aituā* (negative spiritual entities) as the causes of sickness (Best 1995).

In the pantheon of Māori deities, Whiro was one of the older children of Ranginui and Papatuanuku. In spite of this he became a being of malice and spite and attacked his other brothers. Whiro became the antithesis of Tāne: his darkness and death opposing Tāne's role of life-giver and light-bringer. Whiro once lived in the house called *Wharau-rangi*, and when the decision was made by the gods for one of their number to journey to the Twelfth Heaven to fetch the three baskets of knowledge from Io Matua Kore, his bid to undertake the quest was rejected. Instead Tāne was selected to attempt the mission. Thus was born Io Matua Kore's undying enmity for Tāne and all his works. Whiro attacked Tāne several times on the long climb, ordering his minions, the insects and several species of birds to assail the questing God. Whiro was vanquished and in humiliation descended to the underworld. There he entered into alliance with Maiki-nui, Maiki-roa and Maiki-whekaro—The demonic personifications of sickness and disease. Consequently all disease and afflictions that strike humanity were attributed to Whiro and the Maiki family. For that reason is the belief that all sickness was supernatural in origin (Best 1995, Buck 1910).

Sickness was thought to have had several causes: accidental injuries (which could also be caused by supernatural means); naturally occurring illnesses like the flu or measles; and psychological

disturbances thought to be caused by supernatural forces or transgression of *tapu* and/or *tikanga* (Parsons 1985). This came to be commonly called *mate Māori* in the modern age, which is the belief that some forms of sickness of body, mind and spirit happen because of the transgression of *tapu,* or because of *mākutu* (black magic), leading to the onset of *pōuritanga* (darkness of mind) and *whakamomori* (deep depression). If utilising Durie's (1998) model of the human identity as represented in the *whare tapa wha* (house of four walls), whereby the *wairua* (spirit), *hinengaro* (mind/consciousness), *tinana* (body) and *whānau* (family or relationships) are all united, then what happens to one part of the individual affects all other elements. Transgression of *tapu* could affect the spirit, leading to depression of mind, culminating in sickness or death.

The centre of the Māori and indigenous medical paradigm is a belief in the balance required for any normal human stability and wellbeing. If equilibrium is disrupted, then the cause of the afflictions of the body or spirit must be located and removed so that balance is restored. Therefore the use of *karakia pure* to affect the individual on a spiritual level is necessary to heal the ailment on all levels. A patient had to be freed and released from oppression in order to be healed. Shirres (1997) uses the term of "loosing and binding" to describe *karakia pure*. In terms of spiritual affliction, the *karakia* would loosen the hold of the *aituā* considered as dangerous to the subject. The binding is to connect with a positive spiritual force to protect and give strength to the individual. In conjunction with a physical remedy like kawakawa, the sickness is attacked on the physical plane and in the spiritual realm.

Kawakawa as a *tuakana* of humanity enables healing as revealed in its properties. For example, when the insect minions of Whiro attacked Tāne they were defeated by the patriarch. Kawakawa is also used as an insecticide, continuing that aspect of the battle of light and life against darkness and death. Formerly kawakawa was burnt in bonfires to ward off insects from the valuable kūmara plantations of the Māori (Riley 1997, MacDonald 1973). Kūmara was a staple food of the old people so it was necessary to protect the crop from pests. The bonfires were placed between the rows so that the smoke would drift over the kūmara shoots. On a scientific level the plant kawakawa has been proven to contain juvenile hormones (JH), which inhibit physiological processes such as metamorphosis and reproduction in most insect species (Bede, Goodman & Tobe 1999). Therefore the ancient utilisation of kawakawa as an insecticide has been proven by western scientific analysis.

Before going to the bush to pick kawakawa (or any other *rongoā*) it was first necessary to perform *karakia* formerly to appease the deities and also to pay respect to the plant. This is illustrated by the story of Rata. When he went into the forest to build a *waka* in order to avenge his father Wahieroa, he selected an appropriate tree. He proceeded to cut it down without any of the correct rituals. After he had completed the task of felling, he returned home, as it was late in the day. Upon his return he discovered the tree standing again. He chopped the tree down again. This time as night fell he

concealed himself, waiting to observe what happened. Soon, the sound of whirring and flapping announced itself in the appearance of the denizens of the forest. They collected all the chips and sawdust of the tree and re-erected it. When Rata jumped out in righteous indignation he was rebuked for neglecting the correct procedures. So Rata followed their advice and performed the appropriate *karakia*, placating the denizens and their lord, and obtaining the tree that he sought for his vessel. This was an example of conservation and respect for the resources of the land hidden within the myth. One should not wantonly take whatever from the land without first paying the proper respect to the land itself (Walker 1990).

Ruka Broughton, the esteemed and learned *tohunga* from Ngā Rauru, Taranaki, gave an interesting rationalisation of the unity of *karakia* and medicine to heal the body. He was undergoing chemotherapy for cancer at the time. While he was undertaking a western medical practice, his principle would seem to cross-over to any type of medical procedure:

> My body is the tangata whenua (host) and those are the manuhiri [guests], and I ask my body, my spirit to receive those things because they are going to look after us… This is central to the wairua, te kōrero ki taku tinana (to talk to my body), kōrero ki ngā rongoā (address the medicine). I actually talk. 'Haere mai koutou, tomohia taku tinana, hei oranga mōku (may you all enter my body, so you may encompass wellbeing)'. It's looked upon by some as mumbo jumbo but if you look at the working of the karakia, its just plain sense. Most of the karakia are just a running commentary of a practical nature (Broughton 1985: 67).

Therefore there was a need for the holistic balance to be restored as aided by the recitation of *karakia* to cleanse any contaminating spiritual influences and release the patient from oppression and encourage healing.

Medical Applications of Kawakawa

Medicinal properties inherent in kawakawa have been tested and proven by prolonged customary use in Māori healing practices and by the modern usage of the plant. While some cures may have been far-fetched from a western medical perspective, the belief in the cure could mirror the placebo affect, not to be discounted was the *mana* or power of the *tohunga* or whichever other person was prescribing the medicine. Many descriptions of the medicinal purpose have been written about in literature, so the listing of ailments and applications here is by necessity limited.

There are certain practices that accompany gathering, preparation, and prescription of *rongoā*. One of the most important is *karakia* throughout the process. The kawakawa (or any other *rongoā*) must be picked from the eastern side. Only the leaves that have been chewed by the larvae of the geometrid moth *Cleaora scriptaria* (Hodge, Keesing, Wratten, Lovei, Palmer & Cilgi 1998) are suitable for *rongoā.* The Kawakawa Looper Moth caterpillar leaves small holes in the leaf that signify it is ready to be used in medicine. As an apprentice practitioner I was told that *rongoā* must be given out free of charge. It is a gift from the forest and it must be given as such.

Ailment		*Application*
1	Toothache:	A green leaf is picked and then wrapped up into a little package then placed on the affected tooth or teeth. It should not be chewed, but saliva releases the analgesic properties that cause numbness and relief. The leaf is then thrown away after a short period of time.
2	Swelling:	If swelling occurs around the cheeks, the tākawa (ripe fruit) is mashed with a liquid extraction of the roots and applied to the concerned area (MacDonald 1973).
4	Chest complaints, flu, bronchitis:	Either a decoction of kawakawa, or a concoction of kawakawa and kūmarahou (*scandia rosefolia*) is boiled and then drunk (Parsons 1985).
5	Sore stomach:	Dried kawakawa leaves prepared as a tea and then drunk while still hot helps alleviate discomfort. Another recipe is to mixing kawakawa with ngaio (*myoporum laetum*) mamaku (*cyathea medullaris*) and piupiu *(blechnum discolor)*, especially for chronic pain. The action was purgative. A decoction of kawakawa and karamū was also useful (*coprosma lucida*) (Riley 1997).
6	Kidney Disorder:	Boiled kawakawa leaves that have been allowed to cool and then drunk over a period of time cleaned out the kidneys by urine discharge as a diuretic (Brooker, Cambie & Cooper 1987).
7	Liver Disorder:	Same process as for kidneys.
8	Wounds, boils, cuts:	A poultice from heated kawakawa and applied to the wound cleaned and encouraged faster healing (Brooker et al. 1987).
9	Burns:	An ointment made from kawakawa and koromiko is smeared on the burnt skin, it eases pain and encourages faster healing.
10	Eczema & other skni irritations:	Leaves and bark boiled with the bark of the ongaonga was good both externally and internally for eczema (Adams as cited in MacDonald 1973). Or bathing the skin area with the liquid decocted from the plant also helped alleviate the condition (Riley 1997, Brooker et al. 1987).
11	Venereal diseases:	Either kawakawa and ongaonga (*urtica ferox*), or kawakawa on its own (Adams as cited in White 1997).
12	Blindness:	This cure made more use of *karakia* in conjunction with kawakawa to stimulate a cure. A *tohunga* would wrap kawakawa around his waist, and holding a branch of kawakawa in his hand would proceed to incant as he waved it in front of the patient (White as cited in Riley 1997)
13	Leprosy:	Buck stated in his thesis that kawakawa and ngaio mixed with human or canine excrement and consumed by the patient was supposed to cure leprosy. If the patient did not touch another person or a dog during the time period stipulated

		by the *tohunga* then a cure would be affected (Buck 1910).
14	Rheumatism and general cleanser:	Kawakawa leaves were placed on boiling hot stones and a *whāriki* (woven mat) was placed over that. A sick person would then lie on it and the vapours would cleanse the person. This also was a means of healing rheumatism (Taylor as cited in Riley 1997). This process would seem to have been replaced by kawakawa leaves being steeped in the bath.

There was a substantial body of knowledge on *rongoā* Māori as recorded by ethnographers by the 19th century. However Buck (1910) maintained that a serious body of knowledge regarding the medicinal nature of the plants of Aotearoa/New Zealand was a recent occurrence with the arrival of the European and their medical practices and technology. The belief that spiritual malaise or oppression was the prime cause of much sickness during the epidemics of the late 19th and early 20th centuries could no doubt have led many *tohunga* to focus more on that aspect of sickness and less on the medicinal practice of prescribing herbs thus leading to the Tohunga Suppression Act of 1907, barring traditional healers from practicing (Rhys 2000).

However the simplest explanation of indigenous medical knowledge systems having been worked out over generations cannot be ignored. What society could exist in any land for hundreds of years and not identify which plants could alleviate pain and sickness? While there was indeed a reliance on the use of *karakia* as a type of faith healing (the power of the *tohunga* healing the ailments of the patient) it was by no means the only way. The strong belief in the spiritual aspect of a human rendered the practice of medicine as a holistic pursuit. But the body as a vessel needed to be mended, hence the exploitation of the virtues of herbs. The use of kava in traditional healing practices in the Pacific would suggest that herbal use was developed upon many a far flung outpost of the great ocean of Kiwa. Therefore the widespread use of *rongoā*, traditionally and in a modern context, would have to be taken into account.

Kawakawa as a Symbol Of Mourning

As a plant matures from a seed to maturity and then to death, so does the life cycle of the human being, hence the usage of kawakawa plant to symbolise death. The ritualistic use of Kawakawa in mourning ceremonies (*tangihanga*) are essential in various *rohe* (areas) of Aotearoa/New Zealand to fulfil ceremonial requirements for the dead. However the link with ritual and the healing aspects of the plant do not explain why the plant has such contradictory nature since kawakawa is valued for its role in the formal death ceremony of the *tangihanga*. While it is by no means ritually widespread throughout all the *iwi* (tribes) of Aotearoa New Zealand, it is a valued plant. But why was it used in those ceremonies?

Riddles of origin abound with the kawakawa leaf. The uncertainty as to why the kawakawa leaf is used in *tangihanga* has always been an enigma for this humble student of *mātauranga Māori.* While this section will attempt to answer some questions as to the use of the kawakawa in *tangihanga*, as stated earlier it is by necessity mainly literature based. This will not be an attempt to establish the foundation of the *tikanga* involved in the *tangihanga*, but an attempt to theorise as to the use of kawakawa in the ceremony itself.

He aha te tohu o te ringaringa?	What is the symbol in my hand?
Te Kawakawa.	It is the Kawakawa.
Ripiripia, hae, hae!	Cut, slash, slash!
Ripiripia, hae, hae!	Cut, slash, slash!
E ā, turakina	He is felled
Paranikia te ūpoko	Head shattered
Te ngārara kai-tangata	By the man consuming fiend
Hue!	Hue!

(Noble & Horsfell 2000)

This is a *ngeri* (free-form *haka*) that is performed in Taranaki during the *nehua* (moving of body) or by an *ope* as they cross the *marae-ātea* to pay their respects to the deceased. Another line in *Whakawaiwai ana*, a famous *waiata tangi* (song of mourning) from Taranaki also directly links kawakawa with death. "*Me tīpare koe, ki te raukawakawa. He tohu arohanui, ki te iwi ka ngaro*/Adorn your head with the kawakawa wreath. It is a symbol of abiding love, for the people who have gone." This is a reference to a cloud formation that sometimes encircles the peak of Mt Taranaki. When seen it is a *tohu* (sign) that someone has passed away or will in the near future. The implications are quite clear from a Taranaki perspective. The symbol of death is the kawakawa.

The first known case of kawakawa being used in *tangihanga* is at the death of Tama-te-kapua, the captain of the Arawa canoe. When Tama-te-kapua had given his last breath and the hand of death had stilled his heart, the women of Arawa proceeded to wail and grieve. They cut their chests with shells and pieces of obsidian in the custom known as *haehae*, literally meaning to slash the body, letting the flowing blood represent tears. They wore upon their heads the *parekawakawa,* platted wreaths of kawakawa leaves. When the old men gathered and offered up their eulogies as a mark of respect to the deceased, they also wore wreaths of kawakawa (Alpers 1977).

Whether this is a case of the *tangihanga* of the eponymous ancestor of Te Arawa being handed verbatim down the ages or the creative license of oratory and story-telling told to a Pākehā researcher is uncertain. However this seems to be the first written use of kawakawa in a death ritual in Aotearoa.

One has to wonder if the plant was made use of because of the Arawa familiarity with the kava plant in their old homes, or whether the use had originated in this land.

The wearing of the *parekawakawa,* or head wreath made of Kawakawa leaves, symbolised that one was grieving. Whether one named it a *parekawakawa*, *tauā* (Northland) or *raukawakawa* (Taranaki) the symbolism remained the same. Green leaves, especially the kawakawa, were referred to as being the symbol of death (Buck 1952; Orbell 1985)

I was once told by a *kuia* at Parihaka Pā about some of the restrictions of wearing the *parekawakawa*. Those who wore it had to weave it before sunrise. If they were to wear it they were not allowed to let food pass their lips. At sunset they were able to remove the wreath and they would be free from restriction. So by that factor, one could say that the wearers of a *parekawakawa* were under a state of *tapu* while the Kawakawa leaves were upon their brow. In a sense the kawakawa preserves the inherent *tapu* of the *tangihanga* and extends it of the wearer of the wreath.

The intrinsic *tapu* of the kawakawa, and the extended *tapu* from the *tangihanga* gather and generate a restriction that is not to be abused. Any kawakawa leaves that were used in the ceremony would have to be disposed of (Salmond 1973). At Puniho Pā, my ancestral marae, the doorway of the *whare tūpuna* (ancestral house) where the body lies in state is surrounded in kawakawa. When the body is buried, the kawakawa is buried with it.

The most pragmatic reason as why the plant was used in *tangi* would seem to be as a scent to dispel the stench of lost mortality. "*Kua tara ā whare te parekawakawa/*line the walls of the house with kawakawa". This is a *whakataukī* (proverb) that hints at a customary use of kawakawa in tangi. The kawakawa would be threaded around the house and the aroma of kawakawa would offset the smell of a decomposing corpse. This *whakataukī* is also used in *whaikōrero* (formal oratory) in the transition between greeting the dead and turning to greet the living.

In *Te Tai Tokerau* (Northland) tradition when a person from the *rangatira* class died the body would be adorned in its finest possession, and bound so that it seemed to be sitting up. The hair and body would be anointed with oil and kawakawa in order to aid preservation and combat the smell of decaying flesh (Mataa 1998). Presumably the extract of kawakawa in an oil base could be used as a type of perfume. Nevertheless, the use of kawakawa as a masking scent would seem to suggest that its physical use could provide the logical reason for its use.

Another plant used for preserving the dead was the tarata (*pittosporum eugenioides)*. The resin extraction of the plant was used traditionally to perfume oil (Kirk 1889). In Takitimu tradition, as recorded by Best (1941), the *pia tarata* or gum-like substance of the tarata and the oil of the seeds of

the titoki (*alectryon excelsus*) tree were smeared over the corpse to close pores and prevent decay. Other plants were used by the ancestors of the Māori to prevent decay of a corpse, so the utilisation of kawakawa in this regard would seem to have a basis of truth.

In a spiritual sense, the kawakawa held in the hands during a *karanga* (formal call of welcome) could well be a way of indicating a pathway to the spirit world (Mataa 1998). The *karanga* is an ancient part of the ritual of encounter. It can also be a summons and a farewell to the dead (Salmond 1975). As such it connects the world of living to the spirit world. So during the process of the *tangi* a *kaikaranga* (caller) would farewell the departed, letting the kawakawa direct the way to the afterworld.

It must also be noted that the mythological origins of the kava associate the plant with death as it was believed to have originally have grown from corpses. By association and recognition, it could well be that the kava leaves could have been used previously on the islands of the ancestors in death ceremonies. Associating kawakawa with death and suchlike could have been the prime cause as to its use in mourning. Kawakawa use is in *tangihanga* is by no means standard amongst all *iwi*. However its use can only be ascertained by a comparative analysis of kawakawa and *tangihanga* as used in different tribal *rohe*.

Conclusion

Kawakawa is a plant that has an inherent value to Māoridom as evidenced by its *whakapapa*, its use in the correct practice of *tikanga* and *kawa* and by the healing virtues that it possesses. Kawakawa represents the cycle of life and how the plant world can help and maintain the human world. All life originates in *Te Kore*. Therefore following the lineage of descent, staggered in stages to *Te Ao Mārama,* all life-forms interconnect. In the traditional worldview of the ancestors of the Māori, Ranginui and Papatuanuku are the parents of life as it is known on these islands. Their child, Tāne was the procreator of flora, fauna, and humanity. Along with Apunga, they brought forth the plant known as kawakawa.

While kawakawa shares similar roots to the kava plant, they are nevertheless distinct plant forms in themselves. The kinship of purpose and application reveals the source of the use of kawakawa in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Kava shares supernatural origins, ritualistic function and association with death, properties that kawakawa possesses also. The old people in their voyages would have known of the kava and they imposed their memories on the indigenous kawakawa. Even the name itself betrays the affiliation of kawakawa to kava. *Kawa,* or ceremony and ritual, accesses the upper realms of the supernatural and spiritual in order to cleanse and prepare places where humanity are able to shelter. Kawakawa aids in the correct exercise of *tikanga* to fulfil customary requirements. As such it is a vital component in the practice of *kawa*.

While the belief that the *tohunga* of old used their *karakia* to release and bind spiritual powers was the primary font of healing, the kawakawa as a *rongoā* affected sickness on the material plain. The healing virtues of the plant aided the physical wellbeing of the individual, which complimented the freedom of the spiritual aspect that all humans possess.

As all leaves must fall from the mother plant, so do the lives of humans have to end in death. The traditional process of mourning is one of the most important of Māoridom. For a spirit to rest, and those who remain to grieve and move on, the rite of *tangihanga* must be followed. Kawakawa supports the correct procedure that allows things to flow smoothly. The scent of kawakawa dispels the smell of lost mortality and it seems likely that the use in *tangihanga* could have a pragmatic reason. Death is represented by this plant in the many eyes of Māori who witness the tear-shaped leaves of the kawakawa welcoming them onto the *marae-ātea* and into the *whare tūpuna* during a *tangi*. Kawakawa is the symbol of mourning.

Kawakawa encompassed the totality of life and death, as has been shown in many facets of traditional Māori life. It was and remains an important component of *tikanga* Māori.

Te rau Kawakawa,	The Kawakawa leaf,
Hei rau tikitiki,	Is an adornment worn,
Pērā hoki i te piki toroa;	Like the plumes of the albatross;
He tohu arohanui.	A symbol of abiding love.
E tupu noa,	Growing freely and without cultivation,
Ko te Wairākau nei.	Is this Wairākau.
Hei māpuna o te nehe,	A treasured gift of the forest,
Kia pure te mate.	That cleanses sickness.
Kārohirohi ai te mauri,	The life essence shimmers,
I te atakura.	In the radiant light of dawn.
Koropupū te wai;	Boil the liquid until ready;
Hei rongoā.	‘Tis the medicine.

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Museums, Education and Māori
A review of selected museum education

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Foreword

E ngā iwi, e ngā mana, e ngā reo, e ngā karangaranga maha, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa. Ko te kaupapa e whai ake nei he tirohanga ki ngā momo kaimahi me ā rātou mahi mātauranga i roto i ētehi whare taonga o Waikato, Te Rohe Pōtae, me Taranaki hoki. Nōreira tēnei te mihi ki a rātou mā.

My interest in this study stems from my work experience as a museum educator at the Waikato Museum of Art and History from October 2002 through to June 2004. In February 2003, I temporarily filled the position of Schools Educator. In the same month *Mauri Ora,* an exhibition featuring works by Robin Kahukiwa, attracted a huge number of schools from the Hamilton and the wider districts to the Waikato Museum of Art and History. With sometimes up to three to four class visits daily, I could now say that the month's teaching passed quickly. However, in reality it was a demanding but overall rewarding experience.

Many of the bi-lingual units, rūmaki reo (Māori language units within primary education), and kura kaupapa would often request to have their educational sessions fully or in part in te reo Māori, or Māori language. At that time, I was the only museum educator that could manage or facilitate the lessons if total language immersion was required.

When Robin Kahukiwa's *Mauri Ora* exhibition moved, many of the bi-lingual units and kura kaupapa began to visit the museum less frequently. Surmising that if exhibitions such as *Mauri Ora* were responsible for attracting both schools and Māori in high numbers to museums then, I wondered, what could be done by museum staff and me to attract Māori schools and the Māori community on a regular basis. With this question in mind, I decided that if given the chance I would try to develop educational programmes that could perhaps attract not only non-Māori audiences but also Māori.

The Summer Internship offered by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga in December 2004 through to February 2005 allowed me to canvas the unique individual educators of each museum as to how they manage

their educational programmes and whether they were designed specifically with Māori audiences in mind or not.

Every museum and their staff that I contacted were most helpful. My thanks go out to the past and present Māori educators Graham Kihi and Te Hauwhenua Kirkwood for allowing me to interview them. Thanks to Liz and Deb from the Te Awamutu museum, Jo Short from Waitomo Museum of Caves, Marissa Swanink and Kiterangi Cameron from Puke Ariki, and Kirsty Glengarry, my former Team education leader. A big thanks to Dr Bronwyn Labrum for accepting at such short notice the supervisory role and last minute editing, the kaimahi from Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga who allowed me to present a small part of this report at a seminar at Hopuhopu in January and, finally, Jade for helping edit this work.

Introduction

> Museums also hold the cultural inheritance of both the Māori people and those of the Pacific Islands, which imposes responsibility on them to use these for opportunities for cultural enrichment and racial identity.[206]

Statistics prove that the attendance rate of Māori visiting New Zealand museums is low compared with non-Māori. This report proposes that Māori attendance, or lack thereof, reflects an unfavorable attitude on the part of Māori to these public institutions. Regional museums face an even lower attendance from their Māori communities than those in the main centres. While some museums invest money into marketing the profile and attractiveness of their institution, other avenues such as museum education could offer a viable alternative to building bridges between the museums and Māori communities.

Museum education or learning programmes have much to offer Māori communities. This report is an assessment of some of the available education programmes that are being delivered within selected regional museums in New Zealand. It concentrates on museum educators, the programmes they deliver and differences between regional museums.

Māori attendance rates at museums have for some time remained static.[207] With the exception of Te Papa Tongarewa, Museum of New Zealand, Māori attendance rates at regional museums remain unchanged.[208] The *Cultural Experiences Survey* found that only nine percent of Māori adults over the age of 15 visited museums or art galleries over a one year period beginning in January 2002.[209] Arising

[206] Constance Hall, *Grandma's Attic or Aladdin's Cave: Museum Education Services for Children* (Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1981), p.95.
[207] Statistics New Zealand Te Tari Tatau, 8 February 2005, *Museums and art galleries* [online], available URL: http://www.stats.govt.nz/measure-of-culture/heritage/museums-art-galleries.htm
[208] see Appendix 5: Table 3.04 taken from Statistics New Zealand Te Tari Tatau, 8 February 2005, *Museums and art galleries* [online], available URL: http://www.stats.govt.nz/measure-of-culture/heritage/museums-art-galleries.htm
[209] A nationally representative sample of 13,475 adults aged 15 and over living in private dwellings responded to the survey in 2002. A decision was made to limit the survey to adults only, primarily because of the additional cost and complexity involved in interviewing children. See Statistics New Zealand Te Tari Tatau, 8 February 2005, *Museums and art galleries* [online], available URL: http://www.stats.govt.nz/measure-of-culture/introduction/cult-exp-survey.htm

from these statistics is the need to ask why Māori are attending museums and art galleries consistently less often than Pākehā and what can be done to address this concern. In a study of Māori and Aboriginal education, Harker and McConnochie suggest why Māori might have unsettled or ambivalent attitudes towards public institutions, including museums:

> Both [Māori and Aborigines] are tentative and hesitant in contacting these institutions; see them as punitive rather than supportive or service agencies; are often baffled by the bureaucratic procedures involved: believe, often rightly, that representatives of the institutions are hostile towards both themselves and their life styles; and feel powerless to change or influence them. Many of these institutions epitomise values and beliefs which are not held by Māori or Aboriginal people, establish goals which are not those of Māori or Aboriginal people, and instigate remedial programmes or programmes of reform which are quite inappropriate.[210]

Māori working within museums, both in the past and the present have challenged these disconcerting attitudes and practices. Since the *Te Māori (1984–6)* and *Te Māori: Te Hokinga Mai (1986–87)* exhibitions, Māori working within museums have become more prominent in promoting the values and beliefs of their communities and iwi within these institutions. Māori curators and educators work with members of the Māori community to ensure that proper protocols are followed and correct information is presented to both the general public and Māori.

Although Māori staff numbers continue to grow at disproportionate levels throughout New Zealand, this still has not positively affected or changed the attendance rates of Māori visiting museums. It is proposed by this report that these rates may reflect deep-seated attitudes towards public institutions. McCarthy highlights the similarity with education disparities in mainstream schools:

> The unequal patterns of race, gender and class apparent in education, are mirrored in those who attend museums, with occupation, income, level of education, gender and ethnic origin all being significant factors in why people visit museums [211]

A review of educational programmes at selected regional museums may provide insight into how Māori may overcome low museum attendance rates. This report does not aim to examine the unequal patterns between the Māori and non-Māori but instead searches for viable solutions for attracting Māori to museums via education. In some circumstances this is determined by Māori with Māori values and beliefs.

Programmes that are designed to attract Māori audiences must initially take into account several things: firstly, there must be some link between the museum educator and the community or communities that they serve. Secondly, findings from the data collected needs to show how education

[210] R.K. Harker, and K.R. McConnochie, *Education as Cultural Artefact: Studies in Māori and Aboriginal Education* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985), p.132.
[211] C. McCarthy, 'Museum Education: In and Out of Touch' *Museums and Education*: *AGMANZ Journal* 20.3 (1989) p25

programmes must address the learning concerns and interests of Māori communities. Thirdly, suggestions for Māori participation in museum programmes and other events will be proposed.

Methodology

Within museums, educators more often than not have interaction with not only children but also young adults on a daily or weekly basis. Māori museum educators tend to have more contact with Māori children and young adults due to the compulsory attendance of school groups at various exhibitions. Although this report focuses mostly on the work of Māori museum educators who are generally able to measure the success rate of their lesson plans or guided tours with recorded statistical information, further information has come from qualitative research, such as interviews and questionnaires.

School educators or LEOTC[212] officers are required in their Ministry of Education contracts to administer and record the number of schools visiting their museums. The number and frequency of Māori school visitations in regional museum areas are recorded by the LEOTC officers. This information, however, remains a sensitive issue and requires permission from the Ministry of Education to publish. Statistical information about Māori school visits can show whether museum education programmes are being used by Kura Kaupapa, other Māori education providers and/or the Māori community. Quantitative data, such as statistical museum attendance figures, show who attend, when they attend and how often education programmes are being used. Quantitative research would have provided more depth in this report but as this was not accessible, other forms of information were sought.

Hooper-Greenhill has stated that in order to achieve competency in the delivery of museum educational portfolios,

> [i]t is important for all staff to know what level of success is being achieved. Both quantitative and qualitative information should be used by managers on a regular basis to monitor successes and failures and to improve targeting of provision.[213]

Qualitative research tells us why education programmes are being used. Two types of qualitative research were used in this report. An e-mail questionnaire helped alleviate travel and distance concerns, while interviews provided for a comparison of educational developments and lesson plans over time.[214] This report has drawn much of its data from an e-mail questionnaire which was sent to the LEOTC educators at Te Awamutu and Waikato museums and the Youth Learning educators from

[212] Learning Experiences Outside the Classroom (LEOTC) is a Ministry of Education project whereby organisations provide support for learning experiences outside the classroom that enhance and enrich the New Zealand school curriculum.
[213] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and their Visitors* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 55.
[214] Appendix 4 – copies of the e-mail questionnaire sent to participants

Puke Ariki.[215] The questionnaire asked participants to discuss education programmes in terms of development, delivery, marketing, evaluation and availability to Māori and the general public.

Interviews were conducted with two Māori LEOTC officers from the Waikato Museum of Art and History (WMAH). One interview was undertaken with an LEOTC officer who has since left the museum and the other interview was with the current LEOTC officer. By looking at the initiatives that were in place in the past, comparative findings could be made with the present personnel.

While the majority of the findings and information used within this report are from Māori educators, some of the participants are non-Māori. The focus for this report is primarily aimed at what is being provided and not necessarily by whom, although this is a factor. Significantly, not all museums can provide Māori education positions. Furthermore, the structure of regional museums may mean that museums do not have Māori educators because of their institutional size, their limited budget or perhaps the availability of a capable officer. Indeed, the contributions and informative views from non-Māori about the advantages and disadvantages of both te reo Māori and liaising with Māori communities within a museum context were important in the construction of this report.

This report was undertaken as a student summer internship provided by Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga (The National Centre of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement). The 10 week timeline of the internship took place from late December 2004 through to the end of February 2005. Interviews required ethics consent and re-submission of the scope of this work to the University of Waikato. Ethics approval was officially granted in late January 2005.

This report has been limited to achievable goals in the given time available. The lack of support from the Ministry of Education in providing statistical information has severely limited an analysis of what is known about the numbers of Māori school attendances as well as individual histories of what education programmes have attracted Māori schools to museums in the past. A further problem encountered was the availability of interviewees during the holiday season. Late ethics approval also impacted on this study and meant there was less time to conduct in-depth interviews and to send out or recall e-mail questionnaires.

The original title of this project was changed from ‘Educational Frameworks for Māori within Regional Museums throughout the Waikato, King Country and Taranaki’ to ‘Educational Programmes for Māori within Regional Museums throughout the Waikato, King Country and Taranaki: How and why are museums in these regions providing education programmes for Māori?’ It became apparent that the term frameworks would incorporate much more research than could be managed over the

[215] Puke Ariki combines elements of both the Museum and Youth Learning Centre together in education programmes

holiday period. Most museum staff was on annual leave and the new title was reworked for the e-mail questionnaire.

Later the title was simplified again to, 'Museums, Education and Māori'. Incorporating the adjustments and allowing for less specific determination of exact places or regions was an effective method to analyse the information that was gathered. The subject group and the focus on educational programmes remained unchanged.

Literature review

A literature search revealed that very little had been written about Māori museum education. General museum literature centered on community-based projects including iwi relationships, curatorship and bicultural practices within museums.[216] Museum education literature was out-dated and had been written in the 1980s. Much of this type of literature focused on the types of programmes, the value to museum, school and educator, and working concerns with teaching space and other museum staff. None of this literature focused on any impacts of museum education programmes upon Māori.

General education literature centered on reviews of current education practices that could best serve the needs of Māori school students. Although a few comparisons have been mentioned in the introduction of this report, literature from education theorists has not been applied because of the interdisciplinary nature of museum institutions which incorporate experiences outside of a classroom and/or the education system. An example of this difference is presented in the next section.

Museums, education and Māori

One of the major contrasts between the schools and museums is the level and intensity of education that is offered. Museums offer smaller, concentrated, and briefer education programmes, running anywhere from 45 minutes up to two or three hour lesson plans. In general, museum programmes are adaptable to cater for different learning levels—from early childhood primary, secondary and tertiary levels—to incorporating elements relevant to community, family or adult education. Museum programmes are constantly changing with various exhibitions and may last for months and up to a year depending on the popularity and available resources of the exhibition, museum and museum educator.

Although museums and schools are both considered public institutions, museums contain taonga or artifacts that closely connect with iwi Māori. Māori that are employed within museums are known as

[216] See H. Murphy, *Bicultural Developments in Museums of Aotearoa: A way forward = Te kaupapa tikanga-a¯-rua ki roto i ngā whare taonga ō Aotearoa: Anei ko te huarahi: A report* (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1999).
Also, G. O'Regan, Bicultural Developments in Museums of Aotearoa: What is the Current Status? = Ki te whakamana i te kaupapa tikanga-a-rua ki roto i ngā whare taonga o te motu: Kei hea e tū ana? (Wellington: Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa National Services in partnership with Museums Association of Aotearoa New Zealand, 1997).

kaitiaki [217]and in this respect they take on the role of a kaitiaki in the care and management of taonga. Māori believe that some taonga permanently embody the wairua or spiritual aspects of tūpuna (ancestors). Therefore, it is important that kaitiaki maintain links between taonga and iwi precisely to ensure that museums are guided by iwi in the care of their tūpuna and their cultural material.

In past exhibitions such as *Te Ara o Tainui* at WMAH, museum educators and the Māori curator worked closely with Tainui kaumātua and kuia to develop, deliver and present information in a correct and appealing way to Māori and non-Māori. The opportunity extended by exhibitions and education programmes to re-connect Māori to taonga is one unique and vital role, one which the museum educator can enhance by embracing a Māori presence in these institutions.

Another element is the changeable nature of museum programmes, which are based on constant revolving exhibitions, some of which may last for one month or for one year. The length of an exhibition is often determined by its popularity among the public and this also impacts upon how much a museum will allocate in terms of funds to resource this exhibition and staff time, including, obviously, the work of a museum educator.

The museum educator

Education programmes designed specifically for Māori are dependent on many variables. However, this report will begin by focusing on the role of the Māori educator. Māori museum educators play an important role in attracting Māori audiences to museums. Their position is critical in closing the distance between a museum and Māori. This said, it is unfortunate that the Māori community generally has very little contact or understanding of the knowledge of an educator's position and how that can affect museum relations.

While museum learning programmes are designed to educate and stimulate interest, the amount of contact and participation by the Māori community in the development of education programmes is variable, limited, and distinctive to each museum. By assessing the educational discourse between museums and Māori communities, suggestions for improving attendance rates and museum education practice can also be made.

The role of the museum educator

> The success and failure of museum education programmes stems primarily from the personality of the educator[218]

[217] Arapata Hakiwai, 'Kaitiaki Māori from New Zealand Museums, Taonga Māori: Protocol, Exhibitions and Conservation.' in *Taonga Māori Conference New Zealand 18–27 November* (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), pp 120-122.
[218] Hall, p.59.

Museum educators are the people who inform, deliver and interact with visitors to local and regional museums. In many local museums, volunteers or other members of the museum staff assist the public with information about particular items within their museum. However, in regional museums that may employ more permanent staff, museum educators can generally be separated into two distinct groups: those who work primarily with community groups and individuals, delivering guided tours and brief talks, and those that are employed to target schools only. This second group is generally known as LEOTC officers. Many LEOTC officers are qualified teachers or have had teaching experience and are either employed in part by the Ministry of Education and the local councils, or by their respective museum.

Māori educators working within museums are one of the key personnel groups in terms of liaising with Māori community groups. Employing more Māori staff will help to reduce unsettled attitudes to instituitions from the Māori community. While primarily employed to target educational institutions, Māori educators at the same time need to be more proactive with their Māori community. However, in order for this change to occur, support must come from within museums and their local councils:

> There is still a lot of groundwork that we established and there is a need for our people [Māori] to be in places in museums. Why I say this is because a lot of our taonga, a lot of our history, a lot of our culture can be delivered in that forum.[219]

LEOTC officers primarily target schools as their audience and visitor cache. The number of LEOTC officers in any region or museum varies and positions are often dependent upon awarding of contracts. Although the LEOTC officers target specific parts of the curriculum and work primarily with schools, their extent should not be limited just to this group. Their ability to network with teachers and community groups should enable them to maintain strong networks. As Te Hauwhenua Kirkwood points out:

> I had a very strong base here in the Waikato with people I know and it's all about networking. You have to be a people's person. You have to be approachable. Certainly at that time, [from] the community we had kaumātua coming and kuia, not only from Waikato but also from other iwi. I remember a group of kaumātua that came and [sic] on an off chance they visited the museum. They didn't know that the Tainui exhibition was on [or] was there but once they met a Māori face at the museum that could speak te reo. But most of it is networking, ringing people, letting people know what is happening going to visit them *kanohi ki te kanohi* [face to face] is very important and establishing those relationships not just visiting them once but visiting more than once and people really appreciate that.[220]

[219] Te Hauwhenua Kirkwood, 26 January 2005, tape 1, side 1, 34.8 – 35.2.
[220] Te Hauwhenua Kirkwood, 26 January 2005, tape 1, side 1, 20.9 – 22.4. Te Hauwhenua Whenua was the LEOTC officer at the Waikato Museum of Art and History 1997 –2001.

The delivery of education programmes along with an outgoing personality and strong network links are also significant. Knowing your audience and being perceptive to their learning needs is important in terms of information content and correctness. As Eileen Hooper-Greenhill suggests:

> As institutions and educators we keep a tight hold on the objects we show and the narratives we present with them. We don't often give people the space or the power to create their own stories, to exhibit or use objects in a ways that are meaningful to them. The institution's focus continues to reside firmly with the object and by extension the institution and the narratives it produces.[221]

Networking with Māori communities varies regionally. At Puke Ariki, and WMAH, the Māori community networks are involved in events such as pōwhiri on a regular basis:

> *How much networking occurs with the Māori community and/or members of that community?*
> We have liaison people from the Māori community who become involved when we have visiting Māori schools from outside Taranaki, such as a pōwhiri and perhaps part of the visit throughout Puke Ariki as a guide.[222]

Questioning the role of the museum educator

While it is important that protocols and bicultural practices are maintained, the relationship of the Māori community and museum educator should extend beyond pōwhiri and karakia. In regional museums, kaumātua and kuia are brought in to negotiate such events. What impact does this have on Māori attendance at museums for such events? Is it the role of the museum educator to facilitate such events like pōwhiri or karakia, or can the Māori community be utilised and participate in such events? Could it be suggested further that Māori educators within the community be brought in to develop, deliver, and market museum education programmes. Or has Māori participation become reduced to one of observation and involvement only in certain areas. Māori involvement and participation with museums must extend beyond formal events such as pōwhiri, beyond observing as onlookers, and into real participation with education programmes.

Māori communities share the responsibility to be involved with education programmes within museums to ensure that correct information is being presented, and that specific programmes can be designed in consultation with the museum educator for specific Māori groups. Māori communities, in effect, have mana whenua over the land upon which a museum resides. Therefore they need to control or oversee or be aware of what is happening in their respective areas. It is a shared responsibility, not only for education programmes but also for implementing tested and sound bicultural practices and tikanga Māori.

[221] Brigid Globensky, 'Reclaiming Museum Education A paper commenting on the Keynote Address with reference to Museum Education', Fulbright Fellow, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand Papers and Abstracts: ICOM/CECA 2000 Conference.
[222] Marissa Swanink, 28 January 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.

Internal and external relationships

Ideas for developing education kits or programmes within the museum context often begin with a curator. Maintaining good working relationships with other museum personnel is therefore essential in initiating the development of museum education programmes:

> For education kits, it was school and community based. Curators made external contacts as part of their research and it would have been unprofessional for education officers to go outside without discussing this with other staff first. In my opinion, intellectual information around an exhibition begins with a curator in consultation with educator.[223]

Many educators have to forge their own links with the community, which takes time. While some educators have strong links with teachers and schools who use the museum, many more do not have or have very little contact with the Māori community, especially when the museum educator position does not require them to be out in the community as museum advocates. Working with other museum staff such as curators may help to initiate community links and networks between the museum and the wider community, especially Māori:

> As said curators worked with relevant communities, this was true for educators as well. We connected into our relevant teacher associations, Art, History, Māori etc. and the curriculum was the key directive in developing programme content. I used key teachers myself when working outside my expert knowledge base, e.g. geography, and certainly discussed education lesson content with a contact teacher if I felt I needed to. I believe Māori staff also used this process.[224]

The relationship between curator and educator depends on the nature of the exhibitions at each particular museum. It is important that in exhibitions curators maintain an interest in consistently representing and displaying appropriate Māori beliefs and values in consultation with acknowledged members of the community. A Māori museum educator who has already forged links with a community can liaise with a curator to achieve this level of consultation while also raising the profile of their education programmes tailored for Māori. Both have important and corresponding roles in the display, and education of taonga Māori.

Te Reo Māori as a medium

Conversing in te reo Māori to other Māori is an advantage for the museum educator. It is an important factor when considering the delivery of education programmes and as a medium to reach other members of the Māori community, from kōhanga reo to kaumātua. It is clear from the e-mail questionnaire and interviews that comments about the advantages of teaching or providing te reo

[223] Kirsty Glengarry, 8 February 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.
[224] Kirsty Glengarry, 8 February 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.

education programmes within museums were generally positive. Respondents highlighted some of the advantages for delivering an education programmes in te reo as:

- The reclamation and preservation of te reo Māori
- The development and reinforcement of the language
- The enhancement and education of young people into the museum/library environment
- Strengthening networks and relationships with Māori whānau and community
- Addressing an inequality within the educational system
- Better understanding and improved communication
- Enhanced rapport with total immersion schools

Some museum educators also realised the advantages that *Te Reo Programmes* and different learning styles have on the continuing involvement of Māori schools within the museum, while others groups gained a sense of different learning styles from regular museum attendance by Māori schools, all of which helped further develop ideas for future education programmes:

> We have one Māori immersion school who has participated in several topics and we have gained a better understanding over time, of how best to present our programme to these students. While the content may be the same as for other schools the delivery may be adapted.[225]

> My observation and experience is that total immersion te reo Māori students have particular learning needs within the museum setting than do mainstream school students. Although, I feel Māori students within the mainstream schools also benefit from the same learning experiences. By this I mean the way in which the programme is delivered. te reo students are stimulated and become more involved when working in groups, plenty of visual stimulation and hands on experience, 'storytelling', drawing and creative activities. The most successful lessons are those with a variety of teaching/learning styles occurring in short time frames. We have adapted our programme to include these learning experiences and as a result have had the schools returning on a regular basis. Which of course is very rewarding for us and we hope for the students and teachers! [226]

While it is advantageous in many ways to teach in te reo, the educators involved in this report also highlighted some disadvantages for total immersion Māori schools and some community groups. These have been summarised as:

- The limited number of total immersion schools in some areas could mean that education programmes would only be applicable to a small sector of the community. Therefore the need to prepare and develop Māori programmes for Kura Kaupapa is essentially based on attendance figures
- Low number of staff capable of delivering programmes in te reo Māori = 1 staff member out of a team of 7.

Working in partnership with Māori communities adheres to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi. Although to some extent this occurs at council level, it is not always present within local and regional museums. One Puke Ariki educator commented:

[225] Marissa Swanink, 28 January 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.
[226] Marissa Swanink, 28 January 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.

> I would like to see further involvement of Māori in all aspects of the education programmes we deliver. Involvements through all stages of the programmes include consultation, development, delivery and evaluation. I would also like to see more kaimahi Māori employed to work within the Youth Learning Service. There are numerous statements aimed at establishing effective and meaningful partnerships with Tangata Whenua and adhering to the principals of the Treaty of Waitangi. The stronger the partnership Puke Ariki–Youth Learning Service can make with Māori schools and communities the better.[227]

While the development of education programmes is important, maintaining the delivery of those programmes through the medium of te reo helps to connect to other previously untapped resources within the Māori community. As repositories of knowledge and, in part, educators of their communities, attracting Māori kaumātua to museums, and not only for pōwhiri, is perhaps the first step towards matching the attendance rates between Māori and non Māori. School children, tourists and elderly non-Māori are the types of visitors that often frequent Museums. In my opinion, kaumātua are a suggested subject group that museum educators, whether Māori speakers or not, could target. Speaking te reo Māori to this group would only be advantageous.

Case Study: Education programmes at the Waikato Museum

Education programmes at the Waikato Museum of Art and History (WMAH) are divided into two main categories. First, themes are offered throughout the year to encourage participation around particular exhibitions and shows. They are developed specifically for classes that may want a combination of educational programmes or who may simply want to focus on one particular aspect.

Second, the WMAH also offers educational programmes for every exhibition. Unlike many local museums, the WMAH has short-term art exhibitions as well as semi-permanent to permanent historical exhibitions. The education officers at these museums are, therefore, often kept busy developing new education programmes.

The significance of this constant developmental process of education programmes means that museum educators are able to draw upon archival information used in past education programmes. Long-term museum educators at the Waikato museum and other museums have the ability to design specific programmes based on a range of programmes that they have previously taught. Like many other museum education programmes throughout the country, the education programmes at the WMAH can be altered or adapted to suit the needs of the teacher, class or curriculum.

The range of available programmes with a Māori focus, have been listed in the appendices to this report along with the education programmes from Puke Ariki and Te Awamutu.

[227] Kiterangi Cameron, 28 January 2005, E Mail Questionnaire.

Conclusion

> But it is a mistake to assume that there is only one form of reality for museums, one mode of operating.[228]

Attendance rates at regional museums can increase with more networking and involvement of the Māori community. Unsettled attitudes toward public instituitions can be improved with the employment and retention of Māori staff that work within museums. However, Māori museum workers need to be actively seen, not only within their workplace but also in the community. This applies particularly to Māori educators who work with schools and community groups in a teaching and educating role.

The concept of *kanohi-ki-te-kanohi* or face-to-face networking means educators as well as curators need to forge their own links with the Māori community and not just with schools or the education community. Museums need to support Māori educators in their face to face liaison with their Māori community.

Māori participation within all aspects of the museum learning and education contexts and through the employment of more Māori staff would not only reduce unsettled attitudes towards public instituitions but would also foster a sense of ownership of museum education programmes. Museum educators must network with the Māori community and other museum staff, especially when developing education programmes. This provides opportunities for the Māori community to become involved participants of museum education programmes. In past exhibitions such as *Te Ara o Tainui* at WMAH, museum educators and the Māori curator worked closely with Tainui kaumātua and kuia to develop, deliver and present information in a correct and appealing way to Māori and non-Māori.

The information gathered for this report only goes some way towards addressing education programmes at regional museums. Larger and smaller museums throughout New Zealand will inevitably have their own concerns. As far as educators and iwi are concerned, some museums will be limited in their capacity and structure when addressing the need to create education programmes, positions and relationships to and for Māori communities. Each region and museum must take their own steps until some united and national body can address Māori education disparities and attendances within museums throughout New Zealand.

This report is a first step towards revitalising the museum education literature, and especially for initiating any further research into Māori education. In a second study, perspectives from the Māori

[228] Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (Routledge: New York, 1992), p.1.

community about the impact of museum educational programmes and how museum attendance could be increased may help to support some of the findings of this report.

Another avenue for research could be the impact that a web presence may have on the use of museums by young Māori adults. Would the accessibility of the Internet and information about museums have positive implications on how museums are to be visited, accessed or used?

> Museums, like schools, are instruments for the control and reproduction of culture, but this is not a one-way process. This control is contested by the different groups involved.[229]

Māori and taonga have an unforgettable and intrinsic connection. Māori will always endeavour to seek a physical and spiritual connection with their ancestors, their objects of desire and their loved ones. Access to taonga resides within museums. Therefore, by right, Māori strongly desire to connect with their taonga. Museums are places where Māori must participate, be encouraged, network with and contest in the education and learning that is offered.

Appendix 1: Education Programmes at the Waikato Museum of Art and History

Themes

He piko he taniwha
This theme focuses on the importance of the Waikato River. Throughout the year several new programmes help to reinforce the special significance of the Waikato River to the greater Waikato region. Aspects of the river included the following: Navigation; The River as a theme in Art; Stories from the Riverbank and Bridge Building.

From the same foundations
This theme focuses upon domestic life in all its aspects. Examples range from architecture to food.

From fertile soil
This programme focuses on the importance of land to the story of the Waikato. Programmes include a focus on aspects from the tradition of landscape painting to soil modification and agriculture.

Three Points of View involves a guided tour of the show and an activity in which students are encouraged to become a curator themselves and create an exhibition after choosing their own theme.

[229] McCarthy, p.25.

Education Programmes

4WRD

In negotiation with the teacher, the Science Education Class *(available March 2005 onwards)* will include some (or all) of the following main areas: an overview of some of the science behind early Tainui and early European land management techniques; the causes for (& ways of overcoming) agricultural problems associated with particular types of land in the Waikato region (steep hillsides and peat swamps); efficient farming processes associated with the act of turning "grass into milk"; major Waikato developments in milking shed design and mechanical milking machines; and the role of local fencing initiatives (the Gallagher electric fence and Xcluder Pest proof fence) in modern day farming and environmental protection practices. The lesson style will consist of a PowerPoint presentation by the educator interspersed with several "hands on" activities for groups of children. Possible activities include the model tractor challenge, herding sheep game, identifying animal noises, moving the electric fence and feeding out. The class group is then able to view the 4WRD exhibition at their leisure for the remainder of the time available.

Buddy system

This is an opportunity for both students and teachers to work with the artist to create an artwork that the students can take back to school. The exhibition will also enable both students and teachers to compare traditional Māori harakeke work with the artworks in the Buddy System.

Fred & Brett Graham

After viewing the exhibition, students will be having an art class, in which they will explore ways of creating their own multi-media sculptural pieces with materials such as stone, steel and wood provided by the museum.

Jewelled

Enables students to identify and explore: (1) the rich material culture of the Pacific; (2) the human tradition of body adornment; (3) the social aspects of jewellery as currency or heirlooms; (4) the similarities and differences between the Western and Pacific jewellery; (5) the heritage and contemporary practices of jewellery making and body adornment. The *Jewelled* educational programme enables students of all levels to create their own pieces of body adornments

Ngā Purapura ō Tainui

Students and teachers will learn about the history of Tokopikowhakahau, and how Māori utilised whakaairo (carvings) to tell the stories about themselves before Europeans arrived with their writing technologies. Students will explore the meanings of certain symbols on the carvings within Ngā Purapura through the help of Māori language flash cards.

Pā Harakeke

Harakeke or flax as we know as today was an important resource for the Māori. Although we see a lot of articles made from flax, we never see how it is gathered, and processed. Both students and teachers will get the opportunity when they come to the Waikato Museum to gather flax in the traditional way that Māori did. We have the added opportunity for school groups to observe every Monday a weaver demonstrate her craft. The end result is that students will go back to school having made a flax taonga.

Pōwhiri (Welcoming on to a Marae-ātea)

Every society has a certain technique to welcoming visitors into their personal space. Māori are no different. Therefore, the Waikato Museum gives students and teachers an opportunity to learn about the Māori custom of welcoming visitors on to their marae. It will be an opportunity for school groups to learn in a non-threatening environment with the emphasis on fun, but still maintaining the protocol that one expects from a pōwhiri.

Historic Footprints

Come join the museum on a trip down memory lane, where students and teachers can have a 30, 60 or 90 minute walk around the southern part of the Central Business District of the City of Hamilton. Both students and teachers will visit both early Māori and Pākehā landmarks and learn about their histories. It will be an opportunity for adults and students to reflect upon how the City of Hamilton may have looked even fifty years ago.

History Detective

The Waikato museum of Art and History has a great number of photographs of Hamilton city, the Waikato River and many other historical happenings from years ago. Teachers can use the photographs to focus upon an activity that they would like their students to study/learn about. Both the History Detective and Historic Footprints programmes can be taught to the class during the same visit.

Toys and Games

The educators have created the Toys and Games education programme to enable children to have fun, and to view the toys and games in which we have in our education resources. There is no exhibition related to the Toys and Games programme, but it enables the students to visualise what life would have been like for their parents and grandparents before television and the electronic technologies that exist today.

Containers

This is an education programme that has been created by the Museum educators and one of Hamilton City's secondary schools. This programme has been created for visual art classes; however, social

science classes may wish to focus on this programme also. *Containers* is a programme for primary and intermediate school age students also. The educators give the students a small talk about the containers (both Māori and non-Māori) and then the students do their own independent sketches.

Hands on Taonga

As the title says, this education programme enables students and teachers to handle taonga (both Māori and non-Māori) the correct way, according to the museum's registrar, which would not damage the taonga. Students will work in small work groups and then congregate into a whole class situation in order to explain to the others about their taonga.

Appendix 2: Education Programmes at Te Awamutu Museum

Themes

Using the Land

1. Harakeke; an in depth study of the traditions and uses of harakeke.
2. Pre- European Māori,
    - Gathering, Storing food
    - Digging up the past
    - Island and Lake side Settlement
3. How the Māori used Water

Naming the Land

4. Myths and Legends

Respecting the Land

5. Myths and Legends

Representing the Land

6. New Zealand Wars

Education Programmes

Yardley's Bush from a Māori perspective
Yardley's Bush—slightly different perspective
Development of the Pā
Gathering, Cooking, Storing Food
Harakeke

Battle sites of the Waikato
Māori Fishing—Kaimoana

Appendix 3: Education Programmes at Puke Ariki

Parihaka; (in association with the touring exhibition, 2003) I don't have any formal documentation of this as I was not here at the time, but the focus was on presenting the story and people of Parihaka in written text, visual imagery, objects and contemporary art.

Ko Taranaki te Maunga — Important to me;
Learning intention; students are learning to research and identify different groups that cherish and use the resources of Taranaki.
Success criteria; students can identify the legend of te maunga Taranaki, how it was used in both pre-contact times and how it is used today.

Ngā Tapu a te Kaimahi — Tools, Traps & Trade; (for 2005 we have amended some of the content and the name to **Ngā Taputapu a te Kaimahi — Tools and Traps);**
Learning Intention; students are learning to understand the experience of everyday activities associated with pre-contact Māori life.
Success criteria; students can examine, identify, talk about and categorise objects associated with horticulture, food gathering, hunting and fishing.

Te Aho Tapu — The Sacred Thread; (new for 2005)
Learning intention; students are learning to explore traditional fibre utilisation and textiles, including kahu, korehe, piupiu, fishing nets and lines.
Success criteria; students can identify raw materials, tools, equipment, processes and techniques.

Puke Wārangi Pā — site visit;
Learning intention; students are learning to explore and identify historical pā sites and the importance they had for the people.
Success criteria; students can identify, talk about and view the significance of pā sites to past communities.

Hei Tiki; (this a new unit which we are developing, it will focus on the arts and utilise our collection of Hei Tiki in the Te Takapou whāriki o Taranaki gallery

Appendix 4: E-mail Questionnaire

E-mail Survey from Mark Ormsby

Kia ora and thank you for participating in this e-mail questionnaire. The topic relates to educational programme development through to delivery and evaluation. Many questions may not relate specifically to your museum but I encourage you to answer as much as possible. While some questions will contain more than one answer, I have tried to make them as brief but open ended as possible. Please feel free to expand on any question asked.

Title of Project:
Educational Programmes for Māori within Regional Museums throughout the Waikato, King Country and Taranaki: How and why are museums, in these regions, providing education programmes for Māori?

Particulars

Name

Position

Museum

Section A: Programme Availability and Delivery

1. *Do you have educational programmes at your museum that are aimed at Māori or deal with Māori culture?*
2. *If so, please list them all and briefly describe the aims and objectives?*
3. *Are there educational programmes designed especially for Māori schools and/or community groups within your museum?*
4. *Do you have total immersion te reo programmes available also?*
5. *If so, please list them all and briefly describe the aims and objectives?*
6. *Are there other museum staff that deliver educational programmes within your museum?*
7. *If so, what kind of programmes do they deliver?*
8. *Does anyone in your museum deliver educational programmes in te reo Māori?*
9. *What are the advantages and disadvantages of being able to deliver programmes in te reo Māori?*

Section B: Programme Development

1. *How are educational programmes developed? (I.e. What stages, ideas or decisions are considered before developing educational programmes?)*
2. *Do you get ideas for developing educational programmes from other museums or educators?*
3. *How much networking occurs with other museum educators?*

4. *Do you get ideas for developing educational programmes from local Māori or iwi Māori?*
5. *How much networking occurs with the Māori community and/or members of that community?*
6. *Will you develop any further programmes for the future?*
7. *If so, what aspects of Māori culture will you implement within these new programmes?*

Section C: Programme Advertising

1. *How do schools and community groups find out about the range of educational programmes available in your museum?*
2. *Does your museum actively promote educational programmes that involve Māori culture?*
3. *How successful do you feel that promotion is?*
4. *How many Māori schools or community groups are there in your region?*
5. *Do they respond to any advertising or promotion of educational programmes?*

Section D: Programme Evaluation

1. *Please rank in order the most successful educational programmes at your institution that involve Māori culture, in terms of attendance rates? (Māori or non Māori)*
2. *If possible, please provide the attendance rates from Māori and non-Māori for these programmes?*
3. *How often do Māori groups or schools use the educational programmes within your museum?*
4. *Do you have any further comments on the involvement of Māori in your educational programmes?*

Appendix 5: Table showing characteristics of adults visiting Museums or Art galleries

Table 3.04

Characteristics of Adults Visiting Museums or Art Galleries in Previous 12 Months

Characteristics	Percent of adults visiting	Percent of population	Characteristics	Percent of adults visiting	Percent of population
Sex			**Personal income**		
Male	47	49	Under $15,000	39	43
Female	54	51	$15,000–$29,999	23	24
Total	100	100	$30,000–$49,999	21	20
			$50,000 and over	17	14
Age group in years			Total	100	100
15–24	18	18			
25–34	19	18	**Location**		
35–44	23	20	Main urban areas	75	71
45–54	18	17	Secondary urban areas	6	7
55–64	12	12	Minor urban and rural areas	19	22
65 and over	11	14	Total	100	100
Total	100	100			
			Regional council area		
Ethnicity			Northland	3	3
European/Pākehā	81	77	Auckland	28	31
Māori	9	10	Waikato	7	9
Pacific peoples	3	5	Bay of Plenty	5	6
Chinese	2	2	Gisborne/Hawke's Bay	4	5
Indian	2	2	Taranaki	2	3
Other	4	4	Manawatu/Wanganui	5	6
Total	100	100	Wellington	17	12
			Nelson/Tasman/Marlborough/ West Coast	4	4
Highest educational qualification			Canterbury	16	15
None	18	25	Otago	6	5
Secondary	25	26	Southland	3	2
Tertiary	57	49	Total	100	100
Total	100	100			
Labour force status					
Employed	68	65			
Unemployed	4	4			
Not in labour force	28	32			
Total	100	100			

Note: Due to rounding, some figures may not add to the stated total.

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Demystifying the Foreshore and Seabed:
A breakdown of the major conceptual issues and beyond

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University of Waikato

Mihimihi

E tū ana ahau i te kei o te waka
E kī nei te kōrero
'Ko Mōkau ki runga
Ko Tāmaki ki raro
Ko Maungatoatoa ki waenganui
Ko Pare Hauraki
Ko Pare Waikato
Ko te Kaokaoroa ō Pātetere i te Nehenehe nui'
Tihei mauriora!

Ko Waikato te awa
Ko Taupiri te maunga
Ko Pōtatau Te Wherowhero te tangata
Ko Wāhi me Te Tokanganui-ā-noho ōku marae
Ko Michelle Moetuturi Ormsby tōku ingoa
Nōreira tēnā koutou katoa.

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Special thanks to my supervisor Matiu Dickson, mentor Sen Wong, and colleague Moana Numanga for their support.

I acknowledge the values I learned from my beloved mother Marion (nee Harris) who passed away in 1991 aged 44years and my father William Tutaawhiao Ormsby (Tutu).

I dedicate this paper to my two children Okeroa and Wairere. I hope that my effort gives them courage to overcome the challenges that they will face and achieve their goals.

Abstract

In June 2003 the New Zealand Court of Appeal released its decision on the jurisdiction of the Māori Land Court to investigate title to the foreshore and seabed in Marlborough Sounds.[230] Within two months of the decision the Government proposed legislation on the foreshore and seabed.[231]

Professor Mason Durie expands on the goals my parents ingrained in me. His paper discusses nine points relating to a framework for Māori educational advancement in order to 'to live as Māori, participate as citizens of the world, and enjoy good health and a high standard of living'.[232]

Growing up I recall these words of Tāwhiao:

> *Kia mau ki te whakapono;*
> *Kia mau ki te aroha;*
> *Kia mau ki te ture.*
>
> Hold fast to faith;
> Hold fast to love;
> Hold fast to the law.

In retrospect it is difficult to uphold those ideologies in light of the recent controversy. The lack of equality, fairness and justice surrounding the issues on the foreshore and seabed raises serious concerns. It signals the time for Māori leadership to set aside its differences and unite in the best interest and survival of Māori culture and tīkanga.

This paper traces the legal journey undertaken by *Ngāti Apa*[233]. It critically examines the abuse of 'unlimited power' to acquire full legal and beneficial ownership of the foreshore and seabed which can only be described as legislative theft.

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[230] *Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Koata, Ngāti Kuia, Ngāti Rarua, Ngāti Tama, Ngāti Toa and Rangitane and Te Atiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust v The Attorney General, New Zealand Marine Farming Association Incorporated, Port Marlborough Limited and Marlborough District Council* [2003] 3 NZLR 643. Elias CJ, Gault P, Keith, Tipping, Anderson JJ.

[231] Department of Prime Minister and Cabinet *The Foreshore and Seabed of New Zealand - Protecting Public Access and Customary Rights* (2003) 4. Government proposals for consultation outlining the policy framework on the foreshore and seabed. Limited timeframes imposed by Government for feedback indicate the proposed legislation was rushed.

[232] Durie, M *Ngā Kāhui Pou — Launching Māori Futures* (2003) 208.

[233] Supra n 1.

A key element to combat ongoing legislative theft is rigorous and robust constitutional debate. Outlined in this paper are a myriad of challenges that lie ahead for a new generation of warriors to address.

The issues discussed bring forth the need to reform a system of law that adequately secures individual rights, restores mana[234] and status of Māori in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand.

Introduction

Recent celebrations on Waitangi Day were overshadowed by the foreshore and seabed legislation that commenced on February 17, 2004. While the nature and extent of the Act is not yet realised, it is important to me being Māori to assert full recognition, validation and legitimation of Māori rights in Aotearoa/New Zealand. Failure to secure these rights will have serious consequences for Māori and the future generations.

Some of the contributing factors to the confusion and misrepresentation of the issues on the foreshore and seabed are attributed to poor political commentaries, ongoing power struggles and irresponsible media hype.

The term *de-mystification* is used as a means to clarify and explain those issues from a Māori woman's perspective. It is important to gain a better understanding of the issues in order to make informed decisions.

The paper traces the legal background, and Court decisions in the *Ngāti Apa*[235] case (also known as *Marlborough Sounds*). It will discuss the Court of Appeal decision and give an explanation of the following concepts: rule of law, parliamentary sovereignty, sovereignty and property, aboriginal title, customary rights and the Treaty of Waitangi.

The paper highlights some of the concerns expressed in the submissions on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill[236] and will illustrate the impact of the Foreshore and Seabed Act[237] on Kāwhia and Aotea. The paper looks beyond the Act to identify what challenges lie ahead.

In particular, the need for collaboration challenges local government authorities, Department of Conservation, Ministry of Environment and local iwi authorities to work together to implement

[234] Mead, H. *Tikanga Māori – Living by Māori Values* (2003) 29. Mana as defined by Williams (1957:172) has a range of meanings: 'authority, control', 'influence, prestige power', 'psychic force', 'effectual, binding, authoritative'.
[235] Supra n 1.
[236] The explanatory note on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill, 29–1.
[237] The Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004.

policies on the foreshore and seabed. Adapting integrated policies to co-manage the resources in the foreshore and seabed will enhance future economic growth and development.

To pursue recognition, validation and legitimation of rights is one solution that will ensure appropriate redress and remedy for equitable shares in the resources; it will restore mana, status and identity of Māori in contemporary Aoteroa New Zealand. Most importantly, it offers to rebuild a new nation and reconcile differences.

The intent of the writer is to empower others to actively participate in the decision-making processes with confidence on significant issues relating to the foreshore and seabed.

Foreshore and Seabed

The foreshore is defined as 'parts of the bed, shore, or banks of tidal water as covered and uncovered by the flow and ebb of the tide at mean springs tide.'[238] The seabed is defined as 'land that is permanently wet or covered by the sea.'[239]

Section 5 of the Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004 states the foreshore and seabed means:

(a) the marine area that is bounded,—
  (i) on the landward side by the line of mean high water springs; and
  (ii) on the seaward side, by the outer limits of the territorial sea; and
(b) includes the beds of rivers that are part of the coastal marine area (within the meaning of the Resource Management Act 1991); [240]

In addition, the Resource Management Act 1991 s. 2 states that the:

> "Foreshore" means any land covered and uncovered by the flow and ebb of the tide at mean spring tides and, in relation to any such land that forms part of the bed of a river, does not include any area that is not part of the coastal marine area.[241]

The seabed is the area defined between the low water mark and the mean low water mark of the sea (average level of all low tides) and the outer boundary of New Zealand's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). The outer boundary refers to the territorial sea of New Zealand as defined by s. 3 of the Territorial Sea, Contiguous Zone, and Exclusive Economic Zone Act 1977:

> The territorial sea of New Zealand comprises those areas of the sea having, as their inner limits, the baseline described in sections 5 and 6 [and 6A] of this Act and, as their outer limits, a line

[238] Land Information National Office. "Foreshore Project Final Report" letter by Kelly, K General Manager Policy to Minister for Land Information Hon. John Tamahere (2003) 7. <http://www.linz.govt>, <http://www.govt.nz>.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Supra n 8.
[241] Resource Management Act 1991.

> measured seaward from that baseline, every point of which line is distant 12 nautical miles from the nearest point of the baseline.[242]

Background

The background information outlines the dispute and is useful for explaining some of the reasoning of the decisions made by the Court. It aims to show the nature, extent and complexity of issues involved in the determination of ownership and property rights to the foreshore and seabed. It is one of the most important issues for the general public to understand.

Māori Land Court

In 1997 local iwi in the Marlborough Sounds were dissatisfied with the undertaking of marine and aqua-cultural farming development without local iwi consent. As a result local iwi joined together and applied to the Māori Land Court for:

> [O]rders declaring the land below the mean high-water mark in the Marlborough Sounds, out to the limits of territorial sea, to be Māori customary land, as that term is defined in by Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993. The Attorney General (for the Crown) and other interested parties raised preliminary objections to the applications, on the basis that they could not succeed as a matter of law. They relied on the common law relating to customary rights—in particular the Court of Appeal's decision *In Re Ninety-Mile Beach*—and two New Zealand statutes[243] which they argued, vest the foreshore and seabed in the Crown so as to extinguish any Māori customary rights in those areas.[244]

The two key issues before the Court were, firstly, whether the local iwi in the Marlborough Sounds had customary rights over the foreshore and seabed and, secondly, whether local iwi customary rights had clearly been extinguished either by common law or legislation. The respondents objected to the application on the grounds that it 'could not succeed as a matter of law'.[245] The Crown argued that it acquired ownership to the foreshore and seabed in accordance with the Court of Appeal decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach*.[246] The applicants argued that the decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* 'could be restricted to its facts and had been overruled.'[247]

Judge Hingston distinguished the decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* that determined:

> [T]he mere assumption of sovereignty by the Crown over the country did not deprive the Māori Land Court of jurisdiction to investigate title to land below the high water mark.

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[242] Territorial Sea, Contiguous Zone, and Exclusive Economic Zone Act 1977 s3.
[243] Territorial Sea, Contiguous Zone, and Exclusive Economic Zone Act 1977, s7; Foreshore and Seabed Endowment Revesting Act 1991, s9A.
[244] Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy, Wai 1071* (2004) 41.
[245] Ibid. at 42.
[246] [1963] NZLR 461.
[247] *In Re Attorney General and foreshore and seabed of the Marlborough Sounds* AP152/2000 (HC) Wellington (2000) Eliis J: noted in (2001) June Māori LR 5–9. Alt. cit.
In Re Marlborough Sounds foreshore and seabed (1997) 1 Nelson MB 2. Hingston J.

> Once the land court had investigated title to land with the sea as the boundary, the customary interest to the land as far as the low water mark was extinguished and replaced by Māori ownership or forfeited to the Crown—depending on where the boundary was fixed by the land court. [248]

He revealed that the reasoning behind this conclusion was not made clear. The decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* also stated that any other conclusion would be 'startling and inconvenient'.

Judge Hingston's decision highlighted that s. 147 of the Harbour Act 1878[249] provided that the foreshore could only be disposed of by a special Act of Parliament. He said it was this legislation that effectively deprived the Māori Land Court of jurisdiction to investigate customary rights in the foreshore. Judge Hingston noted that in these proceedings the Crown admitted that 'since the recent repeal of the successor to that section, the jurisdiction to determine title has been restored to the land court.'[250]

The decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* discussed the implications of rights being taken away as a serious infringement of the spirit of the Treaty and a deprivation of rights by a 'side wind'.[251] Judge Hingston held that the reasoning *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* was insufficient and therefore should not extend to determine this matter in the *Marlborough Sounds* in view of the important consequences for Māori. He recognised that such an extension of the judgment would breach the warning *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* judgment itself that Māori customary rights should not be extinguished by a 'side wind.' He noted that a deciding factor will depend on evidence yet to be produced in regards to early sales of lands in the Marlborough Sounds, where the foreshore was not expressly dealt with those customary rights might remain. As a result, the preliminary decision was appealed to the Māori Appellate Court by the Attorney General and by all other parties who were not claimants. Accordingly, the case moved to the High Court to determine matters of law.

High Court

The High Court[252] judgment was delivered by Justice Ellis on June 22, 2001. He held that the land below the low water mark was owned by the Crown at common law because the relevant legislation[253] declared it so, which fully supported his reasoning that it could not be Māori customary land.

A further analysis of the High Court decision is highlighted in the Court of Appeal judgment by Chief Justice Elias It reported that in the case of land above the low water mark, Justice Ellis regarded

[248] Ibid.
[249] Harbour Boards Act 1878.
[250] Supra n 18.
[251] Ibid.
[252] *Attorney General v Ngāti Apa* [2002] 2 NZLR 661.
[253] Supra n 14.

successive Māori Land legislation as the means by which the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed protection of their properties to Māori was discharged:

> I find in the present context, it attractive to hold upon cession of sovereignty to the Crown, the Crown then held the land as against her subjects including Māori with "full and absolute dominion" including the fee. The Crown's Treaty obligations were then for the Crown to honor by transferring the fee to Māori in respect of customary land where they could show rights more or less equivalent to their right to exclusive possession, an essential aspect of fee simple. In other words if the Crown grants or concedes a fee simple title to owners of Māori customary land, it must have it to grant.[254]

Justice Ellis accepted that the Māori Land Court had jurisdiction under Te Ture Whenua Māori Act[255] to inquire into whether foreshore land between the high and low water marks was Māori customary land.

His judgment applied the Court of Appeal decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach*. He concluded that any Māori customary property in the foreshore had been extinguished once the adjacent land above the high water mark had lost the status of Māori customary land. Such status could be lost by Crown purchase or a vesting order made by the Māori Land Court where the sea was described as the boundary.

The applicants appealed the decision to the Court of Appeal.

Court of Appeal

The Court of Appeal[256] in *Ngāti Apa* consisted of five judges: Chief Justice Elias, President Gault and Justices Keith, Tipping and Anderson. A brief commentary by Richard Boast[257] is useful to explain the Court of Appeal decision. He suggested the four key outcomes of the decision are as follows.

Firstly, it overruled its own earlier decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach*. He said that while the New Zealand Court of Appeal can overrule itself, it is reluctant to do so, given the consequences of overturning settled rules of law. As Justice Tipping said:

> The decision in *Ninety Mile Beach* has stood for 40 years. Further more, it must have been regarded as correctly stating the law by those responsible for subsequent legislation. Hence a cautious approach should be taken to the suggestion that the case was wrongly decided. That said, I am driven to the conclusion that it was. While the reasoning in the two principal judgments has internal logic and consistency, the problem is that they do not sufficiently recognise the appropriate starting point, namely that Māori customary title, and the associated status in respect of the land involved, became part of the common law of New Zealand from the start.[258]

[254] [2003] 3 NZLR 643 at 649, para [07].
[255] Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993.
[256] [2003] 3 NZLR 643.
[257] Boast, R., McHugh, P. *The Foreshore and Seabed* (2004) 5.
[258] [2003] 3 NZLR 643 at 699, para [204].

Judgment by President Gault recognised that while 'some of the reasoning in the judgments *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* case is open to criticism…'.[259] He supported the decision, stating that:

> [I]t appears to me that subject to investigation of the facts, there can be no different approach in the case of the foreshore in the Marlborough Sounds. If land adjacent to the sea was the subject of Crown purchase which specified the sea as the boundary, there would not remain any strip between land and the sea that could be the subject of a vesting order as Māori customary land. It will be for the Māori Land Court to investigate the factual situation.[260]

Boast[261] said the Court of Appeal decision was not unanimous on this point.

Secondly, however, the Court of Appeal was unanimous in that the Māori Land Court has jurisdiction to investigate title to the foreshore and seabed. Consensus on this point suggested that the foreshore and seabed does not belong to the Crown and is Māori customary land.

Thirdly, the Court of Appeal found that Māori customary title to the foreshore, if any, had not been extinguished by any Act.[262] The decision on this point suggests that Māori customary land remains intact. In the decision, Boast[263] said that the Court of Appeal expressly declined to consider the effects of 'area specific' legislation which may have extinguished native title to defined areas of the seabed. He also said that the effects of earlier land purchases by the Crown were not considered.

Lastly, the Court of Appeal 'rejected an ingenious argument'[264] that the reference to 'land' in Te Ture Whenua Māori Act/Māori Land Act[265]—from which the Māori Land Court derives it powers—excluded the foreshore and seabed.

A Breakdown of the Major Conceptual Issues:

This section will breakdown each of the major conceptual issues by using examples from the Court of Appeal decision in *Ngāti Apa*, the Waitangi Tribunal Report, legal commentaries and submissions on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill.[266] The fact that the policy on the foreshore and seabed has now passed as law does not change any of the concerns expressed.

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[259] Ibid. 676, para [121].
[260] Ibid. 677 , para [122].
[261] Boast, supra n 28 at 6.
[262] Boast, supra n 28 at 6. (a) The Harbours Act 1878 and 1950; (b) the Territorial Sea and Fishing Zone Act 1965 and the Territorial Sea, Contiguous Zone and Exclusive Economic Zone Act 1977; (c) s 9A of the Foreshore and Seabed Endowment Revesting Act 1991; and (d) the Resource Management Act 1991. See [2003] 3 NZLR 643, 662–666 (per Elias CJ); 674–676 (per Gault P); 685–690 (per Keith and Anderson JJ); and 695 (per Tipping J).
[263] Ibid. at 6.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Te Ture Whenua Māori Act 1993/Māori Land Act 1993.
[266] The explanatory note to the Foreshore and Seabed Bill, No 20–1.

Rule of Law

The rule of law was first defined by Albert Venn Dicey's[267] to have three broad meanings: 'government according to law, equality before the law, and liberty of the individual.'[268]

Over a four week period the Waitangi Tribunal[269] looked at those principles underlying the rule of law and expressed that:

> [O]bviously governments have the right to govern. They certainly have the power to govern. But in our system, there is an expectation that the power will be exercised within certain limits.[270]

The report highlighted Stanley de Smith's discussion on the rule of law:

> [L]ends itself to an extremely wide range of interpretations. One can at least say that the concept is usually intended to imply (i) that the powers exercised by politicians and officials must have a legitimate foundation; they must be based on authority conferred by the law; and (ii) that the law should conform to certain minimum standards of justice, both substantive and procedural. Thus the law affecting individual liberty ought to be reasonably certain or predictable; where the law confers discretionary powers there should be adequate safeguards against their abuse; like should be treated alike, and unfair discrimination must not be sanctioned by law; a person ought not to be deprived of his liberty, status or any other substantial interest unless he is given the opportunity of a fair hearing before an impartial tribunal; and so forth.[271]

The Tribunal said that the quote by de Smith gives a full appreciation of the rule of law in context. It submitted the following passage by Hamar Foster, a Canadian legal historian who suggested that the rule of law was like a children's game—'Simon Says':[272]

> To recognise title, the government should do so. If it does not, and suffers no penalty for its transgression, there is a bitter sense of the rules being broken by the very people who designed the game.[273]

For the purpose of the report the Tribunal focused on elements that emphasised:

> [D]ue process, protecting the important legal rights of individuals, and the need to ensure that the actions of those with legislative power are just and fair.[274]

The submission by Te Ohu Kaimoana[275] expressed strong concerns that the Bill extinguishes customary title and replaces it with limited rights. In addition it would:

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[267] Joseph, P. *Constitutional and Administrative Law in New Zealand* (2004) 30. In *Fitzgerald v Muldoon* Wild CJ quoted Dicey's classic treatise*, Introduction to the Study of Law on the Constitution*, on the meaning of parliamentary sovereignty.
[268] Ibid. at 196.
[269] Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy*, *Wai 1071* (2004) 97.
[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid. at 98.
[272] *R v Symonds* (1847) NZPCC 387, Ibid. Foster refers to a famous New Zealand case on common law aboriginal title.
[273] Supra n 40 at 98.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Te Ohu Kai Moana – Treaty of Waitangi Fisheries Commission *Submission on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill FS455* (2004) 1.

- impose high costs to Māori, with limited benefits
- create a new set of Treaty grievances
- treat Māori unfairly compared to other New Zealanders
- create uncertainty for Māori and general public
- leave New Zealand vulnerable in the context of international agreements and conventions relating to human rights and the rights of indigenous peoples.[276]

Te Ohu Kaimoana further submitted that the implementation of the policy denies the process of the rule of law. It noted four key areas: the rights of all citizens to have access to due legal process, the rights of Māori to benefit from the economic development, the need for an integrated system of resource management consistent with tikanga Māori and the need for Crown to work with iwi through appropriate representatives. Dr Kenneth Palmer submitted that:

> [I]n lieu of the orderly [judicial] process, the Bill introduces a substantial quantity of new law, including both substantial and procedural rights. The outcome is likely to introduce a plethora of new claims for recognition of ancestral connection and customary rights…[277]

The Waitangi Tribunal Report[278] concluded that the Government policy framework on the foreshore in seabed is in violation of the rule of law:

> The policy is expropriatory. It takes away the power of the courts to declare Māori property rights in the foreshore and seabed, which is effectively an expropriation of the rights themselves, and replaces them with enhanced participation in decision-making processes. The proposed customary title, with use rights recorded on it, is not a property right.[279]

The Tribunal said that '[W]hen the Crown takes away power from the courts to declare property rights, especially from its Treaty partner, it must have compelling reasons and in this case it does not.'[280] The report stated that the policy violates the rule of law whereby:

(1) Māori have the right to go to Court to declare their property rights in the foreshore and seabed. The right to have property rights defined and protected by law is a right that Māori have in common with all other citizens.

    Under the foreshore and seabed legislation Māori lose this right.

(2) By taking the right away from Māori and not others means the Government fails to uphold the requirement under the rule of law that like are treated alike.

(3) For the rule of law to be effective, the Tribunal insisted governments must be seen to exercise power fairly. Laws that are passed must conform to the minimum standards of justice, both substantive and procedural. [281]

It is strongly recommended that the Act[282] does not comply with the minimum standards of justice. Therefore, it is a serious breach of the rule of law to the extent that Parliament has abused its

[276] Ibid.
[277] Palmer, K. *Submission on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill FS380* (2004) 1.
[278] Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy*, *Wai 1071* (2004) 121.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.

'unlimited power' to acquire full legal and beneficial ownership of the foreshore and seabed. This is a deliberate act of legislative theft.

The Tribunal[283] team is to be commended for delivering a comprehensive and detailed report in such a short period of time. In brief, the Tribunal found that the policy also breached the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi[284] (note that the principle of redress[285] will be discussed in the Treaty section of the paper). It also expressed other concerns, which included issues of fairness[286] certainty[287], and 'good' policy.[288]

Parliamentary Sovereignty

McHugh states that 'parliamentary supremacy describes the location of ultimate power under our legal system'.[289] He argues that 'sovereignty has always been vested in the ruler of any political body.'[290] According to Stuart, sovereignty is 'absolute and legally limitless power.'[291] Constitutional theories suggest that absolute power is removed from the monarch's personal capacity and located in the 'Crown – in Parliament'.

In Aotearoa/New Zealand the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty derives from two sources of law. One source of law is Parliament has 'unlimited powers' to make or unmake laws. The other source of law is common law. Common law is a body of law based on the decisions of the Court. It is also known as judge-made law or case law. Courts do not have the power to invalidate the law.

To explain this concept I turn to the submission presented by the Ports of Auckland[292] (POAL) which fully supported the Bill. The two concerns it raised are:

1 That the new regime relating to the vesting of reclamations to all reclamations undertaken since 1991 is unfairly imposed.
2 That the new regime dealing with reclamations may be inappropriate and unnecessary.

So what does the POAL have to do with Parliamentary sovereignty?

The issues portrayed in this submission are the 'power of the dollar' and 'conflict of interest'. POAL proposed to reclaim and develop a further 10 hectares of land costing $100 million. It estimated a $470

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[282] Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004.
[283] Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy*, *Wai 1071* (2004) viii, 145. Presiding officer Wainwright, C, members Clarke, J. Morris, J. Staff members Phillipson, G., Dawson, C., Mason, C., Johnston, E., Claims administrators Wiki, P., Pou, H.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid. at 134.
[286] Ibid. at 99–103.
[287] Ibid. at 103–107.
[288] Ibid. at 107–108.
[289] McHugh, P. *The Māori Magna Carta: New Zealand Law and the Treaty of Waitangi* (1991) 12.
[290] Ibid. at 14.
[291] Ibid. at 15.
[292] Ports of Auckland Limited. *Submission on the Foreshore and Seabed FS263* (2004) 3–4.

million benefit to the Auckland region. The POAL had already paid $2.3 million to obtain resource consent to undertake the extension in 1998. It is expected to pay additional consent costs to further extend and develop. It further submitted that the Crown recognised the POAL's fundamental need to have certainty over its investment. It is concluded that the ultimate outcome of the foreshore and seabed legislation was measured in dollar values. Clearly, Parliamentary sovereignty abused its 'unlimited powers' to pass this legislation.

Doctrine of Precedent

Professor Spiller[293] is useful for explaining that the doctrine of precedent plays an important role in the decision making process. Spiller writes that the Court will always look to previous cases to see how other judges had viewed similar situations. He said that the Court attached particular weight to precedents of long standing that had been consistently and generally applied. Courts refuse to change a precedent that has stood for at least 35 years. An example of this was mentioned earlier by Boast that the Court of Appeal was reluctant to overrule itself *In Re Ninety Mile Beach*.

The doctrine of precedent carries weight if similar facts are endorsed or supported by the same legislation. The Court also followed precedent that embodied established principles. Spiller said the Court's inherent jurisdiction (limited powers) is useful to see 'what jurisdiction previous judges assumed and the reasons given to justify that assumption.'[294]

The Court of Appeal decision in *Ngāti Apa* held that the Māori Land Court has jurisdiction to investigate title into the foreshore and seabed.

Limitations

Spiller noted that there are limitations to the doctrine of precedent. Judges stressed that 'each prior judgment was a response to a particular set of circumstances' [295] and other decisions were used as a guide. Judges emphasised the importance of reading each decision in light of its context. Judges are warned against using statements and exact words of earlier judgments out of context and in cases that have different facts. Spiller argued that judges often make a distinction between the process of reasoning and the application of the principle(s) to the facts. He said it was important for the court to separate 'the principles and logic at work in previous decisions rather that be drawn into points of difference.'[296]

[293] Spiller, P. *New Zealand Court of Appeal 1958–1996: a history* (2002) 291.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Ibid. at 292.
[296] Ibid.

Another limitation of the doctrine is that a court must follow a binding decision whether it approves of the decision or not. Lower court decisions are bound by higher court decisions. An example of this is demonstrated in the High Court decision in *Ngāti Apa*. Justice Ellis followed the Court of Appeal decision *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* that has stood for over 40 years even though the reasoning for the decision was not made clear and insufficient. It is important to understand that Parliament is not bound by these decisions. If Parliament disagrees with the court's interpretations, it has supreme power to pass new laws, hence the legislation on the foreshore and seabed.

Sovereignty and Property

As mentioned earlier this is a significant concept to grasp. This concept simply maintains that sovereignty authorises ownership to property. The Court of Appeal judgment delivered by Chief Justice Elias is useful in explaining these complex issues. In the Court of Appeal, Chief Justice Elias emphasised the recognition of pre-existing rights by the common law after the change of sovereignty. This was confirmed by the Privy Council decision in the *Amodu Tijani*:[297]

> A mere change in sovereignty is not to be presumed as meant to disturb rights of private owners; and the general terms of accession are prima facie to be construed accordingly. The introduction of the system of Crown grants which was made subsequently must be regarded as having been brought about mainly, if not exclusively, for conveyancing purposes, and not with a view to altering substantive titles already existing.[298]

Chief Justice Elias added:

> British territories with native populations, the introduced common law adapted to reflect local custom, including property rights. That approach was applied in 1840…But from the beginning the common law of New Zealand as applied in the courts differed from the common law of England because it reflected local circumstances.[299]

Title to land bound by sea *In Re Ninety Mile Beach* was argued by the Crown that, 'on the assumption of sovereignty, the Crown "by prerogative right" became the owner of the foreshores in New Zealand.'[300] As a result, it follows the fact that common law had become 'the law of the colony until abrogated or modified by ordinance or statute'.[301]

Judgment per Chief Justice Elias reasoned that the common law principle is applicable in the circumstances of New Zealand. Therefore, the rights of property are respected on assumption of sovereignty and can be extinguished only by consent or in accordance with the law that is established. Any presumption of the common law inconsistent with recognition of customary property is displaced by the circumstances in New Zealand.

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[297] *Amodu Tijani v Southern Nigeria* [1921] 2 AC 399 (PC) 40–408, n 28 at 651 para [15].
[298] [2003] 3 NZLR 643 at 651 para [15].
[299] Ibid. para [17].
[300] Ibid. at 666, para [77] (per Elias CJ).
[301] Ibid. at 668, para [85].

Common Law Doctrine of Aboriginal Title

In Aotearoa/New Zealand, 'aboriginal title' and 'Māori customary title' are interchangeable. Joseph[302] highlighted that the common law doctrine of aboriginal title recognises Māori indigenous rights and are guaranteed. P Cooke added that the common law doctrine of aboriginal title, '[I]s a compendious expression to cover the rights over land and water enjoyed by the indigenous or established inhabitants of a country up to the time of its colonisation.[303]

Professor McHugh's[304] commentaries on the common law doctrine of aboriginal title are useful in showing the effect of Crown sovereignty upon the pre-existing property rights of tribal inhabitants. He argues that when the Crown declared itself sovereign over territory, it established its own systems of governance, introduced its own Courts and legal systems and so on.

McHugh asked to what extent the system of thought and doctrine allowed the aboriginal inhabitants to have their customary property rights recognised and enforced by the Courts. He said that there are two results: legal discontinuity or continuity, meaning the Courts could either recognise customary property rights or not. McHugh found that:

> [T]he answer that common law aboriginal title gives is to state that Crown sovereignty, sometimes called imperium (the self-claimed right to govern), did not simultaneously exclude pre-existing rights or dominium. At its most basic formulation, common law aboriginal title is found upon this presumption of legal continuity. It allows the tribal owners to have their communal land rights recognised by the introduced legal system.[305]

In the Court of Appeal decision in *Ngāti Apa,* Justice Tipping said:

> [I]t is also important to recognise that the concept of title as used in the expression of Māori customary title, should not necessarily equate with the concepts and incidents of title as known to the common law of England. The incidents and concepts of Māori customary title depend on the customs and usages (tikanga Māori) which give rise to it. [306]

In addition, what those customs and usages may be is a question of fact for the Māori Land Court to determine. His reasoning follows that 'Māori customary land is an ingredient of the common law of New Zealand, title to it must be lawfully extinguished before it can be regarded as ceasing to exist.'[307]

[302] Joseph, P. *Constitutional and Administrative Law in New Zealand* (2004) 86.
[303] Ibid. at 87.
[304] Boast, R., McHugh, P. *The Foreshore and Seabed* (2004) 26.
[305] Ibid.
[306] [2003] 3 NZLR 643, 693 para [184].
[307] Ibid. para [185].

Customary Rights

The concept of customary rights is another essential theme used in the foreshore and seabed debate. As Sir Douglas Graham explained that 'English common law has long accepted the principle that the right to follow customary activities and practices by the prior occupants of a settled colony survived the assumption of sovereignty by Britain. '[308] The purpose of this principle is to facilitate the reconciliation of two cultures, and '[A]ccordingly, there are customary rights based on originality that will be upheld in the courts until those rights have been abandoned, surrendered, or lawfully extinguished.'[309]

Recognition of customary rights is a legal system that recognises members of society that have rights not shared by others prior to possession. Graham confers that customary rights are unique. He added that in a Canadian case Cory Justice.[310] noted customary rights:

> …cannot be defined in a manner which would accord with common law concepts of title to land or the right to use another's land. Rather, they are the right of aboriginal people to participate in certain practices traditionally engaged in by particular aboriginal nations in particular territories.[311]

Customary rights are not equivalent to common law property rights. A Supreme Court in Canada decision expressed that:

> [T]hey are rights held by a collective and are in keeping with the culture and existence of that group. Court must be careful then to avoid the application of traditional common law concepts of property as they develop their understanding of…*sui generis* nature of aboriginal rights.[312]

Treaty of Waitangi

The Treaty of Waitangi is not a source of law. As a result it does not provide adequate protection of rights for Māori. However, the Tribunal found at common law the Treaty of Waitangi recognised, protected, and guaranteed te tino rangatiratanga over the foreshore and seabed as at 1840. The report said that the foreshore and seabed are taonga of hapū and iwi, '…the source of physical and spiritual sustenance.'[313] Māori communities had rights of use, management and control that equated to the full and exclusive possession in accordance to the English version of the Treaty.

The Tribunal maintained that the Treaty applied to the foreshore and seabed as it applied to dry land. The Tribunal viewed no logical, factual or historical distinction to suggest otherwise. The Tribunal added that is an historical fact that Māori had a relationship with their taonga which involved

[308] Graham, D. *The Legal Reality of Customary Rights for Māori* (2001) 4.
[309] Ibid.
[310] *R v Sundown* (1999) 1 SCR 393, n 76.
[311] Ibid.
[312] *R v Sparrow* [1990] 1 SCR 1075, n 76.
[313] Waitangi Tribunal. *Report of the Crown's Foreshore and Seabed Policy*, *Wai 1071* (2004) 28.

guardianship, protection, and mutual nurturing. It concluded that '[T]he Crown's duty under the Treaty, therefore, was actively to protect and give effect to property rights, Māori self regulation, tikanga Māori, and the claimants relationship with their taonga, in other words tino rangatiratanga.'[314]

The Tribunal accepted that the Crown has authority to develop a policy in respect of the foreshore and seabed. The findings concluded that the policy is in serious breach of article 2 and 3 of the Treaty. The principles discussed in the report[315] are:

- Reciprocity and partnership
- Active protection
- Equity and options
- Redress

The Tribunal identified the three categories of prejudice, which are: Māori citizenship devalued, powerlessness through uncertainty, mana and property rights lost. The Tribunal said that:

> [W]here the Crown has acted in breach of the principles of the Treaty, and Māori have suffered as a result, we consider the Crown has a clear duty to set the matters right. This is the principle of redress, where the Crown is required to act so as to 'restore the honour and integrity of the Crown and the mana and status of Māori.'[316]

It recommended the Crown needed to 'restore a tribal base and tribal mana to provide sufficient remedy to resolve the grievance.'[317]

Other commentaries, such as that of Sir Graham,[318] explained that the Treaty of Waitangi is an international treaty of cession, and as a result is unenforceable in the Courts. Professor McHugh writes '…Māori rights supported by the Treaty need to have statutory or common law status.'[319] Moana Jackson[320] argues it is important to develop a constitutional framework that acknowledges the right of Māori to be sovereign is a meaningful and just process for constitutional change.

In this instance the Government has clearly ignored and rejected concerns expressed in the submissions on the foreshore and seabed. The legislation has effectively eliminated due legal process and removed customary rights without redress to acquire full legal ownership and beneficial ownership of the foreshore and seabed. This is a clear violation of the rule of law and demonstrates an act of legislative theft. Judge Carrie Wainwright[321] strongly recommended for Government to go back to the drawing board and engage with Māori in proper negotiations about the way forward.

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[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid. at 127–144.
[316] Waitangi Tribunal, *Tarawera Forest Report* 29, Ibid at 134.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Graham, supra n 79 at 5.
[319] McHugh, P. *The Māori Magna Carta: New Zealand Law and the Treaty of Waitangi* (1991) 11.
[320] Jackson, M. "Where Does Sovereignty lie?" in James, C (ed) *Building the Constitution* (2000) 197.
[321] Presiding Officer, Waitangi Tribunal, covering letter dated 04 March 2004 to the Minister of Māori Affairs, Hon. Parekura Horomia , supra n 84.

Impact of Kāwhia and Aotea

Over the Christmas and New Year period I was fortunate to stay in Kāwhia for two weeks. During this time I visited the local museum, costal areas in Aotea Harbour, Te Maika, and Rākaunui and interacted with some of the local people. Discussions with these people indicate that they believe that the legislation[322] would have a major impact on the future development of the foreshore and seabed and the management of its resources. Locals also expressed concerns over the limited involvement in the decision-making processes. Although it is too early to determine the effects of the Act, in these areas I observed the following developments:

- Increase in property development.
- Increase in value of properties.
- New rating system in Aotea.
- Potential for open access to significant sites and secluded areas.
- Increase in commercial tourism.

An article[323] indicated a foreign bid to mine the seabed iron-sand for minerals in the North Island on the West Coast. The article said that the company behind the plan is Australian based Black Sand Exploration Ltd.—a subsidiary of China-based mining Quality of Life Group Pty. Crown Minerals manager Adam Feely said a decision on whether to grant a permit will take four months. This raises serious concerns about the Government's intent to sell the foreshore and seabed.

More recent news[324] has prompted Māori groups to call for renegotiations on the foreshore and seabed legislation after the United Nations report ruled that it was racially discriminatory and in breach of the international anti-racism convention. Michael Cullen stated that while there are no immediate plans to modify the legislation the Government is flexible to discuss the issues.

Location

Kāwhia[325] and Aotea[326] Harbours are situated on the west coast of the North Island approximately 60kms west of Ōtorohanga.

The Kāwhia Community Plan (See Appendix 1)

Over the next ten years Kāwhia plans to target 4 key areas:

- Harbour and Environment
- Recreation and Leisure

[322] Foreshore and Seabed Act 2004.
[323] Del La Varis, C. "Foreign bid to mine seabed sparks fury" *Waikato Times*, March 09 2005, A1.
[324] Stokes, J. "Demand for seabed talks after UN report" *NZ Herald March* 14 2005.
[325] Grid reference: *Kāwhia* Q15 & R15 450720.
[326] Grid reference: *Aotea* Q15 & R15 570720.

- Economic Future Development
- Social Issues

Submissions

The impact of the proposed legislation in Kāwhia and Aotea is illustrated in the following two submissions. One is put forward by the working party on behalf of beneficiaries of Ngāti Māhuta (ki te tonga)[327] comprising of Maketū Marae, Kāwhia, Āruka and Te Kōraha Marae, Taharoa and the other by Tūkotahi Tūteao Whānau Trust.[328]

Some of the concerns expressed in these submissions are: interruption with traditional links and use of mana whenua, mana moana; uncertainty in regards to Māori freehold title adjacent to the shoreline; open access to secluded and sacred areas; difficulty in differentiating between public and private areas and; negative effects on spiritual well-being. The submissions essentially focused on issues of culture, tikanga, customary land, and tino rangatiratanga. Both submissions clearly rejected the proposed legislation.

Beyond the present debate…what are the challenges that lie ahead?

The foreshore and seabed legislation has created a huge amount of public interest. The following outlines some of the challenges that lie ahead for a new generation of warriors to:

- Encourage ongoing Iwi investment in education
- Develop National Māori unity
- Maintain and secure uniqueness, status and identity
- Encourage constitutional change
- Strengthen and adequately support whānau, hapū, iwi.
- Develop common principles of tīkanga.
- Adopt collaborative leadership
- Maintain global links, interactions and partnerships
- Provide alternative solutions.
- Promote an integrated system, policies & co-management of resources.

Conclusion

Tracing the legal journey undertaken by *Ngāti Apa* and reviewing the present outcomes are juridical processes not easy to comprehend by the Māori community, except to say that some important issues have been identified and are being addressed. Using plain language is useful in gaining a better understanding of the major conceptual issues on the foreshore and seabed. Doing this encourages greater participation in the debate. It is also a key element in working towards consensus and developing solutions that will benefit Māori in the future.

[327] Ngāti Māhuta. *Submission on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill FS273* (2004).
[328] Tūkotahi Tuteao Whānau Trust. *Submission on the Foreshore and Seabed Bill FS274* (2004).

As it stands, the common perception by Māori on what is happening to their foreshore and seabed is a prime example of legislative theft. Further research is required to address the challenges that Māori face in future.

Appenidix 1

Kāwhia Community Plan (KCP) 2004–2014.

The four key target areas are:

1 Harbour and Environment

The current state of the harbour raises a number of concerns:

- Pollution.
- Depleted fish and kaimoana.
- Erosion.
- Ecological issues for native fauna and flora and bird populations.
- Total protection of surrounding land and trees.
- Planting native trees on the foreshore and reserves.
- Lower price to dump rubbish.
- Effective possum and predator control.
- Stopping erosion of the beach and foreshore at Karewa.
- Protecting the sand dunes by limiting access to vehicles and horses.
- Reduce the number of black swans depleting flounder.
- Play area for children at Karewa.
- Proceeding with the seawall at Aotea.

2 Economic Future

The Council identify that the future development is linked to the physical environment, including the ecological health of the harbour such as eco-tourism, fishing, and marine farming. (See KCP 6).

3 Recreation and Leisure

The plan identifies clean green open public spaces to be preserved and enhanced and accessible to all. Improvements include:

- Extending walk tracks from S-Cape Motor Camp past the museum to the wharf.
- Having walkways from Karewa beach to the township (Environment Waikato could assist).
- Upgrading harbourside walkways for safety and to eliminate siltation of harbour from erosion in this area. (See KCP9–10).
- Better lighting on Kaora track.
- Develop better walking access to Ocean beach from Ocean Road such as a through tunnel.
- Promoting 3–5 day walk Raglan to Kāwhia around the harbours.
- Building piers.
- Benefits of a Marina Park.
- Opening a road to Hot Water beach to make it more accessible for young and old.
- More secure parking.

4 Social Issues

- Access to Kāwhia
- Predominantly Māori population
- Low employment prospects
- Removal of services

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A Self-imposed Subjugation

Gene Pōtae

Introduction

A widespread agreement exists in Aotearoa/ New Zealand today. This agreement is based on the fact that the society that was opened up for the Old World by Abel Tasman and James Cook, was different from the one in the making shortly after the arrival of the Māori in New Zealand, at least from about 900. Questions about the whence of the Māori people have not been resolved. Strictly speaking the Māori did not come from anywhere; they became Māori after settlement on the two large islands in the southern corner of the Polynesian triangle. However, linguists and archaeologists do not doubt the eastern Polynesian origin of the Māori.

Māori prehistory is the study of the adaptation of eastern Polynesian migrants to a new land. During the first few centuries after their arrival Māori explored the islands of New Zealand (Davidson 1984). In the initial phase of settlement most tools remained distinctly East Polynesian, in spite of the necessary adaptation of the tropical way of life to the much colder climate of New Zealand. Contrary to the homogeneous economies and languages of Polynesian societies in general, regional differences in the economy of prehistoric New Zealand show that the various groups of Polynesian immigrants were developing different strategies to adapt to local circumstances. Regional variations in terms of subsistence were, in turn, reflected in a number of different dialects of the Māori language. Small scale settlements along the coast, particularly of the North Island, are consistent with economic and linguistic patterns. Although extensive communication and exchange networks are likely to have existed, Māori people apparently lived in small independent communities each under their own authority. Archaeological evidence suggests that tribes or chiefdoms did not yet exist (Sutton 1990: 680).

It has been suggested, though, that the basic structures of social and political organisation as described by Best and later elaborated by Firth and others, were founded during the first few centuries after settlement (Davidson 1984: passim). The dwelling excavated in the Moikau Valley in South Wairarapa dating back to the 12th Century, constitutes the most important evidence to support this view (Prickett 1987). It was rectangular in plan with a partly enclosed front porch with the door left of centre facing out, thus resembling the wharepuni (‘sleeping house’) or chiefly meeting-houses of later ethnographic accounts. (cf. Best 1941, 11: 558-92; Firth 1926). It is important to realise, however, that most prehistoric dwellings excavated, including the so-called ‘sleeping-houses’ foreshadowing the later

ancestral meeting-houses, were much smaller in size than the ones described in 19th century accounts (Van Meiji 1993). Archaeological evidence shows that communities tended to be of a smaller size as well (Sutton 1990: 679—80). Consequently, it might be inferred that the relevance of wider tribal connections for everyday life and the influence of chiefs and/or paramount chiefs was rather limited during the initial stage of settlement.

By the year 1500 the population had grown to the extent that previously unoccupied areas became inhabited (Bellwood 1987 [1978]: 139). Vast areas of forest were cleared for horticulture and the promotion of the native fern *(pteridium aquilinum var. esculentum)*, the rhizomes of which became part of the Māori staple diet. The result was a modification of the climate and a serious erosion of the topsoil, leading in turn to siltation of the waterways, with dramatic consequences for the fish and other animals. Pre-historians have characterised the massive impact on the environment as a disaster (Bellwood 1987 [1978]: 139; Thorne & Raymond 1989: 268).

As a result, New Zealand and its new population looked very different by the end of the 15th Century (Davidson 1987b). Gradually the distinctly East Polynesian artefact style of the earlier phase changed into a characteristically Māori style, most evidently illustrated by the emerging forms of wood carving. The Māori had also commenced constructing the famous pā or 'strongholds', which were strategically situated on sites which admitted an easy defence, such as hills, bluffs or terraces (Davidson 1987b).

In preceding centuries Māori people generally lived in autonomous unprotected villages that rarely numbered more than a dozen houses (Kelly 1949). The spread of the population across the North Island, however, increased inter-tribal contacts through, for example, the extension of exchange networks and warfare. The latter, in turn, resulted in Māori settlements becoming clustered around the pā, to which families could flee in times of danger. Pā became the common locality of several extended families which belonged to the same descent-group. From the fact, that pā became the dominant mode of settlement, it might be inferred that a second level in Māori socio-political organisation emerged at this stage. Blood ties had intensified and leadership at the level of 'lineages' had emerged as a result of the expansion of the population and inter-tribal conflict. Thus, the evolution of Māori tribal organisations probably did not begin until the 15th century, and inter-tribal warfare played a significant role in their emergence (Sutton 1990: 683). This hypothesis is supported by the fact that warfare also constitutes the main topic of modern tribal traditions, which are also likely to have originated in this phase of New Zealand prehistory (for example Kelly 1949).

From approximately 1 500 features of Māori society as described by Cook in 1969, are clearly visible in the archaeological evidence. The evolution of Māori society did not come to a halt, but the rate of change tended to slow down (Davidson 1987a). The population was still increasing steadily and the settlement patterns that were established in previous centuries were reinforced in a slightly modified

way. Some innovations in pā building took place (ibid). Since regional variations of socio-political and economic organisation are in accordance with oral traditions as recorded after European contact, it can be argued that they continued to characterise Māori society during the preceding centuries as well as after it. Thus, while it seems that tribal organisations emerged before the arrival of British settlers, they remained highly localised.

This, in fact, is the argument developed by Leslie Groube (1964) in his M.A. thesis. He argued that initial contacts with European explorers only provided Māori society with a new stimulus for change without essentially affecting the direction of change. The validity of this hypothesis is restricted to the proto-historic period, that is, the first few decades after the arrival of Europeans when Māori people maintained full control of their society. Although external forces gradually became the dominant generators of change in Māori society as the number of European setters in New Zealand steadily increased, during the initial period of colonial contact the forms of change were not substantially altered. Changes that were already underway in prehistoric times gathered some momentum in proto-historic times, but they did not lead Māori society into a new direction. Scattered European visitors only acted as 'catalysts' of a long-term process of change, for example, by introducing metal which realised a certain potential for development inherent in prehistoric Māori society, which otherwise might never have come to fruition. Thus, prehistoric changes were merely supplemented by the changes that were consequent upon European contact in the proto-historic period.

Groube's hypothesis also applies to the evolution of tribal organisations. While they evolved in elementary form during the centuries immediately before the arrival of European settlers, their organisation did not radically alter under the new circumstances of colonial contact. In the proto-historic period the development of tribal organisations was only quickened and reinforced. Here it is important to emphasise that this view implies that the socio-political organisation of Māori society as recorded by Best and later rephrased in the form of a general, timeless model by Firth, does not characterise Māori society in its prehistoric stage. It applies, instead, to Māori society after it had been tied together and stabilised in the face of contact with 'ngā tangata Pākehā', meaning the 'strangers from afar'.

Key Components and the Theoretical Concepts of the Report

It is almost a truism to argue that the oral tradition of the New Zealand Māori has been influenced by European reconstructions of their history. This has become most obvious through critical re-examinations of the historical process of resolving the enigma of the whence and whither of the Māori, which European immigrants in New Zealand have speculated about ever since they first set foot ashore (cf. Sorrenson 1979; Hanson 1989). Canonical answers to the questions where the Māori came from, how they made their way to New Zealand, and how they lived when they

arrived here were not formulated until the turn of the century, when Percy Smith, Surveyor General and Commissioner of Crown Land, (co-) editor of *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, established a reputation as freelance ethnographer meaning avant la letter (Groube 1985: 7).

In 1898 and 1899 Smith published a series of articles in which he identified the original homeland of the Māori as Hawaiki. At the same time, he traced the origin of 'the Polynesian race' to the Gangetic Basin, from where the Māori were believed to have moved, via Tahiti and Rarotonga, to New Zealand. Smith (1910a) introduced a chronology for New Zealand prehistory in which the Māori navigator Kupe was awarded the honour of having been the first to discover New Zealand, later followed by Toi and later still by a Great Fleet of canoes, containing people who were believed to have settled Aotearoa, the land of the 'long white cloud', around approximately 1350. For a long period of time this chronology was accepted as the basic framework for New Zealand prehistory. In addition, it became incorporated in Māori oral tradition, as did the mythological Hawaiki. Thus, when in their ceremonial speeches (whaikōrero) Māori elders pay respect to their ancestors in 'Hawaiki-nui, Hawaiki-roa, Hawaiki-pā-mamao' (Great Hawaiki, Long Hawaiki, Distant Hawaiki), or when they attribute the discovery and settlement of New Zealand to Kupe, Toi and later the Great Fleet, they, in fact, echo the legendary voice of Smith.

Notwithstanding continuing references to Hawaiki, Kupe, Toi and the Great Fleet in Māori ceremonial speeches, Smith's reconstructions of Māori history have gradually been abandoned. His highly speculative ideas of Māori history have had to give way to the results of recent archaeological inquiries that are based on more reliable research methods than the antiquated philological and genealogical approach, which ultimately rested on the belief in the infallibility of the memory of the Māori 'man of learning' (tohunga; cf. Groube 1985: 7).

More recently it has been suggested that the social organisation of Māori society is made of four structural levels: the whānau or 'extended family', the hapū or 'subtribe', the iwi or 'tribe' and the waka or 'confederation of tribes' (for example, Metge 1976: 127—38; Walker 1990: 63—5; see also Sutton 1990: 668—9). Furthermore, each of these levels is supposed to correspond with a certain type of Māori leader: kaumātua or 'elder', rangatira or 'chief', junior and senior Ariki or 'paramount chief' (for example, Metge 1976: 200—3; Walker 1990: 63—6; see also Sutton 1990: 668—9). There can be no doubt about this model of Māori socio-political organisation that to some extent corresponds with the structure and practice of 20th-century Māori society, however, the widespread reification of the mode, its substantivisation 'out of time', its projection into 19th Century and pre-colonial history as well as its perpetuation into the present cannot be justified.

It must be realised that a consensus about this framework for understanding Māori socio-political organisation did not emerge until the 1930s, while it is mainly based on research data that were

collected around the turn of the century; more than 100 years after colonial contact had begun. This raises the question to what extent the standard model of Māori socio-political organisation is, like Smith's interpretations of the whence and whither of the Māori, based on a-historic and objectivist assumptions which were common around the turn of the century when it was developed.

Traditional Concepts Associated With Self-imposed Subjugation

The first contacts between Europeans and New Zealand 'natives' were characterised by barter (Cook 1955 [1769]: 169). The Māori showed a particular interest in iron tools, blankets, soap and fish hooks, while they in turn provided food and craft goods to Cook and his crew. Cook also introduced several plants and animals, of which pigs and potatoes as well as turnips, cabbages and chickens survived and multiplied.
Pigs and potatoes are generally mentioned as having revolutionised the Māori subsistence economy, but pigs did not become important until later. Potatoes, on the other hand, were preserved and propagated by the Māori people, and there exists clear evidence that in the first decade of the 19th Century vast quantities of potatoes were grown (Savage 1939 [1807]: 60-3). They were found so easy to grow that they seem to have rapidly supplanted taro and yam.

The advantages of the potato were numerous. Potato yields were much higher than those from the indigenous tubers, and it was relatively easy to preserve them, which in turn facilitated their propagation. The potato did require a readjustment of the economic cycle, but it reduced the pressure on those based near the coast for seafood resources. According to Groube (1964: 113) the potato therefore revolutionised the Māori economy by making a fully sedentary agricultural life possible throughout New Zealand. After the introduction of the potato many sites were moved to river-fronts and fertile valleys, where potatoes could be produced from the land and where Māori people could trade with the first European settlers, usually missionaries.

A corollary of the changes in settlement as a result of trade and commercial agriculture was a tightening of the tribal organisation. While prehistoric settlement was based in scattered homesteads or in houses clustered together in hamlets or pā, after contact, settlement became concentrated in villages since more people were needed to work the land, which caused the bonds within (sub-) tribal groups to be strengthened, a tendency already in place in the face of the increasing number of European settlers. Thus, it can be argued that the colonial encounter drew together and reinforced the higher levels of the tribal organisation as it was recorded in the 19th Century (cf. Cleave 1983: 60—2; Sutton 1990: 684—7).

Although the archaeological material suggests that the evolution of tribes and chiefdoms began from approximately 1500, the development of clear boundaries between different tribes and, to some extent, canoes, can only be explained as a result of colonial contact. This process has previously been explained as a result of the inter-tribal wars which broke out in the 1820s following the introduction of the musket (for example Lian 1987: 456; Sorrenson 1965: 26; Waitangi Tribunal 1985: 21—2), but an analysis of Māori economic developments suggests it began much earlier. In the 1820s Māori tribal organisations were already firmly in place, and the musket wars only put senior or paramount chiefs, operating at the level of iwi and in some cases waka, on the stage of inter-tribal politics for the first time in Māori history.

The ramifications of the musket wars for the stabilisation of Māori tribal organisations and the emergence of paramount chiefs may be illustrated as follows. In the early 1820s the Māori acquired muskets in great numbers and the inter-tribal wars for such traditional reasons as utu (‘return’ for anything, c.q. revenge), soon got out of control. Even some of the missionaries engaged in musket trade, although it was forbidden by the first missionary Samuel Marsden. In the first instance Marsden himself had also distributed some muskets to favoured individuals, but when he left New Zealand after his first visit in 1815 he prohibited the missionaries from trading in muskets and even banned all private trade (Elder 1932: 139).

The most renowned warrior at the time was the chief of the northern Ngā Puhi (sub-) tribes, Hongi Hika. In company with the missionary Thomas Kendall, he had visited Prince Regent, who would later be crowned King George IV, at the Carlton Palace in London in 1820 (Cowan 1910: 266). He had been loaded with gifts, such as ploughs and other tools, steel cuirasses and helmets with golden armour. On his return journey via Sydney he heard that his son-in-law had fallen in battle, and immediately he sold all his presents from England to purchase flintlock muskets, powder and bullets. Back in New Zealand he led over two thousand Ngā Puhi warriors in campaigns to the Thames, to Waikato and even as far south as Taranaki. It was the beginning of an ongoing movement of attack and revenge.

The common enemies of the Ngā Puhi Māori created a bond of union among the (sub-) tribes of which the saying went “Ngā Puhi kōwhō roa, Ngā Puhi of a hundred holes", referring to a previous lack of unity amongst the Ngā Puhi Māori (Sutton 1990: 685—6). By the same token, the (sub-) tribes which they attacked were driven together in their defence against Ngā Puhi, even though in the beginning internal rivalry hampered the co-ordination of (sub-) tribal war parties. Among the Waikato Māori, for example, the strife between the senior sub-tribal chiefs Te Rauparaha and Te Wherowhero forced the former to move. He formed a coalition with Ngāti Toa of Kāwhia and parts of Te Ati Awa and Ngāti Raukawa to invade the Manawatū plains and settle there collectively (Burns 1980). Subsequently, Te Wherowhero moved against the Taranaki

people in the 1830s after which the rangatira of the Ngāti Mahuta sub-tribe became the uncontested Ariki of all Waikato hapū, and, to some extent, of all tribes belonging to the Tainui waka. While similar processes occurred in other parts of New Zealand, the coalitions that were formed between the Waikato people led by Te Wherowhero and other Tainui tribes, such as Ngāti Maniapoto, Ngāti Hauā and Hauraki, contributed to an unprecedented political endorsement of sentimental ties between tribes whose members all descended from the crew of the same canoe, the Tainui canoe. The key role that Te Wherowhero played in the development of the coalition among tribes of the Tainui canoe would later prompt his coronation as the first Māori King (Jones 1959).

The Wars did not come to an end until, in the north in the 1830s, and in the south in the early 1840s, muskets and other European arms were equally distributed across all tribal regions. Only at this time the tribal organisations and their paramount chiefs, which were later recorded by Best and, subsequently, reconstituted by Firth, had settled firmly in the political arena of colonial New Zealand (Cleave 1983: 71, Sutton 1990: 686—70).

Contemporary Concepts Associated with Self-Imposed Subjugation

The Māori did not necessarily use European goods in the fashion considered appropriate by Europeans. The Māori were exposed to western technology in the form of the goods that European technology produced. The organising system of European thought, their scientific framework, and their technical process of manufacturing were not and are not transferred with the goods. European goods were interpreted by the Māori within their existing conceptualisation of the universe (Buck, 1966: 431—536).

The Māori cosmos was populated by a multiplicity of very active spirits or gods (Buck, 1966: 431—536). The Māori believed that the Europeans likewise had a multiplicity of gods which were similar to their gods, and that were responsible for the performance of European technology. When confronted with European gods whose origins and operations were known, the Māori “were inclined to attach a sacred appellation to most things they could not understand.” (Earle, 1966: 197). Examples of both Māori beliefs concerning the spirits associated with European technology abound in the period literature, of which the following illustrations are typical.

During the first decade of regular Europeans visits a captain accidentally dropped his watch into Whangaroa Bay. The watch, for the Māori, possessed a spirit, and an epidemic in that district following the incident was “attributed to the evil spirit left among them” (McNab, 1908: 118). A repeat of the incident a couple of years later at the Bay of Islands by the same captain created a furore (Ibid.: 121). Similarly, the compass on European vessels was considered "the White man's god, who

directs them safely to different countries, and then can guide them home again." (Earle, p.1966, 196). The Māori not only believed European gods controlled European technology, but also that European gods could be used as Māori gods. For example, a sailor captured by the Māori was asked to use

> the captain's sextant, which he gave me, desiring me to look at the sun, and inform him truly if the Tohunga people would come down on them. I obeyed his command, and, after taking an observation, desired a book, which I appeared to consult (Atkins, 1830: 665).

The accuracy of the sailor's predictions contributed to his longevity and the solicitous behaviour of his captors (Ibid: 655—667).

The Māori believed that western technologies were controlled by spirits which in turn were controlled by the European tribes. In 1827 the development of a Māori orthography and a dictionary of Māori terms made the ways of the European God accessible to the Māori in their terms. Immediately following this development in 1828 the missionaries experienced rapidly increasing success in the number of professed Māori conversions to Christianity. In translating the gospel into Māori, the missionaries used the Māori terms that they believed to be the closest equivalent to the European terms. Holy was translated as tapu (restricted access); God became atua (spirit); worship was karakia (ritual formula for efficacy of an activity); and Sunday was called Rā Tapu (restricted day). Thus application for assistance to spirits (atua) required restrictions (tapu) and were made through prayers (karakia) (Buck 1966: 389—396). These terms put the European God into the context of the Māori frame of reference, and the Māori then responded to the missionaries' God as they did their own spirits. The social activities of the Māori changed to conform to the new behavioural requirements of the mission God. The changes in Māori ceremonial behaviour - such as changes in burial ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, the prohibition of polygamy, and the prohibition of cannibalism - did not signal a change in the Māori frame of reference. Instead, the Māori added a new and powerful god to their cosmology. The missionary God, as any Māori spirit, was also considered to participate in the lives of those who supplicated to him appropriately. One chief declared "there lies my child; she has been murdered as a payment for your bad conduct. But do not rise up to obtain satisfaction for her. God will do that" (Williams, 1867: 244). The missionaries even encouraged the view God was active in everyday living, and noted with satisfaction that several weeks later four Māoris connected with the killing of the child were themselves killed in an ambush (Ibid.: 245). Later, one missionary proudly noted that he had instilled in the Māori the belief that the mission God had intervened during a raid so that the Māori guns did "not shoot straight" (Ibid. 144). European illness, medical cures, and recoveries were similarly attributed to the mission God (Mann, 1939: 330, 345). The Māori beliefs that the mission God was active in everyday life was approved and encouraged by the missionaries "as the hand of God" (Williams, 1867: 245). While the missionaries viewed "the hand of God" as intervening, the Māori viewed the mission god as an active participant in everyday life. The Christian god did not replace the Māori gods, but instead took a place among the Māori gods in the Māori cosmology. The Māoris still attended to their multitude of spirits:

> Among the fading customs and beliefs of the good old times the tohunga [priest] still holds his ground, and the oracle is an often consulted spirit, though not so openly, as it was a hundred years ago and is firmly believed in, and this by natives who are professed Christians; and the inquiries are often on subjects of the most vital importance to the welfare of the colony.
>
> The natives know we laugh at their belief in these things. They would much rather we were angry, for then they would defy us; but as we simply laugh at their credulity, they do all they can to conceal it from us; but nevertheless the chiefs, on all matters of importance continue to consult the Māori oracle (Manning, 1963: 134—135).

All words, thoughts, actions and objects considered Māori were influenced by Māori gods, while their European counterparts including technology, were influenced by European gods. From the Māori viewpoint, the Europeans were able to manipulate their technology because they "possessed about them some secret, or effectual charm, which they were unwilling to impart" to the Māori (Polack 1978: 241).

Self-Imposed Subjugation within a Historical Framework

Although information on New Zealand's early history is fragmented and sketchy, the first Polynesian settlers probably arrived in 800A.D. from the Society or Marques Islands (Sinclair 1991). They called their new home Aotearoa or "Land of the Long White Cloud".

Education in the pre-European period was thorough, practical and largely informal (Sinclair 1991). Grandparents taught the children language, stories, myths and legends. Parents taught the tasks useful in everyday living. Adolescents who wished to learn skilled crafts such as tattooing, woodcarving or weaving were taught by an expert. Young men who were destined to be superior tōhunga (priests), and who were usually chiefs as well, received rigorous training in a whare wānanga (house of learning) (Sinclair 1991).

Following the discovery of New Zealand in 1642 and the explorations of James Cook over a century later, many traders and whalers called on New Zealand ports to obtain provisions and to recruit or shanghai Māori crew members. With the subsequent coming of missionaries, European-style schools were established for Māori children as early as 1816, reaching their zenith during the early 1840s. As Māoris passed through these schools, they returned to their villages and opened schools of their own (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974).

In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi ceded authority over the Māori to the Queen of England and allowed her the sole right to purchase their lands. In return, the Queen gave "to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection, and . . . all the rights and privileges of British subjects" (McIntyre & Gardner 1971: 117). The Treaty represented, at least in spirit, the basis for two widely diverse cultures (the Māori and the English) to "live together in amity" (Sinclair 1991: 73).

The British Government's liberal outlook was evident in its stated policies on education such as "the education of the youth among the aborigines is, of course, indispensable to the success of any measures for their ultimate advancement in the social arts and in the scale of their political existence" (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974, p.v). In 1844, the Native Trust Ordinance reinforced this policy stating that "the native people of New Zealand are by natural endowment apt for the acquirement of the arts and habits of civilised life and are capable of great moral and social advancement" (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974, p v).

To implement these policies, the Government of New Zealand encouraged the establishment of schools for Māori children. From 1840 to the 1860s, these schools were run by Anglican, Catholic, and Methodist missionaries and supported financially by the Government (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974). With the enactment of the Native Schools Act in 1867, however, provisions were made for the establishment and maintenance of a separate system of Māori schools under the auspices of the Department of Native Affairs (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Some Māori children also attended primary schools with European children. In either case, the education they received was incorporative in nature, for the prevalent belief was that European culture was superior, and members of the indigenous culture were to adopt it as quickly as possible.

In 1879, the Education Department took over the direct control of 57 Māori village schools and ran them as a self-contained national system, separate from the regional education boards that administered New Zealand's state primary schools (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974). This was viewed as a temporary measure; however, the last of these Māori schools were not transferred from control by the Education Department until 1969 (Simon & Smith 2000).

During the 90-year period of separatism, the education provided by the Native Schools evolved and developed differently from that provided by the public schools. The latter made no modifications in their programs to accommodate the Māori children attending them. Public school teachers were invariably Pākehā (Europeans) and knew little of Māori culture or family life. The Māori language was neither taught nor encouraged at school. Māori culture, in general, was not highly valued, and communication between teacher and student was often poor (Irwin 1989).

In the Native Schools, Māori culture was initially minimised or excluded from the curricula (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974); however, the negative effects of this policy soon became apparent. Consequently, the Native Schools modified their programs and extended their activities to bring the whole Māori community within their spheres of influence. Schools became centres for demonstrating new crops and trees (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974), and for teaching improved agricultural

techniques. In the 20th Century, the curriculum was further modified to include more handwork, drawing, agriculture, domestic science, and health courses (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974).

Important demographic trends after 1936 brought about significant changes in Māori education (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974). Enrolment of Māori children in the public primary schools increased, while that in the Native Schools decreased significantly. As early as 1960, the great majority of Māori students were in the public schools, both primary and secondary (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974). A major review of Māori educational policies led to the transfer, in 1969, of the last of the Māori schools to the regional education boards that ran the public schools. All schools with large numbers of Māori students were given special staffing, including part-time help for remedial teaching and advisory help with language problems. Revisions were made in the curricula to reflect contributions from Māori culture, and a new emphasis was placed on teaching the Māori language in both primary and secondary schools. These developments "strengthened the confidence of many Māoris that genuine attempts were being made to promote activities beneficial to their welfare" (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974: 259).

Self-imposed Subjugation Within a Cultural Framework

In New Zealand, a multi-ethnic nation since its founding in 1840, assimilationism was the official governmental policy in education until the 1960s, when integration became the new social goal (Irwin 1989). Whereas in 1840s incorporative policies had promoted the cultural view of the dominant group, integration allowed ethnic minorities to retain some aspects of their cultures while functioning within the accepted mainstream culture. In the later 1940s, some aspects of cultures of ethnic minorities were replaced by multiculturalism, which was based on the premise that society was made up of a variety of cultural groups, and that each group made a unique and positive contribution to society as a whole. Multiculturalism also implied "a more equitable allocation of resources and the sharing of power" (Irwin 1989 4).

Consequently, school curricula and practices were examined and modified to include contributions from the indigenous Māori, the largest ethnic minority group in New Zealand. Teaching of the Māori language became more common and Māoris were encouraged to become teachers. What had come to be known as the 'Māori problem' in education was also discussed and debated with great seriousness (Schwimmer 1968). This problem had no precise definition, but generally had to do with the high drop-out rate and low academic achievement of Māori students. Codd (1980) reported, for example, that in 1969, approximately 13 per cent of Māori students graduated with a School Certificate or more, compared to about 47 per cent of non-Māori students. Indeed, over 59 per cent of Māori students left school without marketable skills, compared to 24 per cent of non-Māori students (Codd 1980). More recent reports indicate that many Māori students quit school at age 15 ("Māori Education" 1991), and

lacked both oral and literacy skills in English and Māori (Karetu 1989). In short, many Māori children are not doing well academically. Moreover, many Māoris have developed an ambivalent attitude toward current educational policies, believing that social and economic successes require academic success. This academic success is achieved, however, only at the risk of losing distinctively Māori qualities (Walker 1973).

Not content to wait and see whether multicultural education would improve academic achievement, a number of Māori leaders challenged the Government's ("Hui Compulsion" 1991) power to make decisions for their children's education and demanded the resignation of the Education Minister ("Hui Compulsion" 1991). Rather than acceding to the Education Department's call for multicultural education, Māoris advocated a completely separate and parallel educational system ("Māori Education" 1991). The central body behind this separatist move was the Tino Rangatiratanga (self-determination movement), whose members encouraged each community to develop local education authorities to operate schools exclusively for Māori. A spokesman for the Tino Rangatiratanga movement stated: "Our culture, history, will never, never die. We are not looking to take over government. We are looking to take over Māori education" ("Start Made" 1991 9).

Self-Imposed Subjugation Within A Socio-Political Framework

When the Māori hauled up their canoes in New Zealand and gradually settled there between the fifth and tenth centuries a tribal structure of socio-political and economic organisation began to evolve. The formation of the tribal structure of Māori society is difficult to reconstruct as it can only be inferred from archaeological evidence. A reconstruction of the tribal structure of Māori society as it operated when James Cook arrived in 1769 is equally hazardous, since most written sources date from at least five decades later. There exists, nevertheless, a communalist approach to a basic outline of Māori socio-political organisation in the pre-European era. Firth's model of Māori socio-political organisation has become authoritative among both European and Māori scholars (for example Buck 1949, Metge 1976, Kawharu 1977, Walker 1990 and Winiata 1967). Although some of these scholars nuanced and/or amended several aspects of Firth's views, his basic outline of Māori socio-political organisation has never been challenged and shall therefore be taken as point of departure for the following synopsis.

Kinship

According to Firth (1959 [1929]: 111) the basic unit of Māori society was the whānau. Literally the concept of whānau may be translated as 'to give birth', but since Firth, the term is commonly glossed as 'extended family'. Whānau ranged through three or four generations and typically consisted of a man, his wife and their unmarried children, some of their married children (usually

the sons), and the latter's spouses and children. Extended families often lived in unprotected villages called kāinga, which were generally located in close proximity to a tribal or sub-tribal stronghold (pā) in which they were allotted a separate section for sleeping, cooking and storing food and to which they moved in off-seasons as well as in times of war (Buck 1949: 137—40, 331—3; ef. Firth (1959 [1929]: 92, 113). Extended families exercised rights to land and its products and the apportionment of food was largely managed at their level. All in all, extended families managed their own social and economic affairs except when those affected village or (sub-) tribal policy (ibid., 111).

Firth (1959 [1929]: 111-2) pointed out that over the years many whānau extended into kinship groups of the clan-type. As whānau increased in numbers some groups were assumed to separate themselves, after which they developed into autonomous whānau while maintaining close links with their relations. The blood ties between members of different whānau were expressed through the concept of hapū, literally meaning 'pregnancy', which represented the idea of birth from a common ancestor (Buck 1949: 333). The concept indicates that hapū 'carried' a responsibility for all whānau members whom they encompassed. Hapū consisted of a group of kin which occupied a common territory and defined itself by descent from an apical, often eponymous ancestor who had lived several generations ago.

As several whānau constituted a hapū, several hapū made up a large group linked together by descent from a relatively remote founder ancestor (Firth 1959 [1929]: 114). Groups at this level were called iwi, the literal meaning of which is 'bone', which indicates a relation of common descent. However, Firth argued that political and economic functions of iwi were restricted to an all-embracing over-right to the land within its borders (ibid.: 139). Its articulation as a kinship grouping stemmed according to him largely from the organisation of lavish feasts.

The highest level of tribal structure was, in the perspective set out by Firth, formed by the waka, the 'canoe', consisting of various iwi which had emerged from ancestors who had reached the shores of Aotearoa in the same canoe (1959 [1929]: 115—6). However, no co-operative form of government existed among them. They were purely based on the belief of common descent from the same ancestor(s), thus was the root principle of the social organisation of Māori society.

Kinship Rules and Terms

Firth described the dominant principles of the tribal organisation of Māori society as ambilateral affiliation and ambilineal descent. Approximately thirty years after his doctoral research he explained that he had introduced the term ambilateral as against bilateral to indicate that in Māori society affiliation was optative and that use of both parents was not automatic or necessary (Firth

1957: 5; 1963: 32). He had called Māori hapū ambilateral groups because since both mother and father were eligible for kinship affiliation (Firth 1959 [1929]: 112). If the parents were of the same hapū, children had a double qualification for affiliation to the hapū. If the parents were of different hapū, the children could affiliate to tow hapū. By the same token, males and females could figure in the same genealogical line. Hapū were frequently composed of persons tracing their descent through a line of mixed male and female links. To describe this optative mechanism for the maintenance of group continuity through the generations by using male or female links without set order, Firth proposed the term ambilineal (1957: 6).

In his published doctoral dissertation Firth hesitated to follow the custom of labelling the hapū a 'clan', because in anthropology the term is normally reserved for exogamous, unilineal groups, while hapū are ambilineal and practically endogamous (1959 [1929]: 112-3). In addition, clans are commonly understood to be made up of several linkages, while hapū are not. In his discussion of Polynesian descent groups in the late 1950s and early 1960s, therefore, Firth no longer defined the Māori hapū at the same level as clan. He introduced the term 'ramae' to distinguish the Māori hapū and other restricted ambilateral kin groups from unilineal descent groups generally referred to as lineages (ibid.; 1957: 6; 1963: 32).

In contrast to ramae or ramified lineages, clans are units of a higher order at which common descent is still assumed, but all genealogical connections cannot necessarily be demonstrated (Fox 1967: 49). Although the concept of clan is generally reserved for unilineal descent groupings, for lack of a better term 'clan' may be used in reference to the Māori concept of iwi. The waka, a cluster of several 'clans' combined into a single grouping, may accordingly be termed a 'phratry' (cf. Keesing 1975: 31).

Chieftainship

In Firth's view descent not only structured the social organisation of Māori society, but also its political organisation. Māori political organisation paralleled Māori social organisation (1959 [1929]: 106). The position of chiefs in the hierarchical order of political organisation in Māori society corresponded to the structure of kinship groupings. While Firth set out the guidelines for this view of Māori political organisation, it was elaborated upon by the Māori anthropologist Maharaia Winiata:

> The 'paramount chief' in Māori society was the ariki, meaning the 'first-born'. In his pedigree the senior lines of all tribal genealogies converged. Hence he was recognised as the head of the iwi. Senior ariki were in some situations distinguished as head of the waka. The chief of the hapū or the rangatira ranked lower than the paramount chief since he descended along junior lines. The head of the extended family was the kaumaatua or '(respected) elder', recognised on account of his offspring as well as his age, wisdom and life-experience (Winiata 1956; 1967: 25—42).

Key Practices of Self-imposed Subjugation That Have Become the Accepted Norm for the Exotic Other

With the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, New Zealand became a British Crown colony and extensive European settlement quickly followed from this. From the outset the Crown set out to 'civilise' the Māori through a programme of cultural assimilation and schooling was perceived by the colonizers as the most effective means of implementing this policy. From 1847 state subsidies were provided to the schools for Māori run by the mission societies. However, by the early 1860s, following the securement of 'responsible Government' by the Pakēhā settlers, war broke out between Māori and settlers and, as a result, the mission schools were virtually deserted by the middle of the decade. Seeking a new vehicle for its 'civilising' policy, the state then, in 1867, established its own system of schooling for Māori—the Native Schools system—a system of primary schools under the control of the Native Department (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974).

Within a decade of the advent of the Native Schools system, New Zealand's public school system was established. The Education Act, 1877, allowed for the setting up of a national free, secular and compulsory system of primary schools, a central Department of Education and ten regional education boards to administer the schools. Control of the Native Schools was then passed to the new Department of Education. Although there were now two parallel systems of state schools operating, no official restrictions on 'racial' grounds were placed on either Māori or Pākehā children attending schools of either system (McKenzie 1982).

The policies of the Native Schools differed in a number of ways from those of the board-controlled public schools, the major distinction being their emphasis on the assimilation of Māori to European culture—including, especially, the replacement of the Māori language with English. As clearly spelt out by James Pope, the first Organising Inspector of Native Schools, the goal of the schools was to bring Māori 'into line' with European 'civilisation'. Indeed, it was intended that each Native School would be integrated into the board-controlled schools system as soon as the children in it were sufficiently 'Europeanised'. To assist in achieving its 'civilising' goals the Department saw it as important not only to place European buildings in Māori settlements, but also to appoint European families to serve as teachers in the Native Schools and, 'especially, as exemplars of a new and more desirable mode of life'.

Māori, however, also played an active part in the setting up of the Native Schools. Under the 1867 Native Schools Act, members of a Māori community who wanted schooling for their children were required to form a committee and formally request a school. They were also required to supply the land and, initially, to contribute some of the costs involved. A number of Māori communities

responded positively to the Act and by 1879, 57 Native Schools had been established. These were mainly in the far north and eastern parts of the North Island, among communities that had not been directly affected by the recent wars. On the other hand there was strong resistance to state-funded schools by Māori in Taranaki and the Waikato. Over the years approximately 320 village Native Schools were established.

Some insight into the expectations of Māori who sought European-style schooling is made apparent in the 1873 statement of Te Mātenga, a chief of the Bay of Islands:

> We have been taught three things—reading, writing and arithmetic. What we want is that education should be progressive, and that schools should be established for children of two years up to twenty-one... We want more than these three things to enable our descendants to cope with the Europeans (Ward 1974).

Te Mātenga's statement supports other documented evidence indicating that Māori in this period were seeking Pākehā-style schooling in the expectation that it would enhance their life-chances in, what had become, a Pākehā-dominated society (Simon 1993).

Just as Māori entered into an agreement to establish a Native School with certain expectations, Pākehā men and women appointed as teachers to Native Schools brought with them certain understandings and expectations of their roles in relation to the Māori communities and their Māori pupils in particular. Inevitably these would have been influenced and shaped by prevailing discourses on 'race'. Understandings and expectations are not necessarily static, however, and those of both Māori and Pākehā in regard to the Native Schools were to be subject to revision and modification over time.

Within the framework of the colonising agenda of the State the Native School can be perceived as a structured interface between European culture and Māori culture—a site where the two cultures were to be brought into an ‘organised collision’ -where the one culture would be confronted by the other in a systematic way (Matthews 1994). Pākehā teachers appointed to these schools were expected to engage with Māori in specific ways designed to undermine their cultural values, practices and language and replace them with those of the Pākehā. While the overall goal of the State was the reinforcing of Pākehā dominance in the structural relations of Māori and Pākehā, the process itself involved Māori-Pākehā relations at a personal level (Matthews 1994). Indeed, in the daily running of the school Māori and Pākehā would be engaging with each other at both structural and personal levels. As agents of the State, teachers were expected to carry out their tasks in ways which would assist the fulfilment of the State's structural goals (Matthews 1994). However, the dynamics of personal relations and the ways in which power operated within them could allow a range of factors to intervene in and influence this process. Some teacher-community relationships, for instance, allowed for community interests and perspectives to influence the school programme while others did not (Matthews 1994). The nature of the personal relationships could influence both the ways in which the

teachers attempted to fulfil their structural roles and, likewise, the ways in which their communities responded to those efforts. Outcomes in some communities, therefore, were not necessarily in accord with the goals of the State (Matthews 1994).

Tensions between the structural and the personal are reflected in apparent contradictions between official policies governing the Native Schools system and the practices within individual Native Schools (Butchers 1930). For instance, policy statements made by state officials indicate that through the provision of a limited curriculum Native schooling was intended to prepare Māori to become a rural labouring class (Barrington 1988). Indeed, programs aimed at preparing them for professional occupations were actively discouraged by the Department of Education until the late 1940s (Matthews 1994). Yet claims have been made that the schooling provided within the Native Schools was, in general, equal or even superior to that provided in the public schools (Butchers 1930). If this were indeed the case, it would suggest that the practices of some schools may not have been fully in accord with official policies—that, rather than subscribing to a limited curriculum, some teachers of Native Schools, in fact, may have striven to extend the intellectual development of their pupils. Certainly there is evidence in reports and other statements of inspectors that teachers did not always follow the edicts of the Department of Education (Jenkins & Matthews 1995).

Claims have also been made that the Native Schools elicited more positive responses from Māori pupils than the public schools because their teachers were more likely than their colleagues in the public schools to be motivated by strong humanitarian ideals to serve the interests of their Māori communities (Butchers 1930). On the other hand, there have been numerous oral (and some written) accounts by former Māori pupils of the Native Schools whose recollections of their schooling seem to be characterised mainly by repeated punishment for speaking the Māori language (Edwards 1990). These, seemingly, reflect bitterness and negativity towards the Native Schools system. Other contradictions may be seen in the suggestion that those Māori who have most successfully managed to retain their Māori language and culture over the years had, in most cases, attended Native Schools. Again this suggests a conflict between policy and practice.

Iron Tools

European technology, embodied in goods, was not highly valued by the Māori initially, and different elements were valued differently in successive phases. Captain Cook, who was the first European to establish non-violent relations with the Māori, was surprised to find that they neither "know the use of iron, nor set the least value upon it" (Cook 1967; Banks 1963). This surprised Captain Cook, because iron was the most highly valued good in trade with other Polynesian societies. The European goods offered by Cook were initially not valued highly by the Māori.

The value of iron for tools was discerned soon after its first disappointing dissemination by Cook. Four months after initial contact, and as Cook prepared to sail from New Zealand after circumnavigating the main islands, the ships were actively pursued by three canoes. Upon boarding, the Māori requested nails, "but when Nails was given they asked Tupia what they were, which was plain that they had never seen any before; yet they not only knowed how to ask for them, but know'd what use to make of them... a Tool among them made generally of bone, which they use as a Chisel in making Holes, and so forth" (Cook, 1967). Within a decade the Māori also valued other iron implements highly, such as axes and hatchets. The iron implements initially acquired by the Māori were utilised as substitutes for stone and bone implements—the possessions most prized by Māoris prior to the acquisition of iron—but the iron implements acquired by the Māori were not used in the same way as Europeans nor towards the ends that their European designers had in mind (Shawcross, 1967). Nails were hafted and used as a small chisel for woodworking, and to score tree trunks felling (Shawcross, 1967). Larger pieces of iron, such as broken keg hoops or unworked ingots, and larger ironware were used as hand-to-hand combat tools. The missionaries and visitors gave the Māori agricultural implements, but through the mid-1810s the Māori converted these implements into weapons (Savage, 1973). Initially the Māori did not use these iron implements in cultivating their fields, but used them only as an alternative for stone and bone tools, which were primarily weapons. The tools employed in cultivation were made of wood; anything made of wood was considered by the Māori to be of little value relative to stone and bone implements (Savage, 1973). Because iron was highly prized, as stone had been, and because stone was not used to turn the soil, so too iron was not used to turn the soil (Cruise, 1974).

Furthermore, the Māori rejected European iron working techniques and processed iron in accordance with their traditional stone working techniques (Cruise, 1974). Iron was processed into the desired form by the Māori by grinding, the method used for stone (Best, 1976). The earliest missionaries, who arrived in 1814, trained the Māori in European iron working techniques (Begg, 1979). These methods were learned by a successive series of Māori, whom abandoned these techniques after leaving the employ the missionaries (Cruise, 1974). The missionaries abandoned their attempts to train the Māori in smithing during the 1820s (Begg, 1979).

White Potatoes and Social Change

White potatoes were the first European foodstuff widely adopted by the Māori, and by the first decade of the 19th Century became important both as a trade good with Europeans and as a tribal foodstuff. Unlike Europeans, the Māori valued white potatoes highly, as highly as they valued sweet potatoes. Socially, sweet potatoes were considered by the Māori as food for chiefs. White potatoes were used in the same manner as sweet potatoes, but significantly more productive per acre than sweet potatoes (Shawcross 1967). In fact, by 1830, the volume of cultivated foodstuffs increased by a factor of 40 in

the frequent contact area of the northern end of the island (Shawcross 1967). Unlike sweet potatoes, which were restricted primarily to the northern end of the North Island, white potatoes were capable of being grown throughout most of the North and South Islands (Schaniel 1985). Even though white potatoes were significantly more productive, they did not enter the Māori daily diet initially, but rather were used as a chief foodstuff reserved for the important occasions as the sweet potatoes that they displaced.

The social adaptation of the white potatoes resulted in changes in the roles of slaves, women and free men in obtaining tribal livelihood. Prior to the introduction of white potatoes, the cultivation of sweet potatoes (Begg, 1979) was among the most restricted activities—slaves and women could not assist in planting or harvesting. If they entered the cultivations, touched any instruments utilised, or came into contact with the men whose behaviour was restricted during planting and harvesting; success of crop was jeopardised. While men performed the major seasonal subsistence activities, such as hunting, planting, harvesting, slaves and women performed repetitive, low status tasks such as cooking, collecting firewood, weeding the fields, and collecting berries (Begg 1979). White potatoes cultivations were treated by the Māori as being much less restricted than were sweet potato cultivations, low enough in restriction so that planting and harvesting could be done by women and slaves. Slaves and women were not important in tribal livelihood and men of status devoted much less time to agricultural pursuits (Savage 1973). Men of status were no longer restricted by the planting/harvesting cycle since slaves and women could not cultivate foodstuff. For men of status the important social change was that they could be absent from their tribal territory for long periods of time without harming tribal cultivation productivity. Men of status could also devote time to managing their relations with Europeans, who were their main source of European goods (Savage 1973).

Agricultural Technology

The substitution of white potato for sweet potato was not only in social use, but in agricultural method as well (Savage 1973). The techniques of white potato cultivation employed by the Māori were also largely transferred from sweet potato cultivation, including techniques of ground preparation, planting, and harvesting (Savage 1973; Earle 1966). A visitor to the Bay of Islands in the late 1830s gave the following description of cultivation techniques:

> They scooped a hole for every one. They then turned the earth on top so that each tuber was surmounted by a little cone something like those made by the moles in their earth-works. The arrangement, observed with great exactitude, gave to the plantations an appearance of very finished culture.
>
> The natives prepare the lands which they intend to cultivate by burning all vegetation which hinders them. . . . As soon as the potatoes are sown the fields are tapu--a protection no one dares to infringe. When the time of the harvest has come the entire tribe gathers at the place and carries out the work together just as they did at the planting season (Best 1974).

One early ethnographer succinctly summarised the transfer of sweet potato techniques to white potato as “the one being a duplicate of the other”. The Māori also transferred some of the ceremonies and restrictions used during sweet potato cultivation to the cultivation of white potatoes (Begg 1979).
Although the consistent attempts through 1840 by European missionaries to teach the Māori English farming techniques, the continued use of traditional techniques in the cultivation of white potatoes is an important illustration of the continued vitality of traditional Māori values. In 1830 the Mission attempts to instruct farming techniques intensified with the establishment of a “model English mixed farm” (Hargreaves 1962: 39) whose announced mission was “to teach (the Māori)—apart from Christianity—English methods of cultivation” (Ibid.). While European visitors such as Charles Darwin commented favourably about the missionaries’ farm, the farm had little impact on the cultivating techniques of the Māori. The Māori did not adopt European agricultural techniques in conjunction with European agricultural crops.

The rejection of European agricultural techniques was not only of those techniques specific to white potatoes, but of general European agricultural practices as well. A good example of this rejection is the European use of manure for fertiliser. Instead of using manure, the Māori preferred to allow fields to fallow for several years and to use ash produced by burning the covering vegetation as fertiliser (Best 1976). A trader in the region of the mission farm noted in 1839 “the absence of the plow, harrow, and even rake, and general defects in the practical arts of Agriculture.” (Polack 1978). Despite missionary attempts to train the Māori in the methods considered appropriate by Europeans, the Māori persistently applied the techniques they considered appropriate. One missionary commented that

> One striking peculiarity, however, should not be omitted, in which too, I think, they differ from all agricultural races, their national non-usage of all and every kind of manure. . . . But their whole inner-man revolted at such a thing; and when the early missionaries first used such substances in their kitchen garden it was brought against them as a charge of high opprobrium. And even in their own potato planting in after years they would not use anything of the kind, although they saw in the gardens of the missionaries the beneficial effects arising from the use of manure; and as the potato fresh ground every year... rather than to use the abominated manure.

Though the Māori rejected European techniques, eventually they did adopt two European agriculture implements, the hoe and the spade. As noted previously, iron acquired by the Māori through the mid-1810s was substituted for stone and bone implements, which were primarily used for war clubs and for woodworking tools. In frequent contact areas during the second decade of the 19th century the iron implements desired by the Māori changed because the traditional stone and bone implements had been widely displaced. Hoes and spades rose to prominence as the iron implements most desired by the Māori. The head of the New Zealand mission recorded that now the Māoris' “object was to obtain a hoe or spade”. During this decade the Māori began to substitute iron implements for lower valued wooden agriculture implements.

The Māori use of hoes and spades conformed to Māori concepts of appropriate agricultural techniques. The first European tool to be widely used by the Māori in agriculture pursuits was the hoe, which "they used with a short handle". The short handle facilitated its use from a squatting position which they considered appropriate. Spades were used "often as a scuffle hoe in weeding operations, and very often in a squatting position" (Best 1976: 96). In general, the Māori never really approved of other modes of digging. They objected to the stooping position and to the lifting of heavy spades full of earth, as necessitated by the huripoki or turning over method of digging.

The favoured Māori agricultural implement, even after the adaptation of the European hoe and spade, was the digging stick. By the 1830s (and possibly earlier) the wooden digging stick was replaced by a "small piece of straight iron, something like an elongated nail with which they scooped a hole" (Ibid.: 283). The Māori adopted few European agricultural implements, and those that were adopted were adapted to Māori concepts of appropriate techniques.

Conclusion

A prehistoric viewpoint provides a long-term perspective on the evolution of Māori tribes or chiefdoms. It also explains that the arrival of Cook did not involve a dramatic rupture in the social and political life of a stable and static Polynesian society. Rather, during the first few decades after colonial contact Europeans simply quickened the process of change that had started many centuries before. The initial pattern of post-colonial change was in fact foreshadowed by changes in prehistoric New Zealand.

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Representations of Māori Health in the News Media

Carey Robson

Abstract

There are significant disparities between Māori and non-Māori health in New Zealand, and the mainstream media plays a significant role in creating understandings and consensus about this. The object of this study is to explore the ways in which Māori health is represented in mainstream newspaper discourse and to discuss the ways in which the common themes and explanations are used to construct understandings about the causes of the disparities.

279 newspaper items that referred to Māori health were found on the Newztext database. They were categorised by newspaper, type and topic, and common themes were identified.

It was found that the disparities were regularly explained as failures of personal responsibility on the part of Māori, and that attempts to address them were labelled as special privilege and preferential treatment. This is a discourse designed to maintain the power and privilege of the dominant group to put the focus and the blame, and therefore the need to change, onto Māori.

Introduction

There are significant disparities between Māori and non-Māori health in New Zealand. Māori have inequitable access to health services and good health outcomes (Pōmare et al. 1995, Ajwani et al. 2003, Westbroke et al. 2001 and Tukuitonga 2002). The mainstream media has an important role in creating and maintaining understandings and consensus. Examining the way that the media works helps us to appreciate how the mainstream conceptualises and explains health disparities. This can influence public health policy and interventions in Māori health.

The object of this study is to explore the ways in which Māori health is represented in mainstream newspaper discourse by identifying the frequency, type and topic of articles about Māori health, describing the common themes and arguments associated with Māori health in newspapers and discussing the ways in which they are used to construct understandings about the causes of the disparities. It is intended as a scoping exercise that will identify possible future areas for research.

Discourse Analysis

This study uses critical discourse analysis to look at the way that dominant discourses create and perpetuate ideas about Māori and Māori health.

Discourse analysis is the study of language and how it is used to create ways of understanding the world and our place in it. Discourse includes spoken and written forms of language as well as non-verbal communication such as symbols and pictures and anything that conveys meaning. There are different theoretical ways to approach discourse analysis; they are divided into two main streams. The semiotic approach is about how language produces meaning. The discursive approach is about the effects and consequences of meaning, the ideas, practices and power relationships that are created and maintained by use of language.

Discourse expresses people's points of view and value systems – our 'commonsense' understanding of the world. Wetherell and Potter (1992) talk about linguistic 'repertoires' – pools of ideas, images and language derived from a person's direct and indirect experiences, taken-for-granted and commonplace. This is how we construct what is 'commonsense'. The media is one of the primary sources of indirect experiences drawing on a series of understandings to tell and to frame stories.

Critical discourse analysis is a branch of discourse analysis. It is concerned with "prejudice, power, dominance and hegemony and the discursive processes of their enactment, concealment, legitimation and reproduction in the domain of newspaper reporting" (Teo, 2000 cited in Rankine and McCreanor 2004: 6).

Discourse creates and maintains unequal power relationships through the way that it represents things and positions people. An example of discourse positioning power relationships from the health field is the change in the language used to describe the people who use the health system. In the late 1980s, there was an explicit and conscious choice made by the Ministry of Health, to change the word used from 'Patient' to 'Client' or to 'health consumer'. The change had a social and cultural function. It changed the way that people thought about the power relationship between the health user and the health providers. 'Patient' implied a passive receiver of services, while 'client' implied a more active transaction: a client, or a consumer, has more power. It also had economic implications – the services that a client receives cost money. The change in language implied a change in the way that the health service was understood - It turned health into a commodity.

> For critical discourse analysis, language is not powerful on its own – it gains power by the use that people make of it… [It] often chooses the perspectives of those who suffer, and critically analyses the language use of those in power, who are responsible for the existence of inequalities and who also have the means and opportunity to improve conditions (Wodak 2001: 10).

The news is hegemonic. This means that it sets the agenda of what is considered important and whose points of view become the norm, by presenting the interests of the dominant group, usually ignoring or marginalising those of a minority. Therefore "discourse may, for example, be racist or sexist, and try to pass off assumptions (often falsifying ones) about any aspect of social life as mere commonsense" (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). One of the ways that this operates is that the most powerful have the most access to the media – they have greater control over what is said and how it is said to maintain their own interests.

Critical discourse analysis asks a series of questions designed to understand the power relations involved in a particular discourse. These include:

> Where does it come from, how is it circulated, and who controls it?
> What is being left out of the story?
> Who benefits from the point of view expressed in the text?

Focusing on who is controlling the discourse, and for what reasons, shows how the media works in the interests of those in power. What is not being said is often as revealing as what is being said. It is not usually in the interests of those telling the story to look at the point of view of those who are being disadvantaged by it.

The Media

There is a process by which the news is selected and the way a story is framed – the way that the news agenda is set. How much coverage a story gets, the headline, how it is positioned in a newspaper, how statistics are used, who is quoted, and who gets a voice, all indicate how important a story is considered to be and how we are to understand it. These are decisions made by journalists and editors according to an often unconscious and unquestioned set of assumptions about 'news values'. This is compounded by the fact that they are working within time, financial and practical constraints that mean that taking risks does not often occur. This further limits what stories can easily be told and how.

Assumptions about what makes a good news story are a product of social, political and cultural ways of understanding the world. The New Zealand Journalist Training Board estimates that about five percent of journalists are Māori or Pacific Islanders – many of whom do not work in mainstream media outlets (Abel 2004). Most people working in the mainstream news media are white and middle class. They view the world through a particular frame and tend to assume that their audience sees the world the same way they do. They presume what an audience wants to hear and what is meaningful to them.

According to Ranginui Walker, this often means that the story is framed so it is about how it affects Pākehā, rather than what it means to Māori. For example, stories of Māori protest are generally told from the point of view of those who have been challenged or inconvenienced by the protest, but not the context for the protest or the historical suffering of those protesting. Stories about Waitangi Tribunal claims tend to focus on the property rights of Pākehā, rather than the injustices suffered by Māori (Walker 1990).

Rankine and McCreanor (2004) detail the way that media coverage of a bicultural health research partnership downplayed the achievements of the Māori research partners and focused only on the role of the Pākehā academics. This made the role of Māori in solving their own health issues invisible, and confirmed stereotypes of Māori as being unable to make an equal or even significant contribution to Pākehā knowledge creation, thus reinforcing the idea of Pākehā saving Māori.

The news has to make sense to viewers to be meaningful, and accordingly it does not tend to challenge the dominant worldview and risk losing its audience. This protects and legitimises the existing dominant ideologies and fails to represent or misrepresents anything that might challenge it. By repeating stereotypical ideas about other 'races' without questioning them, the media have a crucial role in reinforcing racist ideas (Wall 1997).

The need for news to be immediate, and often to be entertaining, to grab attention and hold audiences, means that the context and historic background to a story does not often get told. It takes longer to explain alternative viewpoints, and therefore complex situations tend to be simplified and minority voices get lost. A study of the coverage of the 'Moutoa Gardens' occupation in 1995, found that Māori voices and points of view were quoted less and given less weight than those of Pākehā interest groups, giving them less agency and less power (Barclay and Liu 2003).

A focus of news is conflict. According to John Fiske, "newsworthy events are those that disrupt or restore equilibrium" (cited in Abel 2004). The media decides what equilibrium is and who is doing the disrupting. Mainstream media see Pākehā privilege as the norm and therefore any challenge to it as a disruption of the natural state of affairs; Māori land claims disrupt the equilibrium of Pākehā property rights. It puts the focus on conflict and resolution and this puts a frame on news stories that does not allow for subtleties and nuances.

There is, however, room in the mainstream media for oppositional voices. The media is not homogenous and different newspapers and writers can have different perspectives. They can sometimes take different positions on the same issues, depending on the context. Also, most newspapers print columns and opinion pieces from a range of viewpoints, and print letters that disagree with their editorial policies. Even within the same newspaper, different journalists might

chose to present stories from alternative angles. Sometimes the goal is to provoke as much as to confirm worldviews. Alternative voices do exist, but what some writers have found is that they tend to get marginalised and dismissed. In a discussion of the media coverage of the "Decades of disparity" report, released in July 2003, it was found that a central message of the report – that decades of structural inequalities and institutional racism have led to poor Māori health statistics – was ignored, misunderstood and sometimes ridiculed by media commentators, who returned again and again to the issue of personal responsibility for an explanation of health inequalities, and so ignored the necessity for structural change (Hodgetts et al, 2004).

In recent years there has been a significant increase in alternative Māori media. Iwi radio, Māori television, independent print media, and the Internet all question dominant ideologies and present alternative voices and stories. The fact remains though, that for most people the mainstream media is the main source of information and everyday understanding about the world, and it operates to protect and legitimise the dominant power structures.

This is not to say that people are passive consumers of the dominant ideology as presented in the news. They react and respond in different ways. People negotiate the messages given by news according to their own knowledge and interests. They can and do, accept completely, partially, or not all, any given story and this partly depends upon their own direct experience of the subject of the story. If they have personal knowledge of the issues presented by the news, they are more likely to question the assumptions.

Letters to the editor are one way to gauge audience response and to indicate how news stories are being understood and digested by their audience; however it is hard to know if they are representative. The letters page is often where you see the most extreme views. They are written by those who are strongly motivated and the newspaper choses, edits and positions them, using a range of criteria, such as newsworthiness or balance. This can be misleading, because presenting every view equally gives the impression that they are held by equal proportions of the population. Sometimes letters are given prominence for their shock value, sometimes simply because they agree with the editorial line of the paper. It is possible to read letters to the editor as an indication of the audience response to a particular issue; however they cannot be taken as a definitive picture of society's views.

Discursive Representations of Māori

Māori have historically been positioned as a problem in the dominant discourse. Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes the way that this situation has evolved from the early days of European colonisation and the systematic undermining of Māori leadership as a wider strategy of dominance and control:

> *The 'indigenous problem' became embedded as a policy discourse which reached out across all aspects of a government's attempt to control the natives. Both 'friends of the natives' and those hostile to indigenous peoples conceptualised the issues of colonisation and European encroachment on indigenous territories in terms of a problem with the natives (Smith 1999: 91).*

Māori were to blame for not accepting the terms of their colonisation, a situation that become theorised around ideas of cultural deprivation and deficit, placing the responsibility for poverty and poor health on Māori themselves. This historic situation continues today. These old discourses have changed and evolved, but they continue to have the same function. Māori are often still conceived of and discussed in the dominant discourse as though they are the source of the problems:

> Recurrent depictions of [Māori] as incapacitated by illness imply that they are ill adapted to living in the modern world and suffer disproportionate levels of health problems because of this weakness (Rankine and McCreanor 2004: 23).

In his article "Mimiwhangata: Media reliance on Pākehā commonsense interpretations of Māori actions", McCreanor names some of the 'commonsense' ideas about Māori he has identified in the mainstream discourse:

1. *Māori culture:* Māori culture is inherently inferior to that of the Pākehā.
2. *Good Māori/Bad Māori:* Māori fall into two groups – those who fit in with society, and those who do not.
3. *Māori Violence:* Māori (men especially) seek and enjoy violence.
4. *Māori inheritance.* There are very few 'real' Māori left. Most part-Māori are more something else.
5. *Privilege* Māori have special privileges which are unfair, racist, and akin to apartheid.
6. *One People*. We are all New Zealanders, Kiwis etc. and should all be treated the same.
7. *Stirrers* If only the Māori people would stop stirring up trouble where none exists, race relations in New Zealand would be the 'best-in-the-world' once more.
8. *Rights.* Equal rights for all are a democratic cornerstone. Privilege is an anathema.
9. *Sensitivity* Māori have become oversensitive about their culture and this has led to racial tension.
10. *Ignorance.* Where Pākehā do offend Māori, they do so out of ignorance rather than intent (McCreanor 1993: 82).

This list is not exhaustive - there are other representations that gain currency at different times and in different contexts. These ideas can be reproduced with a few words – they are easy to put into sound-bites and be understood by everyone. In this sense, they are a type of shorthand. They gain power by repetition, each time they are reiterated they seem more like 'commonsense'. The problem for those who wish to oppose these ideas is that this shorthand is so powerful – it conveys complex, but widely understood, ideas quickly. It is hard to convey alternative ideas so rapidly and concisely if you also have to explain your underlying assumptions.

> These interpretive resources lend themselves to explanations of the poor health status of Māori as a function of being Māori and so naturalise or legitimise a situation that is ethically, socially and economically unacceptable. The dominance of such accounts means that alternative explanations of Māori health and morbidity are marginalised. These alternatives could, for

> example, be the social and political impacts of colonisation, or of contemporary contexts and processes on health practice on Māori health. (McCreanor 2002: 5-6)

Method

The purpose of this study was to survey a representative sample of stories to get an indication of the range of discourses about Māori health, and to examine the language used to describe and understand Māori health, particularly the explanations given for and understandings about, the poor health statistics of Māori compared to those of Pākehā.

This study focuses on the print media. It combines two elements; quantitative elements of counting type and frequency of articles and identifying topic, and a qualitative, more detailed look at specific discourse themes and constructions. A search was undertaken of the Newztext database, managed by The Knowledge Basket, using the key words 'Māori and health' and 'Māori and disease', for the time period December 2003 — November 2004. It is not possible to know how comprehensive this search was, but the aim was to survey a representative sample, rather than detail every single item.
The database searches the mainstream newspapers: *The Sunday Star-Times, The Dominion Post, The Press, Waikato Daily Times, Timaru Herald, the Southland Times, The Palmerston North Evening Standard, The New Plymouth Daily News* and *The New Zealand Herald*. Newztext provides the name of the newspaper, the type of article (i.e. news, editorial, letter to the editor etc.) and the page number. It does not show accompanying photographs or graphics and it does include details on how it was placed on the page, and what other stories it was adjacent to. These things can sometimes indicate the paper's attitude to the story; however it was outside the scope of the study to go back to the original papers to search this out.
The time period December 2003 to November 2004 was chosen because it encompassed the 'Ōrewa' speech by opposition leader Don Brash, which has been widely seen as a watershed in race relations in New Zealand. It also covered the establishment of Primary Healthcare Organisation (PHOs) and their targeting of funding to Māori and to Māori Health providers. A whole year was studied, as the object was to identify a wide range of discourses and their themes and arguments.

The items selected were collated into a spreadsheet, which included the headline, the date, the newspaper, the type of item (ie news story, editorial, etc.) the page number and the main topic. A comment about the main message of the story was assigned.

The search produced approximately 600 items, which were read to identify significant articles. After editing out those that were not considered relevant, the study corpus came to 279. These latter items were surveyed for topic and theme. The criteria used for choosing which items to include were that they had to say, directly or indirectly, something about the status and/or importance of Māori health. Those where Māori health was only mentioned tangentially to the main story, and did not have any

implied comment about it, were excluded. For example, a story about a (Pākehā) nurse winning an award where Māori health workers sang a waiata at the ceremony, or stories in which it is mentioned without comment that a particular individual has worked for a Māori health provider.

Results

In total, there were 279 news stories, editorials, columns, feature stories and letters to the editor that formed the dataset. There were a variety of topics covered in the articles. Some overlapped, and in others Māori health was only a subtopic. There were two main strands; the stories about politics, public policy and funding for Māori health; these encompassed stories about health inequalities, access to health services, the creation of PHOs, the performance of Māori Health Providers, and party political positioning around these issues. The other main strand was about aspects of illness and disease, and specific health issues affecting Māori. These different strands informed and influenced each other.

There was fairly consistent frequency of stories over the year, but with spikes around particular issues, particularly the Don Brash speech, which generated extra coverage over February and March.

Health Inequalities and Racism

The first significant topic relating to Māori health was a discussion of health inequalities and racism in November/December 2003. This encompassed three news stories, a political column, an editorial and five letters to the editor. The (then) Associate Health Minister, Tāriana Tūria, had written an article for a medical journal stating that conventional western medicine had failed to close the mortality gap between Māori and Pākehā, and that it was important to accept that racism plays a part in health inequality. Members of the Opposition questioned her in Parliament blaming poor diet instead.

The story was first reported on 21 November with a news story and a political column in the Dominion Post, and as well as a news story in the New Zealand Herald. The headline of the Herald story was "*Tūria's Views on Health Racist Says Peters*" This headline was misleading because Winston Peters had not actually accused Tūria of racism. It was followed the next day with another news story that appeared in both the *Christchurch Press* and the *Dominion Post*: *"$158m Targeted at Māori Health*". This was in response to Tūria's statement the Māori were not receiving health services in the same way as Māori. It stated, "Pākehā got nothing", despite the fact that the rest of the $9.6 billion health budget is used for mainstream health. The story, though, did refer to studies which showed disparities in health services for Māori and institutional racism in the health system.

On the same day, there was another *Dominion Post* story by the same journalist, headlined "Food for Thought", which quoted the Minister of Health denying that racism was an issue. It quoted three politicians from right wing opposition parties:

> In fact, over the two decades they have been treated as much more as equals and in some cases have been given favouritism.
> If the Minister wants to do something, she should get the (healthy food) message out to Māori, instead of saying that it's not your fault; you are a victim of racism, that's why you are eating Kentucky Fried Chicken.
> If Māori were not accessing health care, it was for some reason because they chose not to.

It also quoted the Director of the Eru Pōmare Māori Health Research Centre, Dr. Papaarangi Reid (whose work had been referred to by Tūria) citing evidence of differential treatment. It also said that she was reluctant to comment further, saying that the *Dominion Post* was "avidly right-wing" and "anti-Māori". The story then quoted an orthopaedic surgeon, saying that he had never seen any discrimination in the hospital system, and that any disparity was due only to socio-economic factors. There was a series of vox pops with Māori – all of which agreed that Māori eat too much fast food—"We all eat the wrong stuff", and, "Why don't Māori get off their bums and do something?" This story also appeared on the same day, in a shortened form, in *The Christchurch Press* under the headline "*King Disputes Claims of Māori Health Inequality*" – which was misleading because the Health Minister did not deny the inequality, just that racism was a significant problem. This story was followed by an editorial in the Dominion Post on the 26 November:

> Despite that [extra] funding, too many Māori – or more accurately, too many on low incomes – are over represented among those with type two diabetes and those facing heart failure… All Kiwis' have an obligation to take responsibility for their own health.

The editorial implied, inaccurately, that Tūria had said that the Māori health providers had failed. This again denied racism as a problem and suggested that inequality is only a socio-economic issue – and again invoked personal responsibility – implying that inequalities are not the fault of the system, but of personal failures on the part of Māori and of Māori Health providers.

This was followed in the next couple of weeks with five letters to the editor all in the Dominion Post. They claimed:

> Māori health is poor due to personal choice.
>
> In today's world we all need to be responsible for ourselves to a certain extent.
>
> It sounds as though there are taniwha loose in the health system, with heaps of taxpayer's money being lost in the swamp.

There was only one that questioned the prevailing views:

> It would be a shame if the extreme reaction against any recognition of Māori rights and needs were to flow over into the public health system.

The strategies employed in the discussion of this topic were the denial of racism and structural problems, returning the focus and the blame onto Māori themselves; the accusation of special privilege and the subtle ridiculing of the Māori academic (who was the only person quoted who had expertise in the subject area), and who was stating the opposite view; and the use of misleading headlines which sensationalised the issues. There is also the use of authenticating voices, the way that Māori were used to push home the idea that they themselves were responsible for their own health problems. The coverage of this debate set the tone for the following few months.

Don Brash and 'Race-based Funding'

The biggest story of the year was Don Brash, his speech and the fallout from that. It generated literally thousands of news articles, feature stories, letters to the editor, editorials and opinion pieces. To give some background to the story, Don Brash is the Leader of the Opposition, the right-wing National Party. In the February 2004 speech, he questioned the validity of what he called "race-based funding" of Māori health initiatives, as well as special quotas for Māori in education – particularly in medical schools. The speech called for an end to "special privilege" for Māori, making the claim "We are all New Zealanders". This was widely reported in the media. There was much media debate about the place of Māori in New Zealand and particularly "race-based" funding. Don Brash's poll ratings rose significantly. The Government response was to initiate a review of funding for Māori based initiatives, including to Māori health providers.
Most of the resulting stories discussed wider issues of race relations, and of the party political implications of the speech and the reaction to it. The study concentrates only on those that specifically discuss Māori health, and the implications in the speech for funding for Māori health.

In total thirty-nine items specifically relating to the Brash speech and Māori health were identified; twelve news stories, thirteen letters to the editor, eight opinion pieces, two editorials, and three feature articles. The focus of the discussion was the idea of 'race-based' funding as opposed to 'needs-based' funding. It was pointed out in several items that this is effectively the same thing. There were ten items that discussed the disparities between Māori and non-Māori, detailed the actual spending against the need, and found that it was not out of proportion; such as "*Why Māori Don't Get Their Fair Share*" on *The Herald* on 15 March; "*What's Eating Pākehā: High Needs Demand High Spending*" in the New Zealand Herald, 21 February, "*Single Currency - The Dollars and Sense of Māori Funding*", in *The Sunday Star-Times* on the 8 February, "*Privileged Life?"* in *The Press* on the 7 February, and "*In Sickness and in Health – The Great New Zealand Divide*", in *The Sunday-Star Times* on the 28 March.

There were several pieces that critiqued or responded to claims made in the speech including "A Need For More Māori Doctors", in *The Dominion Post*, 4 March 2003, an opinion piece written by eight academics from the Wellington School of Medicine, arguing for the need to retain quotas for Māori

medical students. “Brash Plays Race Card Beautifully”, was a news story in *The Sunday Star Times* on the 8 February, which carried the caption; “Speech was generalised and Brash offers no evidence to back up his claim”. Another story, in *The Press* and *The Dominion Post* in 31 March, quoted a study which said that Māori life expectancy was rising, saying that it is evidence that health policies aimed at Māori are working. “*Māori Want Best of Both*” in *The Evening Standard* on the 10 February, quoted Tāriana Tūria saying that it was commonsense that health services should be culturally appropriate. An editorial in *The Sunday Star-Times* on the eighth February called Don Brash foolish and ideologically blinkered. It said that the system has been systematically biased against Māori for a long time: “The present ethnic weighting is aimed at need not skin colour”. An editorial in *The Waikato Times* on the 17 February also agreed that the funding was justified on the basis of need, and that just being Māori has an effect on life expectancy.

Other articles were in support of Brash. *The Dominion Post* carried the story “*Ethnic-Based Funding failing says Brownlee*”. That headline was chosen; although he gave no real evidence, and the story went on to quote three public health physicians, who all disagreed with him. Another story in the Dominion was “*Māori welcome Brash*”, about a Māori Health trust complaining about inequities between funding for different health providers, although the body of the story explained the reasons for this, the story gave support to Brash, by using Māori themselves to say that the system was wrong. A column by Michael Bassett said that it was nonsense that there is discrimination in the health system, and Māori are more feckless about diet and lifestyles.

Of those news stories and feature articles which decided, on balance, that an extra 1.65 percent of the health budget was not unreasonable to address the health disparities, there was mention of the lower socio-economic status of Māori, but there was not much exploration of the reason for this greater need. Only two articles mentioned racism as a possible problem; there was almost no discussion about the broader structural and societal issues, the cost to Māori of colonisation, or of the implications of a health system that does not meet the needs of Māori. The emphasis seemed to be on what ‘extra’ funding was allocated to Māori and whether this was ‘fair’.

The letters to the editor were mixed in their opinions. Of the 13 letters found by the database that directly mentioned health issues in connection with the speech, seven were in support of Brash and six against. Comments included:

> What are Māori’s extra health needs? Where have the millions been spent and to what purpose?
> Disadvantages hinge around incompetent parenting, lack of education and social skills
> Decades of racist lies and social engineering [by Māori radicals] are jointly responsible with Māori for their low estate.

Another letter opposed the idea that Māori privilege existed:

> It is not about privilege; it is about doing the right pragmatic thing where there is clearly a need. Where is the privilege in dying?

The coverage surrounding this issue demonstrated a range of opinions, and included both supportive and critical views. In those pieces that were supportive of statements by Brash, explanations for Māori and disparities once again employed strategies of denial, victim-blame and claims of special privilege.

PHOs and Māori Health Providers

Over the period of the Brash speech and the reaction to it, there was also media coverage of the development of Primary Healthcare Organisations (PHOs), a new system for delivering and funding primary healthcare. This system targets funding to high-needs groups, including Māori, with PHOs receiving more money for enrolling high-needs groups, and requiring them to work with Māori Health Providers (MHPs). These new PHOs are funded by District Health Boards (DHBs) who have Māori representatives appointed to oversee Māori health in their districts.

In the Newztext search, there were fifty-two stories, across all the newspapers, covering the establishment of PHOs and bureaucratic issues about appointments to boards and contracts with MHPs. Most of these stories were on back pages of the newspapers, and were just short factual pieces. There were, though, some longer ones, explaining the new system and its implications.

Some of the media coverage was positive about the new system, such as "MPs Praise Board's Relationship With Local Iwi" in *The Southland Times* on 11 September 2004, for instance, and "Cooperation Seen as Key to Better Māori Health" in *The Dominion* on 5 January, which quoted the DHB director of Māori health, discussing structural issues which impact on health (though not racism).

There were twenty-eight stories that were positive about MHPs. They included coverage of awards won by MHPs, success stories about their projects and positive results of their initiatives; "Healthcare Project Rated a Success"; "Mentally Ill Find Help at Te Rūnanga"; "Hearing Therapists Walk the Māori Talk" and "A Helping Hand to Good Health". Although again, these were all on back pages of the papers and most were short pieces, with not much discussion, context or analysis. Interestingly, it was noted that journalism students wrote several of the longer and more positive stories. More stories were negative; "Lifeline for Health Body After Māori Defections" in *The Dominion Post* on 16 February 2004, about the fact the three MHPs had decided to form their own PHO. The reason that they felt they could not work with the existing PHO was not given. The focus of the story was the "disarray" they apparently caused.

Another story, on the first page of *The Nelson Mail*, was "Smith Slams PHO Board for Racial Divisiveness" on 9 January. The local MP "slammed" the "over-representation" of iwi on the local PHO.

> It is offensive and wrong…Māori from local iwi are first class citizens, Māori from other areas are second-class citizens and everybody else is treated as third-class citizens.

This story did not offer any analysis, or interview anyone from the PHO or the iwi. This was just prior to the Don Brash speech; it too invoked the 'preferential treatment' theme.

There were eleven news stories over the year about fraud, crime and financial mismanagement by Māori health providers, all but three of them in *The Dominion Post*. The main theme of these stories was the lack of accountability and waste of taxpayers' money. The impression left by the coverage is one of greed and incompetence, and an inability of Māori to manage their own affairs.

Much of the coverage of Māori health providers focused on the idea that funding for Māori meant less for Pākehā. On the 6 November, The Christchurch Press ran a story "Drug Service Plans Appal Hamner Boss" about a new drug and alcohol service ran by a Māori health provider in the South Island, shortly after an "identical" service had been closed down at Hamner Springs. In the body of the story, it emerged that the Hamner Clinic had not bid to run the new service, because it would have had to work with a Māori partner. There was one letter in response, which called the closure of the Hamner service shameful. Money spent on Māori "with neither result nor accountability", was arrogant blackmail; the staff at Hamner were caring professionals, and those at the Māori service would be untrained, incompetent busybodies.

The Timaru Herald ran a story on 13 January; "Official Opening For New Māori Health Service". It was a short piece on page four, describing a new marae based clinic, which received $230,000 from the local DHB. It quoted the DHB chief executive Craig Climo:

> While Māori in South Canterbury appear to be better off in health status than Māori elsewhere in New Zealand, they nevertheless are still disadvantaged relative to non-Māori. This is plainly unfair.

Over the next couple of weeks, there were nineteen letters in response. There were three in support and sixteen against the idea of funding for a separate health service for Māori. The letters questioned whether there really was a health inequality; they called special services for Māori racist; they questioned whether Māori really are Māori, or just claiming to be to get special privileges; that funding for Māori meant less money for 'patients on the waiting list'; that Māori get special treatment and that they lack personal responsibility. They drew on the whole repertoire of 'commonsense' ideas about Māori.

This is a sample of the tone of the letters:

> If they have greater health problems, then in my opinion it is their own fault. What they need instead of a special health service is education on hygiene, healthy exercise, and above all, healthy diet.
> Māori have to me proven incapable of working for the benefit of others.
> In my opinion education on hygiene, exercise, less cigarettes, drugs, and alcohol would help, perhaps a job to go to instead of lining up for benefits.

Craig Climo wrote two short notes in response to direct questions asked in the letters, reiterating the fact of Māori disadvantage and the need to address it. These notes were themselves attacked. In the 24 January, *The Herald* ran a longer response on page three of the newspaper; "Climo Outlines Inequities in Defence of Māori Health Initiative". It discussed the financing of the clinic, showing that even with it, the DHB was only spending ninety cents on Māori for each dollar spent on Pākehā health, and cited statistics and studies showing in detail the disadvantages suffered by Māori. The database did not find any more letters printed after this.

On 7 August, later that year, there was another story – the clinic had been moved from the marae to another location "to make the service more accessible to everyone", which was presented as a positive development. It quoted the chairperson of the service:

> The existence of educational, occupational and wage discrimination is forming powerful, restraining forces restricting not only Māori access to health and social benefits that are available to non-Māori, but also limiting Māori from maximising the opportunities provided by Māori initiatives.

On the 2 February, *The New Plymouth Daily News* published a story on Page 4 about a new tikanga best practice policy at Taranaki District Health Board. There were three letters in response, mostly on the "special treatment" theme:

> When are they going to put a stop to patients having nine or so visitors at a time and kids lolling all over the ready-made beds, or is this PC? This is our public hospital. Leave it alone.

This was followed by another story on 27 February; "PC Attitudes Bad for Health, Says Scott". Quoting the National Party's spokesperson on health, the policy was called unproven alternative Māori medicine—"…political correctness is taking health dollars away from frontline services".

This series of stories on PHO development and Māori health providers demonstrated again that there was a range of views, but themes of special privilege in particular emerged around discussions of funding and health services.

Māori and Illness

Over the year, there was a lot of coverage of particular diseases, epidemics and medical conditions, mostly in the feature sections of the newspapers. This included coverage of meningococcal disease,

cancer, dental health, sexual (especially adolescent) health, mental health, renal transplants, cardiovascular health, child health, smoking and obesity, the biggest story by far was diabetes. Many of these were general stories about the medical condition, with Māori only referred to in passing.

There were twenty-six stories relating to diabetes in which Māori were mentioned. Of these, there were eight in *The Waikato Times* and two in *The New Zealand Herald* about a screening programme in The Waikato specifically for Māori. The others were general stories about the diabetes 'epidemic', mentioning Māori rates only as an aside. The emphasis of these stories was on the lifestyle factors contributing to diabetes; diet and exercise. These stories all quoted the fact the Māori are more likely to get diabetes, but not one of them gave any explanation for this. Some of them talked about possible clinical causes, such as genetic predisposition, but only in a general way. Even the Waikato stories did not discuss any reason why Māori were more likely to contract the disease, other than lifestyle factors.

Related to the diabetes stories, there were seven stories about obesity; three general stories about the rise in obesity in *The Press* and *The Dominion Post*, and four in *The Sunday Star Times* following Auckland man Bill Tauere in his effort to lose weight. These stories again focused on lifestyle choices as a cause of obesity, although one in *The Dominion Post* (7 Jun 2004) did talk about poverty as a factor, but it also said that it was about personal responsibility "at the end of the day". There was acknowledgement in several stories about the need for targeted services for Māori, but none of them looked closely at societal or socio-economic factors for why Māori may be more likely to have poor diets and unhealthy lifestyles, leaving the impression of laziness or irresponsibility as cause of bad health, and also of a greater inherent susceptibility to illness, rather than of a system which does not meet the needs of Māori.

Another issue arose in the coverage of kidney disease and renal transplants. This was a big story in this period because rugby player Jonah Lomu received a kidney transplant. There were nine stories about this issue, none directly about Māori, but all mentioned that Māori have higher rates of kidney disease, several detailing the financial cost of this, six said that Māori have lower rates of kidney donation, five of them at least partially attributing this to 'cultural factors'; a belief that the body needs to be kept whole. The implication, though, is that Māori are backward and superstitious, and that they choose to not give as much as they take, in terms of health resources.

There were sixteen stories about the meningococcal epidemic, and the vaccination campaign in response to it. Of these, three stories were about the difficulties in the vaccination campaign reaching Māori. All the rest were more general, and only mentioned in passing the fact that Māori have much higher incidence of the disease, and most did not give an explanation for this. One editorial, in *The Herald*, 1 October 2004, said, "The excuses given for the slow response by Māori – a lack of transport and poverty are flimsy. Responsible parents would make every effort to have their child immunised."

Two other stories in *The Herald* were about a Māori health provider's efforts to reach Māori and they looked more closely at the reasons why Māori were not taking up the vaccinations – mainly issues of communication, and a distrust of the health system. Of the sixteen stories, only four had any mention of poverty and overcrowding as an issue, and only one explicitly linked these problems to Māori rates. This lack of insight again leaves the impression that Māori are just inherently unhealthy, if not irresponsible in the care of their children, and not that there are systemic failures.

A report about inequalities in heart treatment was released on 8 July 2004. Among other issues about access, it detailed how Māori are less likely to receive intervention for heart problems. It was reported in *The Sunday Star Times*, *The Christchurch Press*, and there were two stories in *The Dominion Post*. The *Press* story focused on the difference in care between New Zealand and Australia, noting that Christchurch had the best care in New Zealand, and only briefly mentioned inequities in Māori care. *The Sunday Star Times*, and the first *Dominion Post* stories focused on the different access for city and provincial dwellers – the lower rates of intervention for Māori were only mentioned at the end of the stories. None of them mentioned the reasons given in the report for this. The next day, though, *The Dominion Post* printed another story "Arresting Statistics", which had the first sentence:

> Racism in the health system is partly to blame for Māori heart patients being up to four times more likely to die than other patients.

The story talked about institutional racism in the hospital system, and gave statistics showing the poor Māori rates of intervention. In the next week, there were two letters in response:

> The Māori Cardiovascular Advisory group blames 'institutional racism' for the high rate of heart disease in Māoridom. Apparently a high alcohol and nicotine abuse rate along with a high fat diet are of little concern compared to the bigotry of the white man.
>
> How can Dr Reid call for a shake-up of the health system when her own people blatantly stick their collective fingers up their own noses?

There was also a tendency is some stories to discount the experiences of Māori. A story about screening for heart disease in The New Zealand Herald, 9 December 2003, talked about the need for men to be screened at age 45, it was only after talking about men's health in general, that it emerged that Māori need to be screened 10 years earlier – the Māori need was presented as though it was only of secondary importance, and it didn't give a reason why Māori need to be screened earlier. "Kiwis Really Need a Wake-up Call" in the Sunday Star Times, 1 February 2003, was a general piece about the state of health in New Zealand. It talked about Māori mortality and cancer rates as being third world, while white rates are more like Australia and Sweden. A health department official said the cancer rates were skewed by the high Māori figures, and an oncologist said that the reason for the different rate compared to Australia, is that the Māori rate of smoking is very high. Another story, about heart disease, also made the point that Māori rates accounted for the discrepancy between those of New Zealand and Australia. There is an implication that Pākehā are not doing so badly. These

statements make it seem that Māori health issues are less important than those of Pākehā. Māori problems are discounted.

The themes that came out of the coverage of Māori illness were lack of personal responsibility was again used as an explanation for poor Māori health statistics, also the 'othering' of Māori; positioning Māori as other than the norm, with the implication, often, that their experiences are less important.

Discussion

This study is intended as a scoping exercise, designed to identify a range of discourses. It is not intended to be definitive, or to necessarily apply to anything outside this time period.
There were several recurring phrases and themes that came up in the discourses about Māori health. The emphasis of much of the coverage was on funding for Māori. The speech given by Don Brash put stress on this as an issue, but there was debate about it before then. Throughout these discussions, the 'special privilege' and 'preferential treatment' themes occurred again and again. There were many reiterations of the idea that any public funding at all for Māori is a special privilege and an anathema to the idea that all 'Kiwis' should be treated the same.

There was a general acknowledgement of the inequality between Māori and Pākehā health, and despite Don Brash's speech, there also seemed to be a common, though not universal, acceptance that there needed to be targeted funding to address it. The number of factual and positive stories about Māori health providers showed that there was some recognition that they are doing a necessary job. However, the greater number of negative stories showed an underlying discourse about the inability of Māori to manage their own affairs, and a prevalent belief that 'giving' money to Māori meant that Pākehā would miss out, and that this was unfair, divisive, and some suggested, racist.

The cost to the taxpayer seemed a big concern. The suggestion that Māori health providers are not accountable for taxpayers' money came up again and again, and the discourse about Māori not being competent to manage money was a recurring theme. The idea that Māori are an expensive waste of taxpayers' money was hard to escape. The fact that Māori pay taxes too was not discussed.

There was also a theme of ungratefulness on the part of Māori for what Pākehā have given them. An editorial in *The Waikato Times*, on the 4 May, describes Helen Clark's "palpable" sense of disappointment when the Māori Party was formed, after she "has worked hard - and at times unpopularly among the non-Māori electorate - to turn around entrenched poor Māori health."

'Personal responsibility' was another phrase that came up in many editorials, opinion pieces and letters to the editor. It was often used as a way of putting the blame for poor health outcomes on the

victim, not on the wider structural issues in society. It meant that society did not have to examine its own practices, and therefore did not have to change.

A sense of Māori not taking responsibility for their own problems was a recurrent theme in the letters, such as this one from *The Dominion Post*, 29 December 2003:

> Full praise to Māori for joining forces to fight to protect their rights to the foreshore. One would also like to see that same passion and rhetoric applied to the issues of Māori health, education, crime rates and child abuse.

When institutional racism was discussed in the media, and Tāriana Tūria and Dr. Papaarangi Reid were the only people who were quoted about it, there was always a strong reaction that racism is not the problem, but rather lack of personal responsibility on the part of Māori is.

Many of those whose opinions about this subject were quoted were often politicians with no particular expertise in Māori issues or public health. Using quotes from Māori themselves as authenticating voices to back up arguments and deflect criticism was another common strategy.

Māori health issues are seen as other than those of 'ordinary New Zealanders'. Quoting Māori statistics as an aside, with no context or explanation, is one way that this is done, and it carries the implication, often, that Māori are less important.

One important way to understand the way that Māori health is understood by the mainstream is to compare it with the way that Pākehā health is talked about, how Māori health is seen as different from what is perceived as the norm. It was not practical to look at all coverage of health in order to compare Pākehā health with Māori health coverage, especially as Pākehā health not generally labelled as such, but normalised as though Pākehā stories are standard and Māori experience is deviant.

Incidentally, when I did a search on 'Pākehā and Health', and 'European and Health' to see what might come up, there was only one item: a letter to the editor which complained about health money being taken from Pākehā waiting lists, and given to Māori health providers.

Conclusion

Critical discourse analysis looks at the way that discourse creates and maintains power structures in society by focussing on the discourses of the powerful, and how they use and maintain their power. Newspapers are a primary source of most people's knowledge about the world, and they set the agenda about what is important and how it is to be understood. Looking at the coverage that newspapers give, the topic and the language that they use to define it, helps to appreciate how mainstream society understands the issue of Māori health. There are a series of 'commonsense' ideas about who Māori are, and their role in society. These ideas are perpetuated in the mainstream media, and are largely unquestioned.

The overall image of Māori is of a people who do not look after their own health. Some of the themes are 'irresponsible and lazy', 'passive and corrupt', 'dependent and expensive'. This is not the only way that Māori are presented, but it is certainly a dominant one. Māori points of view and ideas about their own health are all but ignored. The cost to Māori of poor health and low mortality is barely visible in the media. The explanations given for the inequalities in health statistics tend to centre on simplistic ideas of personal responsibility. Discussions about structural issues, and particularly racism, do exist in the media but are usually misunderstood and ignored. Those who talk about it are labelled as radical, and attempts to address the structural issues are often called 'special privilege' and are seen as 'preferential treatment'.

The question is how, if this is the dominant view of Māori health, does this affect the views of the wider society, the government, and ultimately, public health interventions and funding?

The important thing is to name what is going on, to understand that discourse is about power and privilege, and that the dominant discourse, that of the majority controlling group, is working to maintain the status quo, to continue the existing power relationships, and to deflect attention away from this, putting the blame, and therefore the need to change, onto Māori.

The solution is not to disengage with the mainstream. Although alternative media is important, the knowledge and consensus of wider society is created in the mainstream media. They reinforce the ideas that are considered to be commonsense, and the only way to challenge it is to keep reiterating opposing views and ideas, until they too are recognised as commonsense.

Possible future research in this area might be to compare and contrast how Pākehā health issues are presented; how Māori media differs in their discourse from mainstream media; a more detailed analysis of different texts or a look at how different newspapers differ in the editorial policies in this area. Another possible approach would be to look at 'oppositional' discourses – those that contest and challenge the dominant discourse.

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Creating Healthy and Sustainable Communities: formative evaluation of the Te Aka Matua mentoring programme in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

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Executive Summary

In response to the needs of Māori students studying within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS), a mentoring programme called Te Aka Matua (TAM) was developed to provide a faculty-wide support network for Māori students. This unit would afford Māori students with peer support and academic guidence. It is a unique mentoring programme in that has a collective approach to providing support to Māori students throughout most of the departments in FASS. The overarching aim of the TAM mentoring programme is to provide a healthy environment for Māori students to thrive both socially and academically.

Evaluative information of the TAM mentoring programme was gathered through document analysis, a literature review, stakeholder meetings and completing focus group interviews with kaiāwhina (mentors).

The Unique Nature of the Programme

The TAM mentoring programme is unique and has been developed specifically for Māori students. One of the essential qualities of this programme is that it places a strong emphasis on 'ko te tangata' (for the people). The mentoring programme is delivered 'by Māori for Māori'. This aspect of the programme enables Māori to contribute and feel safe to be who they are.

Critical Success Factors

The research findings highlighted a variety of important success factors that has contributed to the development of Māori students studying in the Faculty of Arts of the Social Sciences. These were:

- The TAM mentoring programme has created a strong Māori visual identity for FASS. This was not present prior to the implementation of the mentoring programme.
- The noted shift towards to structural changes in FASS has brought about a realisation by some departments that there is a need to address Māori issues.
- The leadership and direction of the Māori Support Co-ordinator provided more enhanced outcomes for both the students and the kaiāwhina.
- Effective communication via e-mail to keep students informed of upcoming events. This communication network also provided a non-threatening forum in which Māori students were able to make contact with TAM.
- The kaiāwhina-student relationships provided a source of motivation to the mentor, empowering them to not only assist students, but to be more successful in their own studies.

Barriers to Success

kaiāwhina were generally very pleased with the mentoring programme, and so reported few barriers to its success. However, one significant barrier that had arisen during the development of the programme was the inability to access kaiāwhina across all departments within FASS. One of the problems during the recruitment phase was the limited amount of graduate Māori students in some disciplines in which to identify as possible kaiāwhina.

Limitations

It can be recognised that limited conclusions can only be drawn from this research as only a small number of kaiāwhina took part in the evaluation process. Specifically only a small number of the kaiāwhina were able to attend the focus group.

The TAM mentoring programme employed must be considered to be still in a formative stage. Due to the ongoing development of TAM the effects cannot be determined at this point in time. The result of which means that I have been unable to clearly identify impacts even though possible impacts have been eminent.

Lack of baseline information in the form of a previous study meant that the evaluation was unable to confidently report a contrasted result.

Recommendations

In light of the evaluation, I make the following recommendations:

1. That TAM continues to utilise ongoing evaluations in order to continue the successful operation of this programme.
2. That TAM establishes kaiāwhina-student relationship protocols to ensure the healthy development of mentorships.
3. That TAM widens their staff recruitment pool to include promising second and third year students as prospective kaiāwhina.
4. That TAM implement productivity measures to better assess the realisation of programme objectives.
5. That further clarification of TAM goals be administered within FASS to ensure a common vision of the programme.

Introduction

Background

In 1998 the School of Arts and the School of Humanities at the University of Waikato merged to form what is now known as The Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS). In essence, this union brought together 14 departments into one sector of the university making it the largest school on campus.

The FASS is host to approximately 800 Māori students and 10 Māori academic staff (2003). It is worth noting that 22 per cent of all Māori students studying in the University were studying in FASS. The school has a 69 per cent pass rate across Māori students (2002) and a 55 per cent pass rate across 100-level courses. Although some initiatives have been made to provide assistance to Māori students within the FASS, much of this support has been limited to departmental administration.

Māori Mentoring Unit Established in FASS

In February of 2004 under the direction of the Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori) office, a Māori mentoring unit was set up in FASS to provide a faculty-wide support network for Māori students. This unit would become part of a University-wide mentoring programme called Te Puna Tautoko and provide Māori students with peer support and academic guidence across most departments within FASS. Mentors were employed in 8 of the 14 departments with a specific focus to target first-year courses. The FASS also employed a full-time Māori Student Support Co-ordinator to manage the mentoring unit and to facilitate faculty-based initiatives. The main objectives of the mentoring unit were to:

- To provide collaborated, strong and visible kaupapa Māori support to Māori students studying within FASS
- To provide a kaupapa Māori forum of support for Māori who are employed in Māori student support positions within the FASS
- To support current initiatives within the FASS that support Māori students and to contribute to the development of further support initiatives.
- To contribute to the ongoing development of kaupapa Māori initiatives in general within the FASS.
- To support and contribute to university-wide Māori student support initiatives, including those of Te Puna Tautoko.

Developing a mentoring unit was the initial step towards administering a mentoring programme that later became known as ‘Te Aka Matua’.

Te Aka Matua Mentoring Programme – Hold to the Parent Vine

The guiding philosophy behind the TAM mentoring programme stems from a famous Māori proverb:

> *Kia mau ki te aka matua*
> Hold to the parent vine (Hone, 1998, p.2).

This proverb is taken from the Māori legend of Tāwhaki's ascension to the heavens. Legend has it that as Tāwhaki embarked upon his climb, he remembered the admonition of his wife, Hāpai to not hold to the vines that hang loose but to "hold to the parent vine" (Hone, 1998, p.2). As Tāwhaki heeded the counsel of his wife, he was able to remain stable, steadfast, and supported in his journey as he transcended several heavens to reach his final destination (Alpers, 1997).

This story serves as a metaphor for the mentoring programme. In essence the Māori students are also on a journey. To assist them in their travels, they have Māori mentors (symbolic of the parent vine) to hold on to be a constant guide and anchor of support as they endure the pressures of university life to reach greater academic heights (graduation).

Central to the imagery of the vine, is the idea that a vine is made up of many fibers, intricately woven together. Like a vine, there are many different departments within FASS, which the mentoring programme attempts to weave together by providing a collaborated body of mentors throughout the faculty. The end result of such co-ordination is a stronger support collective that Māori students can latch onto to.

Evaluation

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga commissioned this evaluation of the Te Aka Matua mentoring programme. The evaluation process involved interviewing the mentors, the Kaupapa Māori Support Co-ordinator and the executive assistant to the Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori).

Evaluation Purpose

The evaluation that was undertaken was formative in nature. The rationale for this was that the Te Aka Matua mentoring programme is in its early stages of development, and an evaluation could assist the programme planning and development. I aimed to investigate the

effectiveness of the Te Aka Mentoring Programme from the kaiāwhina's perspective. The objectives of the evaluation were to:

- Describe the unique nature of the programme
- Identify the critical success factors of the programmeIdentify any significant barriers to the success of the programme
- Make recommendations for improvements to the programme
- Address any other relevant issues

Literature Review

The literature review supplements the evaluation of the Te Aka Matua mentoring programme delivered by the FASS and the Pro Vice Chancellor's Office (Māori). The aim of this literature review is to document information related to mentoring for students within tertiary settings and to ultimately focus on Māori needs and Māori-focused approaches to service delivery of mentoring programs. Key areas of discussion here include defining mentoring; the Māori concept of mentoring; the background context to mentoring in tertiary institutions; mentoring as a retention strategy; and mentoring programme evaluation.

Mentoring Defined

The term mentor has an ancestry that dates back to Greek mythology and depicts a "relationship between a younger and older, more experienced adult [that] helps the younger individual learn to navigate the adult world" (Kram, 1985, p.2 cited in Allen, Eby, Poteet, Lentz & Lima, 2004). This same image of mentoring persists in many other recent definitions that have emerged across a number of disciplines. A review of the literature suggests that there is no agreement on a widely accepted operational definition of mentoring (Cropper, 2000; Friday, Friday & Green, 2004; Gibb, 1994; Jacobi, 1991; Rua & Nīkora, 1999). Jacobi (1991) in a literature review of mentoring and undergraduate academic success, noted 15 definitions of mentoring from education, management and psychology. In reference to the many different definitions that exist of mentoring, Cropper (2000) cited research by Uclan (1999) and defined mentoring in its simplest form as: "the support of one individual by another within a personal relationship through regular contact over time" (Unclan, 1999).

The Ministry of Education (2001), in referring to work done by Parker-Redmond (1990), maintain that mentoring has two key components: the transference of knowledge and skills; and the creation of a relationship which ensures that this transference is successful. Rua & Nīkora (1999) found that a healthy mentoring relationship is premised on a collectivist notion,

in which both partners contribute to a learning environment supportive of 'togetherness', of being a 'whānau' (p.32).

In tertiary settings mentoring can occur in many facets: between an academic staff member and a student, between a graduate student and student, and between students (Ministry of Education, 2001). Generally, there is a degree of seniority of the mentor, a more advanced knowledge of a particular subject than the student who is mentored (Ministry of Education, 2001). Grantham (2004) asserts that successful mentoring relationships include experiences characterised by mutual caring, depth and response. Treffmger (2003, cited in Grantham, 2004), goes further to maintain that such a conceptualisation of mentoring establishes a foundation from which certain expectations about the nature of the mentoring relationship centre on mutual contributions and mutual benefits for both mentor and mentee.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the context of a mentoring relationship is a function of the type of mentoring experience in which mentors and mentees engage (Jacobi, 1991). Grantham (2004) in citing research done by Floyed (1993) explains that in formal one-on-one mentoring programs, the "mentee" or student is matched with a mentor through a structured programme with specific, personalised objectives and goals (Ibid.).

While attempts have been made to provide formal mentoring structures within tertiary providers, it is also evident that many informal mentoring relationships occur and often go unnoticed (Rua & Nīkora, 1999). Informal mentoring relationships of this nature often develop "between two people who already have a relationship and who, through similar circumstances such as the area of study, geographic location, or ethnicity" provide social and academic support for each other (Ministry of Education, 2001).

Māori Concept of Mentoring

The majority of writing, be it somewhat scarce, on Māori mentoring can largely be found in Māori human development literature. A review of the literature reveals that there are a few models that provide a conceptual premise in which Māori mentoring operates. The first worth noting is the tuakana/teina concept of learning and development. Tuakana means older sibling (brother to a boy or sister to a girl) and teina refers to the younger sibling (brother to a boy or sister to a girl) (Tangaere, 1997). Thus, the mentoring relationship revolves around tuakana taking the younger sibling to facilitate the teaching and development process. This model is one based on two key principles: whanaungatanga and ako (learn, teach). Tuakana/teina is a vital facet of whanaungatanga premised on the importance of people, particularly within the

whānau, hapū and iwi (Tangaere, 1997). Pere (1982) defines whanaungatanga as practices that strengthen kinship ties of whānau. Acts of loyalty, obligation, commitment, and an in-built support system identified attributes of a strong, stable whānau, within a hapū (Pere, 1982). In essence, what whanaungatanga attempts to achieve is a healthy learning environment where both the learner and the teacher feel comfortable, safe and dedicated to the learning process. It is under these conditions that a successful Māori mentoring relationship is achieved. Tangaere (1997) adds that the concept of tuakana/teina also operates through the dual nature of "ako" (which means to learn as well as to teach). In the Māori world of mentoring, unlike the western practices where the relationship is often unequal, it is an acceptable practice for the learner to shift roles and become the teachers. In this light, mentoring can be viewed as a reciprocal process, whereby each participant receives and contributes to the learning process (Māori Education Trust, 2001).

The tuakana/teina was traditionally not the only mentoring relationship used for teaching and learning. Makereti (1938 cited by Tangaere 1997), argued that the special relationships that the elders had with their mokopuna (grandchilden) and the more formal instruction of the whare wānanga (institution or course of higher learning) are also worthy of acknowledging. Moreover, role modeling was another facet that was encouraged within the whānau, iwi or hapū. Makereti (1938) asserts that it was usual practice for children to accompany adults or elders to learn through practical experience as it was for adults to participate and learn through serving an apprenticeship with an expert.

Background Context to Mentoring in Tertiary Institutions

Mentoring has grown in popularity and has been introduced in a number of universities (for example Auckland, Waikato, Massey and Otago, etc.) in Aotearoa. While each tertiary provider may have different mentoring objectives, the overarching reason for mentoring programmes in these institutions usually is to provide support, guidance and encouragement for those students who need it.

For Māori students, research conducted by Ministry of Education (2002) reports that participation of Māori (particularly Māori aged 18-24) is significantly under-represented in tertiary institutions, especially universities. Nīkora, Levy, Henry and Whangapiritā (2002) in their review of the literature and evaluation of a mentoring programme called Te Rau Puāwai, identified from the 1996 census that only 15.3 percent of Māori aged 18-24 years were participating in tertiary education compared to 30.6 percent of non-Māori.

Nīkora et al. (2002) in citing research conducted by Jefferies (1997) argued that under-representation in tertiary education is a result of a number of factors such as low retention rates at secondary school, higher suspension rates and expulsion rates, and higher pregnancy rates. The result of which, leading to direct secondary tertiary flows of Māori into tertiary education occurring at lower rates than non-Māori (Nīkora et al., 2002).

Barriers to Participation

The literature asserts that Māori students upon entering in to tertiary environments face a number of barriers that inhibit success (Jefferies, 1997). The Ministry of Education (2003), in referring to research conducted by Jefferies (1997), noted a number of potential barriers experienced by tertiary students, namely:

- Unwelcoming tertiary environments.
- Difficulty in transition to tertiary study.
- Inappropriate support systems.
- Financial difficulties.
- Isolation and lack of academic support.
- External commitments.
- Personal and family issues.

Ashwell, Nīkora & Levy (2003) in citing research conducted by Rua & Nīkora (1997) highlighted additional barriers that could be added to the above mentioned list such as:

- Inadequate secondary school qualifications to allow entry into tertiary education.
- Negative schooling experiences.
- Difficult home environments.
- Insufficient number of Māori as teachers and academic role models.

Thus, the literature suggests that the obstacles for Māori are bountiful. While many students overcome the initial barrier of making it to tertiary education, they are often placed in an isolated unfamiliar environment in which they receive little or no academic guidance or personal support (Hawke & Morrison; 1994; Jefferies, 1997; Nīkora, Levy, Henry, Whangapiritā, 2002; Ramsay, Tranter, Summer, & Bennet 1996). Hawke and Morrison (1994) maintain that isolation is one of the major causes of the high drop-out rate for first-year Māori students. Nīkora et al. (2002) advocates that first-generation tertiary students are faced with the challenges of having to adjust to the rigour and challenges of tertiary study without the support of their whānau. These findings are supported by Cropper (2000), who argued that Native American students who are unfamiliar with university and where it is not a family tradition face feelings of not belonging, disenfranchisement and being different. Furthermore, Opp (2002) found that barriers to retention of students of color was directly

linked to negative campus racial climates. These factors collectively represent reasons for indigenous student withdrawal. In Aotearoa, strategies to combat low retention rates have recently come to the attention of tertiary providers.

Mentoring As A Retention Strategy

Gibb (1994) asserts that mentoring is not usually a 'stand alone' initiative taken in and of itself, but rather a means in helping to achieve core objectives of the broader initiatives. Similarly, Māori mentoring is considered one of the support initiatives identified to achieve greater recruitment and bolster retention of Māori Students in tertiary institutions.

Unfortunately, New Zealand literature on mentoring programmes as an effective retention strategy is not well documented. The Ministry of Education (2003) asserts that, although strategies have emerged to combat low retention, evaluations have not occurred in most instances and therefore the extent of the success of these initiatives is unknown. Despite this, international literature measuring the relationship between mentoring and retention amongst minority students is very encouraging. Vernon (2002) asserts that mentoring programs have a positive influence on the "persistence rates" of minority students. Brotherton (2001) found that retention rates for first-year students of African- American, Latino and American- Indian backgrounds were consistently higher than non-participating students (p.1). Along a similar vein, Good (2000) found that of the 19 minority student mentors in an engineering programme, 15 (80 per cent) of them remained in the engineering field. This lends credence to the fact that mentoring has a positive effect on the mentee as well as the mentor.

Mentoring Program Evaluation

As mentoring for Māori students emerges as a common theme in many different educational contexts, the need for evaluation becomes imperative to the future development and improvement of such an initiative. This calls for the need to establish both the potential and the limitations of mentoring programmes, to determine to what extent are the programmes objectives being realised (Gibb, 1994; Nevo, 1983), and to question their overall value in meeting the needs of Māori.

Gibb (1994) maintains that although there are no 'ready-made' models for evaluating mentoring programs, evaluators must consider three key issues. Namely, mentoring outcomes (for example are there particular outcomes which young people and their mentors should achieve?), the contribution of mentoring (for example how can the contribution of the

objectives of broader initiatives be distinguished and analysed?) and mentoring costs (for example what sort of investment, of time and other resources, is required to achieve effective mentoring?).

Rua & Nīkora (1999) propose that there are two ways of evaluating a mentoring programme. Depending on the objectives of the mentoring programme, if the goal is to increase the number of non-dominant ethnic group staff and/or students, an obvious measure is the amount of increase or decrease in staff/student numbers. However, such a method is limited due to the fact that it is difficult to determine exactly if the increase or decrease in staff or student numbers is linked to the programme's effectiveness or other factors unaccounted for (Rua & Nīkora, 1999). A second method is to survey those in the institution to determine how they view the mentoring programme and how it has impacted the desired outcomes (Gibb, 1994).

According to Nevo (1983), programme assessment in education settings follows two streams depicted in the form of formative and summative evaluation. Formative evaluation is often conducted during the operation of a programme or project for the purpose of development and improvement whilst summative evaluation, is conducted at the end of a programme to determine its value for potential users (Cranton & Legge, 1978).

In Aotearoa, although a considerable number of mentoring programmes have been established in many tertiary institutions, only a small host (three) of formative mentoring programme evaluations could be found. These were:

- An evaluation of the effectiveness of social equity strategies for Māori students in the school of Science and Technology, Waikato University.
- Te Rōpū Āwhina Pūtaiao Case Study , Victoria University.
- Te Rau Puāwai Evaluation: Technical Report 1 (of 5), Massey University (Palmerston North).

Analysis of these evaluations identified a number of common threads such as unique Māori aspects of the programme, success factors and barriers to success. These themes will be discussed below.

Unique Māori Aspects of the Mentoring Programmes

All of the three mentoring programme evaluations noted that programme designers had placed an emphasis on incorporating Māori concepts as guiding philosophies to facilitate mentoring relationships. Such a measure has served to provide a more responsive approach to Māori students. In support of this, Harris (1999) argued that in order to enhance student

success, mentoring models must be presented to minority students in a cultural medium that mentee's can relate to. Zamani (2000) maintained that instruction with cultural relevance is imperative to the success of ethnic retention strategies.

Critical Success Factors

Commitment and support of the senior management of the Faculty in which the mentoring programme was operating appeared to be a common success factor for the mentoring programs. Such a finding raises the issue that structural factors are an important facet that must not be overlooked in achieving successful outcomes for mentoring programmes. In support of such a finding, Cropper (2000) argues that to develop a mentoring programme by merely concentrating on the individual without focusing on the structural issues present in the institution is ineffective. Thus, it would appear that the two go hand and hand.

Barriers to Success

An interesting finding was that for most mentoring programmes (two out of the three) an obvious lack of student uptake of the services was a consistent barrier. In their evaluation of the Te Pūtahi Manawa mentoring programme, Rua & Nīkora (1999) found that connecting with students is vital to increasing the uptake of mentoring services. Ashwell et al. (2003) echo a similar sentiment, maintaining that connecting with students should begin very early in the introductory stages of student exposure to the tertiary environment (such as admissions, orientation and initial classes). Thus, by enhancing familiarity within the university environment, Māori students may feel more inclined to utilise mentoring services due to pre-existing relationships formed during the induction process. This suggests that for programme designers, ensuring that an effective method of contact is an essential component for encouraging Māori programme participation.

Conclusion

Overall, there is a growing body of literature surrounding the issues for Māori mentoring within higher education. The limitation of this review is centered on the fact that few studies were found which looked at evaluating Māori mentoring programmes. Despite this, a number of key issues emerged from this review.

While the concept of mentoring might be best described as a case of accepting an idea that seems to be logical and makes sense, the literature suggests that there is very little agreement on how to best define mentoring.

Although international literature looks positively upon mentoring as an effective strategy to increase minority student retention, the effectiveness of mentoring for Māori students in Aotearoa is still developing and yet to be determined. Research literature suggests that there is an apparent need for tertiary institutions to engage in mentoring programme evaluations.

However, of the evaluations noted in this review, it appears an important part of being critical is not merely looking at the characteristics of the mentoring programme, but also what management structures are in place to support programme success. Also, tertiary providers must ensure that the applied mentoring programme models are specific to Māori and that measures are taken to address programme barriers such as Māori student reluctance to utilise mentoring services.

Method

In this section an overview is presented of the methods that were used to collect information for the evaluation. This was a formative evaluation of the Te Aka Matua Māori Mentoring programme delivered by FASS and the Pro Vice Chancellor's Office (Māori), thus the information gathered was intended for use in refining and improving the programme. The methods used are outlined below.

Literature Review

Although undertaking a literature review did not relate specifically to the evaluation objectives, it was helpful in providing the evaluator with insight into the issues surrounding mentoring. These include the differences between western and indigenous approaches to mentoring, the reasons behind establishing mentoring programmes, and further general information on Māori mentoring.

Overall, the aim of the literature review was to document information related to mentoring in tertiary institutions. Key areas of discussion here include defining mentoring, the Māori concept of mentoring, the background context to mentoring in tertiary institutions, mentoring as a retention strategy and mentoring programme evaluation.

Focus group with mentors

A focus group with the mentors was conducted based on key questions formulated to gain an in-depth understanding of perspectives on the Te Aka Matua Mentoring programme. These focus questions allowed mentors to express their views freely about the mentoring programme. The facilitator of the focus group used open-ended questions to generate multiple responses to areas of discussion. The focus areas covered included unique aspects of the programme; programme successes to date; problems currently being faced by the programme and suggested improvements.

Stakeholder Meetings

Regular contact was made with the Māori Student Support Co-ordinator and other relevant staff from FASS and The Pro-Vice Chancellor (Māori) office. This allowed for a reciprocal relationship to occur with the informal progress reports shared and any relevant information and documents were made available within these meetings. Examples of this included obtaining background information on the mentoring programme, discussion about focus group co-ordination and references to other mentoring units operating at the University of Waikato. All of this information served to be useful in the write-up stages of the final report.

Ethical Issues

The evaluator has been committed to upholding high ethical standards. All methods used in the data collection process where guided by the FASS ethical code of conduct. In the focus group all mentors were presented with an information sheet about the evaluation (refer to appendix 1, p.46) and the research was explained verbally at the start of the focus group. The mentors as well as the Māori student support co-ordinator were given the opportunity to ask questions about the research and my role as an evaluator.

Results

Findings from focus group

The focus group utilised in this evaluation focused on five major themes: unique aspects of the programme; critical successes factors; areas of improvement;, and other issues. The focus group consisted of four mentors and the Māori student support co-ordinator. It was found through an analysis of the feedback provided in the focus group that the mentors are generally happy with the effectiveness of the mentoring programme.

Unique Aspects of TAM

The overall findings from the focus group suggested the following about the unique aspects of the TAM programme:

- Knowing that Māori mentors (kaiāwhina) were available for Māori students.
- Knowing that kaiāwhina are available for student representation (for example, querying marked work with a lecturer on behalf of students),
- Unique to the mentoring programme is the fact that there are kaiāwhina across many departments in FASS (8 out of 14 with different areas of expertise).
- The Māori kaupapa behind TAM was found to make a big difference because Māori students feel safe and proud to be who they are.
- The collaborative support approach that spans across 14 different departments in FASS.
- The mentoring programme empowers mentors to be successful in their own work.

Program Successes To Date

The overall finding from the focus group discussion noted the following successes of TAM to date:

- A shift towards structural changes in FASS. TAM has fostered a realisation by some departments that there is a need to address Māori issues.
- TAM has been able to create an identity for FASS students and staff, which was lacking in past years. Such an identity has enabled people to feel a sense of belonging.
- Empowerment of graduate kaiāwhina
- Establishment of a name and kaupapa

Participants in the focus group were asked the following question: 'what do you feel were the contributing factors to such accomplishments?' The following results summarise the key responses to this question:

- Realisation of Māori issues: The major contributing factor to this accomplishment has been having a strong person in the Māori support role.
- Creation of a FASS whānau and identity: The major contributing factors of this has been holding regular activities, developing a name for the roopu and having visible notice boards.
- Empowerment of graduate kaiāwhina: The key contributing factor to this outcome has been seeing the Māori students benefit from help provided by graduate kaiāwhina.

Suggested Improvements

Overall, the mentors identified the following problems being faced by TAM:

- Isolation of the Māori Student Support Co-Ordinator.
- Lack of support from within the Faculty.
- Lack of co-operation from some departments.
- Increasing the pool of potential mentors.

- Finding an appropriate balance in order to provide sufficient support to Māori students without sacrificing time for personal work and study commitments.
- Demonising of TAM by some departments.
- Student uptake of services.
- The need for a Kaumātua within FASS.

Incumbants in the focus group were also asked: 'In what ways do you think we could best increase the student uptake of services provided by the programme?' The following answers summarise the responses to this question:

- Greater emphasis on promotion.
- Being more visible to both Māori students and staff.
- Being more vocal.
- Utilising department support such as advertising activities and events in major lectures and tutorials.
- Endorsements by lecturers.
- Conducting a focus group of last-year students asking about how they think TAM can increase the utilisation of mentoring services.

Participants in the focus group were asked to respond to the following question: 'What are your thoughts on how mentoring relationships could be improved?' The following points summarise the responses to this question:

- Familiarity: students need to be familiar with the mentors before they feel comfortable about discussing educational needs.
- Students will feel more comfortable and safer, if the relationship between the kaiāwhina is also well-rounded.
- Te Reo Māori is helpful to the mentoring relationship, but not essential to build confidence in Māori students.
- Establish an equal relationship with the Māori students by talking and relating to them on their level.
- Ensure that there is safety barriers established to protect kaiawhina against unhealthy mentoring relationships developing, such as unwanted emotional attachment of students.
- Be honest with the students in providing advice, such as giving the impression that you know something when in reality you are not sure yourself.
- Assisting students, but still challenging them to complete and edit their own work.

Other Issues Identified By Kaiāwhina

In the focus group incumbents were asked: 'Any other comments that you think are important for me to know as an evaluator?' The following issue was identified:

- There is an issue of what TAM's relationship with non-Māori should look like, and how and how it can be improved.

Discussion

Below, we discuss the results organised around the specific objectives of the evaluation. This discussion is centered around: a) the uniquely Māori aspects of the programme; b) critical success factors; c) barriers to success; and d) the identification of any other relevant issues. Where appropriate I have included references to supporting literature to highlight a general issue, pattern or something unique to Te Aka Matua. This section is followed with recommendations.

Uniquely Māori Aspects of the Programme

- Te Aka Matua places a strong emphasis on 'ko te tangata' (for the people). The mentoring services a delivered by Māori for Māori. This aspect of the programme enables Māori to feel safe to be who they are.
- The guiding philosophy ('hold to the parent vine') behind TAM is uniquely Māori in that it is inspired by the local legend of Tāwhaki's ascension to the heavens. Thus, not only does the programme attempt to utilise Māori concepts to facilitate the mentoring process, but also tautoko's (pays tribute to) a prominent historical figure respected by local iwi (tribes).
- The kaupapa (understanding) behind 'kaiāwhina' is also particular in that it is a deliberate attempt to abandon the use of the words 'mentor' and 'mentee'. Programme designers felt that this was important because such terms are from Western paradigms that depict the establishment of unequal relationships (for example the older more experienced as the sole teacher and facilitator of the learning process over the younger, less experienced student). Kaiāwhina view themselves as no better than the students they assist and place great importance on establishing an equal relationship where both parties can learn and progress together. In the Māori world it is not an uncommon practice for the roles of the learner to shift and become the teacher and the teacher to become the learner (Tangaere, 1997). Thus, the use of the term "kaiāwhina" is a unique Māori aspect in that it sanctions the dual nature of "ako" (learn, teach) depicting the interchangeable roles of teacher and learner within the mentoring relationship.
- The mentoring programme is a collaborative effort that encompasses 14 departments. It attempts to establish a collective voice for the Māori students and provides a forum in which to feedback any comments or concerns to appropriate staff within FASS.

Critical Success Factors

Participants in this evaluation highlighted a variety of factors that they considered important to the success of TAM. Critical success factors in building a programme of support to contribute to the development of Māori students studying in the Faculty of Arts of the Social Sciences are:

- The TAM mentoring programme has created a strong Māori visual identity for FASS. This was not present prior to the implementation of the mentoring programme. Indirectly, such a factor has served to improve the organisational culture of the

Faculty by presenting it as collective body as opposed to a School made up many different and individual departments.

- The noted shift towards to structural changes in FASS has brought about a realisation by some departments that there is a need to address Māori issues. For example, there is a need for more Kaupapa Māori Support and Māori focused policies, such as marking assessments in Te Reo Māori. Such a success factor has been attributed to the TAM mentoring unit pushing for more Kaupapa Māori acceptance across FASS. In essence, TAM has served to foster a Māori consciousness within a number of departments in FASS.
- It was apparent from the kaiāwhina who participated in the research that the mentoring programme was delivered in an efficient manner. During the focus group it became evident that the leadership and direction of the Māori Support Co-ordinator provided more enhanced outcomes for both the students and the kaiāwhina. This key contact person was able to set up mentoring initiatives in several departments within in FASS as well as liaise with kaiāwhina of the study wanaga's (workshops) and social hui (gatherings) to meet the needs of the Māori students. It was apparent not only to the evaluator, but to the executive assistant to the Pro Vice Chancellor Office (Māori) that the administration of the Māori Support Co-ordinator has been a key factor to getting the programme up and running successfully in such a short amount of time.
- Effective communication emerged as a pertinent success factor to the mentoring programme outputs. A number of methods were used to facilitate contact with Māori students (for example notice boards, dropping into lectures and tutorials to make announcements, etc.). One important communication method worth mentioning was the establishment an e-mail network of all the Māori students studying within the FASS. This network served as an effective tool not only to keep students informed of upcoming events, but it also provided a forum in which Māori students could make contact with TAM in a non-threatening way.
- The kaiāwhina-student relationship should not be underestimated. Not only has TAM served to provide academic support and advice to Māori students but as has also provided a source of motivation to the kaiāwhina in empowering them to be more successful in their own studies.

Significant Barriers

A number of times during stakeholder meetings with the programme co-ordinator and also in the focus group with the kaiāwhina, a significant barrier identified during the development of the programme was the inability to access kaiāwhina across all departments within FASS. One of the problems during the recruitment phase was the limited amount of graduate Māori students in some disciplines in which to identify as possible kaiāwhina. Central to this barrier is the tension that exists in determining how to provide support to Māori students that express the need to be mentored in discipline where no kaiāwhina are available. Such a factor poses the potential negative for some Māori students having to make the transition and adaptation into tertiary environments where there is little or no Kaupapa Māori support.

The process of funding was identified by the Māori Support Co-ordinator and the Executive Assistant to the Pro Vice Chancellor (Māori) was identified as another key barrier to the success of the mentoring programme. Although FASS has taken on the financial commitment

to fund the Māori Support Co-ordinator's full-time position, the large majority of the funding for TAM is reliant on the Special Supplementary Grant (SSG) of which is privy to Government policy and review.

Finally, student uptake of mentoring services was identified as a barrier to the future success of the TAM mentoring programme. Such a concern appears to be a common theme emerging in mentoring programme evaluation.

Areas for Improvement

The TAM mentoring programme can be fine-tuned in a number of ways to improve the experience of Māori students using the services provided by the mentoring programme:

- It was identified that there is a need to provide a more cohesive support network for the Māori Student Co-ordinator. Although this position reports to Student Services and Registration Manager and the Dean of the School, much of the strategic advice for TAM comes from the Pro Vice Chancellor's Office (Māori). Such an occurrence depicts a gap in the organisational structure of the mentoring programme making it difficult for the Māori Student Support Co-Ordinator to function at full capacity.
- kaiāwhina identified some challenges to the role of mentoring. These challenges included being careful to not overload themselves with to much unfeasible work and the need to be aware of the sort of help being offered to students. In reference to the latter point, there is a tendency for kaiāwhina to want to do all of the work (motivated out of concern for the students) rather than providing assistance but at the same time challenging them to edit their own work.
- From comments made by the kaiāwhina and the Māori Support Co-ordinator, it is apparent that there is an obvious lack of understanding of the mentoring programme by some of the academic and administration staff in the Faculty. This made it difficult for mentoring initiatives to be materialised in some papers in different departments. This raises an interesting point because despite the fact the mentoring programme is advantaged by the commitment of senior management of FASS, not all of the staff within the Faculty have brought into the programme. It would appear that further clarification is required so that all involved can subscribe to a common vision.
- Feedback from the focus group with kaiāwhina raised the need to obtain support from the local iwi (tribe), such as bringing on board a kaumātua specifically for FASS and to act as a resource to the mentoring programme.
- It was also identified that there is a need to improve the student uptake of the mentoring services. kaiāwhina noted a few reasons why some Māori students may not use TAM services such as a lack of understanding about the programme, busy university schedules and some Māori students may feel too "shy" to approach kaiāwhina or attend TAM hui (gatherings).

Other Relevant Issues

The key issue identified in this evaluation is what TAM's relationship with non-Māori should look like, and how it can be improved. It was identified that it is important to see how non-Māori fit into the equation of supporting Māori students. Discussion with kaiāwhina and the Māori Student Co-ordinator suggests that there is a large deal of mis-information floating

around amongst non-Māori regarding the programme such as 'special treatment' and 'exclusive support'. The raises an important question of how this issue should be addressed? It was suggested that was suggested that TAM establish a blurb, a 'kōrero' of what mentors should say and should not say, regarding the work that they do, and why. Moreover, the rationale behind such an initiative is not to justify TAM kaupapa to anyone, but to educate people on the programmes position.

Limitations of Evaluation

It can be recognised that only limited conclusions can be drawn from this research as only a small number of kaiāwhina took part in the evaluation process. Specifically only a small number of the kaiāwhina were able to attend the focus group.

Lack of baseline information, in the form of a previous study meant that the evaluation was unable to confidently report a contrasted result.

The strategies employed must be considered to be still in a formative stage. Due to the ongoing development of TAM the effects of the mentoring unit cannot be determined at this point in time. The result of which means that I have been unable to clearly identify impacts even though possible impacts have been eminent.

Recommendations

As the evaluation is of a formative nature and the TAM mentoring programme is in the early stages of development, my discussion and recommendations will surround the objectives of the evaluation.

I would like to commend mentoring unit for their excellent work and delivery of the TAM mentoring programme. Any issues raised are intended to be of a positive nature and reflect ways to further improve the programme.

Recommendations for TAM

1. Ongoing evaluations of TAM to continue the successful operation of this programme. It is recommended that ongoing evaluations by an external evaluator are imperative to provide feedback free of bias and to assist programme developers in creating more effective mentoring programmes for Māori students studying in FASS. These evaluations would also serve to keep mentoring initiatives responsive and tailored to the differing needs of Māori students. This evaluation has covered the effectiveness of the mentoring programme from a kaiāwhina's perspective, yet perspectives from other interest groups are warranted. An important finding that has emerged is the obvious lack of support by some academic and administrative staff within in FASS. Hence, surveying these parties would be a valuable source of feedback that could help to identify possible misconceptions of the programme or what could be done by TAM to obtain a more cohesive support from all staff within FASS. Most

importantly, I think that future evaluations seek to obtain a view of effectiveness of the TAM mentoring unit from a Māori students' perspective.

2. Establishment of kaiāwhina-student relationship protocols.
   - It is recommended that kaiāwhina-student relationship protocols be set up by TAM staff and the Māori Support Co-ordinator within the programme to safe-guard both participants in the mentoring relationship. This would entail establishing a shared relationship by kaiāwhina and Māori students for making and maintaining healthy mentoring relationships.

1. That TAM widens their staff recruitment pool to include promising second and third-year students as prospective kaiāwhina.
   - It is recommended that developing a pool of prospective kaiāwhina by TAM staff and the Māori Support Co-Ordinator is vital in ensuring the continued success of the programme. Recruitment of mentors could be achieved by various methods such as identifying second and third-year students that possess mentor qualities. Such an initiative has proved to be successful for other mentoring programmes in recruiting mentors such as the Te Rōpū Āwhina Pūtaiao mentoring programme operating at Victoria University.
2. Further clarification of TAM goals be administered within FASS to ensure a common vision of the programme.
   It is recommended that the goals of TAM be made explicit by the Dean of the Faculty to both students and staff within FASS. The purpose of such a recommendation would serve to not only re-advertise the commitment from higher levels of management to the programme, as directed by the Treaty of Waitangi, but also help to educate people of what TAM is all about and move towards achieving a common vision of the programme.
3. That TAM create an instrument to better measure the realisation of programme objectives
   It is recommended that specific measures be put in place to assess to what extent such objectives are achieved such as pass rates and how many students return.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Focus Group Questionnaire

Enhancing Kaupapa Māori Support in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences: Te Aka Matua Mentor Focus Group

Kia ora Koutou! My name is Leon Takimoana and I am conducting research over the summer 2004/05 break for Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. The purpose of the research is to conduct a formative evaluation of the Te Aka Matua mentoring programme operating in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Waikato University.

The focus group will be divided into two key themes, namely:

1. Aspects of the programme
2. Use of Te Aka Matua resources

The overall aims of this focus group are to investigate and comment on the following aspects of the Te

Aka Matua programme:

- Māori aspects of the programme
- key success factors
- barriers to success
- gaps in the programme

- recommendations for improvements
- other relevant issue

Aspects of the Te Aka Matua Programme

1. What aspects of the programme do you think mentees recognize as being useful/helpful to them as Māori engaged in higher learning?
2. What success do you think can be noted for the Te Aka Matua programme in 2004?
   a). What do you think were the contributing factors to such successes?
3. What problems do you think programme organisers will need to overcome to ensure the future success of the programme?

Use of Te Aka Matua Resources

4. In what ways do you think we could best increase the student uptake of the services provided by the programme?
5. What are your thoughts about how mentoring relationships could be improved?

General Question:

6. Any other comments that you think are important for me to know as an evaluator?

Kaupapa Māori Research, Theory and Frameworks in New Zealand Tertiary Education: a literature review

Margaret Wilkie

He Whakataukī

"E tipu, e rea, i ngā rā ō tōu ao. Ko tō ringa ki ngā rākau ā te Pākehā, hei ara mō tō tinana. Ko tō ngākau ki ngā taonga ā ō tīpuna Māori, hei tikitiki mō tō māhunga. Ko tō wairua ki te atua, nāna nei ngā mea katoa." (by Tā Apirana Ngata)

Tēnā koutou katoa. Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou. Ko Hikurangi te maunga, ko Waiapu te awa, ko te Whānau-ā-Ruataupare te hapū, ko Ngāti Porou rāua ko Ngāpuhi ngā iwi.

Ka nui te mihi ki a koutou, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, mo te pūtea i tukuna mai ki a mātou hei āwhina i a mātou i roto i ā mātou mahi rangahau. He mihi nui anō tēnei ki te rōpū *MAI-ki-Pōneke*, me te rōpū *He Pārekereke ki Te Pūtahitanga o te Mātauranga* hoki, mo tā koutou tautoko i ahau me āku mahi katoa.

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A particular thank you to all of the attendees to the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga funded Doctoral Writing Retreat held at Hopuhopu at the start of 2005 who supported the presentation of the findings from this report and offered valuable references and contacts for future research work.

I am fortunate to have had unflagging support and encouragement for the duration of the project from whānau and friends who have understood the prioritisation of the mahi over many other social activities. My particular thanks go to Sasada Ngamnet, for practical support to keep body and mind together in the process of the research.

He Whakatauki

Ko te manu kai te miro, nōna te ngahere; ko te manu kai te mātauranga, nōna te ao.

Abstract

Throughout the twentieth century, the mainstream tertiary education system failed Māori, the minority indigenous people of Aotearoa/New Zealand. From a review of recent literature (1990–2004), *Kaupapa Māori* theory, research and practices provide frameworks and models to look at Māori in tertiary education and to develop interventions to make a positive difference for Māori. Definitions of *Kaupapa Māori* show how it takes an everyday, ordinary and usual approach that includes Māori and creates a platform for exploration of Māori from a central position. *Kaupapa Māori* theory offers models for explaining and understanding the Māori experience and legitimates approaches in *Kaupapa Māori* research that tackle issues and questions that Māori want addressed. Research with a focus on relationships between Māori and the tertiary sector has yet to be conducted from a Kaupapa Māori approach. The question of 'what counts as knowledge?' has been discussed by Māori academics in the literature and the impacts of over a decade of critical academic work has contributed to significant changes to policy and strategies that target Māori in New Zealand tertiary education.

Introduction

This report was written as a project in the 2004–05 Summer Internship Programme of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement. It is a review of recent literature (1990 to 2004) relating *to Kaupapa*

Māori research methods, theory and frameworks in education. The research aimed to identify *Kaupapa Māori* theorising that encapsulates Māori values and world-views and may be relevant for Māori in tertiary education and for the institutions. One focus of the review was non-Māori mainstream tertiary education and the polytechnic sector specifically.

The results from the review are grouped thematically, covering definitions of *Kaupapa Māori*, *Kaupapa Māori* theory, *Kaupapa Māori* research, and the question of 'what counts as knowledge?' This leads onto a presentation of the current strategies impacting on Māori in New Zealand tertiary education—strategies that have clearly been influenced by *Kaupapa Māori* research and consultation between Māori and the Education sector. As an example, details are given from the *Strategy for the Tertiary Education Commission: Working with Māori 2004–07*[329]*,* which shows Māori in a central position within the strategy and states objectives of how relationships between Māori and the tertiary sector will be strengthened to the advantage of Māori people and to the improved performance of the sector itself.

G.H. Smith (1992) pointed out that problematically there were significant disparities between Māori participation and achievement in higher education. He further identifies that Māori were forced to choose either to participate in Pākehā dominant institutional frameworks, where they are required to conform to the 'taken for granted' structures, or not participating at all. While the crisis of low Māori participation in tertiary study has been alleviated in the past decade by the development and state funding of *Wānanga*[330] with 43% of all Māori in tertiary study in July 2003 enrolled there*,* a significant proportion of Māori continue to choose enrolment in non-Māori formal tertiary institutions (26% in Polytechnics, 18% in Universities and 2% in Colleges of Education in July 2003) .[331] The number of Māori students in formal tertiary education almost doubled from 32,825 in 1999 to 62,574 in 2003, with an equal proportion of males and females, and part-time and full-time enrolments.[332] There is a discernible pattern, in that the higher the level of education, the fewer Māori studying there, with just over half (51%), of all Māori students studying at certificate level in 2003 compared against 35% of all tertiary students. There was a marked difference in participation rates at higher levels, with 37% of all students and only 19% of Māori students at degree level. This disparity continued with 8% of all students compared with only 3% of all Māori studying at the post-graduate level.[333]

[329] Tertiary Education Commission (2004)
[330] Māori degree conferring tertiary institutes
[331] Ministry of Education (2004a)
[332] ibid p.1
[333] ibid p.2

One measure of achievement is completion of qualifications. The completion rates at the end of 2002 for qualifications by Māori enrolled in 1998, showed 36% at certificate level, 35% at Diploma level, 39% at Degree level, 42% at Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma level, 50% at Honours and Masters level and 16% at Doctorate level. The average completion rate across all levels of study for Māori students was 39% and this compares with 40% for all students in Tertiary Education Institutions.[334] If the statistics are personalised, of ten students paying fees for tertiary study, only four gained qualifications within a five-year timeframe. These results beg the question 'are these acceptable levels of achievement for Māori, or indeed all students, in tertiary education?'

The main research question for the review was 'what have Māori and other researchers in education discovered that illuminates understanding of the relationships between Māori and the polytechnics or the broader tertiary sector?'

Method

The literature review began with a double *kaupapa whakahau* or motive behind the project, to strengthen the basis of a review for a PhD thesis proposal, and to start to bring together the diverse literature relating to *Kaupapa Māori* within mainstream tertiary education. The next step was to write a *kaupapa* or plan for the research project after discussions with supervisors and mentors. Several sessions with the librarian for post-graduate studies in Education at Victoria University of Wellington helped to define and refine a literature search strategy. Online searches targeted the National Bibliographic Database, Index New Zealand, ERIC and the Victoria University of Wellington library catalogue. The keywords used in the search included *Kaupapa Māori* with research, policy, tertiary education, polytechnics and higher education. Further searches used Māori with the above keywords. The Ministry of Education website was another source for recent information about Māori in tertiary education in New Zealand. Archived copies of research papers relating to *Kaupapa Māori* including resources made available from the Library of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research were also drawn on in this review.

The next phase of the project was reading and note taking from the literature as it became available, and many fascinating days were spent soaking in the knowledge generated by Māori academics in the field of education, not all of which was pertinent to the present review (a common trap in literature reviewing). A deliberate decision was made to place the main

[334] Ministry of Education (2004b) p.87

emphasis on the writings and work of Māori authors, with the intention of including non-Māori authors who had insightful or useful information to add to the understanding of *Kaupapa Māori* research and theory in particular. This framing of the review aimed to emphasise indigeneity, to re-present the perspectives of Māori as *tangata whenua* [335] in a central position and as 'insiders' to the discourses about *Kaupapa Māori*.

Drafting the report began at the same time as the note taking, and it has gone through over 20 draft versions before reaching this final report. A short presentation of the findings to date was given at the Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga Doctoral Writing Retreat on Saturday 29 January 2005 at the Tainui Endowed College at Hopuhopu. The report will be used as the basis of a presentation in a symposium of Summer Interns at the Indigenous Knowledges Conference to be held in Wellington in June 2005.

After considering the many different presentation styles of academic and publications relating to *Kaupapa Māori,* in this report Māori words, names and terms are italicised, with definitions or explanations given in footnotes when they first appear in the text. The exceptions to this are, firstly, the word Māori (as a word used commonly in Aotearoa/New Zealand it appears with more detailed information) and, secondly, definitions for the term *Kaupapa Māori* —these terms warrant a section on their own. Some cited authors provide their own translations or definitions within the texts.

The number of documentary sources of information relating to *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks as theory and research practice in mainstream tertiary education are currently very limited. For this reason it was necessary to draw from sources relating to *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks and research in a broader range of educational settings.

The *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks originating from *Te Ao Māori*[336] contexts of *Kōhanga Reo*[337], *Kura Kaupapa Māori*[338], *Whare Kura*[339] and *Wānanga,*[340] have deliberately not been used for this study for two reasons. Firstly, they are subjects of research that await the attention of Māori and other scholars who have graduated through that educational journey that they might create an authentic, insider view and representation in either *te reo Māori*[341] or English of these uniquely *Kaupapa Māori* educational institutions. Secondly, one focus of this literature review is Māori in New Zealand polytechnics and the mainstream tertiary

[335] Literally – people of the land
[336] Literally – The Māori World
[337] Literally — Language Nest – Kaupapa Māori birth to school language and education
[338] Literally — Kaupapa Māori School – Māori immersion primary school education
[339] Literally — School House – Māori immersion secondary school education
[340] Literally — House for instruction – and a title used by NZ polytechnics
[341] The Māori language

institutions, places where English is the predominant language and that are primarily structured to European/British or Pākehā frameworks. There is a clear Māori under-representation in positions of governance, management and teaching in the sector and, it would appear, under-representation in published research.

It was expected that *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks or contexts within the New Zealand polytechnics would stand out in stark relief, but at the start of the study there was a disquieting emptiness in the search for a Māori voice in published research literature relating to polytechnics. The first exception to this silence was an unpublished Masters thesis by Noeline Matthews (2001) that explored the policy and practice of *Kaupapa Māori* in six tertiary institutions, including two polytechnics, in the Wellington region. Matthews' hypothesis was 'that low completion rates for Māori tertiary students may be affected by the way that Māori students are or are not supported at tertiary education institutions. The focus of *Kaupapa Māori* is used to highlight whether tertiary education institutions give support to their Māori students to live as Māori within the context of their study at tertiary education institutions.'[342] Her findings show 'that *Kaupapa Māori* does exist in the institutions but its' meaning is substantiated in different ways.'[343]

In a report of pilot research conducted by the present writer (Wilkie, 2003) in one New Zealand polytechnic, a *Kaupapa Māori* research approach was used to capture the experiences of some successful Māori students. The method included use of *whanaungatanga*, to approach students who were already known to the researcher, working *kanohi ki te kanohi* [344] in discussion to engender informed consent and to conduct tape-recorded semi-structured interviews. Small *koha* was given in appreciation of the students giving time to the research that included all participants reading transcripts of the interviews and draft copies of the research report, making changes and giving approval for the final report to be released. All participants received copies of the final report. The four students in the pilot had all experienced both success and failure in their studies, and the support of *whānau* and helpful tutors and other staff were common factors in the stories of students' success. There was some information from the student viewpoints showing relative ignorance about *Kaupapa Māori* including basic *tikanga Māori* [345] on the part of staff, and also overcoming an early lack of understanding or skills of how to proceed and succeed within their polytechnic studies, on the part of the students.[346]

[342] Matthews, N. (2001) p, ii
[343] ibid p, ii
[344] face to face
[345] Māori protocols
[346] Wilkie, M. (2003).

Kaupapa Māori *Definitions*

As part of a living culture, Māori language expands to keep pace with the modern world. The coining of new terms describing new structures and initiatives is common practice. In Herbert Williams '*Dictionary of the Māori Language,* first published in 1917, and republished frequently thereafter, there are more than twelve definitions of the term *Kaupapa*, including any level surface, floor, stage, platform, or layer; the ground-work to which feathers were attached in making a cloak; a trail or track; and a plan, scheme or proposal.[347] Pihama et al (2002) also explored the roots of the term *Kaupapa* stating that:

> *Kaupapa* is derived from key words and their conceptual bases. *Kau* is often used to describe the process of 'coming into view or appearing for the first time, to disclose.' Taken further*, ka u* may be translated as "representing an inarticulate sound, breast of a female, bite, gnaw, reach arrive, reach its limit, be firm, be fixed, strike home, place of arrival" (H.W. Williams c 1844–1985, p.464). *Papa* is used to name "ground, foundation base."[348] Together *kaupapa* encapsulates these concepts, and a basic foundation of it is 'ground rules, customs, and the right way of doing things.[349]

In the online version of the Ngata dictionary, there were 42 definitions for the word *kaupapa* including basis, element, foundation, ground rules, idea, plan, point, policy, principle, project, scheme, strength, subject, theme, thread and web, and the term *kaupapa whakaaro* for theory.[350]

Williams' (1992) definitions of the word *Māori* include use as a noun; normal, usual, and ordinary; native or belonging to New Zealand; a person of the native race. When used as an adjective it can mean freely, without restraint, without ceremony and, as an adverb clear, intelligible, lucid, clearly, explicitly.[351] From this linguistic base the positioning of *Kaupapa Māori* as a usual, ordinary and normal viewpoint for Māori can be derived.

Many Māori writers in the field of education refer to *Kaupapa* as a philosophy (G.H. Smith, L.T. Smith, C.S Smith, Bishop and Glynn, Pihama, Nepe). It is only relatively recently that the term *Kaupapa Māori* has been used in literature where it is variously described as an educational practice, a theory, and as a research paradigm and research practice. Smith (1997) describes the term *Kaupapa Māori* as first appearing in discussion forums in the 1980s when the Department of Education was attempting to introduce *Taha Māori* into the curriculum. During this time the terms *Kaupapa Māori, Tikanga Māori,* and *Maoritanga* were incorrectly

[347] Williams, H.W. (1992) p, 107.
[348] Pihama, L., Cram, F, Walker, S. (2002) p, 32
[349] Taki, M. (1996).
[350] www.learningmdia.co.nz/ngata/
[351] Williams (1992) p.179

used as descriptions of the same thing. This confusion is perhaps understandable, as educationist and researcher Charles Royal (1998) describes in a conversation with a Māori *kaumātua*[352] when he asked if the father of the *kaumātua,* who was raised in a deeply Māori context, would know what *Mātauranga Māori* was. The answer given was that "[t]o ask my father what *Mātauranga Māori* is, would be like asking a fish what water is. It remains invisible to them."[353] Pihama Cram and Walker (2002) referring to the same conversation suggest that the notion of *Kaupapa Māori* is equally elusive.[354] It is possible that the ordinariness of the normal and usual is what makes *Kaupapa Māori* invisible or elusive, and it may be that *Kaupapa Māori* is 'coming into view or appearing for the first time', thus disclosing Māori realities.

Māori academic Ella Henry (1999) described *Kaupapa Māori* as having meanings embedded within Māori culture, and that 'it is both a set of philosophical beliefs and a set of social practices. These are founded on collective consciousness *(whanaungatanga*), interdependence between and among mankind (*kotahitanga*), a sacred relationship to the 'gods' and the cosmos (*wairuatanga),* acknowledgement that humans are guardians of the environment (*kaitiakitanga*), and the interconnection between mind, body and spirit… that is 'what is real' for Māori.'[355]

One of the most prolific writers on *Kaupapa Māori,* Māori educationalist Graham Smith (1992) describes *Kaupapa Māori* as the 'philosophy and practice of 'being Māori' that has a valid and legitimate social, political, historical, philosophical, intellectual and cultural authenticity.' [356] Smith (1997) later describes *Kaupapa Māori* as 'both a theory and transformative praxis which has been organically derived from within Māori communities"[357]

Māori educationists Bishop and Glynn (1999) describe 'a proactive Māori political discourse termed *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophy and principles).'[358] Pihama, Cram and Walker (2002)[359] state that '*Kaupapa Māori* captures Māori desires to affirm Māori cultural philosophies and practices.' In short *Kaupapa Māori* is about being 'fully Māori' and that 'the essence of the *Kaupapa Māori* initiatives is the desire of Māori to be Māori' [360] and to 'know

[352] Literally adult, or old man or woman, contemporarily used to denote respected and knowledgeable elder of either gender.
[353] Royal, T.A.C. (1998) p.85
[354] Pihama et al (2002) p.38
[355] Henry, E. (1999) p.19
[356] Smith G.H (1992) p.1
[357] Smith, G.H. (1997) p.483
[358] Bishop, R. and Glynn, T. (1999) p. 61
[359] Pihama, L., Cram, F, Walker, S. (2002) pp 30 – 43
[360] ibid p.30

that being Māori is the norm.' This is the core of *Kaupapa Māori*: the affirmation and legitimation of being Māori.'[361]

Pihama et al (2002) cite from other Māori academics writing about *Kaupapa Māori,* in education, including 'Smith (1997) who outlines *Kaupapa Māori* as a term used by Māori to describe the practice and philosophy of living a Māori, culturally-informed life. This is a Māori worldview that incorporates thinking and understanding.'[362] Walker (1996) states '*Kaupapa* is the explanation that gives meaning to the "life of Māori" It is the base on which the superstructures of *Te Ao* may be viewed.'[363] Taki (1996) describes a basic foundation of *Kaupapa Māori* as 'ground rules, customs, and the right way of doing things.' Nepe (1991) presents *Kaupapa Māori* as 'the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge… this base influences how Māori people think, understand, interact, and interpret the world.'[364]

Pihama et al (2002) emphasise *te reo Māori* in their description of *Kaupapa Māori* as a 'self-determination, anti-colonial education agenda …that is firmly based in Māori language and cultural ways of being.'

Kaupapa Māori *Theory*

G.H. Smith (1991) was the first to call for the development of a uniquely New Zealand theory to counter what he termed 'racist ideologies and racist policies'. He argued that 'the emphasis of new right logic on individualism (Hayek 1974) contradicts Māori concepts of collectivism such as *iwi* (tribe) *hapū* (sub-tribe) *whānau* (extended family) or the values implied in *utu* (reciprocity) *manaaki* (hospitality) or *aroha* (respectfulness)'. Smith called for 'analysis that can also take account of Māori cultural aspirations in relation to language, knowledge and culture evolved out of our own New Zealand context for analysing or adequately developing appropriate interventions for Māori.'[365]

Māori educationist Kathie Irwin (1994) identified 'huge theoretical chasms' in her study for PhD, and wondered 'whose theoretical writing would provide the appropriate framework for data analysis? What kind of theory would be appropriate? This led her to the realisation that she would need to formulate her own theory of Māori education that 'needed to position

[361] ibid p.30
[362] ibid p.32
[363] ibid p. 32
[364] Pihama et al (2002) p.36
[365] Smith, G.H. (1991) p.6

Māori as normal and not other, marginal or peripheral, and it needed to be centred in a post-colonial Māori reality rather than any other.'[366]

Pihama et al (2002) state that 'the intellectual validity of *Kaupapa Māori* has been established as a bona fide theory of transformation'[367] and that 'the term theory has been deliberately co-opted by Smith (1997) and linked to *Kaupapa Māori* in order to develop a counter-hegemonic practice and to understand the cultural constraints exemplified in critical questions such as "what counts as theory?" Smith challenges the narrow, Eurocentric interpretation of theory as it has been applied in New Zealand education.'[368] Citing Walker (1996) who 'locates *Kaupapa Māori* in a distinctly theoretical terrain that is Māori initiated, defined, and controlled. *Kaupapa Māori* theory has had the dual effect of providing both the theoretical 'space' to support the academic writing of Māori scholars and to be subject of critical interrogation, analysis, and application.'[369]

Pihama et al. (2002) state *Kaupapa Māori* has emerged as a contemporary discourse and a reality, as a theory and praxis directly from Māori lived realities and experiences.[370] They cite Smith (1997) stating that '*Kaupapa Māori* challenges the political context of unequal power relations and associated structural impediments':

> *Kaupapa Māori* strategies question the right of Pākehā to dominate and exclude Māori preferred interests in education, and assert the validity of Māori knowledge, language, custom and practice, and its right to continue to flourish in the land of its origin, as the tangata whenua (indigenous) culture. [371]

Pihama (1993), G. Smith (1997), L.Smith (1999) and Bishop and Glynn (1999) have all referred to the counter-hegemonic role of *Kaupapa Māori'* that places *'Kaupapa Māori* as a form of critical analysis that is driven by Māori understandings.'[372] 'Also inherent in *Kaupapa Māori* theory is the critique of power structures in *Aotearoa* that historically have constructed Māori people in binary opposition to Pākehā, reinforcing the discourse of Māori as the 'Other'. *Kaupapa Māori* theory aligns itself with critical theory in that it seeks to expose power relations that perpetuate the continued oppression of Māori people.'[373]

G.H. Smith (1992) presents *Kaupapa Māori* as 'the central organising philosophical and practical basis of contemporary Māori educational resistance', employing the deconstruction

[366] Irwin, K. (1994) p. 28
[367] Pihama et al (2002) p.30
[368] Ibid p.33
[369] Pihama et al (2002) p. 33
[370] ibid p. 32
[371] ibid p33 reference to Smith (1997) p.273
[372] Pihama et al (2002) p.35
[373] Pihama (1993)

of Pākehā hegemony that disempowered Māori from, among other things, controlling their own knowledge. '*Kaupapa Māori* decodes the ideological interests of the dominant Pākehā society that permeate educational structures through a capture of the meanings of curriculum, pedagogy, knowledge and evaluation.'[374] Smith further presents the shift of *Kaupapa Māori* over time from 'the domain of 'unofficial knowledge' to the legitimated domain of 'official knowledge', with a shift from the marginal position of the constructed 'other' to the more central position of 'inclusion'.[375]

Smith (1992) shows that critical analysis and consideration must be given to both cultural and structural implications when *Kaupapa Māori* is used as an intervention in educational crises, and gives a case study example to demonstrate the key elements or principles commonly demonstrated when *Kaupapa Māori* is in action. These elements include: *Tino Rangatiratanga* (the relative autonomy principle); *Taonga Tuku Iho* (the cultural aspirations principle); *Ako Māori* (Māori teaching and learning principle); *Kia Pike Ake I Ngā Rarurarau O Te Kāinga* (mediation of socio-economic impediments principle); *Whānau* (extended family principle) and *Kaupapa* (principle of collective vision)[376]. Smith concludes that '*Kaupapa Māori* does critically engage and challenge the taken for granted; it also mediates the debilitating effects of power and economic elements on Māori students. It attempts to create more authentic spaces for Māori to "do their own thing".'[377]

Pihama et al. (2002) structured their literature review around Smith's (1997) six *Kaupapa Māori* intervention elements or principles, and stress that

> [e]mbodied in the Māori language version of the Treaty of Waitangi, the principle of Tino Rangatiratanga goes straight to the heart of Kaupapa Māori. […] Tino Rangatiratanga has guided Kaupapa Māori initiatives, reinforcing the goal of seeking more meaningful control over one's own life and cultural well-being. A crucial question remains: can real Tino Rangatiratanga be achieved in existing Pākehā-dominated institutional structures?[378]

Māori educationist Kuni Jenkins (2000) states that 'Any study of Māori social practice means using a Māori theoretical approach; a *Kaupapa Māori* approach … (that) gets 'inside' the thinking at the heart of Māori social practice.'[379] She draws from *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks to emphasise '*Kaupapa Māori* analytical approaches ... to explain the way relationships between Māori and Pākehā were formed'[380]. Jenkins shows 'how the principles of *aitanga* contribute to an explanation of the kind of social encounters between Māori and Pākehā

[374] Smith, G.H. (1992) p.2
[375] Ibid p.2
[376] Ibid pp 27–28
[377] ibid. p.9
[378] Pihama et al (2002) pp 39–40
[379] Jenkins, K.E.H.K (2000), p.26
[380] ibid Abstract p.iv

which have led to lasting and contested relationships in education.'[381] Jenkins cites Smith (1997)[382] who described *Kaupapa Māori* as a 'Māori way of thinking and doing things which feels culturally appropriate'. Jenkins states that it is through the practice of *Kaupapa Māori* that ''Māori rational thought operates'[383] and that '[f]rom the mechanisms/elements of *Kaupapa Māori* have evolved the distinct and recognisable patterns of behaviour – *tikanga* – which shows how Māori have socialised themselves in particular ways in order to relate with others.'[384]

Educationists, Bishop and Glynn (1999), drawing on post-colonial and critical theory, state that '*Kaupapa Māori* educators focus on the power relationships that exist as a result of colonialism at all levels of society and in education. What is significantly different about a *kaupapa Māori* approach to theorising about education is seeing that the relationship is paramount, in fact more so than the individual components of the relationship. Therefore, rather than the focus for development being on either party, it is the interaction patterns that result from the relationships that is the focus.'[385]

Jenkins (2000) was the first Māori writer to engage *aitanga* principles and related concepts from *Kaupapa Māori* frameworks to write about Māori and Pākehā relationships within education. She shows 'how being in an *aitanga* relationship is to be meaningfully engaged in dialogue and active participation in the broadest interpretation and development of the social and political dimensions of the society. Each partner in this relationship, if it is to be meaningful, has *mana*:'[386]

> Social transformation, which engages the principles of aitanga is about sharing ideas and developing amicable and lasting relationships…. Aitanga and transformation within social groups is being able to bridge gaps from one cultural framework to another in order to develop new ways of doing things based on the expectations they each have of their relationship.[387]

Pihama et al (2002) warn that repositioning Māori into 'the norm in our own constructions … acts as a challenge to Pākehā dominance. This is clearly an issue for *Kaupapa Māori* implementation in mainstream institutions and settings.'[388] They also state that '*Kaupapa Māori* theorising has ranged across a variety of educational sites and issues, critiquing

[381] ibid p. 26
[382] Smith, G.H. (1997), pp.96–97
[383] Jenkins (2000) p. 43
[384] ibid p.44
[385] Bishop, R. and Glynn, T. (1999) p. 73
[386] Jenkins, K.E.H.K (2000) p. 242
[387] Ibid p. 85
[388] Pihama et al (2002) p.36

specific policies imposed on Māori.'[389] It is clear from a broader review of *Kaupapa Māori* literature that little attention has been given to date to New Zealand polytechnics or Institutes of Technology as sites of struggle for Māori education.

Two published critics of *Kaupapa Māori* theory and practice found to date are Māori educationist Dr Pita Sharples (1988) who argued that as *Kaupapa Māori* has roots in "old" knowledge, including Māori spiritualism and traditionalism, it belongs to another time and not the contemporary world. It could be argued that as most established Western theory has roots in old or traditional knowledge as such, Sharples does not offer a valid repudiation of *Kaupapa Māori* with this basis alone. More recently educationist Dr Elizabeth Rata (2004) has challenged the validity of *Kaupapa Māori,* seeing it as deeply flawed because of a number of unsubstantiated assumptions:

> […] the neotraditionalist assumption of two ethnically distinctive groups divided by determining cultural differences; …the assumption that an unequal political and economic division is created and maintained by ethnic Pākehā dominance over subordinate Māori;…the assumption of a kaupapa Māori 'way of knowing' that links the social practice of knowledge creation to genetic inheritance and … that a cultural idealism approach in which 'the everyday reality of social reproduction (is) replaced by the reproduction of symbolic representations.[390]

In response to these opinions, bearing in mind that Rata is a non-Māori commentator, the validity of her statements termed as assumptions are called into question by the full text of her own paper. For example, she states that 'Distinctive ethnic boundaries do not exist between Māori and non-Māori', which would fly in the face of her citing of New Zealand Statistics collected from census returns where great care has been taken to establish the self identified differences in ethnicities that make up the population and, as such, these are not culturally determined. Rather, they are declared as a decision of personal identification as distinctly belonging to one or more ethnic groups. Citing Chapple (2000), Rata states that the gaps between Māori and non-Māori in educational achievement and other socio-economic indicators are falling, which in itself refers to the published evidence that there is an identifiable disparity between the two ethnically distinct groups. It is also clear that as a majority in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Pākehā or non-Māori are the dominant group.

Any cursory analysis of those in the New Zealand population holding positions of authority and power, for example in government or in the state sector including education, would return unequivocal evidence that Māori do not hold a proportionate number of these positions. In the present study of publications relating to *Kaupapa Māori,* particularly in the field of education,

[389] ibid p.34
[390] Rata, E. (2004) p. 3.

the present writer has yet to find any reference to knowledge creation based on genetic inheritance. This would predicate an exclusivity to *Kaupapa Māori* which is far from that in practice, as stated by Pihama et al (2002), 'Kaupapa *Māori* challenges, questions and critiques Pākehā hegemony. It does not reject or exclude Pākehā culture. It is not a one-or-the-other choice.'[391] Finally, *Kaupapa Māori* in its early alignment with critical and feminist theory, far from resorting to 'symbolic representations' of 'everyday reality' attempts to bring forward the actual nature of the lived Māori experience, using an authentic and legitimate Māori 'voice'. The search for models drawn from *Te Ao Māori* has as much validity as the constructions used by theorists in the non-Māori academy to describe and explain the world. In her critiques of *Kaupapa Māori*, Rata has perhaps inadvertently contributed to the standing of *Kaupapa Māori* as a theory in the Western academic tradition of critiquing and challenging to establish validity.

Kaupapa Māori Research

Māori academic and researcher Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith in her widely read and cited text, *Decolonising Methodologies Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999) shows the involvement of Māori in research where 'rather than accept the position either of 'victim' or 'object', Māori people voiced resistance to research from the late 1960s and began to pose their own research questions.' Smith cites three incentives for this shift: the establishment of the *Waitangi* Tribunal; the development of the language revitalisation movement known as *Te Kōhanga Reo*; and the spaces opened up in the social sciences by more critical and reflexive approaches to research. Smith discusses how more favourable conditions for research involving Māori were created by the feminist and critical critiques of positivism.[392]

Māori feminist and academic Kathie Irwin (1994) points out that 'as a direct result of the colonisation of this country, the research legitimated by the academic world has marginalised *mātauranga Māori* (Māori culture)… As a result of this demeaning of *mātauranga Māori,* researchers and academics generally have a poor reputation in the Māori community and are viewed with suspicion at best, contempt in the main.'[393]
L.T. Smith (1999) expands this by writing that

> What is now referred to as Kaupapa Māori approaches to research or simply as 'Kaupapa Māori research' offers challenges to Māori researchers to 'convince Māori people of the value of research for Māori; to convince research communities of the need for greater Māori involvement in research and to develop approaches and ways of carrying out

[391] Pihama et al (2002) p.33
[392] Smith, L.T. (1999) p.163
[393] Irwin, K (1994) p. 38

> research which take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research, and the parameters of both previous and current research.'[394]

Smith (1999) further discusses ' the ways in which *Kaupapa Māori* research has become a way of structuring assumptions, values, concepts, orientations and priorities in research'.[395]

Educationists and researchers, Bishop and Glynn are noted for publications about *Kaupapa Māori* research theory and practice in the field of education. In *Culture Counts: Changing Power Relations in Education,* (1999), they concur with Smith (1999) that Māori reject researcher hegemony and control of research projects and process. They argue instead for Māori self-determination of the focus and benefits derived from research, as well as the legitimation of research process and findings, and the 'representation of voice and determination of accountability processes'[396]. They further state that

> Kaupapa Māori research is based on a growing consensus that research involving Māori knowledge and people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways, that fit Māori cultural preferences, practices and aspirations in order to develop and acknowledge existing culturally appropriate approaches in the method, practice and organisation of research.[397]

Graham Smith (1990) summarises key elements of *Kaupapa Māori* research as 'related to being Māori; connected to Māori philosophy and principles; takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and is concerned with the 'struggle for autonomy over our own cultural wellbeing'. Russell Bishop (1994) argues that *Kaupapa Māori* research is located within an alternative conception of the world from which solutions and cultural aspirations can be generated.[398]

Educationist Kathy Irwin (1994) describes *Kaupapa Māori* as research which is 'culturally safe', where Māori institutions, principles and practices were highly valued and followed.[399] This involves the 'mentorship' of Māori elders, '*kaumātua (koroua and kuia*)' which is culturally relevant and appropriate and which satisfies the rigour of research, and which is conducted 'by a *Māori* academic, not an academic who happens to be Māori.'[400] L.T. Smith (1999) argues that those who are not Māori are not precluded from participating in research that has a *Kaupapa Māori* orientation,[401] and notes that this also does not 'preclude those who identify as Māori but cannot speak Māori language, those who are Māori but do not know

[394] Smith, L.T. (1999) p.183
[395] ibid p.183
[396] Bishop, R. and Glynn, T. (1999) p.102
[397]. ibid, p.117
[398] Bishop, R. (1994) p.175
[399] Irwin, K (1994) p.27
[400] ibid p.27
[401] Smith L.T. (1999) p. 187

their *whakapapa*, nor those who are Māori but have lived away from their *iwi* or *whānau* territories'.[402]

G. H. Smith (1992) offers four models by which culturally appropriate and empowering research can be undertaken by non-indigenous researchers, including tiaki or mentoring model where authoritative Māori people guide and sponsor the research; the *whangai or* adoption model, where researchers are incorporated into the daily life of Māori people; a power sharing model where researchers 'seek the assistance of the community to meaningfully support the development of a research enterprise' and an 'empowering outcomes model' addressing the sorts of questions Māori want answered with outcomes beneficial for Māori.

Irwin (1994) saw that research for her PhD studies needed to 'mediate between and speak to two worlds, the Māori world and the academic world.' She writes of her selection of supervisors: 'Located as it was in both the academic and Māori worlds, I wanted the supervisors to be representative of both worlds of scholarship, to ensure validity, reliability, accountability and cultural safety. I wanted to use the concept of a whānau of supervisors …(that) invokes a range of cultural meanings which, if we were successful, would mean that our relationships would be fundamentally different from those encountered in other supervision processes.'[403] Irwin explains her approach to negotiating entry into fieldwork for her research:

> From the start, the *kaupapa* of this research would be approached in a Māori way, invoking, as it would the traditions and customs of the Māori world. In this case there would be no question which world would lead: the world of research would follow.[404]

Bishop (1996) states that 'one fundamental understanding to a Māori approach to research is that it is a discursive practice; that is, *Kaupapa Māori* positions researchers in such a way to operationalise self-determination for research participants. This is because the cultural aspirations, understandings, and practices of Māori people govern the way they organise the research process.'[405]

Jenkins (2002) cites Smith (1997) who argued that *Kaupapa Māori* was 'not just a cultural practice but was a theoretical structural intervention that made space for cultural practice, and incorporated traditional forms of Māori knowledge and learning.'[406] Jenkins argues that

[402] ibid, p, 194
[403] Irwin (1994) p. 29
[404] ibid p. 35
[405] Bishop (1996) p.144
[406] Jenkins (2000) p.44

aitanga as a 'framework gives rise to a particular kind of research paradigm which makes the information produced from it accessible to a Māori audience and those really interested in understanding Māori points of view.'[407] One way that Jenkins, along with many other Māori writers, achieves this accessibility for readers is by avoiding 'writing in the positivist mode of the third person and chose instead to follow Jones' (1991) active model that accepts 'I am in the text'.[408]

Māori academic Hine Waitere-Ang (1998) also discussed 'how the researcher comes to be positioned within the research process and the potential dilemmas this presents for Māori' because of the 'notion of the researcher as a socially constructed phenomenon derived from colonial socio-political history that has been inherently detrimental to Māori growth and development.' She challenges by asking 'How much is cloaked and diffused when we, as Māori researchers, ignore our own level of institutionalisation particularly when we choose to write about ourselves?' [409]

Bishop (1994) Irwin (1994) Bishop and Glynn (1999) and L.T Smith (1999) have iterated that *Kaupapa Māori* research carries with it an expectation that the outcomes of the research as well as the process itself will be of benefit or make a positive difference to Māori people and Māori communities. As Smith points out:

> This does not need to be an immediate or direct benefit. The point is that research has to be defined and designed with some ideas about likely short-term or longer-term benefits… The research approach also has to address seriously the cultural ground rules of respect, and working with communities, of sharing processes and knowledge. *Kaupapa Māori* research also incorporates processes such as networking, community consultations and whānau research groups, which assist in bringing into focus the research problems which are significant for Māori. In practice all of these elements of the *Kaupapa Māori* approach are negotiated with communities or groups from 'communities of interest'. It means that researchers have to share their 'control' of research and seek to maximize the participation and interest of Māori.[86]

G. Smith (1991) was concerned that one of 'obvious shortcomings of educational research in New Zealand is that it has often been extreme, whether tending towards Deficit or Deprivation theories, that is victim blaming orientation or towards the other end of the scale, focusing solely on structural impediments.' He continued to call for 'a meaningful schooling intervention for Māori … that is able to work on all fronts incorporating where necessary cultural and structural considerations. This concept is developed further in Smith's (1997) thesis where he comments that 'attempts to change the status quo have failed because they

[407] ibid p.42
[408] ibid p.23
[409] Waitere-Ang, H (1998) p 224
[86] Smith, L.T. (1999) p.190

often overtly concentrate on changing the 'mode' rather than the institutional structures. In moving outside the system, *Kaupapa Māori* strategies have been able to engage the 'institution' and to develop more fundamental structural change.'

Educationist and researcher Jill Bevan-Brown (1998) presented the top ten components of Māori research based on a review of literature. In summary, these are that the research must be conducted within a Māori cultural framework; that the researchers must have the cultural, reo, subject and research expertise required; that the research should be focused on areas of importance and concern to Māori; the research should result in some positive outcome for Māori; that the people being researched should be involved as active participants; that the research should be controlled by Māori; that people conducting the research are accountable to people they research and the Māori community in general; the research should be of high quality, and assessed by culturally appropriate methods and measures against Māori- relevant standards; and that the methods, measures and procedures used take full cognisance of Māori culture and preferences. She goes on to outline four methods appropriate for Māori research, including the use of hui in the research process; the use of narrative inquiry and collaborative research stories; incorporating concepts of whānau and whanaungatanga into the process; and the use of whakapapa as a research process. Finally Bevan-Brown offers the model of the *pātaka* symbolic of the store of knowledge generated by Māori research

Lawyer, Denese Hēnare (1999) argues that 'there are at least three steps in the process of linking research to Māori development; to identify how Māori differ from non-Māori; to consider what these differences mean for Māori development in the 21st century (and), to consider how to apply these differences in our nation in order to make a difference.' She refers to a 'law of difference as all those things that not only give understanding to what it means to be Māori—a Māori spirit and a Māori heart but also access to institutions of culture and resources. Māori values in law and policy relying on the right way and the Māori way, collective wisdom and strength of community. *Ngā tikanga o te āhuatanga.* Henare explains, '[p]ut in simple terms, many Māori claim that *tikanga Māori* have an important status in New Zealand because those tikanga are indigenous and ancient; and because they continue to contain the values around which Māori wish to live their lives in Aotearoa. Essentially, the Māori way of doing things, from the mundane to the most sacred or important fields of human endeavour.' [410]

[410] Henare (1998) p.34

What counts as knowledge?

As L. Smith (1999) points out 'Research is an important part of the colonisation process because it is concerned with defining legitimate knowledge. '[411] She continues by stating that, 'By asserting the validity of Māori knowledge, Māori people have reclaimed greater control over the research which is being carried out in the Māori field…. Māori knowledge represents the body of knowledge which in today's society, can be extended, alongside that of existing Western knowledge.'[412] Smith further explains that 'research is implicated in the production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories which have dehumanised Māori in practices which have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture.'[413]

Naden (1998) describes a struggle 'between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori knowledge. He discovers how positivism forms the basis of New Right ideological positioning, which in turn has inspired and driven educational "reforms". He argues for 'equal representation of Māori knowledge and for increasing power for Māori in decision-making in education…'[414]

Jenkins (2000), drawing on critical analyses of New Zealand education, cites Jones *et al 'who* very usefully point out that 'what counts as knowledge' is used as a tool to disadvantage subordinate groups such that:[415]

> The control over what counts as knowledge, and the control over the institutions where such knowledge is practised, allows for dominant interest groups to perpetuate and maintain their positions of dominance and disadvantage … The political, social and economic domination of Māori is facilitated by a schooling and education system that serves the interests of Pākehā society.

Jenkins has also warned that 'Past experience has shown how, even with Māori optimism about the possibilities, in the relationships between Māori and Pākehā, Māori have lost power while Pākehā have assumed power.'[416]

Cursory consideration of who 'controls' polytechnics in New Zealand shows that the state and predominantly male, Pākehā representatives of the State are in control there. One of the outcomes for Māori within this system of education is a lower success rates than non-Māori

[411] Smith, L.T. (1999) p.173
[412] ibid p.175
[413] ibid p. 183
[414] Naden (1998) cited in Pihama et al (2002) pp 39–40
[415] Jenkins K.E.H.K (2000) p.39
[416] ibid p.241

particularly at degree level and above, and the whole sector requires a closer look from Māori perspectives and frameworks for understanding.

Academic educationalist James Marshall (1991) states that 'policy towards education of Māori in New Zealand has been ethnocentric in its approach and based on unexamined assumptions of the cultural superiority of the Pākehā.' This "ethos" has extended similarly into the related areas of research and evaluation in education.' [417] Marshall identifies phases of policy relating to Māori education from the 'assimilationist' approach to race relations which predominated until the late 1950s; a focus on a policy of 'integration', implicitly based on a notion of 'cultural deprivation' during the 1960s and early 1970s. This was followed by a transitional period where emphasis shifted from 'cultural deprivation' and 'the problem of the Māori child' to a concept of 'cultural difference' that emphasised Pākehā tolerance of non-Pākehā culture. After this, then, was an attempt to formulate a 'multicultural' policy with the attendant notion that 'cultural diversity' should be valued.'[418]

Māori educationist Wally Penetito (2001) succinctly stated the basis of the ongoing difficulties faced by Māori in education, in that

> The New Zealand education system has always operated as though its clients were either Pākehā or wanted to become Pākehā; Māori had much to learn from Pākehā but Pākehā had little to learn from Māori.'[419]

Matthews (2001) noted that 'the situation for Māori in education...appears as if the voices of Māori leaders and academics are only heard "on the day they voice the message" in some cases and then the message slides into history, or is ignored.'[420]

Jenkins (2000) is concerned about the invisibility of Māori in 'historical writings which foreground notions of colonisation, capitalism, imperialism and expansionism, (and) mask the active role Māori played in the historical events because they forget to portray Māori attitudes and the positive strength of the Māori response. If they do portray Māori then Māori tend to be portrayed negatively.'[421] This pattern of 'forgetting' about Māori in published histories may help explain Māori near 'invisibility' within the publications about the histories of New Zealand polytechnics and other mainstream, non-Māori institutions.

[417] Marshall, J. (1991) p.12
[418] ibid p13.
[419] Penetito, W. (2001) p.18
[420] Matthews (2001) p.2
[421] Jenkins (2000) p.7

Māori and New Zealand Tertiary Education

Since the mid-1990s the tertiary sector in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been under review, with wide-reaching changes impacting the sector and its participants. The Education (Tertiary Reform) Amendment Act 2002 legislated changes that saw the introduction of the Tertiary Education Strategy[422] that sets the strategic direction for the tertiary education system. At this highest policy level, there is evidence for the influence of *Kaupapa Māori* in terms of both structure and Māori cultural considerations. The Act formalised the establishment of the Tertiary Education Commission (TEC) to implement the strategy, and other changes such as sector funding now subject to approval of profiles for all tertiary education organisations and of charters, that have demonstrated consultation with Māori.

The Tertiary Education Strategy (TES) clearly states, 'Partnership and autonomy expressed in the Treaty of Waitangi must be given effect through the Government, Māori and the tertiary education system working together to produce success in terms meaningful to Māori.' [423] Strategy Two—*Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori* (Contribute to the Achievement of Māori Development)—is strongly influenced by the work of the Māori Tertiary Reference Group created to advise on Māori tertiary education issues and responsible for the development of the Māori Tertiary Education Framework (MTEF).[424] The MTEF was based on analysis of consultation with Māori, the *Hui Taumata Mātauranga*, and the work of leading Māori academics and representatives of Māori stakeholders in the tertiary sector. In the words of Dr Linda Tuhiwai Smith who chaired the Māori Tertiary Reference Group, 'this Framework is an examination of how the tertiary system could work 'better' for Māori and what Māori think that means.'[425]

The MTEF includes the three visions for Māori advancement summarised by Dr Mason Durie (2002) as a keynote address to the *Hui Taumata Mātauranga* in 2001: to live as Māori; to enjoy good health and a high standard of living; and to actively participate as citizens of the world. The Framework also has five guiding principles for a healthy tertiary education system drawn from *Kaupapa Māori*; *Whakanui*—respect/inclusiveness; *Toi Te Mana*—influence/ empowerment, *Ngā Kawenga*—responsibility; *Ahu Kāwanatanga*—contribution/partnership and; *Tino Rangatiratanga*—authority/self-determination. The MTEF has seven priority areas, one of which, 'Priority Seven—Māori-centred Knowledge Creation', includes an overall goal for research and development within tertiary education that is of benefit to Māori.

[422] Ministry of Education (2002)
[423] ibid p.18
[424] Ministry of Education (2003b)
[425] Ministry of Education (2003b) preface

In June 2004, the TEC released a final draft of the *Strategy for the Tertiary Education Commission: Working with Māori 2004-07* and in this it states that

> Education is at the heart of what Government wants to achieve for New Zealand's sustainable social and economic development. It is at the heart of what *iwi* and Māori have said they want for themselves and their future generations—one that is meaningful and relevant to meet their diverse aspirations and one that allows them to achieve their full potential.[426]

The Commission also states that it 'recognises that achieving the outcomes envisaged for *Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori* requires the TEC to strengthen the tertiary education system's capability to deliver high quality tertiary education to Māori, and be accountable for that delivery.' [427] TEC is also committed to Strategy Six, aiming to 'strengthen research and knowledge creation.' It may be that there has been a major change in the suspicion on the part of Māori about research as mentioned by Irwin (1994), L.T. Smith (1999) and Bishop and Glynn (1999) as the TEC confidently states that

> [r]esearch and scholarship, coupled with the discipline of rigorous investigation are skills that are admired and desired in all cultures. *Iwi* and Māori have clear expectations to participate in these activities in ways that are meaningful and relevant to the realities they live in now and those they wish to build for their future. [428]

The TEC has four main strategic goals for the entire organisation, to develop capability, access, relevance and excellence, and also eight specific goals with objectives developed in consultation with Māori. [429]

In their strategy for working with Māori, the TEC is clearly signalling partnership relationships with Māori to progress together. Goal One states that '[t]he TEC will work alongside Iwi and Māori to develop their capability to respond to the tertiary education reforms in ways that support Iwi and Māori to achieve their development aspirations.' This is enacted via provision of relevant information and support, the identification of Māori tertiary education and training issues, the development of tertiary action plans 'that prioritise Iwi and Māori issues for the TEC and the tertiary education sector to address' and support aiming to strengthen capability for Māori educational government and management infrastructures.'[430]

[426] Tertiary Education Commission (2004) p.8
[427] ibid p.6
[428] ibid p.10
[429] ibid p.13
[430] Tertiary Education Commission (2004) p.13

In Goal Two, TEC aims to work in partnership with the tertiary education sector to optimise 'system and organisational capabilities that will contribute to Māori achieving their development aspirations.' This will be enacted by supporting the development of partnerships between the sector and Māori; by resourcing the sector to 'help them develop effective Treaty of Waitangi relationships'; by their ability to respond to Māori needs as identified by Māori; by publishing 'materials about best practice and guidelines when working with Iwi and Māori'. All of this will help the sector to 'develop staff and help them build effective relationships with *iwi* and Māori' through professional development, and 'to prioritise and address issues to enhance the system's teaching capability for Māori learners.' [431]

Attention will also be given to 'develop measures of system accountability that will demonstrate the benefits to, and progress of, Māori within the tertiary education sector'.[i432] Furthermore, this will include measurements of progress with participation and achievements, the capability of Māori staff in the sector with development plans for those staff, and creation of ways for measuring the sector contribution to Māori achievement of development aspirations.

It is unclear if recognition of Māori as tangata whenua in Aotearoa/New Zealand is adequately captured in the creation of 'Treaty of Waitangi relationships' in the tertiary sector, or how the right of *tino rangatiratanga* can be enacted in mainstream tertiary institutions that have a dominance of non-Māori involved in governance, management, teaching and as students.

In Goal Three, TEC states its intention to 'become an organisation that has mutual, beneficial and reciprocal relationships with Iwi and Māori.' It will enact this through establishing Māori advisory groups, and working with key sector stakeholders to increase the opportunities for Māori to meet their needs and aspirations; by appointment of Māori staff and establishment of a Māori caucus within TEC. It will also require the following: performance management that develops skills for working with Māori based on a 'hierarchy of staff knowledge'; the mentoring of Māori staff into management training and positions within the organisation; and implementation of a staff guide on working with Māori. [433]

An improvement in the access to tertiary education for Māori is signaled through Goal Four, which seeks to 'highlight learning pathways within the system and to encourage 'high quality communications' from the sector to Māori including use of Māori media. It also seeks the

[431] ibid. p.13
[432] ibid. p. 13
[433] ibid, p.13

equitable distribution of funds for Māori throughout the system and an increase in Māori access to foundation level skills and generic skills in a broader range of learning environments that are 'informed by Māori ways of knowing, Māori ways of learning and Māori world views'. TEC will also 'provide for system-wide pathways for Māori learners to access *kaupapa Māori* programmes and *Tohu Mātauranga Māori* (Māori education qualifications). [434]

Goal Six states that, 'The TEC will help work towards making the tertiary education system more relevant to Māori learners by helping the system to deliver the skills and knowledge required for Māori learners to achieve their development aspirations.' This will include the support of 'more and varied methods of tertiary education delivery to better match Māori learners' learning styles and needs'; provision of information to Māori who 'take up tertiary education, including information about the direct and indirect costs associated with different learning pathways'; and working with crown agencies to improve 'Māori participation, achievement and retention in tertiary learning.'[435]

In support of the broader strategic goal of achievement of excellence, Goals Seven and Eight of the strategy for working with Māori state that the ' TEC will work with the tertiary education sector to build processes of excellence and accountability with Māori.' It will do this through encouraging 'the development of Māori ways of knowing, Māori ways of learning and Māori world views in the tertiary education sector.' This will include publication of 'best practice guidelines about working with Māori learners' successes', supporting new ''exemplar' programmes at all levels of tertiary education and training that will better meet Māori needs and aspirations.' This is designed to supporting 'Māori research in a wider New Zealand context and into international research environments' including 'produc[ing] materials that celebrate Māori learners' success in a tertiary system that is preparing them for a knowledge society' and 'associated research to enhance learner outcomes.'[436]

It would appear from the statements and intentions presented in the *Strategy for the Tertiary Education Commission: Working with Māori 2004–07* that the work of Māori researchers, academics and writers within the broad field of *Kaupapa Māori* as it relates to education has contributed to the shift in thinking that puts Māori at the centre of this far-reaching strategy that is impacting on the New Zealand tertiary sector. What is apparent is that the strategy emphasises the importance of relationships, both between Māori and the tertiary education sector, and also within the sector itself. The relative effectiveness of the strategy and its

[434] ibid, p.15
[435] Tertiary Education Commission (2004) p.17
[436] Ibid p.19

impacts on Māori will become known over time, and will no doubt generate research and evaluations and a broader scrutiny of the outcomes for Māori with an accountability not previously seen in the New Zealand tertiary sector. It is hoped, as the strategy signals, that *Kaupapa Māori* research will have a place in this process.

Conclusion

Graham Smith (1992) has pointed out that there has been a shift over time for *Kaupapa Māori* into a legitimated domain of 'official knowledge', and uniquely Māori views and approaches are included in the discourses about Māori in New Zealand education. Education policy and strategies no longer dismiss Māori as 'other' to be added on as an afterthought, or to be ignored entirely. As a result, for example, consultation with Māori is now mandatory in the tertiary education institutions. To date no information that describes the nature of the consultation between the tertiary institutions and Māori has been accessed and is perhaps a topic in itself for further research.

The New Zealand Ministry of Education annually releases information about tertiary education that includes detailed discrete statistics relating to Māori and these require analysis to describe quantitatively the position of Māori within the sector, including how this compares with non-Māori groups in the system, both as students and staff.

Smith (1992) argued for a deconstruction of Pākehā hegemony and a decoding of 'the ideological interests of the dominant Pākehā society that permeate educational structures through a capture of the meanings of curriculum, pedagogy, knowledge and evaluation.'[437] Critical analysis of the polytechnics in terms of their practices and structures has yet to be conducted from a *Kaupapa Māori* approach and perspective. Pihama et al (2002) warned that repositioning Māori into 'the norm in our own constructions … acts as a challenge to Pākehā dominance. This is clearly an issue for *Kaupapa Māori* implementation in mainstream institutions and settings.' The current state of play based on a *Kaupapa Māori* approach within polytechnics and other mainstream tertiary institutions is yet to be written.

Bishop and Glynn (1999) highlighted the significant difference about a *kaupapa Māori* approach to theorising about education as seeing that the relationship is paramount and that rather than the focus for development being on either party, it is the interaction patterns that result from the relationships that is the focus. As Jenkins (2000) discussed, an equal

[437] Smith, G.H. (1992) p.2

relationship or *aitanga* relationship is to be meaningfully engaged in dialogue and active participation in the broadest interpretation and development of the social and political dimensions of the society.'[438] She described how transformation within social groups is being able to bridge gaps from one cultural framework to another in order to develop new ways of doing things based on the expectations they each have of their relationship.[439] To date there is little published information available about relationships between Māori and the tertiary sector, another subject for future research.

As L. Smith (1999) has stated about research involving Māori that 'Māori knowledge represents the body of knowledge that, in today's society, can be extended, alongside that of existing Western knowledge.'[440] At present there is very little research literature available that gives a 'voice' to Māori in New Zealand polytechnics and institutes of technology. There is almost no information on Māori lived realities or experiences therein, and the structure of power relations between Māori and the tertiary sector is scarce or at best anecdotal. Māori knowledge about the polytechnics is unpublished or not researched to date, and a majority of only Western knowledge is readily available about the sector.

A greater appreciation and understanding about the conducting of research with and about Māori is more apparent in recent publications, and Māori thinking has enabled creation of both *Kaupapa Māori* educational research and frameworks that illuminates Māori aspirations and appropriate positioning for Māori in the tertiary system. The shifts have created more authentic spaces for Māori to "do their own thing".'[441]

What was missing at the start of this project was the definitive list of authors and review of their work that would inform any *Kaupapa Māori* research particularly relating to Māori in higher education. This review of *Kaupapa Māori* research, theory and frameworks in New Zealand tertiary education is by no means entirely comprehensive. There are many valued and authoritative Māori and non-Māori writers in this field who have not been cited here, due to the short time frame of the project that generated this report. Aside from scaring myself by citing myself on the reference list alongside many of the most esteemed writers in this field, I offer this report as a contribution to the collection of texts relating to *Kaupapa Māori* research.

[438] Jenkins, K.E.H.K (2000) p. 242
[439] ibid p. 85
[440] ibid p.175
[441] Smith (1992) p.29

He Whakatauki – He Pārekereke

He aha te wairua o pārekereke
Kimihia te huarahi hei whakapakari i te mātauranga.

What is the essence of pārekereke?
It is to seek out the shoots and pathways for knowledge and growth!

Te Taite Cooper[442]

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