These proceedings have been published by the

Knowledge Exchange Programme of
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

(The National Institute of Research Excellence for
Māori Development and Advancement)

www.maramatanga.co.nz

Contact details:
Waipapa Marae Complex
The University of Auckland
16 Wynyard Street
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1142
New Zealand

info@maramatanga.co.nz

Printed in November 2007
by PRINTSTOP+, Auckland, New Zealand

Cover design by Len Hetet (Ocean 64 Ltd)

ISBN 0-9582610-5-9

# Proceedings of the Indigenous Knowledges Conference Reconciling Academic Priorities with Indigenous Realities

Held:
22-25 June 2005
Wellington, New Zealand

Organisers:
He Pārekereke
Institute for Research and Development for Māori and Pacific Education
Victoria University of Wellington

www.vuw.ac.nz/indigenousknowledges

Convenor:
Dr Joanna Kidman

Editors:
Dr Joanna Kidman, Dr Joseph Te Rito
&
Dr Wally Penetito

## 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 nearer |
| Ko te pae tata whakamaua | Grasp it firmly once near |
| Kia puta i te wheiao ki to ao mārama | And so emerge from darkness into enlightenment |

## Joint Directors

Professor Michael Walker and Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

## Conference Sponsors

Primary sponsor:
Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

Other sponsors and supporters:
Te Puni Kōkiri; Manatū Hauora (Ministry of Health); Manatū Pūtaiao (Ministry of Research, Science & Technology); NIWA (Taihoro Nukurangi); Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences Ltd; Agresearch; HistoryWorks; Te Takoto o Te Ao; Te Wānanga o Aotearoa; The Māori Party


## Acknowledgements

The people of Ngāti Whare

Editorial assistants:
Jan Sinclair, Bruce Duffin, Phoebe Fletcher, Cherie Lacey,
Zaine Mitchell, Maureen Nuku and Pareputiputi Nuku

Māori language editor:
Materoa Haenga

Hawaiian language editor:
Kahealani Lono

# Mihi

***'Ahakoa iti, he pounamu'***

*Tika tonu kia kākahungia ngā kōrero kua tāia nei ki tēnei kī whakatau, i te mea ko tāua tonu hoki ko te tangata te pounamu e kōrerongia nei, ā, ko taua pounamu rā ko tāua! Nā te takitahi tonu hoki o te iwi taketake huri noa i te ao, kua mate tātau ki te pakanga i ngā mahi tātāmi reo, tātāmi tikanga a te mano tini. Otirā, ahakoa tokoiti; 'He kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.'*

*Kāti, koinei rā te mōteatea-a-ngākau ki a rātau kua whakangaro atu nei ki ngā kūrae o maumahara. Moe mai rā koutou, e hika mā e! Ka huri ake ki a tātau te kanohi ora e pae nei, tēnā tātau katoa.*

*E hoa mā, kei te mihi rā ki te taumata kōrero, ki ngā maunga whakahī, ngā marae kāinga o ngā kairangahau, ki ngā wai tapu, wai pūtahi o te motu, ā, ki te ringa o manaaki anō hoki i whakatairanga, i kaha tautoko nei i ēnei tū mahi whakahirahira. Hai kupu whakakapi, ka hoki tonu atu ki tērā kōrero e kī pēnei nei: 'Mā mua a muri, mā muri a mua!'*

**'Though small, it is precious like greenstone'**

We believe 'ahakoa iti, he pounamu' is a fitting conference proverb, as pounamu defines us as a people. Throughout the world, indigenous peoples are small in number and often have to rise against superior numbers in order to safeguard language, customs and traditions. Although we are small in number, our indigeneity is precious.

We weep for those who are no longer with us in a physical sense but who remain in our hearts and memories forever. Sleep in peace dear ones. To us who remain, greetings one and all.

We hereby acknowledge our keynote speakers; the contributors of articles who joined us for the conference; their ancestral mountains and villages; the sacred rivers of the land; and of course, our sponsors who supported and promoted the conference. Finally, let us end with the adage; 'Success is achieved by the efforts of not only those out front but also of those behind the scenes'.

# Table of Contents

# Foreword

**By Dr Joanna Kidman and Dr Wally Penetito**
He Pārekereke
Victoria University of Wellington

Most indigenous researchers are familiar with the complicated juggling acts involved when applying the skills of academic scholarship to the way we think about tribal communities. If we are not keen of eye and deft on our feet, one set of perspectives can upstage the importance of the other. On the other hand, if we try to keep the two worlds forever apart, we risk losing a sense of place in both these domains. Indigenous scholars are often rather isolated within universities and institutions and it is important that we find ways of keeping in touch with our colleagues and the strategies they have devised for working alongside indigenous communities on matters of mutual concern. It is also important that we contribute to the dialogues and debates that take place within our communities and ensure, whenever we can, that tribal voices are heard inside the universities, as well as within our own disciplines.

The purpose of the Indigenous Knowledges conference was to bring together people from a wide range of disciplinary fields who are engaged in developing research-based responses to the 'real world' struggles of Māori and other indigenous peoples. Our aim was to highlight the ways in which scholarly and cultural perspectives can dovetail to create positive outcomes. Throughout the four-day event, which was held at Victoria University of Wellington, the presenters discussed research projects which directly validated indigenous research methodologies. In most cases, the speakers were involved in collaborative projects with *iwi* (tribal) or *hapū* (sub-tribal) communities, and these perspectives added depth and insight into the ways in which Māori and other indigenous scholars can actively contribute to the well-being of such tribal communities.

Alongside academic researchers, several Māori communities and *iwi* were heavily involved in the organisation and delivery of the conference. Indeed, we are especially grateful to Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Porou for allowing us to host a group of *kaumātua* (elders) from the East Coast during the conference; to the children and *whānau* (families) of Te Kura Kaupapa Māori o Ngā Mokopuna; to the *rangatahi* (youth) of Takapuwāhia Marae and also of Ngāi Tahu; and, to the peoples of Ngāti Whare and Te Arawa for their willingness to host international indigenous delegates in their communities before the conference began. This latter aspect of the conference, the invitation from Māori tribal leaders to overseas indigenous conference delegates to be their guests in tribal areas in the central North Island was, for some of our conference visitors, a life-changing event and aptly demonstrated the ways in which Māori communities and Māori researchers can work constructively together.

The idea for the visit came about when the *kaumātua* of Ngāti Whare heard about the conference and suggested that if we were really interested in looking at the ways in which academics and Māori communities could successfully interact, perhaps we should think about bringing the conference delegates to stay on their *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) in the remote village of Te Whāiti in the Urewera National Park. They also pointed out that remote communities do not often get an opportunity to meet with international specialists and a visit would be a good way of allowing an exchange of ideas between overseas researchers and local community experts to take place.

Initially, this seemed like an unlikely option for an already overloaded conference schedule and we were also aware that the Te Whāiti gets very cold in winter which was when the conference was due to take place. However, when we sent out a notice advising people of the invitation, the idea was greeted with overwhelming enthusiasm. Once we realised that the visit was indeed going to take place, we went up to Te Whāiti and introduced ourselves in person to the *kaumātua* and together we planned the visit. We also went out and purchased warm sleeping bags, swanndris, gumboots, and thermal underwear for delegates coming to New Zealand from desert and tropical rainforest environments to help them deal with the cold winter days in the National Park.

A few days before the conference was formally opened, a group of conference organisers met the overseas delegates as they arrived in Auckland from Hawai`i, Canada, Australia, Sámiland, the Philippines, Malaysia, Samoa and the United States. We hired a bus and several Māori and Pacific

delegates followed in convoy in their own vehicles down the North Island to Rotorua, where they were greeted by Te Arawa leaders at the campus of Te Wānanga o Aotearoa (a nation-wide Maori tertiary provider). After the *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome), the visitors were taken to Te Whāiti, arriving at Murumurunga Marae in the late afternoon.

During the three-day visit hosted by Ngāti Whare, the Māori and other indigenous delegates had an opportunity to share their thoughts and ideas about their research and the frequently competing demands of their tribal and academic domains. Alongside the debates and discussions that lasted far into the night, strong international networks and friendships were also formed. During the day, the Ngāti Whare *kaumātua* took the visitors out into the forest and during these *wānanga* (learning sessions), specialist knowledge about environmental and cultural matters was exchanged.

The day before the conference officially opened in Wellington, the conference delegates and a group of Ngāti Whare *kaumātua* climbed aboard the bus and set out for the capital city. In effect, a parallel conference had taken place alongside the formal proceedings in Wellington, and the expertise and advanced knowledge of Ngāti Whare leaders provided a clear direction for the Wellington event. Indeed, perhaps this is a model for future conferences where indigenous scholars and community leaders who seek a forum for the exchange of knowledge and ideas. Certainly, the quality of interaction between researchers and local communities is enhanced when we step out of our offices and universities and assume the responsibilities and obligations involved with being guests in tribal areas. Moreover, when knowledge is exchanged between local experts and outsiders in situations where cultural protocols are shaped by the relationship between *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land) and *manuhiri* (visitors), new forms of knowledge can emerge.

These understandings underpinned much of the discussion and debate during the Indigenous Knowledges Conference. The researchers and community members who were present offered a wide range of perspectives about the role of the academy in indigenous research and as a result there was a great deal of reflection and debate. In addition to our friends, colleagues and *whānau* from around the country, we were fortunate to welcome many people with tribal affiliations and commitments in countries outside of New Zealand. In this respect, the diversity of peoples and communities provided an enormous diversity of views and knowledges, and this in turn, promoted new understandings and networks. The papers presented in these conference proceedings reflect something of this cultural and academic diversity and we are very pleased to present them here.

In closing, we are grateful to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, the National Centre of Research Excellence, based at the University of Auckland, for funding the conference and for giving us the opportunity to contribute, in a small way, to the indigenous networks which we see emerging across the globe. We also thank the minor sponsors for their generous support.

# Introductory Notes

**Dr. Joseph S. Te Rito**

A particular convention that has been adopted in regard to the Māori language is that Māori words are italicised. This practice does not apply to proper nouns or names of organisations, however. Another convention is that when a Māori word is used for the first time within an article, its English translation follows directly after it in brackets. This translation appears again in a glossary at the end of each article. As part of the spelling check, the Māori language editor has inserted the macron symbol, a dash placed above vowels to indicate a double-length vowel sound. These macrons are provided in order to assist the reader to pronounce Māori words correctly and to avoid ambiguity e.g. *mana* (power, authority) and *māna* (for him/her). We have chosen not to adopt the practice of inserting double vowels used by some Māori writers for these same purposes i.e. *māna* as compared to *maana*. Where a Māori word may have more than one translation, only the translation that is appropriate to the context of the subject, is used. At times, a word has been used more than once and can have more than one meaning.

In terms of the Hawaiian language, a similar approach has been taken as with the Māori language. Individual chapter glossaries are provided and macrons are used to indicate lengthened vowel sounds. The Hawaiian language uses another symbol, the *`okina* which is similar to an apostrophe but is not an apostrophe. This symbol is used to indicate a 'glottal stop'.

In terms of the English language, the conventions of British English rather than American English have been the preference. A particular feature is the use of the letter 's' rather than 'z' in such words as 'emphasise'. Another is the use of '-our' rather than '-or' at the end of words like 'favour'.

The articles in this proceedings are not ranked in any way. Rather they are presented in alphabetical order as per the surnames of the authors.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hapū* | sub-tribe, sub-tribal |
| *iwi* | tribe, tribal |
| *kaumātua* | elder(s) |
| *manuhiri* | visitor(s) |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *pōwhiri* | ceremonial welcome |
| *rangatahi* | youth |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people of the land |
| *wānanga* | learning session(s) |
| *whānau* | family/families |

# Struggles for tomorrow: postgraduate studies in indigenous knowledge systems

**Veronica Arbon, Berice Anning and Mai Katona**
Batchelor Institute, Northern Territory, Australia

## Abstract:

Developing postgraduate studies in indigenous knowledge systems through an approach to and examples of research and development will lead to significant advances for indigenous people, research and knowledge systems. This approach is being implemented at the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education. Major issues addressed by the development team include the positioning of knowledge, the identification and structures for transmission of 'core' knowledge, the trans-generational linking of this knowledge, and the assessment and protection of information. In this paper, knowledge-holders, the sustainability of cultural capacity, growing our creativity and ongoing broader concerns are discussed.

## Who owns the past?

I would like to introduce myself, and my colleagues Veronica Arbon and Berice Anning who are well known to those of you who are involved in international education. They are well known in Australia as knowledgeable women from their respective nations. Those of us who know them personally know that they are strong women who are always pushing boundaries to make people think.

Today we are representing the Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary Education, which is located at Batchelor, 100 kilometres south of Darwin. This is a national educational institution, which has been established solely for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island people to gain educational qualifications in a positive environment.

I am from the Murrumburr clan from an estate in Arnhem Land located in the Northern Territory and I am very interested in maintaining indigenous knowledge systems which makes us who we are. Today I am using the term *Bininj* to refer to indigenous people and *Balanda* to refer to white people generally. To begin, I am going to look briefly at who owns the knowledge from the past, because indigenous knowledge systems are being sought by the Western world. When I have asked other Bininj people this question, they have replied "our past is our present"**.**

Historically, the concept of who owns the past in Australia had been raised in mid-1983 as the result of the High Court's decision on the Tasmanian Dam case, which focused on the Franklin River where Palawa sites of significance exist. The Franklin-Gordon Wild Rivers National Park contains numerous Palawa sites which bear testimony to the Palawa people who inhabited the region during the last Ice Age, and which continue to be of great spiritual significance to today's Palawa community.

Many Western scholars are aware that different processes can lead to cultural changes:

Discovery: This is the perception of an aspect of reality that already exists; for example the social structure of a termite colony, the function of the heart, or the cultural practices of another society.

Invention: This is the combination or new use of existing knowledge to produce something that did not exist before, such as the automobile, guns, rock music or the atomic bomb. All inventions are based on previous discoveries and inventions.

Diffusion: This is the spread of cultural elements from one culture to another and is probably the source of most cultural change. Diffusion examines how countless cultural elements we consider distinctively our own are in fact derived from other cultures.

All of these things have profound effects on our values, attitudes and behaviours. The culture into which we are born influences our sense of who we are and what our goals are. Our culture makes us and we make culture. I am raising this issue because there seems to be greater interest from the Western world in the knowledge systems of indigenous peoples of the world.

What is the purpose of the Western pursuit of indigenous knowledge? McBryde has stated, 'Heritage issues have a long history but remain topical concerns for governments and scholars in the modern world, especially those in countries with a colonial past' (McBryde, 1985, Introduction). It appears as though the next step is gaining control of indigenous knowledge systems. After plundering our respective nations, gathering the treasures of our past and claiming them as their belongings to learn more about us, Balanda have in the process become custodians of indigenous knowledge systems in disciplines such as anthropology, archeology and languages, to mention a few. The Western nations have consistently excluded us of our ownership, traditions and history. We as people have had to campaign and have public conflict with them before they conceded to any returns of our heritage. We, the Bininj academics, are beginning to regain our knowledge systems, tradition, heritage and the use and control of our information. We are doing this because somewhere in the future, Bininj knowledge systems will be the subject of controversy. Let us not forget there is already some Bininj knowledge currently owned by the Balanda (mainstream) system.

In answering their question of "who owns the past", we need to consider how to minimise the takeover of our knowledge systems. Groube in the book *Who owns the Past* states that the 'past is irrelevant because indigenous culture has been modified to such an extent for the national 'good'' (1983, pp. 50-51).

There may be an element of truth in Groube's statement, but many living cultures have gone through modification. All people absorb something from each other through contact. That is part of survival for all cultures. Karl Marx declared, 'Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past' (Originally published 1852).

Groube goes on to say that indigenous people had undergone physical and cultural change masqueraded under the economic banner of development. Such declarations are made to convince their own about their assumptions, but we do not need to internalise such comments. We need to convince ourselves that Balanda ideas about these issues are irrelevant to us because our views and statements are more important for our existence.

I think we should focus on how we can control our knowledge systems from the ravages of Balanda societies. However, first there are several aspects that require our consideration:

1) How do we share what is entirely ours for the good of mankind? (Is it through intellectual property and copyright?)
2) How do we effectively utilise the various international agreements on culture and heritage that are available through world bodies? Which countries have ratified these agreements?
3) How do we utilise state regulations? What is available in our home countries?
4) How do we utilise customary law to be the custodians of indigenous knowledge systems?
5) How do we reclaim the current knowledge that the Balanda own?
6) How do we deal with technology in terms of documentation and archival of our knowledge systems?

Remember, we as people have authority and authenticity in knowing our past and therefore our ownership has been ratified in our societies.

Even though colonisation has impacted on each of our countries, we have remained thinkers who have been able to continue the abstract and theoretical thinking from traditional ways. In discussions with my people they state that traditional and empirical knowledge about our technology, knowledge of ecosystems, science, mathematics, social science, theories on quantitative and qualitative studies and so on have continued to be an underlying structure for a civil society and refined our nation states over many generations. Our knowledge has existed for thousands and thousands of years, long before Balanda civilisation. The wisdom and knowledge from older generations has been passed on to

succeeding generations. Let's hope today we, as Bininj people, will take the custodianship of our own past.
Let me finish by telling you about my community within the environs of Jabiru, in Northern Territory. In this mining town there is about 1000 Bininj people. A small percentage of the population are relatives of mine. In our community we are trying to combine both Balanda and Bininj knowledge in business through cultural tourism, hospitality in hotels, and individual and community businesses.

However, we have not been successful in having the Bininj knowledge systems recognised or valued. To date we are still curiosities. Let me give you an example: Balanda tourists want to come and see us performing corroborees, making our artifacts, and walk through bush at midday to show them our traditional medicine and food. Cultural tourism can be so demanding on our lifestyle. My family gets the feeling that we are merely curiosities and they have said, "we are not performing monkeys, we are people, and we do not have to base our lives on the values and structures of the dominant society". "Do Balanda people perform specifically for us when we go on holidays to their cities? Do they make themselves available to let us go through their houses and gardens?"

Bininj people want to be respected within our cultural context and by combining the intellectualism of our respective traditions of knowledge and living side by side with Balanda knowledge. Interacting at given points is, to my family's mind, the beginning of a new paradigm (model or example): a paradigm of knowledge through control of our knowledge systems, as we govern and manage ourselves (Bininj people) with self-respect. It is only then that sustainability of knowledge systems will continue through our own control. As we go forward, the younger Bininj generation will need to ensure that the cultural epistemologies continue to inform the people of the world in the way we share information.

## Knowledge

This section focuses on knowledge the Bininj, my people (the Arabana) and other indigenous groups hold close and how this knowledge informed thinking during the development of a set of postgraduate awards at Batchelor Institute.

In my knowledge the word history is used by *mathapurda* and *udlyurla urriya parnda* (old men and women) to refer to the *Ularaka,* or the old knowledge of the Arabana. History therefore is knowledge. Today we also speak of epistemology. When considering this word in relation to Ularaka, the word 'epistemology' is hard to understand. However, as Meyer argues, the meaning of the Greek word 'epistemology' describes key questions about knowledge: 'what is our knowledge, what do we need to know and how do we know?' (2003, p. 77). I would go further and say that the Ularaka is also about how we *use* knowledge and how we have responsibilities for knowledge.

In speaking with my elders, they say history, knowledge and this word epistemology are connected. This connection is like the one between us, nature (all that is around us) and spirituality. So we, the Arabana, see ourselves as a small part of a greater whole. A whole that needs work to ensure harmony is maintained. This harmony does not mean that wrong does not occur nor punishment exist. Wrong does occur, but it is mainly at the level of individual and that is where it is corrected. Harmony then is about seeing the possibilities in the broader whole. It is also about seeing the impact before it happens or ensuring the correct thing is done. My elders call this doing things the "proper way". An Arabana word that translates to something like this meaning is *arrtya.*

As Mai said, recent history, the last 230-odd years, has impacted on our knowledge. Our elders were forced to make changes and made choices for survival. Sometimes they have told us the "proper way could not be "followed". But, today a few elders remain strong, speak our language and, some live on *wadlhu* or country. Country here is used in the sense of the land where *wathili-mara* or my families connect. We are a component of the whole.

## This is a glimpse of our knowledge

Our people are concerned and worried for our future. Of major concern is Western knowledge, which has impacted on indigenous knowledge through not only its implementation, but also through the economics that thread through the very soul of its system and life all around us today.

In developing the new postgraduate degrees at Batchelor Institute a concern about this economic thrust was very much at the forefront of our deliberations. The awards had to be developed for the right intent. This had to be at the core; we were not developing for economic gain. We attempting to do things the "proper way" one could say, with the broader intent for the support and continuance of our culture and our peoples' survival.

We wanted to ensure the new degrees were a way to work carefully as Bininj, Arabana and Bidjara and others; to work as living, breathing Aboriginal people. We did not want to propose a requirement for a new conformity but to trigger the capacity of our potential. These awards are therefore envisioned to be tools: tools to link to, affirm and extend knowledge as well as gain additional information.

This picture is a part of wadlhu athunha (my spiritual country). It is like a book telling of key elements in the environment (earth, plants, sky, sand, hills and rock). Each is named and the words connect to stories which tell of the whole, connection and much, much more.

I know the skills and knowledge needed to live in that area today draws on both the knowledge of the Ularaka and the knowledge of the Western system.

Aboriginal history or knowledge provides epistemological tracks that not only speak of connection, but provide ways of organising, relating and identifying roles and responsibilities to be undertaken in life. For example, one may be nominated as a speaker, a healer or an educator. Land, sky, places and things, along with individuals — family, relations and others— are woven together. These central aspects of Ularaka coalesce into layers of information that form powerful knowledge. Actions link us in history.

These aspects were at the core of our thinking at the Institute and have been a guide in thinking through how and what we should include as well as how to structure the degrees. Additional matters to consider are how we include action as learning and assessments, and how students construct this into their research awards. Yes, we have had a horrendous recent history and survive continuing acts of destructive colonialism. However, we need to use, generate and live our knowledge today. We need to remain close to our country and people through all sorts of mechanisms. The proposed degrees support such aspirations through building out of a core supported by indigenous educators, elders and advisors: the knowledge holders.

In the past and the present, continuity and renewal is ensured through language, travel, stories, dance, art, visions, feelings, touch, dreams and ceremony. Learning social, physical and spiritual sustenance came through life merged to provide a cohesion that we do not necessarily have in today's world. So how do we do this today? In this area there is a great need for trans-generational learning. A linking of the generations — those who have knowledge, those who need to negotiate knowledge and those bringing new information. This is required for cohesion, intellectual and cultural sustainability and learning.

During the development of these awards we knew elders wanted to carefully engage the generations at deeper levels in both new knowledge and our own. We wished, therefore, to support their aspirations for us. We also need to responsibly support learning for various language groups. In the past individual creativity occurred and was supported and we need to again find these gifts. There is a desperate need to grow the creativity of the youth of tomorrow. Marika (1998) says our responsibility is to know and

make our own pathway creatively within the strength of that knowing. We are the experts after all in our Ularaka. But we need to relearn the desire to work for our knowledge.
Therefore, the postgraduate awards were to be established so students are able to enroll and explore various issues: health, for example, from a strong epistemological position worked through with key support staff and their elders; or a student studying plants can drive the study from his history, his country. The celestial bodies could be understood and named from our knowledge. There is so much work to do. The awards were to have embedded a need to explore from our knowledge as the starting point.

This is our role — our obligation to our knowledge, our obligation to our people. As stated above we need to work for harmony or balance through responsibility. This was as applicable in the past as it is today and will be in the future.

Other major items of concern have swirled through discussions as we have developed these awards and considered our responsibilities and that of students or others. We have, therefore, drawn on our knowledge in the first instance to formulate the basis for our positions. We have also visited the Bothways position developed at Batchelor Institute and cited the Cultural Standards developed in Alaska. Each has offered slivers of insight and helped in the formulation of a clear position.

Concerns continue to surround the protection of knowledge as the most recent wave of colonisation is on us. Intellectual theft is here. Knowledge has value. We have suffered the theft of our land, a physical assault on our beings and now we are confronting the last bastion: theft of knowledge. Economics, greed and racism raise their heads again.

In Australia, we know we need control over our knowledge. As Mai indicated, control is needed first of all over ourselves. Then we need careful control that does not restrict but grows our own experts while we maintain control of critically important aspects of knowledge that need to be mapped out for ourselves.

This need for control can sometimes be applicable at the level of content within the awards, in the framing of the awards themselves, in the linking strategies to others or community or country, or what is written in dissertations. We, therefore, are acutely aware for the need for guided care from our elders and others to ensure protocols on the secret or sacred are not breached. The need, in some instances, to use regulations such as copyright, collective and moral rights and other legal avenues can also be triggered.

So in coming to this stage in the development of the awards a number of pointers on the above matters for students and others will be included in the documentation. Berice will now discuss some of these points.

## Postgraduate Courses

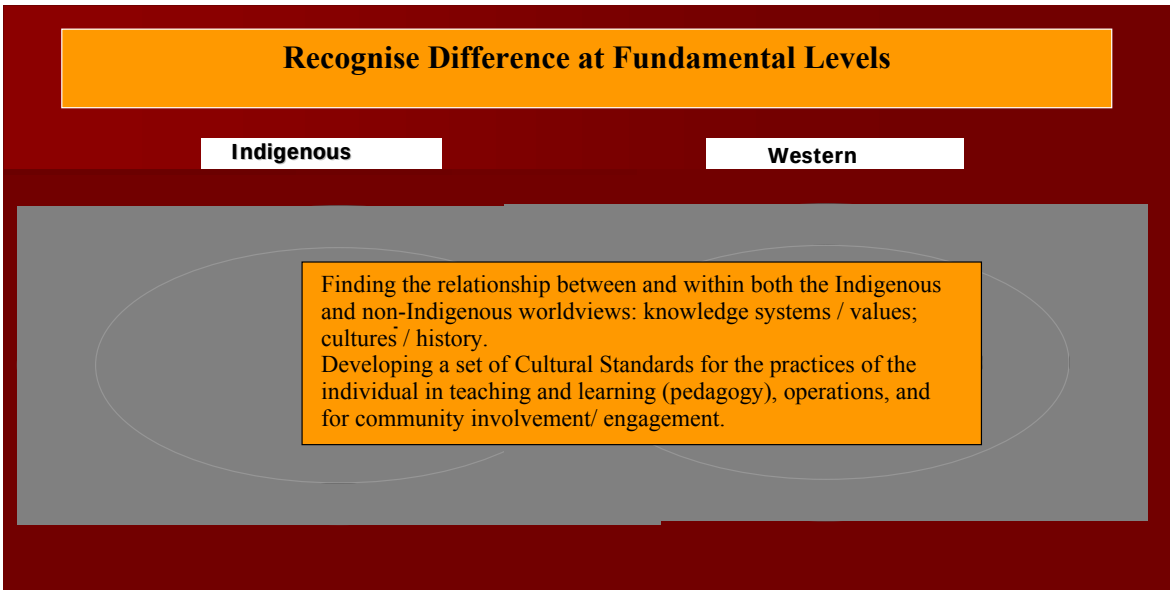
This section moves into the postgraduate courses under development at present and where each of us has been heavily involved. The awards are the:

- Postgraduate Certificate in Indigenous Knowledge;
- Postgraduate Diploma in Indigenous Knowledge Systems;
- Masters in Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Coursework);
- Masters in Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Research); and
- Doctor of Philosophy in Indigenous Knowledge Systems (Research).

A framework for the development of postgraduate courses at Batchelor Institute includes indigenous and western scientific epistemologies as indicated previously. The former is grounded in our knowledge systems, draws on aspects of the Bothways philosophy and cites the ‘Cultural Standards’. This framework will ensure postgraduate courses in indigenous knowledge systems will be driven from the unique, traditional and local knowledge existing with and developed around the relevant conditions of indigenous peoples particular to a geographic area, and embedded in their knowledge to enable their survival.

These courses provide the space to work across epistemological positions at the level of knowledge systems, which move beyond disciplines but will enhance and challenge disciplinary understanding within the field of Western science.

We have been able to create a strong indigenous knowledge position within Batchelor Institute. During 2004 the Institute staff participated in a series of workshops designed specifically to consider further Indigenous Knowledge Systems, Bothways philosophy and discuss the incorporation of a set of Cultural Standards as a framework for the practices of "the Individual; in Teaching and Learning; in Operations; and for Community Involvement/Engagement". This was neither a dichotomy, nor demand for hegemony, but an attempt to delve into complex understandings of what we see as two fundamentally different knowledges. It is understood of course that each group or individual would then operate on their own interpretation within or across these positions. Knowledge and creativity become the essence. The following diagram represents this framework at a basic level.




In applying the framework, research methodologies planned for incorporation into the courses include:

- Traditional empirical/Western scientific methodologies;
- Literature-based research; and
- Emergent indigenous research theories, including the incorporation of indigenous languages.

Research will have a strong focus on indigenous knowledge systems but at the same time this will strengthen or challenge Western scientific knowledge. Currently, there is an absence of instruments and mechanisms that allow indigenous people to use their own local knowledge to change and improve their communities. Strengthening the capacity of indigenous peoples to develop their own knowledge base and methodologies will promote activities at the interface of scientific disciplines and indigenous knowledge.

Incorporation of Western research theories could include as examples qualitative approaches; ethnographic; field-based; philosophy; quantitative; scientific; critical discourse; cultural, historical, literature-based research; social research; action research; participatory action research; decolonisation; and post-colonialism frameworks.

The courses will advance and represent academic theories through emergent indigenous research epistemologies, challenging the fundamental Western assumptions and creating new bridged or stand-alone approaches to research and enquiry. Research that focuses on indigenous knowledge systems or develops research positions out of this position, or applies methodologies grown from this position, is fundamentally important not only for indigenous Australians but for many indigenous peoples of the world.

Indigenous knowledge and languages will assist indigenous Australian academics to intellectualise and strengthen languages and their use to make complex and finely grained arguments. The work of students will draw on and extend languages through expressions of academic meaning or through old meanings in new ways. This in turn will raise the standing and status of languages, particularly indigenous Australian languages. The use of 'language' in the courses will advance academic theories and expand Western knowledge through our 'own language' and through indigenous knowledge systems.

Contextualising knowledge in the application of the framework, the courses will provide the content, processes and practices: the context for students to connect to the language and cultural expertise of indigenous people. They will also provide a context for language and for culture experts to have input to the teaching, delivery and intellectual debate that needs to occur within the application of methodologies arising from indigenous knowledge systems. These courses will assist indigenous people to engage in education, to facilitate and to affirm 'cultural lives' in contemporary society.

These courses will provide indigenous people with contextual knowledge and skills to better maintain, develop, promote and advance indigenous knowledge systems in the contemporary world. The courses will also develop a greater strengthening of identity within students' own cultures, groups and communities from which to critique the Western scientific system. Indigenous knowledge systems comprise language, culture, science and spirituality as well as knowledge on education, health, social, political and economic aspects, among other things. Such knowledge needs to be engaged to bring it into effect, providing more complex understandings of issues and the possibility of remedying such issues in contemporary society.

Indigenous knowledge and languages incorporated in the Institute's education has been successful over the past decades. Moreover, this success will increase as graduates translate or record books and other works in their own language (Western knowledge will also be expressed in our own language). Other graduates will lead enabling and bilingually based and/or indigenous Australian-grounded epistemology within teaching and learning at tertiary and secondary levels; head off the demise (linguicide) or increased marginalisation and powerlessness of indigenous languages; and gain skills to reconstruct academic theories and Western textbook knowledge within our epistemology and indigenous knowledge positions.

Strengthening indigenous Languages: these courses will add to Batchelor Institute's existing efforts to raise the standing and status of indigenous languages and reverse their declining powers and marginalisation by extending indigenous languages to express meanings associated with mainstream academic governance and other institutions of power, as well as documenting students' own epistemology within their knowledge system.

New academic genres will be forged and modes of communication for advancing and representing academic theories and expounding western knowledge in indigenous language developed.

Protecting information through graduates who can research and document indigenous knowledge in a proper indigenous manner, thereby ensuring that control and copyright are kept inside the respective community, will mean that outside researchers can no longer employ oral 'informants', but must instead cite written indigenous primary sources.

The courses allow for the culmination of the research (methodology and enquiry) to be applied in the format of research proposals, dissertations and/or theses at the masters or doctoral levels. 'We will be our own experts', as Veronica Arbon states.

To incorporate both the Western scientific and indigenous positions the dissertation or thesis may be presented in written and oral form, or written with depiction of art/artifacts, etc., or may combine all of these elements.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities and groups will benefit from the applied research in the following ways:

- Communities will be knowledgeable cultural and institutional brokers between indigenous life-ways and Western life-ways in the contemporary worlds.

- Groups will be able to document and record deep knowledge on ways of knowing, understanding and explaining their worlds.
- Individual language and other important information will be drawn on to further the knowledge of future generations and engage various knowledge systems to gain deeper analysis and documentation; this will strengthen cultural positions.

These courses will strengthen ties between Batchelor Institute and communities through the stimulation and focus of indigenous research within the indigenous context. This will attract indigenous academics and other significant holders of knowledge to engage through exploration of the intellectual debate. Further, this work is critical to the exploration and development of appropriate protocols, processes and relationships for negotiating and researching public and cultural knowledge. Assessment, therefore, will recognise not only the mainstream higher education standards (including internal and external experts), but also the inclusion of indigenous experts directly concerned. The latter could include language editors for research developed in and around language as well as key community elders.

Maintaining communication during assessment of research in indigenous knowledge systems will have to be mindful of the practices required for clarification, such as peer reviewers, referring back to the indigenous contact person, to the language editor and back again to the contact person. All of this may be time-consuming especially when one cannot rely on emails, faxes or telephone connections. Finally, the graduation ceremony might include the research student as a graduate accepting his/her degree alongside the indigenous elder (knowledge holder) who provided support and may have had their intellectual knowledge recorded.

In summary, the application of the framework for postgraduate courses at Batchelor Institute will include methodology, indigenous knowledges and languages and applied research, including appropriate assessment instruments incorporated across all areas of study.

## Bibliography


Aboriginal Community at Jabiru. (2000), *Discussion on Cultural Tourism*.

Bodley, J. (1988). *Tribal Peoples and Development Issues: A global overview*. California: Mountain View.

Groube, L. (1983). *'The Ownership of Diversity: The problem of establishing a national history in a land of nine hundred ethnic groups'*. Paper presented at the annual symposium of Australian Academy of the Humanities.

Marika, R. 1998, The Wentworth Lecture, http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/lbry/dig_prgm/wentworth/a318678_a.pdf

Marx, K 1944, *Vico: The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico 104*, translation M. H Fisch and T. G. Bergin, Cornell University Press.

McBryde, I. (Ed.) (1985). *Who owns the past?* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Meyers, M. (2003). *Hoóulu, Our time of Becoming: Hawaiian epistemology and early writings*. Honolulu: Ái Pohaku Press.

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium 2003, *WINHEC Accreditation Handbook*, First edition, WINHEC Accreditation Authority, http://www.win-hec.org


## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *Arabana* | tribe of South Australia |
| *Arrtya* | proper way |
| *balanda* | white people |
| *Bidjara* | tribe of Queensland |
| *Bininj* | indigenous people |
| *Mathapurda* | old men |
| *Palawa* | tribe of Tasmania |
| *udlyurla urriya parnda* | old women |
| *Ularaka* | old knowledge - worldview |
| *wadlhu athunha* | spiritual country |
| *Wadlhu* | country or land |
| *wathili-mara* | family |

# Understanding Pacific student leadership: an exploration from community to the university

**Cherie Chu**
He Pārekereke, Victoria University of Wellington

Much has been said about younger Pacific peoples (youth, students) being the future leaders of their communities. Yet, what this actually means to these younger people is unclear. Rarely do Pacific post-secondary students discuss the expectations of future leadership roles for their communities. Seldom do their own communities clarify their own expectations for students. What do post-secondary Pacific students understand leadership to mean? What do they understand its challenges to be for themselves, as well as for their own communities? To what extent does the academic world engage and demonstrate leadership for Pacific students and their communities and, if not, can these differences be reconciled?

This paper endeavours to highlight and provide some perceptions of the meaning and understanding of Pacific leadership for Pacific students. It explores some of the issues, challenges and needs pertaining to Pacific leadership. The paper is based on responses from students who participated in a one-day forum on Pacific leadership for post-secondary students held at Victoria University, Wellington.

## The vision

The current Pacific population in Aotearoa, New Zealand is made up of Tokelauan, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Niuean, Cook Island, and Tuvaluan people. According to the 2001 New Zealand Census, the total Pacific population is 231,798, or 6.5% of the population. Further statistical analysis indicates that 60 per cent of this population was born in Aotearoa (*Census New Zealand,* 2001). Population trends and growth project that the Pacific population is growing fast, with a youthful population (0-14 years) becoming increasingly evident (*Census New Zealand,* 2001). With a Pacific population on the increase in Aotearoa, the context of leadership for young Pacific people is a significant area, which should be identified, clarified, and developed to meet the needs of this group of people. The longer-term vision is for young Pacific people throughout New Zealand to have the opportunity to participate in appropriate leadership development programmes that will enhance their skills to become leaders of their communities. In this way, younger Pacific people can develop and further their understandings and skills for effective leadership now rather than later. Attending to this vision ensures that a conscious effort is given to strengthening and supporting the development of Pacific leadership in Aotearoa, New Zealand.

In the short term, there is a need to identify the issues, challenges and needs pertaining to Pacific leadership. Engaging and involving the participation of young Pacific people in this short-term vision is crucial if we are to help positively grow our Pacific people for the future.

It is evident that there is a need to examine the lines of Pacific leadership in New Zealand. 'Leadership' is a term often loosely used in various contexts, but it is unclear to what extent leadership is specifically aligned with the development and mentoring of young Pacific people. Within tertiary education it is apparent there are few pathways that allow Pacific students to fully participate in a leadership programme. Does the pathway to leadership only exist via tertiary study, through obtaining higher qualifications and pursuing an academic career?

The need for Pacific leaders in the future is apparent in strategically leading Pacific communities in the longer term. It is evident that with the increase of the New Zealand Pacific population in the future, Pacific people need to be strategically positioned in areas such as education, which provides strategic advice to Government agencies, communities, non-government organisations (NGOs), institutions and other organisations which have vested interests in Pacific people.

Participants at two recent Pacific regional forums, the *Rethinking Pacific Education Colloquium* (2001) and the *Regional Conference on Educational Aid* (2003) have clearly stated the need to mentor younger Pacific Island people who are to become the educational leaders of the future. At these forums, Pacific

people made strong calls for younger Pacific people to be mentored towards leading the future strategic directions of Pacific education. Taylor (2003, p. 15), further states that one of the future challenges for Pacific education will be the mentoring of young educators. From the discussion in the forums, recommendations were made to ensure that specific mentoring strategies be developed and implemented in the Pacific (Taylor, 2003, p. 15).

Within different Pacific representative groups, there have been calls for the need for young Pacific students to be involved in the processes of decision-making (*Central South Region, Talanoa Advisory Group Fono* 2004). The absence of Pacific students in these capacities has led people to question why this situation has occurred. It has also been evident that young Pacific people have been missing from many of the Pacific processes of higher-level decision-making and consultation. The importance of mentoring and building up young people into such leadership positions should be addressed. However, leadership extends to more than Pacific students being simply 'involved' in groups and communities. There should be the opportunity for these students to be fully supported and to experience the opportunities which current Pacific leaders have. The absence of the provision of mentoring in leadership roles is also prevalent in the Pacific community. The discussion on mentoring needs to be re-examined by young Pacific people in order to identify and suggest possible strategies that will support and strengthen the development of leadership.

The leadership development of Pacific tertiary students has been one area of concern and addressed in the forum. In particular, the following question needs to be addressed: 'to what extent has the university provided the leadership development and mentoring for Pacific students and their communities?' It is envisaged that this forum will be the first of many opportunities and part of a wider strategy to support leadership development in Aotearoa. In order to provide strategies and the capacity for future leadership growth, it is necessary that the concept of mentoring be examined closely in different educational contexts in the Pacific as mentoring may have different meanings and experiences for those involved.

## The forum

In September of 2004, 17 Pacific students studying at Victoria University of Wellington came together to participate in a one-day Pacific Students' Leadership Forum. This was the first of its kind to be held at the University's School of Education Studies and was facilitated and co-organised by Dr. Kabini Sanga and Cherie Chu. The students were selected and invited by the forum organisers. Within the student group there was a representation of Tongan, Samoan, Solomon Island, Fijian, Cook Island, and Niuean students. The age range of the undergraduate students was from 20-29 years, and all students were enrolled in a Bachelor of Arts degree with the exception of one postgraduate student who attended, and was enrolled in the University doctoral programme. All students were either currently studying in the School of Education or had previously studied in education courses. The forum organiser had identified students with key qualities and/or skills that would be important in terms of future leadership development. The students were identified as those with an interest in leadership or as potential and/or emerging leaders. The identification of students who were potential leaders was achieved through observing their performance in an academic context; for example, identifying students who led tutorial discussions, led groups within lectures, assisted other students in academic study and who provided pastoral care for other students.

As a result of the rationale behind the forum, specific objectives aimed at understanding leadership for young Pacific people were proposed for the Leadership Forum. These objectives were to discuss the issues, challenges and needs in Pacific leadership, to explore possible strategies that will support and enhance the development and mentoring of future Pacific leaders, and to recommend strategies, action and possible areas for attention in relation to Pacific leadership development. From activities and discussions with the Pacific students the aim was to draw some of the understandings of leadership and mentoring, as well as drawing out possible leadership development strategies for the future. By examining and drawing out an understanding of the nature of mentoring for Pacific students, it was anticipated that this knowledge would help inform how future leadership programmes could be further developed for Pacific students at Victoria University, Wellington.

## The process: understandings of leadership and mentoring

As part of the process of understanding leadership and mentoring, it was important to have engagement from the students in a facilitated but open discussion of leadership and mentoring. To encourage engagement the students were assured that everyone's opinions and views would be considered as important contributions to the knowledge they were about to create through their discussions. Students were encouraged to provide personal definitions on the meaning of leadership as well as definitions based on their small group discussions. Active discussion on the understandings of leadership and mentoring were encouraged through the application of *appreciative inquiry*. In brief, 'appreciative inquiry' is an inclusive and consensual process that focuses on collective appreciation. Appreciative inquiry also assists in creation of a new vision through innovative methods to move a group closer to a collective approach (Pinto and Curran, 1998, p. 32). It was anticipated that from the students' discussion a new knowledge of leadership and mentoring would be developed through an exploration of what already worked for the students in these fields. The overall question of *how* mentoring can support Pacific leadership was considered important, and the discussions and activities were designed to help answer this.

The initial activity was focused on exploring what leadership meant to the students as individuals — that is, to think about what came to mind when they thought of leadership. On a piece of paper, students completed the sentence "Leadership is…" The following are some of the definitions on leadership supplied by the students:

> "Leadership is like baking powder."
> "Leadership is the power and strength that enables the path to be cleared about serving."
> "Leadership determines what is going to happen tomorrow and in turn affects our social well-being."
> "Leadership is a duty involving many aspects that contribute to making a significant difference in people's lives."
> "Leadership is a role of being accountable for all decisions."
> "Leadership is taking responsibility from personal and professional contexts and using it to influence others."
> "Leadership is a human right that provides you with the opportunity to co-exist, support, and be in fellowship with all humankind."
> "Leadership is knowing how to best serve others, like maintaining your integrity in respect to yourself, family and community."
> "Leadership is having the ability to share your knowledge and qualities for the betterment of yourself and others."
> "Leadership is teaching, guiding, and learning."
> "Leadership is empowering others to develop positively."
> "Leadership is the privilege and responsibility to say and do what is best for the people he or she is leading."

Following their individual thinking, the students formed small groups of four to five people. In these groups, the students worked cooperatively to draw on their personal understandings to bring together a single understanding of leadership. The following group definitions were formed:

> "Leadership is an avenue that requires the capacity of human values to empower, share, have vision, direction and responsibilities to sustain and develop quality human essence."
> "Leadership is the ability to enable paths to be cleared for progress and growth."
> "Leadership is empowering others to develop positively."
> "Leadership is a human right that provides you with the opportunity to co-exist, support and be in fellowship with all humankind so there is a greater understanding and respect for yourself and the needs and aspirations of all those you encounter."

To ensure that the understandings of leadership were clarified, the students reported their definitions back to the wider group. Much of the open discussion was centred on the various skills and abilities leaders had, such as being professional, having a vision, positive thinking and being supportive. One of the students talked about how a leader has the "responsibility to be a role model, be disciplined and committed, and have the required knowledge to be a leader. This leadership should then be

demonstrated through support, connection and pastoral care of followers. Also, being able to challenge, provide advocacy and protect his or her people". The student added that in his Samoan culture, being a leader also meant that you were given privilege and status. A Fijian male student talked about leadership existing in different environments, with the definition of leadership varying from context to context. A Samoan female student talked about being qualified to be a leader through different spectrums, such as having tertiary qualifications, through the support of family and through attaining government roles. The student furthered her comments about leaders by defining them as people who should lead by example with the ability to "walk the talk" while maintaining key qualities such as strength, humility and encouragement. She added that a leader must have an understanding of "grass roots" politics and remember where he or she came from.

Through exploring some of the students' understandings of leadership, a variety of understandings could be drawn out. To an extent, the students' explanations had been focused on the position of a leader; that is, how skills and competencies were important in a leader's make-up. It was also apparent that a leader's character was salient in the students' discussions on leadership — for example, whether the leader had the necessary vision and direction to lead his or her people.

Some of the students also identified the enabling factors in Pacific leadership that supported the development of leadership. The factors identified were limited and the students struggled on this topic of engagement. However, the ideas the students came up with which facilitated leadership were on providing support for leaders, positive opportunities which encouraged leadership, the endorsement from people who believed in individuals being potential leaders, as well as having opportunities to be developed as leaders. It was evident that the students believed it was paramount to have specific opportunities made for them in the contexts of community, church, university and family to be developed as leaders. For instance, one student specifically talked about how lecturers at the University had provided the experience of tutoring and the opportunity to be mentored by lecturers who were already leaders in their communities.

Conversely, the student group identified many constraints that prevented leadership development. Some factors such as being shy, being too modest and a lack of self-confidence were attributed to an individual not believing in him or herself as a leader. Others believed that being too dependent on one's family for support also prevented students from engaging in leadership roles. For some students, their cultural values were a constraint (for example, cultures where status and leadership was only given to those who had the right family name). Age was also identified as a barrier. For instance, it was often difficult for a young person to give advice to someone older. It was also stated that gender was a constraint in contexts where males could only mentor other males.

We also explored the extent to which different contexts had different preparations that facilitated the development of young Pacific people to engage in leadership or become leaders. The students stated this was a challenging topic, as they perceived that there was a lack of opportunities or preparations for Pacific leadership growth. Some preparations that existed were reflected in their mention of supportive situations such as tutoring, networking experiences (i.e. student group meetings and clubs), and having an environment that encouraged students to speak up. In sum, the students believed there were not many identifiable strategies already in place that supported them to become leaders.

## Understandings of mentoring

The term 'mentoring' has been used in different variations (Ehrich and Hansford, 1999), with very little evidence of a consensus of the definition. Hence, it was also necessary to understand what mentoring meant to the students in order to then draw out the best practice strategies and use them to support Pacific leadership development.

The students agreed in an open discussion that mentoring was about guidance and support on personal issues, and mentoring usually came from an older and more knowledgeable person with experience. Mentoring was also about nurturing the individual so they did not 'fall'. However, mentoring was not a one-way process, because both individuals would contribute to the mentoring relationship.

Again from an individual perspective, the students were asked the question of how they understood the word 'mentoring' and were asked to identify significant people who had influenced them in a

memorable way. Overall, it was found that parents, family and friends were the significant people who made the most important contributions in the student's formation of values, growth in character, understanding of the world, as well as how to get things done in the community and church. As a group the students also indicated that the significant people who were considered to be influential mentors were family members. The family members were particularly significant as mentors who listened to personal problems, helped to build self-confidence, offered friendship, offered wise counsel, encouragement and assisted with careers. Interestingly, the church community was not ranked as significant as family members in the provision of mentoring. However, for some of the students who were working as well as being students, their employers and educational providers offered more mentoring than the family did. It was also signalled by the students that institutions such as university and schools had provided mentoring to some extent. The wider community of the students was not considered significant in providing mentoring for the students.

It is essential to understand some of the considerations in enabling mentoring that arose from this discussion and were seen as supporting young Pacific students to become leaders. For example, in a professional context such as the workplace, enabling factors were specific processes, such as the appraisal systems that were in place. In the wider community, enabling factors for leadership were identified in community organisations, such as homework centres and welfare support centres. Another group of students identified the positive factors of mentoring in creating leadership. These factors were having steps towards achieving a goal, an increased well-being, building strengths for youth, community and society, the sharing of knowledge, making cultural connections and re-educating the dominant culture in understanding Pacific students' needs.

It was also equally important to identify some of the constraints that do not allow for growth in mentoring in order to help reduce these constraints in the future. The students stated the word itself was a constraint in that it was too narrow in definition, particularly at the university level. For this discussion, the students drew considerably on understandings of mentoring from experiences at the University. Constraints identified were that mentoring only existed for first-year students at the university; hence, support was restricted to this level although it was needed at all levels of study. The students concluded the 'one size fits all' approach to mentoring did not work, highlighting that there were no variations on the types or functions of mentoring that existed. Mentoring at the University was focused on academic support. They also identified as constraints a lack of necessary resources, accessibility to mentoring, the impact of negative peer pressure from fellow students as well as unrealistic expectations from both the university and family.

It was apparent from the students that mentoring was primarily centred in the context of the family; this was where most of their support for development existed. The students acknowledged the University for its provision of academic mentoring, but this appeared to be a secondary form compared to what the family offered. Therefore we focused on drawing out from the students more of the understandings of mentoring that existed in the family. Family was the context within which education began. For instance, the development of beliefs and personal philosophy, values and character-building were taught from the elders and/or parents and family members. Discussion centred on situations outside the family. For example, at the University, students tried to create collective supportive contexts that mirrored the family situation and structure. For the participants, fellow class members became like family members. This peer support was considered important for many of the students. However, the students agreed that the support had to facilitate good study habits, rather than negative attitudes to study. Hence the term 'family' could be broadly used and the students indicated that this was important to remember for those involved in delivering mentoring programmes. Overall, it was apparent that the university had provided mentoring programmes for academic development, but not for the development of leadership. Leadership and mentoring came from the context of the family for the Pacific students.

## Local strategies in development of Pacific student leaders

Drawing on the understandings of leadership and mentoring from the students provided knowledge that was specific to this group of students. In terms of understanding how Pacific students could be supported in being or becoming leaders through mentoring, it was necessary to explore some of the strategies that would support development of Pacific leaders at the University. The students perceived their participation in the forum as significant, and they expressed the importance of continuing this dialogue. Their findings can be summarised as:

1. The need for Pacific leadership courses to be held at the University as a follow up from this forum. These leadership courses would be longer in duration and focus on some of the understandings learnt from the Pacific Students' Leadership Forum. Regular Pacific leadership forums or courses should also be extended to Year 13 (final year) students at college to aid the transition to university or other forms of tertiary education. It was necessary that Pacific people from the community were involved in this education of Pacific students on leadership.
2. The call was made by the student group for the University to respond to the needs of the Pacific students and to engage with them on issues of leadership development. The students wanted the University to demonstrate that it saw the students as important in terms of developing future leaders. The students stated that it was vital for the university to acknowledge the position of Pacific students, for example, by creating a space for Pacific students.
3. The need for continual support and creation of specific experiences that supported the leadership development and growth of Pacific students (for example, through avenues such as tutoring and working with key Pacific staff members).
4. The need for students to take responsibility in their own development, through engaging in their Pacific Student Association or a Pacific Students' Leadership Group.

## Summary

It is apparent that Pacific post-secondary students have not had the opportunity to be engaged in discussions pertaining to Pacific leadership development. It is even more apparent that their own ideas and perceptions of leadership in their communities to a large extent have not been heard. The students' understandings of leadership and mentoring have largely been shaped through a multitude of experiences within their families and educational institutions. For many of the students, the positive and supportive nature of the family environment is what has worked in terms of bringing them to where they are now in life. By understanding these experiences, it is anticipated that current and future Pacific student leadership development will draw on some of the local knowledge gained from the family context and apply it to strategies of response to Pacific students that are emerging as leaders. Institutions, which have a vested interest in Pacific students, will need to be able to fully listen, cooperate and respond to Pacific students. This would allow for a reconciliation of the differences between the academic world, the students and their communities. Many Pacific students at the University have never thought of themselves as leaders, or as having this future potential. However, it is clear that many of the students who participated in this one-day forum will be leading the way forward for their families, church groups, peer groups and communities.

## Acknowledgements

The Pacific Student Leadership Forum Organisers would like to thank the Student Services Group, Student Recruitment and Course Advice Office, He Pārekereke (Victoria University of Wellington), and the Samoan and Pacific Studies Administrator for the support and contributions made to the success of the forum.

## Author Details

Cherie Chu
He Pārekereke, Institute for Māori and Pacific Research in Education,
School of Education Studies
Victoria University of Wellington
Cherie.Chu@vuw.ac.nz

## Bibliography

*Census New Zealand.* (2001). Wellington: Statistics New Zealand Tatauranga Aotearoa.

*Central South Region, Talanoa Advisory Group Fono.* (2004, July). NZ: Ministry of Education.

Ehrich, L.C., & Hansford, B.C. (1999). Mentoring: Pros and cons for HRM. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources, 37*(3), (pp. 92-107).

Pinto, M., & Curran, M. (1998). Laguna Beach Education Foundation, School Power. In S. Hammond & C.R. Royal (Eds.), *Lessons from the Field, Applying Appreciative Inquiry*. Buffalo: Thin Book Publishing Co.

*Rethinking Pacific Education Colloquium,* April 25-29. (2001). University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

*Rethinking Educational Aid in the Pacific Conference,* October 20-22. (2003). Nadi, Fiji.

Taylor, L. (2003). *A Critical Friend's Report on Progress: Rethinking Pacific education initiative.* Report to NZAID. He Pārekereke - School of Education Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

# Guests and hosts: transforming academic paradigms in conversation with Māori diaspora communities

**Graham Harvey**
Open University, UK

Graham Harvey is Lecturer in Religious Studies at the Open University, UK. His research and publications have engaged with Jews, Pagans and indigenous communities. His most recent publications have reconsidered the utility of the term 'animism', the relationship between indigeneity and diaspora, and that between ritual and religious belief.

Because academia arises from and is entangled with colonialism and modernism, it is nearly impossible for scholars to achieve what most of us think we entered the academy to do. Perhaps, if we are feeling enthusiastic about academia and its various disciplines, we might sum up our desires and purposes to attempt to understand and communicate about aspects of the world in ways that will benefit everyone. However, these desires and purposes are thwarted by a prevalent and endemic inability to see that academics are institutionalised into being partisans of a single culture, arising from a particular history and location that is confused about its own identity. Asserting a foundational myth of 'objectivity' and 'universality', colonial modernity tries to persuade us that we ought to be able to speak the absolute truth untainted by any accident of background, birth or belonging.

None of the above is new to those who have read Linda Smith's persuasive and important work *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (1999). Nor will it be news to many of those who have been the subject or object of academic research. Indigenous people, in particular, will not need a European man to tell them that academia and its modernist context is not particularly good at benefiting anyone but other academics (particularly those of European descent). However, the effort to decolonise academia and its wider cultural context are of vital importance to everyone living in this small blue-green planet. In this paper I reflect on what learning to be a guest of a Māori diaspora community might mean for the effort to further the transformation of academia and its paradigms towards more just and respectful engagements with the wider world.

My argument is built on the understanding that any reconciliation between academic priorities and indigenous realities requires fundamental changes in academia. It is not enough for academics to seek to respond to indigenous realities. It is also entirely wrong-headed to want indigenous people to become 'modernised' or 'Westernised'. Only a celebration of the diversity of cultures and of the possibilities of respectful dialogue, allied to open-ended, respectful diplomacy between cultures when they conflict will improve the situation. Since indigenous peoples often have clear protocols and procedures for the making of guests, it should be clear that it is entirely possible for academics and academia to change, to become full participants in respectful conversation with those among whom we live and from whom we have much to learn.

This essay cannot proceed by leaving any suggestion that 'my' argument is the product of a solitary individual or an isolated mind. Descartes was entirely wrong and utterly confused about the nature of humanity and the world.[1] We are relational and sensual beings. What I want to articulate arises from guest-hood among a number of communities, to all of which I express gratitude for teaching me how to be a guest. In particular, I have spent some years as a guest among Ngāti Rānana, London's Māori club. I have also benefited from the generosity of friends in Lac du Flambeau Ojibwe reservation in Wisconsin, the United States, and from culture teachers in the Institute of Aboriginal Development in Alice Springs, Australia. I will acknowledge some of my academic ancestors throughout this essay in the manner that is traditional among them, i.e. footnotes. I am grateful to the British Academy for funding some of my recent research and to my institution, the Open University, for funding flights to Wellington to participate in this tremendously exciting conference. Last, but most importantly, I thank the organisers and participants in the conference for what I believe to be one of the most significant

[1] René Descartes (1596–1650) proposes in his work a philosophy of rejecting anything that could be doubted. As the only thing he cannot doubt is that he exists, Descartes ultimately privileges the mind of the Cartesian individual and rejects the investigation of the impact of social structures and relations.

events in recent years. Any weaknesses in the following argument are, of course, my individual responsibility and I look forward to further opportunities to debate the important matter of transforming academia into a more ethical and respectful way of relating to others.

## Entangled academia

The West's modern (i.e. modernist) culture is an evolution rather than a revolution from earlier phases of European culture. It inherits its hierarchical dualism, as it inherits its hierarchical patriarchy, from movements we now associate with names such as Plato and Luther. Similarly, its privileging of individualism and interiority are inherited from both philosophical and Christian sources. These and other trends and trajectories meant that Europeans set out into the rest of the world as colonisers. The notions that humanity was somehow separate from 'nature', being more like the Christian God than earthly animals, and that Christian humans were more 'advanced' and 'rational' than others because they had dislocated themselves from many ties of belonging produced a dangerous mixture. Certainly these notions were always contested within Europe, but the prevalent encouragement of aggression was always likely to overwhelm (in the short term at least)[2] the inculcation of respectful relationships. When Descartes proffered his philosophy of doubt and solipsism, someone should have taken him into care until he recovered a proper sense of humanity.[3] Instead, he is still celebrated (by some) as expressing the core of the modernist worldview and the central academic paradigm.

As part of this Western-modernist culture, academia privileges allegedly 'objective' outsiders over allegedly 'subjective' insiders, researchers over natives, scholars over students, authors over readers, experts over learners, and rational thought over emotions. Scholars at this *Indigenous Knowledges Conference* are not alone in struggling with being academics *and* members of particular communities that are often deemed problematic by the traditional authorities of the academy. Too many of us have been encouraged by those who supervise doctoral research, referee peer-reviewed journals, report on book proposals or respond to seminar papers to hide or abandon our affiliations and participations outside the walls of academia. Distance and objectivity are required of us—both of which are impossible goals set by those who think we, academics, should imitate the Christian deity.

This elitism is commonly seen in the assertion of the pre-eminence of 'Science' over all other ways of knowing and researching. I follow Bruno Latour (2004) here in capitalising 'Science' to distinguish a political and elitist practice from the 'sciences' (lower case and plural), the various disciplined efforts to research and debate the nature(s) of reality. 'Science' is an assertion of expert knowledge, authority and position; 'the sciences' are part of the diversity of ways in which people engage with the plurality of the world. When television advertisements feature a scientist to support the efficacy of a toothpaste, diet, cat food or washing-up liquid, we are exposed to Science. When traditional knowledges and practices are lampooned as 'primitive', 'superstitious' or 'magical', we witness the arrogant ignorance of Science. When legislatures or academics reject the suggestions and arguments of local people affected by some kind of 'development', we are diminished by Science. All these examples pretend to be based on research but actually preclude research and debate. They claim closure and definitive status instead of opening up dialogues.

A different evidence of the fit between academia and colonial modernity is seen in the provision of training in research methods for postgraduate researchers. That this is required to make students into proper academics demonstrates that *academic* research does not come naturally to anyone, but is an expression of modernity's hierarchical dualism. In most universities, either a dedicated research centre or each department is responsible for inculcating appropriate research methods that continue to separate academics from 'ordinary' people. In the humanities and social sciences these methods often include 'participant observation'. This is a distinct improvement over earlier colonial methods which permitted academics to elaborate theories without gaining any participatory experience. However, typically it remains a version of 'observation' in which participation is acceptable only during 'field work' phases but not in the reflective and writing phases.[4] Ultimately, the traditional academic expert is an observer, not a participant.

---

[2] And the short term is all it took to destroy some cultures and species.

[3] Descartes' famous philosophical proposition, 'I think therefore I am', only privileges rationality because it questions the value of embodiment, sensual knowledge and relational dialogues.

[4] The 'field' metaphor here is presumably drawn from the discourse of either missionaries or soldiers and suggests less polite modes of engagement.

As I have noted, little of this will be news to the majority of participants in this conference. My purpose in rehearsing it at some length is to be clear about the problem I am addressing. The problem is that academia makes it difficult to address 'indigenous realities' because of Western culture, not because of anything to do with indigeneity. The question is how to change academia into an institution that serves justice and promotes well-being for all. Most of this became clear to me in reflecting on a review of a collection I edited concerned with shamans. [5] In this, Ronald Hutton wrote:

> His work poses, in its starkest form, the biggest question that hangs over modern Western scholarship: whether it is, in fact, the work of a particular tribal culture, committed to its own, subjectively effective, views of the cosmos, or whether it has the responsibility for creating some kind of universal explanatory structure for all humanity. The historic problem is that it is actually designed to be the former, and is struggling to be the latter. (Hutton, 2003)

Academia is satisfyingly effective within one tribal culture—Western modernity—but does not act on the wider responsibility it knows it has. In fact, even the tribal culture of modernity is in transition and thus its academy only partially satisfies some of its members. For these and other reasons, academia is changing.

## Changing academia

The contrast between Science and the sciences, although possibly simplistic and romantic, encourages the hope that academia can be more than its origins suggest, and that academia can relate responsibly and respectfully with the many cultures of the world. Plenty of us have found that we were right in wishing to enter the academy. Feminist, anti-colonial, subaltern and indigenous scholars have more than demonstrated that academic methods can dovetail in healthy ways with the knowledge bases and systems of other-than-Western cultures. They can also, without losing critical rigour, be of value to other-than-academic communities. Academics need not only speak with one another, and need not speak only as aloof experts to others. To take the example of a discipline that has been contested by the rise of these new modes of doing academic work, Anthropology has not only changed (in some quarters at least), it has also re-affirmed the ethical dimension of what may be considered its foundational myth. As Howard Eilberg-Schwarz writes:

> Twentieth-century anthropology has insisted that we have a great deal to learn about ourselves from the study of the other… This is the myth that justifies the anthropological enterprise, a myth that says that the study of the other leads to enlightenment.
>
> (Eilberg-Schwarz, 1989, p. 87)

There is no point in researching what you think you already know. There is no point in researching unless you are *willing* to be changed and to *participate* in changing what you come to perceive to be in need of change.

This conference is yet further evidence that academia is changing, albeit slowly, and without much enthusiasm from some of our colleagues and employers. That we still need to prove that we are academics despite having lives outside in the real, relational, locational, subjective and participatory world demonstrates that there is a lot more work to be done. The myth of objectivity has been falsified in some disciplines but remains a burden on others. It is this myth that leads to the suspicion that 'indigenous academics', 'subaltern academics', 'feminist academics', 'anti-colonial academics' and others are more like activists than researchers. It is this myth that requires many of us to devote so much effort to proving ourselves and our approaches to colleagues, who remain ignorant of their own partisan participation in just one of the world's many cultures. Mistaking themselves for citizens of the world, they miss the fact that they proselytise for modernity's colonial, hierarchically dualistic culture.

## Dialogues

In the past, and in the destructive and atrophied present of most colonial, consumer capitalist societies, academia was often epitomised as a monologue of expert authorities. Under the influence of the range of participants and voices mentioned above, academia is now increasingly well represented as a

[5] Rather belatedly, but then I was initiated into academia in the heartlands of the colonial West.

dialogue of researchers (seekers of knowledge) and sources of knowledge (frequently equivalent to 'those who know already').

Dialogue is defined by some recent theorists as both situated and open-ended. Influenced by Franz Rosenzweig, Emil Fackenheim (1982) writes that dialogue begins where we are and with our interests and concerns. It seeks common ground and common understanding between people. It does not seek to reinforce the argument of one participant at the cost of the other, but seeks to explore all the possibilities that begin to become evident as the dialogue unfolds. Similarly, Bruno Latour's *War of the Worlds: What about peace?* (2002) argues strongly (even provocatively) for a diplomatic mediation between cultures which, he makes clear, are in a state of unacknowledged war. (Unacknowledged as the dominant culture seems unable to recognise that it acts aggressively against others). It is hard, too, not to be aware of the vast importance of Mikhail Bakhtin's essays on *The Dialogic Imagination* (1981).

It is not my intention to argue that indigenous people have much to learn about dialogue from academics. In fact, my argument is precisely the opposite: academics can learn much from the ordinary and clear protocols and procedures by which indigenous communities regularly and foundationally engage in dialogue. My particular learning has come from being taught how to be a guest by a Māori diasporic community, Ngāti Rānana. Before saying a little about this, I want to acknowledge that other scholars have made the same argument about guest-hood and/or dialogue before. For example, Debbie Rose's recent book, *Reports from a Wild Country* (2004), not only cites Fackenheim, but mainly reflects on the author's respectful interactions with various Aboriginal Australian communities. Thomas Buckley (2000) demonstrates that northwest Californian indigenous 'world fixing' discourses and rituals are fundamentally dialogical. Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1999) and Janet Chernela (2001) reveal the dynamic dialogical nature of relationality, including enmity, in Amazonia. Dale Stover (2001) advances debates about 'post-colonialism' by respectful consideration of Lakota Sun Dancing,[6] and this is just to cite scholars of European ancestry by way of demonstrating that the privileges and responsibilities of being guests have had significant impact on those who recognise the errors and limitations of Western culture.

## Marae protocols in the United Kingdom

My recognition of the value of guest-hood protocols emerged in the process of being taught how to be a guest among London's Māori diasporic community. Specifically, I celebrate the privilege of being a guest of Ngāti Rānana, a Māori cultural and performance group established around 50 years ago in London. In addition to weekly meetings at New Zealand House to practice for performances and to welcome guests whether Māori arriving from Aotearoa, New Zealand, local Pākehā, friends or people interested in the group, Ngāti Rānana has a version of a Kōhanga Reo that meets weekly, and various sub-groups dedicated to learning *taiaha* (a long club or weapon of hard wood) skills and so on. Ngāti Rānana also hosts an annual picnic at Hinemihi, a *wharenui* (meeting house) where visitors are greeted and *hui* (gatherings) hosted in the grounds of a stately home near Guildford in the United Kingdom.

The following features of *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) protocols seem germane to a discussion of furthering dialogical interactions between academics and host communities of any sort. These notes are not intended to teach Māori hosts anything new. They are intended as an acknowledgement of central indigenous paradigms and are provided to make the argument clear, especially to those unfamiliar with the vibrant and vital ways in which visitors are transformed by hosts into guests, by careful stages, in purpose-built, living contexts: marae and their associated *whare* (buildings). Other papers in the conference dealt more fully with these matters.

In any Māori community that welcomes visitors onto their *marae*, something like the following events take place. In the open space of the *marae*, in front of the local ancestor (in his or her form as a welcoming and sheltering building), visitors are called to come nearer, step by step, to the local host community. In an early stage of *marae* encounters, the potential hosts may offer visitors the opportunity to express their intention to be either guests or enemies. The desire is for locals and strangers to become hosts and guests, at the instigation of the hosts. The normality of what is local calls strangeness into proximity, makes clear how it is different, and begins to show how it can play a role in the local

[6] This is not to forget Stuart Hall's (1996) question, 'When was the post-colonial?'

context. The dangerous dynamics of these interactions are dealt with as being *tapu* (sacred) and having *mana* (prestige) and are addressed and clarified and grounded in respectful relationships. In speech-making existing relationships are recognised, and new ones begin to be formed in a fuller knowledge made available by both hosts and guests. Relationships are normalised on the understanding that local hosts take priority and have prestige. Inside the meeting house, within the body of the local ancestor and therefore with recognition of local prestige, issues of importance to both sides are debated. While opinions can be stated strongly, the protocol is to seek a resolution that respects all participants, albeit that local honour is upheld.

It is likely that these brief notes will fail to do justice to the processes of interest. My intention, however, is to indicate some of the features of a process Māori have evolved to deal with situations that Europeans have mishandled with extreme prejudice. *Marae* protocols are the opposite of colonial conquest and consumer capitalism (i.e. of Western modernity). This is not in the least because one is 'advanced, rational and modern' over and against something 'primitive, spiritual and pre-modern'. Far from it—the contrast between the deliberately evolved *marae* system and the haphazard, thoughtless development of modernity demonstrates that Māori have been far better equipped to encounter new situations than Europeans have. It is also true that for Māori to offer the possibility of guest-hood is typical of pervasive indigenous habits of generosity.

It has taken many hundreds of years for Europe's descendants to discover the meaning of dialogue. All along, from the first encounters with indigenous peoples, existing guest-making processes in many places could have taught Westerners more respectful ways of engaging with strangers and strange situations.

All of this is made crystal clear when Ngāti Rānana greet guests in London and at Hinemihi. *Marae* protocols are more than adequate to the task of dealing with the dynamics of this particular diaspora situation. Over the half-century of the group's life so far, Ngāti Rānana has established their own local tradition, recognisably drawing on practices from Aotearoa, but also adapting them so they are suitable to the new context. It is not my purpose to provide an ethnography of the group, especially as they document themselves admirably in their own website.[7] What diaspora adds to a discussion of *marae* protocols (for example those of Hiwi and Pat Tauroa, 1986) is a clear counter to normative Western discourses that marginalise indigeneity as 'pre-modern' and 'ill-adapted' to modernity. Rather, it is even more clear that the dialogical processes evolved by Māori in encountering strangers, and deliberately enhanced to deal with the increasing presence of Pākehā in Aotearoa, are now being evolved for the Māori diaspora. It is still necessary to meet strangers who might be enemies, but could become guests. It is also true that Māori in London might be both hosts of their own meetings but guests of a larger host community. The pride with which Ngāti Rānana perform aspects of Māori culture raise their prestige and enhance their capability to engage creatively with late modernity. I could probably have said much that I wished to say without reference to Ngāti Rānana—but the responsibility of a guest is to acknowledge the prestige of hosts. Having learnt something of what it means to be a guest by participating in the life of Ngāti Rānana over the last few years, it is a pleasure to acknowledge the vibrancy of their performance of dialogue alongside that of their *waiata* (song, chant) and other elements of Māori culture.

## Conclusions for academics

My interest in this paper is not principally in a description of Ngāti Rānana nor broader *marae* protocols. These are provided far more adequately, authoritatively and properly by Māori themselves. My purpose, rather, is to demonstrate that in the light of the careful evolution of *marae* processes, Māori have been a long way ahead of academics in proffering ways of engaging in dialogue. Just as there is no need to re-invent the wheel, those wishing to know how to engage in dialogue can learn from indigenous cultures in which it has always played a significant role. It is central to this point that learning to do research now requires that scholars learn to be dialogue partners and participants in processes that make them into guests and impose on them responsibilities both to their hosts and to their home community.

[7] <www.ngatiranana.org.uk>

Finally, academia is changing because so many of us have seen through the illusion of objectivity and universality. Academia's embeddedness in Western colonialism cannot be solved simply by turning it out of its bed. Academia must be true to its potential as a self-critical approach to being human. By turning its critique on Western culture, rather than making small adjustments to make indigenous or subaltern or other traditionally marginalised scholars welcome, it can be a liberating movement. Social science academics have already evolved approaches that turn away from the old practice of distant observation to embrace 'participant observation'. However, they have continued to fear fuller forms of participation, mislabelling them as 'going native'. In truth, what has always been available from exceptionally generous host communities (not only indigenous ones) has not been 'native' status, as this is only available by birth and belonging, but *'guest-hood' relationality*. It is time to embrace this exciting possibility and seek to re-engage with potential hosts in the fullest possible way available to guests. By such means, we will dismantle colonialism and further the project of furthering the well-being of all people. This is the priority that will enhance our ability to find out if there is any way in which academics can engage usefully with indigenous realities.

## Bibliography


Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Buckley, T. (2000). 'Renewal as Discourse and Discourse as Renewal in Native Northwestern California'. In L. Sullivan (Ed.), *Native Religions and Cultures of North America*. London: Continuum (pp.33-52).

Chernela, J. (2001). 'Piercing Distinctions: Making and remaking the social contract in the North-West Amazon'. In L. Rival and N. Whitehead (Eds.), *Beyond the Visible and the Material*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp.177-95).

Hall, S. (1996). 'When Was "the Post-Colonial"? Thinking At the Limit'. In I. Chambers and L. Curti (Eds.), *Post-Colonial Question: Common skies, divided horizons*. London: Routledge (pp.242-59).

Latour, B. (2002). *War of the Worlds: What about peace?* Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.

Latour, B. (2004). *Politics of Nature: How to bring the sciences into democracy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Eilberg-Schwartz, H. (1989). 'Witches of the West: Neopaganism and Goddess worship as enlightenment religions'. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion 5*(1), 77-95.

Fackenheim, E. (1982). *To Mend the World: Foundations of post-Holocaust Jewish thought*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Hutton, R. (2003). 'Review of Harvey, *Shamanism: A Reader'* (London: Routledge, 2003, *Times Higher Education Supplement*, 9 May.

Rose, D. (2004). *Reports from a Wild Country*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Stover, D. (2001). 'Postcolonial Sun Dancing at Wakpamni Lake'. *Journal of American Academy of Religion 69*(4): 817-36. Reprinted in Graham Harvey (2002) (Ed.) *Readings in Indigenous Religions*. London: Continuum (pp.173-93).

Tauroa, H. & P. (1986). *Te Marae: A guide to customs and protocols*. Auckland: Reed.

Viveiros de Castro, E. (1999). 'The Transformation of Objects into Subjects in Amerindian Ontologies'. Paper given at the 98th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Chicago.


## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hui* | gatherings |
| *mana* | prestige |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *taiaha* | a long club or weapon of hard wood |
| *tapu* | sacred |
| *waiata* | song, chant |
| *whare* | buildings |
| *wharenui* | meeting house |

# A Māori ethical framework: the bridge between tikanga Māori[1] and ethical review

**Māui L. Hudson**
Kenepuru Science Centre
Institute of Environmental Science and Research Ltd.

**Annabel L.M. Ahuriri-Driscoll**
Christchurch Science Centre
Institute of Environmental Science and Research Ltd.

> "The current political environment is a major barrier to Māori having any real placement in regulatory and compliance processes. Ethical review is about ensuring that the researcher has the capacity to comply and that compliance occurs ... This is not just a health or research issue, politics plays a part. At an individual level people's assumptions and agendas, those of both the researchers and committee members play a part in denying Māori expression on these committees."
>
> (Hudson, 2004)

For a number of years Māori writers and researchers have expressed the need for a Māori ethical framework to inform Māori positions and ensure that Māori values and beliefs were given equal consideration within ethical review. A Māori ethical framework, informed by *mātauranga Māori* (traditional Māori knowledge), would provide the parameters within which the application of *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary practices) to contemporary ethical situations or contentious new technologies could be discussed. Māori members of ethics committees have themselves called for the development of such a framework to guide their ethical deliberations across a variety of settings and have clearly stated that the process of development should be led by Māori, follow Māori processes and recognise diverse Māori values and beliefs. National organisations responsible for ethical review in New Zealand have also indicated the importance of giving effect to the Treaty of Waitangi by incorporating Māori cultural and ethical concepts within statutory processes. However, the proposed development of a Māori ethical framework has not yet eventuated.

## Māori critiques of ethical review

Māori responsiveness within both research and ethical review has been a subject of debate over the past two decades as the advent of Māori research approaches began to highlight the ethical inconsistencies that exist for Māori in the area of research (Stokes, 1985; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development), 1994; Smith, 1997; Durie, 1998; Cram, 2003; Hudson, 2004; Robson, 2004). The responsiveness of the system of ethical review to Māori has been brought into focus, ironically because one of its key functions is to assess the responsiveness of research proposals to Māori. These writers have identified a number of significant issues around Māori involvement in ethical review.

Many ethical issues for Māori are concerned with protecting Māori interests and ensuring that Māori have control over activities that affect their development. The Treaty of Waitangi is an integral part of Māori involvement in ethical review and Māori research ethics (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994; Jackson, 1996). Within the boundaries of Treaty responsibilities, health inequalities can be viewed as unethical, providing the basis for equitable allocation of research resources on the basis of health need (Cram, 2003). The development of the Māori research workforce and *mātauranga Māori* can also be considered ethical issues within a Treaty framework in which the Crown is clearly identified as having a responsibility in supporting Māori development aspirations (Hudson, 2004).

The evolution of Māori paradigms has challenged the universal applicability of ethical principles drawn from specific cultural bases (Durie, 1998). In previous times, research processes were seen to be ethical

[1] Māori customs and practices

in themselves, derived from specific value bases. The universality of the Western model of ethics has been challenged in a number of indigenous contexts, with questions raised with regard to appropriateness for local cultures and due recognition of indigenous values, both necessary to ensure 'fairness' or 'equality' in formal ethical review processes (Smith, 1999; Tsai, 1999; Crigger, Holcomb et al., 2001; Powick, 2002; Oguz, 2003; Cram, 2003; National Health and Medical Research Council, 2003; Hudson, 2004). There are differences in the way that Māori members of ethics committees frame and apply the ethical principles used in ethical review to make them more consistent with a Māori worldview. While there is broad agreement that the principles of ethical review are consistent with Māori values, it is the interpretation of the principles, particularly collective expressions of ethical principles reflecting a preference for prioritising beneficence (the most good/community benefit) over autonomy (individual rights) (Hudson, 2004). Despite the consensus mode of operation on ethics committees, it is often difficult for a Māori view to gain acceptance, particularly if it is in opposition to traditional Western ethical views. Identifying as Māori and promoting Māori views in this type of forum is a political act and members are acutely aware of the marginalised position of Māori within society. An issue of power, as reflected by the generally unquestioned acceptance of Western research and ethical constructs, underlies all deliberations (Hudson, 2004).

The protection of Māori values and intellectual property rights within research are of particular concern to Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994; Hudson, 2004). It has been argued that the ultimate expression of intellectual property is the ability to define the property, and to protect those things deemed important enough to protect (Jackson, 1993). The protection of intellectual and cultural property rights was the basis of the 1993 Mataatua Declaration, which declared that indigenous peoples of the world have the right to self-determination and in exercising that right must be recognised as the exclusive owners of their cultural and intellectual property. It also takes the position that the first beneficiaries of indigenous knowledge must be descendents of those communities (Smith, 1999). While the intellectual property rights derived from research commonly reside with either the funder of the research or the research institute, some guidelines suggest that ownership of the results of the research should also be shared with the Māori community (Powick, 2002; Sporle & Koea, 2004).

The structure and processes of ethics committees tend to marginalise the incorporation of Māori values within ethical review. Consultation with Māori in the development of research protocols is the primary mechanism for aligning research aims with Māori needs and is required as part of the ethical review process in New Zealand. However, the integrity of this process is largely dependent on the importance the committee places on ensuring that the researchers have consulted appropriately with the relevant Māori communities (Hudson, 2004). Māori members on ethics committees operate in a minority position and within the system of ethical review, Māori views have yet to be afforded the same validity as these scientific or legal views. As such, to make an effective contribution in these fora, Māori members require sound grounding in Māori and research issues and the confidence to express these views to researchers and other members of the ethics committees. Māori members are frequently brought onto ethics committee as lay members and may struggle with the scientific language and academic discourse. Formal training sessions are held infrequently and members are often left to 'feel their way' into the process. Alongside the skill set that is normally required of ethics committee members, Māori members are often expected to have an understanding of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language), *tikanga Māori*, *mātauranga Māori* and the Treaty of Waitangi (Hudson, 2004; Robson, 2004). Sitting as a 'Māori' member on an ethics committee creates responsibilities and accountabilities, intended or not, to protect Māori positions and values within the process of ethical review. The idea that Māori members have been selected to solely present their own personal views sits uneasily when they consider it impossible to divorce themselves from their responsibilities to Māori *whānau* (families) and communities (Hudson, 2004).

## The Treaty of Waitangi and Māori issues within ethical review

Contemporary interpretations of the Treaty of Waitangi emphasise a requirement that Māori have the opportunity for partnership and participation in the systems and structures of society and that Māori values and beliefs will be protected. The importance of the Treaty of Waitangi is affirmed in both the Health Research Council of New Zealand's *Guidelines on Ethics in Health Research* and the Ministry of Health's *Operational Standard*, which state:

> The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of New Zealand. The principles of partnership and sharing, implicit in the Treaty should be respected by all researchers and, where applicable, should be incorporated into all health research proposals.
>
> (Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2002)

> The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi must be incorporated in the proceedings and processes of ethics committees… Broad Māori cultural concepts should be respected and supported through ethical review. (Ministry of Health, 2002, p. 2)

The National Ethics Advisory Committee (NEAC), which led the recent review and restructuring of the system of ethical review of health and disability research in New Zealand, also identified consistency with the Treaty of Waitangi as an overall goal for the ethical review system (National Ethics Advisory Committee, 2004).

Consistency with the Treaty of Waitangi requires implementation of the Treaty principles of partnership, participation and protection in research with Māori. The *Operational Standard* gives some guidance to researchers in terms of Māori cultural concepts that should be respected within ethical review and highlights some of the differences that arise from Māori interpretations of the principles that give effect to these cultural concepts:

**Table 1**. **Ethical principles and additional Māori issues (Ministry of Health, 2002).**

| **Main ethical principles** | **Additional issues for Māori** |
|---|---|
| Respect for persons | Respect for Māori collectives - whānau, hapū (sub-tribes) and iwi (tribes) |
| Informed consent | Gaining consent from collectives |
| Privacy and confidentiality | Collective ownership of information |
| Validity of the research proposal | Kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophies and methodologies) |
| Minimisation of harm | Minimising harm to te taha whānau (the family and community), te taha hinengaro (the emotional well-being and state of mind), te taha wairua (the spiritual well-being), te taha tinana (the body or physical self). |
| Justice | |
| Cultural and social responsibility | Cultural diversity, koha (gift) |
| Compensation for research participants | |

NEAC proposed that the ethical review system should be accountable, enabling, informed, responsive to Māori, fair and efficient. In terms of responsiveness to Māori the desired outcomes for the ethical review system were listed as:

- A Māori ethical framework is developed and implemented,
- Processes for consultation with Māori are clear and appropriate,
- Māori participation in the decision-making component of the system is maintained,
- *Iwi* and regional diversity is understood and accommodated, and
- Māori research capability is facilitated.

(National Ethics Advisory Committee, 2004)

## Calls for a Māori ethical framework

While Māori continue to reference and apply their own ethical principles in their own society, application of these within wider mainstream society, and in the area of research in particular, has only recently been examined. That differences exist between Māori and Western interpretations is indisputable (Cram, 2003; Hudson, 2004). Māori are intensely aware of the tensions between Māori perspectives, often represented as *tikanga Māori*, and Western interpretations of the ethical principles. As such, ethics committees are a site for cultural negotiation (Durie, 1998). Further to this,

> [E]thics as a concept and as a science of a body of knowledge is constantly being tested and changed. Similarly, ethical values are changing and we live in a dynamic world in which our past guides the present and the future.
>
> (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994, p. 13)

There have been repeated calls for the development of a Māori ethical framework to inform the inclusion of Māori values within ethical review (Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994; Cram, 2003; Hudson, 2004; Robson, 2004; West, 2004). In 2002, following the Pūtaiora wānanga held in Wellington, Māori members of ethics committees petitioned the Minister of Health for resources to develop a Māori ethical framework. The Minister responded and allocated the responsibility for this development to NEAC. At the recent 2006 Bioethics conference held in Dunedin, a cross-section of Māori ethics committee members reiterated the need to develop a Māori ethical framework to ensure that health research is ethically sound for Māori. A Māori research ethical framework would have to provide clear links between tikanga Māori and Māori ethical issues, in order to inform Māori-specific ethical positions and could be used to support both Māori and Pākehā researchers and ethics committee members alike in the ethical review of research. A Māori ethical framework would provide an opportunity for a more consistent application of Māori perspectives within ethical review and assist in the development of Māori ethical positions on particular issues.

*Tikanga Māori* are yet to be given meaning in the context of ethical review. That is, little has been written about *tikanga Māori*, its relationship to contemporary ethical issues for Māori and how they inform ethical review in research. To apply *tikanga Māori* to new situations requires a level of understanding about *mātauranga Māori* as well as an appreciation of the context of research. To date, there have been limited opportunities for Māori to engage in this discussion within contemporary ethical review structures. However, a number of principles have been identified that might underpin a *Māori* research ethic. They include: *manaakitanga* (caring), *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship), *wairuatanga* (spirituality), *aroha* (compassion), *nohotahi* (to sit together), *rangatiratanga* (self determination), *ōritenga* (equality), *mātiro whakamua* (to look ahead), *mana* (authority), *whanaungatanga* (kinship relationships), *mauri* (life source), *tika* (right, just), *whakapapa* (genealogy), *tapu* (restriction, protection), *noa* (free from restriction), *kawa* (protocol), respect for participants, research for the wider human good, mentoring, and partnering of the academy and the community in research (Powick, 2002; Cram, 2003; Hudson, 2004).

Māori have always acknowledged that in spite of increasing Māori social and cultural diversity there are distinctive Māori ethical viewpoints shared by many Māori, grounded within a Māori worldview. Ensuring the appropriate process for developing a Māori ethical framework will be vital to establishing its validity amongst the Māori community and those who will utilise it. The process for developing a Māori research ethic that reflects Māori ideas and accountabilities would have to involve Māori researchers, *kaumātua* (elders), and other key individuals, with a view to integrating *tikanga Māori* and linking ethical review across all sectors (Cram, 2003). It has also been suggested that Māori research ethics could inform debate around the ethicality of new areas of research, such as genetic engineering (Cram & Pihama et al., 2000; Cram, 2003). The process should be controlled by Māori, who will decide the length and breadth of consultation required, to ensure that the framework meets the expectations of the Māori community. The acceptance of Māori values by the structures governing ethical review and an active undertaking to institute the framework will also be important (Hudson, 2004; Robson, 2004).

## Summary

The system of ethical review in New Zealand is organised to protect the safety of research participants and has developed specific functions to ensure research occurs in an ethical manner. The Health Research Council and the Ministry of Health have both iterated the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the protection of Māori values and interests within ethical review. Māori have consistently expressed concern that the processes of ethical review are not adequately responsive to nor inclusive of their perspectives, values and views. Despite reviews and changes to the system, this marginalisation continues. In moving forward toward a more responsive ethical review system, it will be important that opportunities for Māori participation in ethical debates are promoted. Publication of Māori positions will facilitate this debate, leading to enhanced development and understanding of Māori 'ethical' concepts and values.

The development of a Māori ethical framework is central to the inclusion of Māori values and beliefs within ethical reviews of research and new technologies. A Māori ethical framework would provide an opportunity for a more consistent application of Māori perspectives within ethical review and assist in the development of Māori ethical positions on particular issues. A Māori ethical framework should be consistent with Māori beliefs and values (reflecting cultural relevance), focused on areas of Māori

importance and concern, controlled by Māori, and accountable to the Māori community. Māori members on ethics committees have long expressed a desire to develop a Māori ethical framework collaboratively, and are well positioned to ensure that both the process and outcome are widely accepted by Māori communities. The government and its agencies clearly have some responsibility for supporting Māori aspirations in this area. The lack of prioritisation for this project and allocation of appropriate resources reflects the wider struggle for the recognition of Māori values within society. In the current context the following question must be asked and indeed, answered: how ethical is that?

## Bibliography


Cram, F. (2003). *Preliminary discussions with Māori key informants*. National Ethics Advisory Committee: 10.

Cram, F., & Pihama, L. et al. (2000). *Māori and Genetic Engineering*. Auckland: International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, p. 205.

Crigger, N.J., & Holcomb, L. et al. (2001). *Fundamentalism, multiculturalism and problems of conducting research with populations in developing nations.* Nursing Ethics *8*(5), p. 459–469.

Durie, A. (1998). *Me tipu ake te pono: Māori research, ethicality and development*. Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference. Massey University Printery.

Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora: Māori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Health Research Council of New Zealand. (2002). *Guidelines on Ethics in Health Research*. www.hrc.govt.nz.

Hudson, M. (2004). *He Matatika Māori: Māori and Ethical Review in Health Research*. Unpublished Masters Thesis. Auckland: Auckland University of Technology.

Jackson, M. (1993). *Te Pupuri i Ngā Taonga Tuku Iho a Ngā Tūpuna: Indigenous Peoples and Advisors.* Wellington: Ngā Kaiwhakamārama i Ngā Ture.

Jackson, M. (1996). *Māori Health Research and Te Tiriti o Waitangi*. Wellington School of Medicine: Te Roopu Rangahau Hauora a Eru Pōmare.

Minister of Health. (2004). *Recommendations of the National Ethics Advisory Committee (NEAC).* Wellington.

Ministry of Health. (2002). *Operational Standard for Ethics Committees*. Wellington: Ministry of Health.

National Ethics Advisory Committee. (2004). *Review of the Current Processes for Ethical Review of Health and Disability Research in New Zealand: Report to the Minister of Health*. Wellington: Ministry of Health, 73.

National Health and Medical Research Council. (2003). *Values and Ethics: Guidelines for Ethical Conduct in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health Research*. Canberra, 24.

Oguz, N.Y. (2003). Research ethics committees in developing countries and informed consent: with special reference to Turkey. *Journal of Laboratory Clinical Medicine 141*(5), p. 292–296.

Powick, K. (2002). *Ngā Take Matatika mō te Mahi Rangahau Māori. Māori Research Ethics: A Literature Review of the Ethical Issues and Implications of Kaupapa Māori Research and Research involving Māori for Researchers, Supervisors and Ethics Committees.* Hamilton: School of Education, University of Waikato.

Robson, R. (2004). *Māori framework for ethical review of health and disability research: a scoping report to the National Advisory Committee on Health and Disability Ethics.*

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Sporle, A., & Koea, J. (2004). Māori responsiveness in health and medical research: key issues for researchers (part 1). *New Zealand Medical Journal 117*(1199).

Stokes, E. (1985). *Māori Research and Development: A discussion paper*. Wellington: National Research Advisory Council.

Te Awekotuku, N. (1991). *He Tikanga Whakaaro*. Wellington: Manatu Māori.

Te Puni Kōkiri. (1994). *Health sector ethics: Ngā tikanga pono wāhanga hauora: Mechanisms for Māori into ethical review.* Wellington: Ministry of Māori Development.

Tsai, D.F. (1999). Ancient Chinese medical ethics and the four principles of biomedical ethics. *Journal of Medical Ethics 25*(4), p. 315–321.

West, J. (2004). *NZ Health and Disability Ethical Review Process: Position Statement.* Auckland.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *aroha* | compassion |
| *hapū* | sub-tribe(s) |
| *iwi* | tribe(s) |
| *katiakitanga* | guardianship |
| *kaumātua* | elder(s) |
| *kaupapa Māori* | Māori philosophies and methodologies |
| *kawa* | protocol |
| *koha* | gift |
| *mana* | authority |
| *manaakitanga* | caring |
| *mātauranga Māori* | traditional Māori knowledge |
| *mātiro whakamua* | to look ahead |
| *mauri* | life source |
| *noa* | free from restriction |
| *nohotahi* | to sit together |
| *oritetanga* | equality |
| *rangatiratanga* | self determination |
| *tapu* | restriction, protection |
| *te reo Māori* | the Māori language |
| *te taha hinengaro* | emotional well-being and state of mind |
| *te taha tinana* | the body or physical self |
| *te taha wairua* | spiritual well-being |
| *te taha whānau* | family and community |
| *tika* | right, just |
| *tikanga Māori* | Māori customary practices |
| *wairuatanga* | spirituality |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |
| *whānau* | family / families |
| *whanaungatanga* | kinship relationships |

# Cross-cultural literacy: knowledge and ignorance in post-colonial classrooms

**Kuni Jenkins**
Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi

**Alison Jones**
Faculty of Education, University of Auckland

## Abstract and preamble

We maintain that unequally positioned ethnic groups — in particular Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand — come to cross-cultural dialogue in education with different and incompatible sets of interests. Calls for dialogue by Pākehā are largely unconscious romantic desires for absolution and redemption, which are experienced when the 'Other' gives attention to assertions that 'I want to understand'. Such an impetus can be read as imperialist, in that the imagined 'unity-through-dialogue' requires the 'Other' to "love me", "teach me" and to open up their 'territory' of experience and knowledge to the scrutiny of the coloniser group yet again.

In the interests of 'cross-cultural literacy' (understood as competence in 'reading' the 'Other'), we suggest the possibility for cross-cultural work in classrooms. We focus the gaze of both indigenous and Pākehā students in New Zealand on moments in the groups' mutual historical engagement: the early engagements between Māori and Pākehā in the early 1800s. Most of the engagements (such as Marsden's sermon) are reasonably well known by New Zealanders, at least in the most general terms. The re-readings we offer are interpretations by a Māori academic, Kuni Jenkins, who, in reading the historical accounts with a Pākehā colleague, Alison Jones, provides an indigenous view of the events described in the archival accounts of early missionaries in the absence of written Māori interpretations of these moments. These accounts are often repeated uncritically in contemporary publications.

In doing this work, we argue that stories told in historical texts always have significant implications for today. That is, the texts and their (re)readings provide the terms of contemporary possibilities for cross-cultural dialogue or 'understanding', and provide the possibilities for today's relationships.

## Introduction

Popular calls for cross-cultural dialogue can be understood as a product of white/coloniser desires for engagement with the *'Other'*; an 'Other' defined, necessarily, as those normally inaccessible to the dominant group.

We doubt that such dialogue as an educational good holds much attraction for the ethnic 'Other'. There is no impetus for the 'Other' to 'understand' through dialogue the dominant group's ideas and viewpoints; these form the everyday educational environment. Many ethnic minority groups, including indigenous peoples, would rather consolidate their own knowledges and debates than be obliged to educate the powerful, especially when the dominant group's interest might be in some kind of reassurance rather than renegotiation of power.

Given such complexities of cross-cultural educational engagement or mutual teaching (Jones, 1999, 2001; Jenkins and Pihama 2001), we are interested in the possibilities for pedagogies which seek to enable university students (and others) from different ethnic cultural positions to learn something mutually useful about each other and their relationship.

For our purposes this possibility is referred to as *cross-cultural literacy*. In a field littered with terms such as 'cross-cultural competence', and 'cultural safety', we are not sure if another term is required. Nevertheless it implies an ability to 'read the Other': a form of subtle relationship not suggested by competency and safety. Unlike the term 'dialogue', 'cross-cultural literacy' does not demand a face-to-

face encounter where the 'Other' is obliged to educate the dominant group. It suggests a more oblique engagement; one perhaps based on text.

The intent for this paper is not to explore the idea of cross-cultural literacy; rather, the emphasis is on thinking of practices for the development of such 'literacy' in the university classroom. As such, the focus is on the pedagogical use of reading texts in a classroom environment where indigenous students and 'colonisers' sit together. The texts in this case are stories about our shared past. Similarly, our intent is not merely to retell colonisers' stories from an indigenous perspective in the spirit of pluralism and say, 'look, there is another way of looking at this; isn't that interesting?' As educationists, our enthusiasm for re-reading historical events lies in our shared interest in the potent pedagogical work for today which can be done in reading past texts critically.

It is possible that if we know ourselves to be leading actors in the past, we can conceptualise ourselves as leading actors in the present. If we consider ourselves bit-players in a past storyline overwhelmingly controlled by others, it is harder to envisage ourselves as (re)producing a positive storyline now. To put it another way, the act of re-reading historical moments is not merely encountering a different past; it is also learning about the present and its possibilities. We 're-read' here several moments in the early engagements between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa, New Zealand in the early 1800s. Most of the engagements are reasonably well known by New Zealanders, at least in the most general terms.

Our readings pivot around the establishment of the first school in Aotearoa. The recorded story of the first school has (at least) four significant moments, all occurring between 1809 and 1818: the chief Ruatara's resolve to have European schooling established in his area; the arrival in New Zealand of the British missionary teachers and their leader, the Reverend Samuel Marsden; the first 'preaching of the gospel', an event which seemed to mark the local people's acceptance of the new teachers; and the 'failure' of the school a mere two years later. We re-examine two of these stories, asking what the readings tell of the relationship between Māori and Pākehā and what they imply about the possibilities for positive cross-cultural educational encounters.

It is popularly known that the first school in New Zealand was located in what is now known as the Bay of Islands, and that it was set up by missionaries, in the early 1800s. Popular history also records that the school's sponsor, Samuel Marsden, the British missionary leader, considered Māori "astonishing" and "superior" people. Marsden's assessment of Māori, including his desire to improve them through Christianity, is usually seen as the energy on which the missionary teachers' entry to New Zealand is based. Yet Māori evaluations of Marsden and the missionaries might just as easily be seen as the centre of the story.

### Narrative one:

Marsden's relationship with Ruatara, a Chief from the north of New Zealand, and the place of that relationship in the establishment of the first school in New Zealand, offers an interesting re-reading exercise. The events surrounding the first western school in New Zealand indicate Māori were by no means located on the 'outside' of western schooling, as they too often are now. Māori played a key role in inviting schooling to their areas and keenly anticipated its benefits. These benefits resided not simply in the consumption of European education and technological knowledge, but also in the ability of schooling to bring Māori and Pākehā into what Māori believed would be permanently shared, equitable, reciprocal political and economic interactions.

*Whakahoahoa* (making friends) was such a practice. For both Ruatara and Marsden, friendship and trust were essential to achieving their desires to make a real intervention into Māori society, through a relationship between their peoples. While they shared this mutual agenda, both men had different expectations of the project. For Ruatara, contact with Pākehā contained the potential for massive and exciting technological change in Māori society. For Marsden, contact with Māori had evangelical promise, which served his own career interests. In late 1812, when he was in Australia, Ruatara had gained a promise from Marsden to send a Pākehā teacher to Ruatara's area to provide schooling. Eventually, in 1816, a school was constructed and classes began (Binney, 1968).

Within a relatively short time, hundreds of Māori children (and some adults) were being taught in a large number of schools in the north (Jenkins, 2000; Barrington and Beaglehole, 1974). The enthusiasm

for schooling was an indication of the optimism with which Māori grasped the possibilities for partnership with the Pākehā. It often involved families moving to be close to schools, and high-ranking children being sent to live in the homes of missionaries (a practice which was the precursor for a system of boarding schools).

However, as others have argued, Māori assumptions that schooling would be the tool with which to access the highest levels of Pākehā economic, social and political intercourse were thwarted by Pākehā assumptions about Māori inferiority (Simon, 1998; Simon and Smith, 2001; Jenkins, 2000).[1] These assumptions led to the missionaries' general refusal to teach the English language, Pākehā ideas about Māori's 'natural fitness for life on the land', and the (general) refusal of Pākehā to become integrated into Māori tribes, even though increasing numbers were becoming related to Māori through children.

The story on which we focus pedagogical attention is not the story of Pākehā failure in relation to Māori schooling, but of the initial enthusiastic ownership of European schools and education by Māori. There is no doubt that Māori subsequently become seriously disadvantaged and stymied in their desires for high-level schooling. Any comfortingly simple story that portrays Pākehā education largely as an assimilationist and civilising tool imposed upon Māori is disrupted by an account of the active, educational relationship between Māori people and Pākehā missionaries. This sort of account demands a more nuanced understanding of subsequent Māori disenchantment with European schooling, and requires a serious curiosity about how Māori might have critically understood and engaged with the new sets of practices called schooling.

The possibility of a genuine partnership with its mutual obligations becomes the starting point for an examination of Māori approaches to schooling. We suggest that the powerful ambivalence now displayed by many Māori towards European education has potent links to their early discovery that the integration they expected was not on offer, and the 'shared' interactions turned out to be one-way. Western schooling, they soon found out, was not to be 'theirs', but had to be either consumed, or rejected, from the 'outside'. In our view, if Māori were understood and could understand themselves as active, 'insider' participants in European education (their original vision and desire), Māori as a group may not have come to experience western schooling as the alienating force it often is today.

### Narrative two: the 'sham fight' on the beach

The active planning for western schooling by Ruatara is evident in our next selected fragment of encounter: the events surrounding Marsden's initial historic arrival on the shores of New Zealand.

Marsden arrived, accompanied by some important Northern *rangatira* (chiefs*)*. Their presence was highly significant. As Māori protocol required, these chiefs were fetching their *manuhiri* (visitors). This act was to guarantee the *mana* (prestige) and safe arrival of the visitors. By arriving with Ruatara, within his *whakaruruhau*[2] (shelter) and being introduced into the Māori community in the company of the three *rangatira*, Marsden and the missionaries were immediately seen as people of rank, people to be listened to and who should be befriended.[3]

On the 24th December 1814, in the early morning, Marsden "witnessed a most showy display of New Zealand splendour". A "fleet of canoes crowded with men" approached the *Active,* a schooner where Marsden, Nicholas and the other missionary settlers and their families were aboard. According to Nicholas' written account, the scene was "marked with a wild grandeur of the noblest description". The chiefs in the canoes were standing up, with their cloaks draped dramatically over their shoulders and their hair, decorated with white gannet feathers, and tied on the crown of their heads (Nicholas, 1917, p. 194).

---

1 One notable later exception to this was Reverend Thornton, who offered academic education to Māori at Te Aute, an Anglican school that produced nationally influential Māori leaders in the late 1800s (Simon 1998).

2 The concept of *whakaruruhau* is drawn from the imagery of the sheltering outreach of a huge tree like the *totara* (native tree of New Zealand), which protects people from the weather. The *whakaruruhau* of the *rangatira* is the political influence that he/she can use to facilitate the way a person might be fostered and cared for.

3 Judith Binney's account of the motivation of the chiefs' travel to Australia is in contrast to ours. She says, "of the senior chiefs invited, Korokoro, Hongi and Ruatara were prepared to go" (1968:23). This implies passivity on the part of the chiefs, which is unlikely.

To Nicholas, the sounds and gestures of the fierce and tattooed warriors were terrifying, but Nicholas and Marsden recognised their friend Korokoro standing in one of the canoes and were reassured. Korokoro came on board the *Active* with gifts for Marsden. Korokoro then hurried the two men onto a canoe and brought them towards the shore, where Ruatara and his warriors were assembled. There was then, according to Nicholas, a spectacular 'entertainment': a vigorous 'sham fight'. Nicholas recalled the amazing and electrifying event:

> Immediately before we landed, the fleet of canoes being ranged abreast of each other, the chiefs recommenced their war song, and were joined by the warriors, who stood up brandishing their paddles, and making furious gesticulations… The longer they sung, the more violent grew their emotions, while one of Ruatara's warriors, running up and down along the beach with a long club made of whalebone in his hand, shook it at our party in token of defiance, and appeared daring them to leave their canoes. This menacing hero was suffered for some time to pass unnoticed, the fury of our warriors not being yet worked up to the proper pitch: however, it was not very long before this crisis arrived; the war song had now set every nerve in motion, and leaping on shore, impatient for the conflict, they pursued the insulting challenger, who took to his heels the moment they had landed. He retreated, however, only to join the great body of his brother warriors, who were posted in a valley, screened from our view by the skirts of the hill… The general attack was now to commence… The wildest vociferations of savage clamour were now heard from both sides. The bloodless contest appeared for a long time doubtful, victory inclining at one period to Ruatara, and at another to his adversary; when, after various manoeuvres, and much terrible fighting, though never dangerous, both sides resolved to put an end to their hostilities, in the same good humour with which they had commenced; and the opposite combatants, joining together in the dance, and war song, brought their harmless strife to a friendly conclusion. (Nicholas, 1917, pp. 196-8)

Nicholas interpreted this display as "entertainment" and a "sham fight".[4] Such descriptions are rich in political importance. While the English settlers encountered a "sham fight", Māori participants were engaged in a serious and highly significant ritual of encounter: a major *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome), and its associated *wero* (challenge associated with ceremonial welcome). This moment of arrival was charged with tension, where the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land) were in a very deep sense unsure of the future, and not yet in a committed relationship with these strangers who had arrived to live with them. Korokoro and his warriors were bringing the Pākehā missionaries permanently into the heart of Ruatara's territory and the significance of this move was not lost on either Ruatara or Korokoro. Emotions were running extremely high — no doubt the intense ambivalence which must have been felt by these chiefs and their people about the arrival of the Pākehā into their midst were contributing factors. Excitement and anticipation about the expected benefits of the potential relationship would be in tension with deep anxiety about the unknown, about what unpredictable change this new relationship would bring to Māori.

While the *pōwhiri* on the beach was a staged event, there was nothing artificial about it. It was a 'real' contest, an assertion and confirmation of the *mana* of both chiefs and their respective *iwi* (tribe), and also evidence of the significance of the event — the arrival of the Pākehā to dwell officially among them.

The spectacular *pōwhiri* was a triumph for Ruatara as well as Korokoro, and the missionaries: no blood was spilt, and the groups on both sides of the explosive encounter came together finally with goodwill and enthusiasm. This *pōwhiri* and its outcome would have assured the success of the Pākehā's entry into the local *iwi*, and ensured the settlers' *mana* and authority.[5] The final satisfying mingling of the peoples signalled the possibility of a positive future relationship, which would produce worldly wealth for all, and shared offspring and ancestry. The missionaries were no longer *manuhiri* but, as far as the local people were concerned, now had local authority and local responsibilities. When Marsden and Nicholas climbed into Korokoro's canoe, they were embraced into the body of the *iwi*. The whole

---

4 Leading historian Anne Salmond also uses the latter term in her description (1997:462).

5 This was a triumph for Ruatara too, because other chiefs also wanted Marsden to set up his mission in their districts. Indeed, the inter-*hapū* (sub-tribe) jealousies created by Marsden's 'favouring' of Ruatara caused some problems within kin groups.

event, in which the missionaries were passive but not unwilling players, ensured their *mana* and thus their place within Māori society.

When the *pōwhiri* is understood merely as a "sham fight" or a spectacular piece of "entertainment" for the visitors, all of these significant meanings regarding the active relationship between indigenous people and settler, with all its attendant reciprocal responsibilities and the expectations of the indigenous peoples, are lost. Māori are cast in the position of exotic performers, enthusiastically naive about the impending impact of European education and settlement, rather than as actively (though probably ambivalently) in charge and expecting that they would be able to exploit and engage this new set of relationships in their own interests. Māori and Pākehā students encountering the 'sham fight' as merely a theatrical display of welcome will miss the idea that this event was a political statement of control in Māori terms. Pākehā were entering the political and social realm of Māori, on Māori terms, with Māori expectations enabling their entry. This is the wider environment in which the first school was to be established.

### Narrative three: the sermon and the haka - fierce rhythmical dance

The most common event usually — but in our view erroneously — understood to capture the moment of official arrival for missionaries in New Zealand is not the *pōwhiri* on 24 December 1814, but the religious service held the next day on Christmas Day, which happened to be a Sunday, at which Marsden officiated. Marsden recorded his thoughts on the morning of this service revealing his anxieties about his project and his worries about the possibilities for "bringing civilisation, liberty and religion" to a "dark and benighted land" (Marsden, 1913. P. 67). In the meantime, Ruatara and the other chiefs, "dressed in regimentals", were readily taking on the symbols of the new era from which they had so many expectations. As Marsden read his service to between 300 and 400 attentive people, Korokoro used a switch to direct the people to stand and sit at the right moments. Marsden preached from Luke: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people".

Few people present would have been able to understand Marsden's sermon, so it was Ruatara, interpreting Marsden's words, who was the real preacher that day. Ruatara's words were not recorded, so neither we nor Marsden can know what he said to his countrymen (Marsden, 1913, p. 83). It was not clear that Ruatara had himself accepted the Christian message about 'joy' and 'one true God' — certainly, when he was dying some months later he invoked his own *atua* (gods). His interpretation of Marsden's words would have been the words he, Ruatara, wanted his people to hear. Ruatara's interpretation of the sermon would have been passionate, of necessity building on Māori knowledge of the spiritual realm, and perhaps presenting a radically new way of understanding the *atua*. Ruatara would probably also have talked of the implications of Marsden's message for the material possibilities for the people; the new ideas about the European *atua* involved the production of food, and the production of goods.

Thus, on the occasion of Marsden's sermon, when "the Gospel has been introduced into New Zealand", the people were not hearing the Gospel, as such, at all (Marsden, 1913, p. 83). Marsden was, in a sense, merely Ruatara's helper that day — assisting Ruatara to bring new knowledge and ideas to his people. The people heard Ruatara's words, not Marsden's, and it was to Ruatara's words they responded. As Marsden and the Europeans left the area after the sermon, the gathered people rose in a *haka*. Although Nicholas saw this as a joyful gesture of appreciation and gratitude to the Europeans (1817, p. 206), it is far more likely that the people were expressing support for the message of their chiefs, who were setting a new direction for them.[6] Their spontaneous *haka* would most likely have been the emotional response to Ruatara's words and an affirmation of Ruatara's *mana*, and that of Korokoro and Hongi, dressed impressively in their uniforms, and commanding the situation.

### Understanding them

The sermon on Christmas Day, along with the *pōwhiri* on the beach the day before, marked the very beginning of a mutual relationship between eastern Bay of Islands people and the missionaries — or, in

[6] Drawing on Nicholas' account, Pākehā saw Māori as having confidence in them, rather than in their leader. J.B. Marsden, in recounting the story of the sermon, asserted that "the confidence of the natives in Mr Marsden was now unbounded" (1913:83).

broader symbolic terms, between Māori and Pākehā. When these crucial events are understood merely as the 'bringing of the gospel', and 'entertainment' for the new arrivals, a particular set of meanings remains in place. In each rendition, Pākehā remain the main players, and Māori the recipients of Pākehā desires. Yet, it is evident that, read differently, these stories are of active Māori control in these key events.

Each of these story fragments indicates how shared moments can be read in different ways. Let us return to the point of our paper: a theoretical discussion of a strategy for developing cross-cultural literacy through the mutual focus on interpretations of shared past events. While advocates of cross-cultural dialogue insist on direct teaching encounters between participants, we suggest a different approach. In light of the problems with face-to-face dialogue in cross-cultural settings, we refocus the gaze of both indigenous and white (coloniser) students on shared texts.

The pedagogical value of re-reading lies in the opportunity to develop a form of cross-cultural literacy for all concerned. Encountering re-interpretations in which Māori are actors must impact positively upon those young Māori (and Pākehā) who have learned about Māori educational oppression at the hands of their colonisers and therefore, in some senses, 'expect' Māori disadvantage. In this case, new (self-) understanding of the complexity of colonisation may lead indigenous students to consider their own ancestors' positive plans for colonisation, and therefore to be better equipped to reassert their control of, and desire for, western education. For settler students, an appreciation of Māori intentions and desires, and an understanding of the deep emptiness of 'commonly understood' stories told from one point of view, contribute to the development of a cross-cultural literacy.

Stories of profoundly shared encounters provide opportunities for more demanding self-understandings for both indigenous and coloniser students.

## Bibliography


Barrington, J.M. & Beaglehole, T.H. (1974). *Māori Schools in a Changing Society: An historical review.* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Barrish, P. (2002). *The Secret Joys of Anti-Racist Pedagogy*: *Huckleberry Finn in the classroom.* American Imago, *59*(2), pp. 117-139.

Binney, J. (1968). *The Legacy of Guilt: A life of Thomas Kendall.* Auckland: University of Auckland; Oxford University Press.

Burbules, N. (1993). *Dialogue in Teaching: Theory and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Elder, J. (1934). *Marsden's Lieutenants.* Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie.

Fay, B. (1996). *Contemporary Philosophy of Social Science: A multicultural approach*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Foucault, M. (1982 [1977]). *Discipline and Punish: The birth of the prison.* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Glazer, N. (1997). *We are All Multiculturalists Now*. Cambridge; Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Janks, H. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool. Discourse, *Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *18*(3), pp. 329-342.

Jenkins, K. (2000). *Haere Tahi Tāua: An account of aitanga in Māori struggle for schooling.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland.

Jenkins, K. & Pihama, L. (2001). Mātauranga Wāhine: Teaching Māori women's knowledge alongside feminism. *Feminism and Psychology, 11*(3), pp. 293-304.

Jones, A. (2001). Cross-Cultural Pedagogy and the Passion For Ignorance. *Feminism and Psychology. 11*(3), 279-292.

Jones, A. (1999). The Limits of Cross-Cultural Dialogue: Pedagogy, desire and absolution in the classroom. *Educational Theory. 49*(3), pp. 299-316.

Marsden, J. (1913). *Life and Work of Samuel Marsden*. Edited by J. Drummond, Christchurch, Wellington & Dunedin: Whitcombe & Tombs.

Marsden, S. (1961). *Marsden and the New Zealand Mission: Sixteen letters.* Edited by P. Havard-Williams, Dunedin: University of Otago Press; A.H.& A.W. Reed.

Nicholas, J.L. (1817). *Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand: Performed in the years 1814 and 1815 in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden*. London: Black and Son.

Said, E. (1995 [1978]). *Orientalism: Western conceptions of the Orient.* London: Penguin.
Salmond, A. (1997). *Between Worlds: Early exchanges between Māori and Europeans 1773-1815*. Auckland: Viking.
Simon, J. (Ed.) (1998). *Ngā Kura Māori: The native schools system 1867 –1969*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
Simon, J. & Smith, L.T. (Eds.) (2001). *A Civilising Mission? Perceptions and representations of the native schools system*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples.* London; New York: Zed Books.
Thomson, A. (1859). *The Story of New Zealand: Past and present – savage and civilised. 2 volumes*. London: John Murray, Albermarle Street. Facsimile reprint, Capper Press, Christchurch, 1974.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *atua* | god(s) |
| *haka* | fierce rhythmical dance |
| *hapū* | sub-tribe(s) |
| *iwi* | tribe(s) |
| *mana* | prestige |
| *manuhiri* | visitor(s) |
| *pōwhiri* | ceremonial welcome |
| *rangatira* | chief(s) |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people of the land |
| *totara* | native tree of New Zealand |
| *wero* | challenge associated with ceremonial welcome |
| *whakahoahoa* | making friends |
| *whakaruruhau* | shelter |

# Welcoming Kahu and Gordon to the law: the place of the pōwhiri in jurisprudential research

**Carwyn Jones**
Victoria University of Wellington

In this paper I will look at how Māori concepts can be used in researching legal topics. I will outline the process that I undertook in researching and presenting research relating to the philosophical bases of Māori and common law legal systems. In particular, I will discuss the application to the research of some of the fundamental aspects of a *pōwhiri* (Māori ceremonial welcome) that I have used to assist me in keeping Māori values to the fore, consistent with *Kaupapa Māori* (based on Māori philosophies and methodologies) Research methodology. I will also discuss the use of narrative in academic research.

The research that I will discuss is the work that I undertook to complete my master's degree in Canada (Jones, 2003). The purpose of the research was to examine the possibility of developing principles derived from *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary practices), Treaty jurisprudence, and concepts underlying sustainable development which would guide the construction of a resource management regime that gives proper accord to *tino rangatiratanga* (sovereignty). This project included a comparative aspect as I also considered some of the concerns of, and strategies used by, Aboriginal peoples in Canada that relate to issues of indigenous control of natural resources. I adopted an interdisciplinary approach to this research because there were important issues in each of the fields of aboriginal law, resource management, and Māori customary practices that needed to be explored in order to produce a robust piece of work. My project was therefore situated within the field of interdisciplinary research; it brought together content, concepts, and approaches from environmental studies, Māori studies, and the law to provide a new perspective on the relevant issues. I did not compile a comprehensive review of the case law, nor a detailed anthropological study; rather what I produced was an exploration of the new possibilities that can be discovered when a less-compartmentalised approach to the issues surrounding indigenous environmental stewardship is applied.

The research built on the recent scholarship on Māori customary law, as well as the growing international movement to explore new and effective participatory systems for environmental management. It was also born out of the growing pressure internationally, and domestically in the case of Aotearoa or New Zealand, to recognise indigenous peoples' rights to self-determination, and to incorporate aspects of indigenous law into state legal systems.

## Kaupapa Māori

*Kaupapa Māori*-centred research is inherently connected to Māori self-determination. The link between *Kaupapa Māori* research and *tino rangatiratanga* has been made by numerous Māori writers (Bishop, 1997; G. Smith, 1990; L.T. Smith, 1999). *Tino rangatiratanga* is an important word in the Māori struggle for self-determination; it is the word used in the Treaty of Waitangi to represent that power that was to remain with the Māori chiefs. As a Māori, I understand *tino rangatiratanga* as meaning that Māori retain the right and collective authority to operate in a way that works for us. *Tino rangatiratanga* is about Māori being able to be Māori. These ideas are clearly behind *Kaupapa Māori* research.

Graham Smith (1990) has summarised the core concepts of the theory, pointing out that *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'.

*Kaupapa Māori* Research is based on the assumption that Māori culture, language and beliefs are valid and legitimate (G. Smith, 1990). Another feature is that one must undertake research that will have positive outcomes for Māori. This can be seen as a response to earlier research that is purely descriptive. It is important to move away from the perception that the primary beneficiary of the research will be the researcher and/or the academic institution (Crengle, 1997; Stokes, 1985; Teariki et al., 1992). It must not be forgotten that it is the community itself that must determine what is beneficial for that community (M. Durie, 1996).

The involvement of the community at all stages of the research is a fundamental aspect of *Kaupapa Māori* Research. As an employee of the Waitangi Tribunal, I have been involved with research relating to the legal issues surrounding Māori rights under the Treaty of Waitangi. It is from this work that the need for research in this area became apparent. I discussed ideas for this topic with many Māori working in this area, and so identified some broad underlying questions that might bear further investigation. I also discussed some of these ideas with Aboriginal people in Canada who work with similar issues.

In constructing this research I tried to include processes that allow the various communities involved to direct the research to places that are useful for them. While I have applied *Kaupapa Māori* Research methodology, I was also aware of the need to provide appropriate space throughout the project for non-Māori voices. The structure of the *pōwhiri*, with the associated metaphors of hosts and visitors interacting, plays a significant role in providing that space.

## Whanaungatanga

Under *Kaupapa Māori* Research, the community must be in control of the project. *Kaupapa Māori* Research aims to avoid Māori knowledge being simplified or commodified, as has often been the case with much earlier research (Bishop, 1997). Certainly it is not acceptable for the researcher to 'own' the information, and escape accountability to the community (Crengle, 1999). This is where the concept of *whanaungatanga* (kinship) that Bishop writes about, becomes highly relevant.

For the purposes of *Kaupapa Māori* Research, *whanaungatanga* can be understood as concerning literal family relations as well as metaphoric research 'families'. Bishop identifies three core elements of *whanaungatanga* as constituent parts of *Kaupapa Māori* Research: establishing *whānau* (family) relationships, fostering a participant-driven approach to power and control, and the researcher being involved in the research as a lived experience (Bishop, 1996).

### *Interviews*

The interviews may have been a relatively small component of the research I undertook, but nevertheless the information shared by the participants was vital.

In structuring the interviews, I followed Steiner Kvale's process for interview design (Kvale, 1996). The interviews provided background material to the theoretical discussion and helped to keep the research grounded. That is to say that the experiences of the participants directed the thematic framework of this research. The interview participants were asked for their personal responses to the issues discussed, and therefore they were not intended to represent the point of view of anyone other than those individuals themselves. Participants were chosen by virtue of their involvement in various aspects of indigenous resource issues. I have also tried to provide an opportunity for the people from the communities for which the research is intended to guide the research in directions that are of interest to them. As noted above, the involvement of the community is an essential aspect of *Kaupapa Māori* Research. However, it must be stressed that their responses should not be generalised in any way, and the contributions they have provided which I included in my thesis should be read as examples of the countless and infinitely varied individual reactions that exist in relation to these issues. The interview data provided a personal and practical perspective in the words of people who deal with these issues on a day-to-day basis to highlight and give a deeper meaning to aspects of the research. The interviews focused on issues that the participants dealt with in their work. The interviews were exploratory and the data was used as background material; therefore it was not necessary to interview a large number of people (Kvale, 1996).

***Pōwhiri structure and the marae***
The *pōwhiri* is the traditional welcoming ceremony of the Māori. When hosts welcome visitors, they engage in a *pōwhiri* which includes a *wero* (ritual challenge to determine whether the groups will meet as friend or foe), *karanga* (calls of welcome and acknowledgement), *whaikōrero* (formal speechmaking), and the *hongi* (traditional pressing of noses signifying the integration of the visiting group). I chose to structure my research around the format of the *pōwhiri* or Māori welcoming ceremony. This structure assists in keeping Māori values to the fore. The imagery of host and visitor was an appropriate metaphor for my research in that I, a Māori, was working on these issues away from home and asking the aboriginal people of Canada to share ideas with me. This structure was also ideally suited to interdisciplinary study, and, as the research is about reframing Western concepts, it was appropriate that the thesis itself be presented in a way which gives primacy to indigenous values but allows space for interaction with Western ideas.

***Structure***
I divided my research into four main parts:

1. *Wero*—The challenge: Introduction; Methodology; Sustainable Development.
2. *Karanga*—The call: Māori self-determination; background to Treaty settlements; Māori and New Zealand liberal-democratic concepts of Authority.
3. *Whaikōrero*—Exchanging debate: *Te Ao Māori* (The Māori World); The dominant legal system; Obstacles to effective recognition of Aboriginal peoples' rights in Canada; Strategies for *Tino Rangatiratanga*.
4. *Hongi*—Symbolic interaction: Interaction of legal systems; Principles to guide the development of resource management laws.

***Narrative in academic research: providing a guide to the pōwhiri***
Running parallel to the main body of text in this thesis is a narrative guide to the *pōwhiri*. The guide explains aspects of the *pōwhiri* for readers who are not familiar with this ceremony. The guide is presented in a narrative form and appears at the bottom of each page. The narrative follows two people as they are welcomed on to the *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups), which is the centre for Māori communities. It is intended that presenting the information in this way would provide an evocative account of the *pōwhiri* process, without interrupting the metaphorical *pōwhiri* constructed by the body of the thesis. The Guide is based on works by Tauroa (1986), Salmond (1975), Barlow (1991), and Edwards (2002) and personal experiences. The guide begins with the two characters, Kahu and Gordon, arriving as visitors, to be welcomed on to the *marae* by the local people.

***Wero***
The first part of my thesis was the *wero*, or challenge. This section set out the main issue, or the challenge that is identified. The challenge of my research was to find some guiding principles for the development of a legal regime for environmental stewardship that justly recognises indigenous authority and effectively encourages sustainable development. The way that the *wero* is accepted frames the way the *pōwhiri* will progress. Therefore, the first section of my thesis discussed how the challenge was to be taken up within the parameters of that research. Sustainable development is a concept that pervades much of the contemporary environmentalist discourse and I found it a useful concept to illustrate how different cultures might approach issues surrounding the management of natural resources in very different ways. The concept of sustainable development was used because it is already culturally loaded and can therefore illustrate the contrasts in approaching the concept from various cultural perspectives. It also appears to be an area where indigenous self-determination often conflicts with dominant environmental regimes. Aboriginal rights are often limited because of concerns about sustainability and Aboriginal resistance to unregulated development. Conversely, it is a concept that can be used by development groups to override indigenous concerns about conservation and environmentalism. It is within this first part of my thesis, the *wero*, that I also set out the methodology to be used—that is *Kaupapa Māori* Research methodology (L.T. Smith, 1999)—and the method (as outlined briefly above).

***Karanga***
The second part of my thesis reflects the stage of the *pōwhiri* that is called the *karanga*. That part of the thesis acknowledges the work that has already been done in this area and sets out the current state of arguments and thought about issues of self-determination, Treaty settlement policy in New Zealand, and

concepts of authority in New Zealand's indigenous and non-indigenous legal systems. The thesis proceeds on the basis that the argument for Māori self-determination has already been made by scholars who have traversed this field before (for example, M. Durie, 1998). This section of the thesis therefore points to the works of those scholars, but does not engage further in arguments about whether self-determination is justified.

Arguments for Māori self-determination are frequently based on the Treaty of Waitangi. This is a treaty that was signed in 1840 by Māori chiefs and a representative of the British Crown. The content of the Treaty of Waitangi is detailed in the *karanga*. This section provides an overview of the Treaty of Waitangi settlement policy currently operating in New Zealand, identifying some key problems with the process which need to be addressed if the settlements are to support an appropriate legal regime for environmental stewardship. This section also sets out some of the literature that has been written about authority within New Zealand's indigenous and non-indigenous legal systems (E.T. Durie, 2002; J. Williams, 2000) with particular regard to implications for sustainable development and management of resources. The intention was merely to show that there are differences between legal systems and not to enter into discussion about the applicability of the various cultural concepts in different settings. This section, reflecting the *karanga*, aimed to weave together the pre-existing scholarship in these areas to provide a basis for further discussion in later parts of the thesis.

***Whaikōrero***

The third part of the thesis represents the *whaikōrero*, or the formal speechmaking part of the welcome ceremony. During the *whaikōrero* speeches are made by elders from among both the hosts and the visitors. This part of the thesis provides a space for different voices. There are four voices represented in this part: two Māori voices, one reflecting traditional concepts about the environment and sustainable development and one discussing arrangements relating to resource management and sustainable development among Māori communities today; one voice reflecting the dominant legal system, exploring sustainable development issues that particularly relate to Māori within the current legal regime; and one Canadian voice discussing some of the tensions that are to be found between Aboriginal and Canadian legal systems, especially in relation to the management of natural resources. An analysis of the different perspectives on processes designed to establish new relationships and frameworks for interaction leads to the fourth part of the thesis, which explores the interaction of legal systems.

***Speaker One: te ao Māori***

The discussion begins with a traditional Māori voice exploring ways in which Māori concepts of authority and sustainable development could be applied to produce a different foundation for environmental management than that which currently operates in New Zealand. Most significantly the holistic Māori worldview, the emphasis on relationships between all things in the natural world means that any interference with the natural world requires a different set of justifications than the current legal regime.

***Speaker Two: the dominant legal system***

The second voice is that of the dominant legal framework. This voice examines the possibilities for expressing a Māori environmental philosophy, as described by the first speaker, within the scope of the established legal framework. Essentially there is potential here. New Zealand's Resource Management Act includes provisions for incorporating a Māori worldview and strengthening these provisions would go some way towards effective Māori authority. But by far the greatest potential lies in the Treaty of Waitangi settlement process, because not only do the packages include compensation and the return of lands and resources, but also agreements on how particular tribal groups will have input in local government, and establish relationships with government departments, especially the Department of Conservation.

***Speaker Three: aboriginal authority and treaty rights in Canada***

The third voice incorporates a Canadian perspective. I focused on the case of R v Marshall and especially the response of Aboriginal communities to that decision. This illustrates a disconnection between Aboriginal concerns and the way government and the legal system approach these issues, and also demonstrates the way Aboriginal authority is limited by this disconnection.

***Speaker Four: aspects of tino rangatiratanga today***
The fourth and final speaker presents another Māori voice and brings the *whaikōrero* to a conclusion. This speaker suggests some strategies for pursuing *tino rangatiratanga*. This speaker also discusses some key components of effective expressions of *tino rangatiratanga* in contemporary New Zealand society, particularly within the context of environmental management. One component is the emphasis on local authority and another significant point is the fact that authority over natural resources is an essential part of *tino rangatiratanga*—it is actually inseparable. You cannot have *tino rangatiratanga*, as guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, without effective authority over natural resources.

***Waiata —enhancing the meaning of the speeches***
The different speakers within the *whaikōrero* express some of the many different perspectives that exist on issues relating to indigenous resources. From these different perspectives, four key points emerge. The first point that should be noted is that there needs to be recognition that resource management structures developed by the dominant legal system do not reflect indigenous environmental systems. Secondly, the current legal framework, in particular the expanding scope of Treaty of Waitangi negotiations, provides some potential for providing appropriate legal recognition of Māori environmental systems. The third point made in this part of the thesis is that a disconnection between indigenous communities and the legal structures relating to resource management creates obstacles for the development of fully integrated systems for sustainable development where indigenous resources are involved. Finally, it is clear that one integral aspect of the self-determination guaranteed to Māori is the effective local authority over the natural environment.

The combination of these four points suggests that legal mechanisms which better contribute to both *tino rangatiratanga* and sustainable development are possible. However, such legal mechanisms must be based not only on sound environmental principles, but also on the interaction of legal systems reflected in the relationship between Māori and the Crown that is set out in the Treaty of Waitangi. The final part of my thesis examined just how that interaction might work.

***Hongi***
The fourth part of the thesis represents the *hongi*. The *hongi* refers to the part of the welcoming ceremony when the hosts press noses with the visitors signifying the mingling of breath and the visiting group becoming as one with the host group. This part of the thesis then discusses the interaction of legal systems in the area of sustainable development. This part of the thesis explores ideas about interaction of legal systems generally (Morse, 1987), before turning to the specific theme of the thesis, that is the interaction of New Zealand law and *tikanga Māori* in relation to sustainable development. This section draws upon the material covered in the preceding parts of the thesis to suggest ways that Māori customary law could relate to the wider New Zealand legal system in the area of sustainable development. Principles are suggested in this section which I argue should frame the development of a resource management regime in Aotearoa/New Zealand that provides just recognition of Māori authority and effectively promotes sustainable development amongst Māori communities. These principles were drawn from *tikanga Māori*, sustainable development policies, and Treaty of Waitangi negotiation practices.

***Interdisciplinarity and kaupapa Māori research***
An interdisciplinary approach was necessary to incorporate aspects of the legal issues relating to the management of indigenous peoples' resources, the growing field of sustainable development, and to appropriately deal with issues relating to customary Māori law.

An interdisciplinary approach is also consistent with the Māori holistic conception of knowledge and *Kaupapa Māori* Research methodology. As a Māori researcher dealing with issues that affect Māori, it was important that I adopt a methodology that gave priority to Māori values, Māori concerns, and a Māori way of doing things.

The *pōwhiri* structure that was employed throughout the research project was part of a conscious strategy to organise the research in a way that was consistent with a Māori world-view. Most importantly, this approach allowed me to examine the conceptualisation of authority in Māori society as it relates to natural resources with a Māori worldview as the basis of this research.

## Bibliography


Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Bishop, R. (1996). *Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative research stories*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: The Dunmore Press.

Bishop, R. (1997). Māori people's concerns about research into their lives. *History Of Education Review, 26*(1), pp. 25–41.

Crengle, S. (1999). Māori primary care services: A paper prepared for the National Health Committee *(Discussion Papers On Primary Health Care)*. Wellington: National Advisory Committee Health And Disability.

Durie, E.T. (2002). Constitutionalising Māori. In G. Huscroft & H. Rishworth (Eds.), *Litigating rights: Perspectives from domestic and international law.* Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Durie, M.H. (1996). Characteristics of Māori health research, Hui whakapiripiri: *A hui to discuss strategic directions for Māori health research. Te Rōpū Rangahau Hauora A Eru Pōmare,* Wellington School Of Medicine.

Durie, M.H. (1998). *Te mana, te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Edwards, M. (2002). *Mihipeka: Call of an elder—Karanga a te kuia*. Wellington, New Zealand: Settle Roberts.

Jones, C.H. (2003). *Tino rangatiratanga and sustainable development: Principles for developing a just and effective resource management regime in Aotearoa/New Zealand.* Unpublished master's thesis, York University, Toronto, Canada.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Morse, B. (1987). Indigenous law and state legal systems: Conflict and compatibility. In B.W Morse & G.R.Woodman (Eds.), *Indigenous law and the state*. (pp. 101–120). Dordecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.R. v. Marshall 3 S.C.R. 456 (1999).

Salmond, A. (1975). *Hui: A study of Māori ceremonial gatherings*. Wellington, New Zealand: A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Smith, G. (1990). Research issues related to Māori education. Paper presented at the *NZARE Special Interests Conference*, Massey University. Reprinted in 1992, The issue of research and Māori, Research Unit For Māori Education, University of Auckland.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. Dunedin, New Zealand: University Of Otago Press.

Stokes, E. (1985). Māori research and development: A discussion paper prepared for the *Social Sciences Committee of the National Research Advisory Council*.

Tauroa, H., & Tauroa, P. (1986). *Te marae: A guide to customs and protocol*. Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.

Teariki, C., Spoonley, P., & Tomoana, N. (1992). *Te whakapakiri te mana tangata: The politics and process of research for Māori.* Department Of Sociology: Massey University.

Williams, J. (2000, August). He aha te tikanga Māori. Paper presented at *Mai i Te Ata Hapara Hui, Te Wānanga o Raukawa*, Ōtaki, New Zealand.


## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hongi* | traditional pressing of noses signifying the integration of the visiting group |
| *karanga* | calls of welcome and acknowledgement |
| *kaupapa Māori* | based on Māori philosophies and methodologies |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *pōwhiri* | Māori ceremonial welcome |
| *Te Ao Māori* | The Māori World |
| *tikanga Māori* | Māori customary practices |
| *tino rangatiratanga* | sovereignty |
| *waiata* | chant, song |
| *wero* | ritual challenge to determine whether the groups will meet as friend or foe |
| *whaikōrero* | formal speechmaking |
| *whānau* | family/families |
| *whanaungatanga* | kinship |

# Ngā wāhi tapu o Ngāti Hāmua: sacred sites of Ngāti Hāmua - paramount hapū of Rangitāne o Wairarapa

**Jason Kerehi**
Māori Policy Advisor
Greater Wellington.

**Dane Rīmene**
Manager, Research Unit
Rangitāne o Wairarapa Inc.

## Introduction

This paper relates the story of how one tribe's desire to record its history using a computer mapping tool enabled it to engage more effectively in local planning as well as use this information to educate a wider audience.

The use of a geographic information system (GIS) allowed the people of the tribe to view their information spatially to see the full extent of their (historical) tribal realm. The exercise also forced them to arrange their research geographically and chronologically, which has since been incorporated into Waitangi tribunal evidence, resources for local schools, websites on local history, and a soon to be published book on the tribal history. For the first time this tool has enabled them to illustrate their history from their own perspective.

A glossary of terms is provided at the back (Appendix 1) to assist you with some of the words used in this paper.

## Tribal History

***The History of the tribe***

Ngāti Hāmua is the paramount *hapū* (sub-tribe) of Rangitāne o Wairarapa *iwi* (tribe). The *rohe* (areas) or domain of the Ngāti Hāmua *hapū* centres around the Masterton district in the province of Wairarapa, 100km north of Wellington on the eastern coast, and stretches further north towards Pahiatua.

Rangitāne history can be traced back 25 generations to the arrival of Whatonga, the captain of the Kurahaupō *waka* (canoe) around 700 years ago. The descendants of Whatonga eventually settled most of the lower half of the North Island including Wellington where this conference is being held. Rangitāne was the grandson of

Whatonga
I
Tautoki
I
Rangitāne
I
Kopuparapara
I
Kūaopango
I
Uengarehupango
I
Te Hāmua

**Fig 1: Whakapapa of Hāmua**

Whatonga and became the eponymous ancestor of the Rangitāne tribe. Today, there are four *takiwā* (districts) or branches of this tribe based in the Manawatū, Tararua, Wairarapa and Wairau areas.

Four generations down from Rangitāne was born Te Hāmua, and it is from this ancestor that many descendants chose as the central figure from which they named their tribe, Ngāti Hāmua. Since then there have been many sub-*hapū* added but they all acknowledge the paramount status of Ngāti Hāmua. In essence, the story of Ngāti Hāmua is the story of Rangitāne o Wairarapa.

***The Establishment of the Rūnanga***
Rangitāne o Wairarapa Rūnanga was formed in 1989. Its purpose is to provide strategic direction for the members of the tribe in terms of cultural, social and economic growth and development. One of the *iwi* authority's main goals has been to collate, record and disseminate the tribal history to its members and to the wider community. This project forms part of that initiative.

***Rangitāne today***
Through the leadership of Rangitāne *kaumātua* (elders) and the dedication of the *rūnanga* (tribal authority) staff, Rangitāne has forged a strong relationship with its community and government agencies. It is a long-way into its Waitangi Tribunal claim and has contributed a wealth of research and knowledge to the tribunal reports available to the public. Rangitāne promotes itself clearly as *ahikāroa* (title to land by occupation) which means the tribe that has kept their home fires burning the longest, meaning that they are the original inhabitants of the Wairarapa and, more importantly, that they still exist as *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land).

## Why create a GIS database?

- ***To record cultural history***

In 1989 the Rangitāne o Wairarapa Rūnanga was set up to handle the tribal affairs on behalf of its descendants. Part of the tribal authority's duty was to research Rangitāne o Wairarapa's cultural history. Rangitāne *kaumātua,* Jim Rimene has undertaken a lifelong journey of research into the tribal knowledge of Rangitāne and Kurahaupō *waka* tribes. This knowledge covers centuries of genealogies, legends, stories, incantations and prayers. He is a respected elder in the Wairarapa and is the foremost expert on *tikanga Māori* (Māori customary practices) and *whakapapa* (genealogy) for the tribe. Since the early 1990s he has been joined in his task by his son Horipo who leads the Rangitāne research unit and more recently by other tribal researchers.

The need to record this history was given more impetus because it was in danger of being lost or had been wrongly interpreted. Over the years another tribe's history had been promoted so much so that the Rangitāne history was relegated or dismissed altogether. This in turn led to many descendants stating that they were not Rangitāne. It also meant that government departments were encouraged not to deal with the tribe. So part of the tribe's mission was to re-establish the correct history and to make this available to everyone. It took years of lobbying and providing the facts to restore their rightful status as *mana whenua* (trusteeship of the land).

- ***To help organise research and information***

The research unit within the tribal authority had amassed a wealth of knowledge. The information was not very well organised so this project offered an opportunity to achieve two aims. The first was to purge the information so that all the layers of information about each site could be combined to provide a comprehensive and more accurate account, i.e. story, extracts, photos, tribal association and genealogy of the people associated with that site. The second aim was to organise the information so that it was easily retrievable.

- ***To provide better response to development and changes in land-use pressures***

The greatest threats to *wāhi tapu* (burial ground; reserved ground) are new development (i.e. buildings) and changes in land use. Most sites are latent in that they are buried beneath the ground so any type of earthworks has the potential to damage or destroy sites. The research unit has the responsibility to ensure that no development or land use endangers or destroys tribal *wāhi tapu*. Through the Resource Management Act 1991, councils must consult with local *iwi* when any activity is proposed, more specifically they must:

Recognise and provide for the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, *wāhi tapu* sites, and other *taonga* (natural resources).

- as a matter of national importance;
- have particular regard to *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship); and
- take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Most councils send copies of resource consent applications to the *iwi* for their comments and concerns. The research unit is responsible for responding to these requests. The GIS project enables the tribe to have the same level of technology as the local authorities.

- ***To protect sacred sites***

The ultimate goal of the research unit is to protect these very special sites from being destroyed or abused. To Rangitāne, some of these sites retain their *mauri* (life principle) or spirit and are some of the only remaining connections to their past. Rangitāne believe that these sites are important historically for all New Zealanders not just Māori and not just the descendants of the tribe.

The first line of protection employed by the tribe has been developing a sound relationship and understanding with the landowners. Whilst researching sites for the database and in response to invitations from landowners to visit a site on application of resource consent, the tribe has been able to impart knowledge on the importance of particular sites on the owner's property. In every case the landowner has taken it upon themselves to fence off the site or relocate offal pits away from nearby burial sites.

## The Project

***Planning***

Joseph Potangaroa from the Rangitāne research unit and I worked together for several months planning the project and preparing a proposal to submit for funding. The first task was to find out who else had done this type of project beforehand. After weeks of searching no other projects could be found although Te Āti Awa had begun a similar exercise in Wellington at the same time. The *iwi* and council agreed to continue towards a proposal.

Rangitāne then had to assess what information they had, what was missing, how they intended to find the missing information and who would do it. They also needed to determine how many site visits were needed. The tribal area was quite large and extended beyond the regional council's boundaries. They decided to only map sites within the Masterton district boundary which was within the regional council's jurisdiction and the area where most Rangitāne/Ngāti Hāmua sites were believed to be.

***Equipment***

Greater Wellington—Technical Services Officer, Tim Watson, was instrumental in assessing the hardware and software requirements for the *iwi.* Tim looked at Rangitāne's current set up and worked out the upgrade needed to cope with the large amounts of information. Rangitāne also purchased a digital camera, scanner, memory stick and GPS locator.

The camera allowed the *iwi* to photograph every site visited and this could then be linked to the dot on the map. The scanner meant that the *iwi* could scan any documents relating to a site or an old photograph and this would then be added to the file or on the computer database. The memory stick offered more capacity without having to buy a new server and the GPS locator allowed them to record the co-ordinates on site via satellite readings.

***Costs***

The main cost for the project was staff time. Rangitāne had estimated that one full and one part-time position was required for the projects. Joseph took up the task full time and Dane Rimene, the manager of the research unit, was involved part of the time but continued his core duties responding to consent matters. Rangitāne also had the expertise of their elders to draw on and the researchers were often accompanied on site visits by one or two.

Rangitāne had to purchase an Arcview GIS licence from suppliers Eagle Technology. Arcview is the GIS programme that most GIS practitioners use including Greater Wellington. Although there was an

updated version available (Arcview 8.1), Tim recommended that the *iwi* purchase Arcview 3.2 as it gave them all the tools to do what they wanted to do, it was well tested and most importantly had a one-off cost. There are other systems available but Arcview is that which is most widely used in New Zealand and this meant that the *iwi* would be technically compatible with both Greater Wellington and Masterton District Council.

Eagle Technology offer back-up services at a premium price so Tim was able to offer his services at the council's set rate, thus saving money for the *iwi* and, ultimately, the ratepayer. Other expenses included stationery and transport costs for site visits.

***Proposal and contract***
Rangitāne's proposal covered the following areas:

- Timeframe
- Costs
- Obligations
- Target dates
- Outcomes

These areas were reflected in the contract. Rangitāne agreed to regular monthly payments for the contract but 25 per cent of the total project cost was withheld as a final payment. This was done for two reasons. The first was to provide an incentive for a successful finish to the project and the second was to ensure that there was a healthy amount of money for the *iwi* after all the work was done to do something they wanted.

The wording of the proposal and contract were important and contributed significantly to the successful outcome. If you would like more information on the proposal and/or contract please contact me or Dane Rimene. Contact details are provided at the end of this paper.

***Researching***
Rangitāne had undertaken a lot of research prior to the start of the project that enabled them to locate more than 100 sites quite quickly and with a degree of accuracy. These were sites that they knew quite well or they were sites that were pretty obvious to anyone they included monuments, the *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) and *urupā* (burial grounds) around the district. The first 100 sites were mapped onto the GIS programme within the first three weeks. After this the sites became harder to pinpoint and the research team were forced to do a bit of investigating and inquiring with landowners. They also needed to go back over the Māori Land Court minute books to see if there were any clues given on a particular site.

***Recording***
Although Rangitāne had a GPS locator on hand they did not use it to record the sites. Instead they mapped the sites using the GIS layer and marking the points using the GIS aerial photo layers and topographic maps. The research unit felt that this was accurate enough to create an alert layer. They did manage to take a digital photograph of each site and, where possible, they scanned old letters and photos given to them by the farmers or whānau members.

Joseph Potangaroa, the lead researcher on the team had already completed several oral interviews with elders for other unrelated projects and utilised the recording of conversations with elders, *whānau* (families) or farmers as another source of information for this project. This data fed into a book that Joseph began to write on the history of Hāmua that is discussed later on.

The research unit combined all the hard copy evidence—photos, transcripts of interviews and photocopies of quotes—for each site and put it in a serial filing sequence that matched the unique ID for each site. They understood that they were being given the opportunity to record this data for prosperity (for the tribe) and that they should only do it once so that their descendants wouldn't have to repeat the process.

***Reporting back***
A key part of the process was the regular reporting back to Greater Wellington during the project. The council was keen that Rangitāne had support all the way through the project and that if anything did go

wrong then there would be an opportunity to fix it before the problem grew and became a greater risk to the project.

Reporting was done on a monthly basis. Each report would set out the goals achieved for the month, expenditure updates, and any contingencies such as sickness that the unit had to contend with. In return the council provided feedback to Rangitāne on each report and amended targets or offered extra help to ensure things remained on track. This approach meant that both parties were engaged in the project fully and there was less room for slippage.

The final part of the project was for Rangitāne to provide a final report on the entire project. This was requested by council because it was a pilot project and other *iwi* in the region had indicated that they wanted to do something similar.

## Part II—Extending the Project

At the end of the first project Rangitāne found that they had recorded fewer than 150 sites, which was well below their intended target of 500. It was agreed that what was achieved was significant in itself and that the original target was never achievable but there were still plenty of areas left to investigate and more leads to follow.

Rangitāne approached Greater Wellington again with a new proposal to extend their investigation to include Carterton and South Wairarapa districts and to widen their investigation in the Masterton district. They also added two new components to the project that the council felt was worthwhile.

The first additional component was to pull together all of their research to write a report on the history of Rangitāne and Ngāti Hāmua. Secondly, they wanted to put together a series of environmental education sheets for public use. The resource would be used in schools around the district as well as become available for the wider community explaining Māori concepts, more particularly a Rangitāne perspective on the environment. The sheets would each take a different topic such as the ocean, waterways, flora and fauna, and mountains and explain what each means to Rangitāne people. Where they could, they were to add legends or anecdotes specific to the tribe and to Wairarapa.

The proposal was accepted and a second year was added to the project. At the end of this project 250 sites were recorded in total for the entire Wairarapa with the majority focused in the Masterton district reflecting the traditional stronghold of Rangitāne.

## The challenges and solutions

This section highlights the particular challenge confronted and how we dealt with them or what outstanding issues there were.

***Challenge 1: 'Getting the elders on side'***
The first challenge was to ensure that the *kaumātua* supported the project. The project could not proceed without their blessing. Their main concerns were that they did not trust the council to hold tribal knowledge as there had been animosity in the past. Secondly they were concerned about how they would retain the ownership of this information. Finally, they were unsure about the technology and how it would represent their *kōrero* (narratives) and how secure this would be. The elders of the tribe also enforce the *tikanga* (customary practices). They would need to ensure that this new technology and the processes put in around it catered for these secrets in a discrete manner.

Traditionally, it was the elders of the tribe who retained the knowledge. More than that, it was usually only select elite that were chosen as the 'keepers of knowledge'. It was common for one person, usually a child, to be selected by the elders as a future holder of the tribal secrets. These included locations of significant *wāhi tapu* or sacred sites, *whakapapa* or genealogy, and *karakia* (prayer) or *mōteatea* (chants). The prospective candidates would go through a series of initiations until one was chosen as the recipient of knowledge. Once chosen, they would be kept close to the elders and schooled and tested. Often the elders would speak long into the night whilst the child slept. The following day they would recite *karakia* with the child, leaving out certain passages to see whether the child had picked it up.

***Solution 1: 'Getting the elders on side'***
We arranged for a special presentation of the GIS programme to the *kaumātua* and an opportunity to discuss the project. We produced a mock-up map of a well known local area. We were able to show the extent of the mapping programme with places familiar to them. We agreed that a computer-mapping system was useful and was something that could bring lots of benefits to Rangitāne such as ordering information, illustrating their history (maps) and providing a tool for responding to resource consents. We agreed that we would continue to report back to the *kaumātua* as the project progressed.

***Challenge 2: 'Keeping a secret a secret'***
There were several issues surrounding this challenge. The first revolved around district councils stating that "they could only protect a site if they know about it', but there were concerns about information appearing in district plans as schedules or as 'dots on a map'. The *iwi* were equally untrusting of the use of silent files employed by some councils including Greater Wellington. The reason for this is that any information held by a local authority can be obtained by any person through the Official Information Act, once again potentially risking the secrecy of the information.

The second issue was a sense of redundancy. The *iwi* were concerned that if they gave all their information to the council then they were afraid that the council would not consult them anymore. Furthermore, the *iwi* saw this information as intellectual property after all the research and effort they had put in and they wanted to ensure that the rights remained with Rangitāne.

The final issue concerned the most secret sites. The Rangitāne *kaumātua* was hesitant about revealing details on some of the more highly sensitive sites. He had made a promise that he would not disclose information on these sites, even to his closest family members. He had been entrusted with the location of these sites and it was his responsibility to do something only when it was really necessary to do so, as in when a site was at threat from development or a change in land use.

He was worried that he would have to include this information as part of the project and hence renege on his promise. These sites were ones which could be potentially fatal to anyone who interfered with them and it was knowledge best kept to the bare minimum.

***Solution 2: 'Keeping a secret a secret'***
Because there was scepticism about publishing of *wāhi tapu* in the district plans the *iwi* decided to include only known sites in the district plan first of all to 'test the water'. The *iwi* gave the regional council and district council the entire layer as a GIS layer so that they could be alerted on all consents. This 'alert layer' would remain in-house and not be available to the public. Furthermore, the information was given to the council electronically and contained only the GPS co-ordinates and an identifying number so any public requests through the Official Information Act for this info would reveal little about the site apart from its general location.

This methodology also helped to resolve the second issue, whereby all of the 'useful' information was retained by the *iwi*, thereby ensuring the tribe's value in the consent process.

The issue of restricting information on the secret sites was solved by telling the *kaumātua* to keep this information to himself and to manage them how they had done for generations. Thus he would be able to keep his promise and not compromise his integrity. He was well aware of the risk that by not revealing these sites they would not be afforded the same protection but the need for silence outweighed the need to inform. Once again it was suggested that he observe how the councils performed and if at a later stage he wanted to include these sites he could.

***Challenge 3: 'The protocols'***
After agreeing that a database was a positive step forward and that the *iwi* would engage in an exchange of information it was decided that both parties would set about drafting protocols that determined how council would use the information and what obligations there were for *iwi.* This was a crucial step in the process as the essential problem was how the *iwi* could disclose information whilst retaining the secrecy and sensitivity of the information.

The protocols had to meet two objectives. The first was to ensure that Rangitāne would upgrade the database each year after the close of the project. The second objective was to determine how Greater Wellington would use the database to inform the *iwi* of related consents.

Greater Wellington has a staff in excess of 500 persons and the tribe was keen that only those people vital to the resource consent process were given access to the database.

***Solution 3: The protocols***
The protocols are included as an appendix to this report (Appendix 3) but there are some parts that are noteworthy.

Rangitāne were responsible for authenticating and vetting all sites before they were transferred to the council, thus putting the onus back on the tribe to ensure that nothing was passed over that shouldn't be. They agreed to update the sites on an annual basis. To date this has resulted in 40 additional sites being added to the database.

There are provisions in the protocol for a limited number of staff to access the database. Only six staff were given access to the database including the Māori Policy Advisor, one IT staff member, two planning and two consents staff. This was the least number of positions that would effectively capture any consent that came through the council. The IT staff had to access the database to load, maintain and upgrade the information and the Māori Policy Advisor was a back up if anyone was absent.

The council agreed to check every Resource Consent that it processed against the GIS layer. If a site was found 'on or nearby' a site then the checking officer would note the unique ID number on the consent and the consent or planning officer processing the consent would contact the *iwi.* It was then up to the *iwi* to follow up with the developer or applicant if they had any concerns.

***Challenge 4: Once were landowners—'the new kaitiaki'***
The next challenge was getting access to sites that were on private property. Over the last 150 years over 90 per cent of the total Wairarapa area has been alienated from Māori ownership and along with loss of ownership has been a loss of traditional knowledge about these areas.

In recent years, New Zealand's media have been scathing in their treatment of Māori claims about the existence of *wāhi tapu* and Māori spiritual beliefs in defiance of development, e.g., Ngāwhā Prison development in the Far North. Politicians have been quick to jump on the bandwagon claiming that it is all 'tribal mumbo jumbo' and an attempt by Māori to land-grab. These events came about just as Rangitāne had begun to visit landowners and led to several visits being cancelled, although they were all resumed once the issue had settled.

Another consideration that had not been forecasted was the perception of landowners who were worried if the researchers came across sites that had been altered or destroyed that there would be some comeback on them by either the *iwi* or Historic Places Trust. The final consideration and the most important was that of upholding private property rights.

***Solution 4: Once were landowners—'the new kaitiaki'***
The Rangitāne researchers identified the properties which they believed contained significant Ngāti Hāmua and Rangitāne sites and then began to contact each owner by phone. Their approach was professional, courteous and non-threatening. They acknowledged the owner's property rights and ensured them that they were only interested in the historical aspect. They were welcomed openly and weren't refused any approach.

The researchers were hesitant at first but were amazed at the positive response by the landowners. Almost every farmer knew exactly where the researchers were talking about as they work the land each day. Some owners showed them artefacts found on their properties either by themselves or their grandfathers. One man even pulled out early photographs of a *marae* that was pulled down in the early 20$^{th}$ Century that was previously unknown. It became evident that a lot of landowners welcomed the opportunity to learn about the Māori history of their properties and were proud to look after this significant heritage. They were the new *kaitiaki* (guardians) and the relationship forged with the *rūnanga* was a positive for all concerned.

The site visits provided an important opportunity for the *iwi* in that on every visit they were accompanied by a *matakite* (seer, medium) who was able to identify any *wāhi tapu*. If there was anything that needed to be taken care of spiritually, then this was done on site or later with the aid of a *tohunga* (expert). On the occasions where a *wāhi tapu* area was located, a discussion with the landowner took place and an agreement to fence the area or to plant it in native trees was reached.

This became the primary protection mechanism for the sites and an understanding that at least that particular landowner would undertake to care for the site. There remained a need to ensure that subsequent owners would know of and respect these sites and that is where the GIS database remains an important tool.

***Challenge 5: Ranking sites—'a cultural dilemma'***
When the project was first being discussed there was a suggestion that a continuum be developed to establish the level of sensitivity for each site. This measure extended from high sensitivity for those most sacred sites or those sites in areas that were under immediate pressure from development to low sensitivity for sites that were well known and not at risk of development, such as a monument in the town park that had protection through the council plan.

There were several presumptions made at this early stage. The first was that these sites would eventually end up in the district plan and the second was that there would be a buffer zone system employed that given the greater sensitivity then a bigger buffer would surround it.

There was also the dilemma of ranking from a cultural perspective as opposed to a more scientific or academic view. To an archaeologist, a midden, for example, is an important source of historical information that is able to reveal changes in climate, population and diet over a series of time in relation to those that used it. To Māori, however, it is an important remnant of our history but, ultimately, it is just a rubbish pit. The most important sites to Rangitāne and most other *iwi*, are those that pertain to life and death, e.g., a burial site or a place where the afterbirth is buried. Therefore, a burial site is hugely significant to the Māori and those of chiefly lineage even more so. The dilemma then is whose measure of importance are you imposing on this database?

***Solution 5: Ranking sites—'a cultural dilemma'***
The ranking issue was debated for a long time and eventually it was determined by the researchers that a ranking system was just too hard to quantify for this project. The researchers realised that the issue of ranking was one in which they were not prepared to commit themselves as there were too many variables to consider. An example of this dilemma follows. One particular site was noted as a meeting place where two old Māori trails met just north of Masterton Township. The site is marked by the remains of fire pit. Under normal circumstances a fire pit would be afforded little significance. The *tohunga* found that this was a special place because it was where the chiefs of the Wairarapa, Manawatū, Horowhenua and Heretaunga would meet, thereby raising its significance considerably.

It was agreed to not have a 'buffer zone' (i.e. a 50m or 100m exclusion zone). Instead, if a consent activity was anywhere in the vicinity of a recorded site then the *iwi* were notified. Council staff understood that a recorded site was often part of a larger *pā* (a settlement or village) or community complex and that it was better to act on the side of caution. The *iwi* would determine if they needed to enquire further with the landowner.

Rangitāne have included a portion of their sites into the draft Combined Wairarapa District Plan, which is due to be notified in October 2005. Rangitāne remain wary about how the authorities will deal with protection of their sites in the planning process. The council has still been given the entire database as a GIS layer to capture any activities but the subset is just a test for the plan.

***Challenge 6: 'Using the metaphysical to create the physical'***
The research unit, as part of their identification process, used the skills of *matakite* and *tohunga* or mediums to check every site on the database. Sites that involve metaphysical elements are perhaps the most important of all to the tribe as there is a danger that if the site is abused the perpetrator can end up with injuries, illness or even death. It is for these very reasons that the *iwi* are reluctant to reveal the whereabouts of particular sites.

The challenge for the tribe is having to prove their cultural and spiritual beliefs to a sceptical audience. This audience could include landowners, developers, government agencies, the environment court and the wider community. There is also the challenge of proving something that has little or no physical evidence. Similarly, Greater Wellington was challenged with accepting something that would be very hard to prove.

***Solution 6: 'Using the metaphysical to create the physical'***
The identification of metaphysical sites on a GIS layer provided a form of physical existence for these sites. For the first time the tribe had a tangible reference for these sites with no physical remnant. Because there was no distinction on the GIS layer between a physical and metaphysical site, anyone that viewed the layer presumed that something significant was there.

In accordance with provisions in the Resource Management Act, Greater Wellington accepted the information of every site as being a site of significance to the *iwi.* The council is not required to advocate for the sites or to justify their existence—that remains the role of the tribe. Rangitāne is well aware that all the sites are open to challenge from developers and landowners but the research for the GIS project has provided more layers of authenticity for their sites and gives them more weight if confronted.

## Ā muri ake nei - the future

***Future challenges***
What does the future hold for Rangitāne as a result of this project? This is just the beginning for Rangitāne and it appears that the identification and recording phase of the project was the easy part. The challenge now is for the *iwi* and councils to work together to ensure that these special places are protected. Development pressure will continue to threaten sites and society is seeing the destruction of heritage sites all over the world in the name of progress.

***Protection of sites through the planning process***
Rangitāne has a lot of work to do in terms of understanding better the planning process and ensuring that councils adequately care for *wāhi tapu* in district plans. There may still be a need for Rangitāne to assess each site and provide the council with a measure of its significance so that the right planning tool is assigned to protect it.

***Publications: "History of Hāmua"***
Rangitāne plan to publish a book in early 2006 based on the research for this project. The book tells the history o Rangitāne and Ngāti Hāmua. It covers an area from Apiti (Manawatū Gorge) in the north to Kawakawa (Palliser Bay) in the south Wairarapa.

***Rebuilding tribal connections and status in the community***
What began as an exercise to use modern technology to better record tribal information ended up meaning a whole lot more to Rangitāne people and the local community. Years of misinformation and lack of information on the tribe contributed to a lot of Rangitāne people not knowing that they were Rangitāne. The resources that are generated from the research will help to educate Rangitāne people and the wider community to understand their 700 plus years of association to the land. This comes at a time where the local Wairarapa towns of Masterton and Greytown celebrate their sesquicentennials since the first Europeans arrived in 1854.

## An invitation

If you would like to know more about what we did, please contact me at Greater Wellington or Dane Rīmene at Rangitāne.

Jason Kerehi—Māori Policy Advisor
Greater Wellington
PO Box 41,
Masterton
jason.kerehi@gw.govt.nz

Dane Rīmene—Manager—Research Unit
Rangitāne o Wairarapa Inc
PO Box 354
Masterton
row.dane@xtra.co.nz

## Appendices

*Appendix 1: Glossary of terminology*

**GIS:** Geographic Information System—a computer software system, with which spatial information (e.g. maps) can be captured, stored, analysed, displayed and retrieved. This uses spatial information that is overlaid on topographic maps or aerial photographs to illustrate where certain objects are in relation to physical markers.

**GPS:** Global Positioning System—a tool that helps pinpoint one's location.

**Local Territorial Authorities:** statutory bodies responsible for civic amenities in our community - equivalent to Shire Councils, District Councils.

**Resource Management:** in this context is the act of ensuring that natural resources are managed according to legislation and that the activities do not contravene the principles of *tikanga Māori* (beliefs or practices of the Māori people).

**Waitangi Tribunal:** the Waitangi Tribunal was established in 1975 by the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. The Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry charged with making recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to actions or omissions of the Crown, which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi.

*Appendix 2: Attribute Table for the GIS layer*

The following is a list of the site attribute fields for each site that the tribe gathered information for:

**Unique ID:** A unique identification/reference number for each site.

**Site co-ordinates:** gives an easting/northing for each site (GPS coordinates). Once all the coordinates are plotted this gives us the site layer that is overlaid on a map showing where the sites are.

**Site name:** a name was given for each site where that information was known, e.g., Te Oreore Marae.

**Site type:** what type of site it is, e.g., burial site, *pā* site, monument, *urupā*.

**Location:** where the site is by road name or farm name, e.g., Te Oreore-Bideford Road, Masterton.

**Description:** of what the site is, e.g., a Ngāti Hāmua marae.

**Link:** every site has a digital photograph on record that can be accessed through the GIS program by clicking on a link button and then the dot on the map. This field enables the photo to be linked to the dot.

**Source:** where the site information was obtained from. In most cases it was through the Ngāti Hāmua *kaumātua* but sometimes it was a landowner or a tribal member.

**District:** the database covered three districts (shires)—Masterton, Carterton and South Wairarapa—this field just identifies which district the site was in.

**District Plan:** states whether or not the site has been put into the district plan or not.

*Appendix 3: Protocols*

Ngāti Hāmua Sites of Significance Protocol

**1.0 Parties to the Protocol—Hāmua Sites of Significance Database**

- Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated; and
- Wellington Regional Council (Planning and Resources Department and Technical Services section).

Greater Wellington: The Regional Council (Greater Wellington) is the promotional name of Wellington Regional Council, which will be the title referred to in the remainder of this protocol.

**2.0 Objective**

That Rangitāne o Wairarapa provides Greater Wellington with an updated database of sites significant to Hāmua; and

That Greater Wellington informs Rangitāne o Wairarapa of consent applications near to those sites.

**3.0 Desired outcomes**

1. That Rangitāne o Wairarapa provide Greater Wellington with an updated and accurate record of sites;
2. That Greater Wellington loads these sites onto their Geographic Information System as an alert layer;
3. Greater Wellington ensures that this data is restricted to authorised personnel only;
4. That Rangitāne o Wairarapa are aware of any consent application (not including controlled activities) that are on or near a recorded Hāmua site of significance and have the opportunity to communicate their concerns with the applicant and/or relevant council;
5. Improved communication between applicants, district councils, Rangitāne o Wairarapa and Greater Wellington with regard to the consents process;
6. Increased recognition and protection of Hāmua sites of significance;
7. Increased awareness of *wāhi tapu* sites amongst landowners and councils;
8. Increased awareness of what activities can lead to adverse impacts on *wāhi tapu*;
9. That sensitive information is retained by the Iwi Authority; and
10. That any amendment to this protocol is agreed to by both parties.

**4.0 Key activities and methods**

Greater Wellington will undertake the following:

1. Ensure that a designated staff member from Technical Services is responsible for downloading, transferring and upgrading of data from Rangitāne o Wairarapa;
2. Ensure that designated staff, who have access to the Hāmua sites of significance database, receive adequate training, knowledge and understanding of the potentially sensitive nature of this data;
3. Instigate a 12-month trial of the use of this database with regard to the consents process. After which time, they will undertake a joint review with Rangitāne o Wairarapa;
4. The Section Leader of Consents and Compliance will notify Rangitāne of any consent1 that is on or near a recorded Hāmua site of significance and, where appropriate, advise the applicant or relevant council to contact Rangitāne for further information;
5. The Section Leader of Policy and Planning will notify Rangitāne of any proposal that is on or near a recorded Hāmua site of significance and, where appropriate, advise the applicant or relevant council to contact Rangitāne for further information;
6. Notify Rangitāne of any changes in personnel authorised to access the Hāmua Sites of Significance Database;
7. Restrict access of the Hāmua Sites of Significance Database to the following positions within the councils Wairarapa Division:
   - Manager—Planning and Resources;

[1] This does not include bore consent applications, as was agreed to when re-signing the consents contracts for 2002/03 financial year

- Section Leader—Policy and Planning;
- Māori Policy Advisor—Policy and Planning;
- Section Leader—Consents;
- Administration Assistant—Consents; and
- GIS Technical Officer—Technical Services

Rangitāne o Wairarapa will undertake the following:

1. Develop a process for the identification and verification of Hāmua sites of significance. Add verified sites to the database;
2. Be responsible for the selection and approval of sites that are deemed appropriate for transfer to Greater Wellington;
3. Provide Greater Wellington with an electronic update of sites every 12 months;
4. Provide Greater Wellington with a list of persons who can authenticate sites on behalf of Rangitāne o Wairarapa (designated authorities);
5. Notify Greater Wellington if those designated authorities change; and
6. Keeps authenticated and dated hard copies of all sites transferred to Greater Wellington and provide council with access to those records on request.

## 5.0 Participation

This protocol should be read in conjunction with the Charter of Understanding (July 2000). The charter covers issues such as:

- Acting in good faith
- Principles for the relationship between the *Iwi* and council
- Recommendations on conflict resolution

This protocol should also take into consideration the terms of the Data Sharing Agreement that allows the use of council data by the *iwi.*

## 6.0 Review

There will be a joint initial review 12 months from the signing of the protocol. Subsequent reviews will be determined by the parties to the protocol.

***Appendix 4: Glossary***

| | |
|---|---|
| *ahikāroa* | title to land by occupation |
| *hapū* | sub-tribe |
| *iwi* | tribe |
| *kaitiaki* | guardian |
| *kaitiakitanga* | the act of guardianship |
| *karakia* | prayer |
| *kaumātua* | elder(s) |
| *kōrero* | narratives |
| *mana whenua* | trusteeship of land |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *matakite* | seer, medium |
| *mauri* | life principle |
| *mōteatea* | chants |
| *pā* | settlement or village |
| *rohe* | area(s) |
| *rūnanga* | iwi authority |
| *takiwā* | district(s) or branch(es) |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people of the land |
| *taonga* | natural resources |
| *tikanga* | customary practices |
| *tikanga Māori* | Māori customary practices |
| *tohunga* | expert |
| *urupā* | burial ground(s) |
| *wāhi tapu* | burial ground; reserved ground |
| *waka* | canoe |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |
| *whānau* | family/families |

# Dual naming: recognising landscape identities within the constraints of government and research guidelines

**Laura Kostanski and Ian Clark**
School of Business, University of Ballarat, Australia

This is a paper based on a first-interaction experience with indigenous issues in Victoria. It is intended as an explanation of the problems that an early-career researcher can face when leaving the security of the university for the first time and meeting the 'real world'. As such, it raises more questions than answers. The majority of the material for this presentation has been taken from the Midlands State Forest Name Review, a report commissioned by the Victorian Department of Sustainability and Environment: Melbourne, February 2005 (Clark and Kostanski, unpublished).

Since the time of European exploration of Australia, the topography of the continent has been mapped from a colonial cartographic perspective. Colonial government guidelines have 'controlled' the knowledge base of understanding of the landscape for non-indigenous Australians. This perspective has led to a colonially tainted sense of place for non-indigenous (and some indigenous) Australians. Such Eurocentric focused governance and management of the development of our understanding of the landscape was strongly exemplified during a recent six-month review of State forest names in Victoria.

By the beginning of 2004, over 90 per cent of State forests in Victoria did not have officially registered names in the Australian Gazetteer. Thus, the Victorian Department of Sustainability and Environment (DSE) employed the researchers to undertake a pilot study program investigating different methods for officially naming the State forests in the Midlands region of Victoria. The authors were assisted in this process by a steering committee which had representatives from DSE, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV) and the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages (VACL). This pilot study program focused on producing a best practice model for naming State forest areas, which would then be utilised for all State forests across Victoria.

It was understood by the researchers that place names were markers of national, regional, local and personal identity, and as such, part of the State forest review concentrated on recognising all the various historical and contemporary identities apparent in the Midlands region. This attempt at recognising historical and contemporary associations with the State forest areas proved to be a challenge. Difficulties arose in multiple areas of the review process. It is important to take a moment to reflect upon the processes of place naming before discussion of the current project can begin. We must ask, 'Why do we name?', and 'How do we name?' before we can understand what the problems encountered with naming and changing names are.

## What are toponyms, and why do we use them?

Toponyms are names for places. They are intended to act as signifiers of geographical elements within the landscape. The current literature on place names, such as that produced by Claude Levi-Strauss, indicates that places are named spaces.[1] Basically, this means that the landscape is comprised of elements of spaces, areas which are not understood as containing any subjective meaning. When these spaces become places, through a process of attaching meaning to the landscape areas, humans attach names to the places to distinguish them from all others.

Place names can be both official and unofficial. Unofficial names are those which are not recognised by official government procedures. These might include names that indigenous groups use on a basis whereby only certain members of the group can know the name, and therefore they do not share this name with others. So, while the name is official for these groups, it remains unofficial for the government. The use of official place names is governed by international, national and local bodies in most countries of the world. In Australia, where this research was undertaken, the regulation of place names is undertaken by the Registrars of Geographic Names in each state, who are informed by the

[1] Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). p. 168.

Committee of Geographical Names in Australasia (CGNA). In turn, this committee is informed by United Nations protocols from the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN).

The United Nations states that place names are important because place names can identify and reflect culture, heritage and landscape. Correct use of accurate place names can provide benefits to local, national and international communities engaged in: trade and commerce; population censuses and national statistics; property rights and cadastre; urban and regional planning; environmental management, sustainable development and conservation; natural disaster relief, emergency preparedness and receipt of aid; security strategy and peace-keeping operations; search and rescue operations; map and atlas production; automatic navigation; tourism; and communications including postal and news services.[2]

In the State of Victoria, the governance and recording of place names is controlled by the Registrar of Geographic Names, who works within the Victorian Department of Sustainability and Environment (DSE). In a recent policy document, published in October 1994, the Registrar acknowledged that the naming of places and geographic features is a very human activity, springing in the first instance from a need to know and relate to landscape. The mass movements of peoples in previous centuries, and nostalgia for home places, have uniquely marked the geography and history of the landscape.

The names given to features play a significant role in orientation, communication, vocabulary, and cultural and spiritual values, and as a vehicle for the transmission of history. There are two main areas in which the community as a whole has an interest in the naming of places:

- Ensuring the capacity to unambiguously identify and locate geographical entities and places, as an essential reference system for national security and public safety, services, infrastructure and public administration.
- Ensuring that the valuable record of the State's place names, with its variety of sources reflecting early exploration and unique patterns of settlement, is preserved and accessible.[3]

Thus, it can be seen that place names are significant landscape symbols of cultural heritage. The identity of places, and indeed of populations, can be attached to toponyms, so it is important for researchers to consider all of the histories associated with place names when undertaking research. Indeed, this method of recognising place names histories is regulated in Victorian government policy.

## How do we name?

Currently in Australia the use of place names is regulated by National and State government guidelines. There are various regulations covering the application of European and indigenous names to the landscape, including not naming places after companies or living people, recognising indigenous heritage areas, not duplicating names in geographical areas, etc. The regulations form part of the Victorian Registrar of Geographic Names policy on place names, and their intention is to regulate the use of place names so that cultural history in Victoria is not negatively affected by poor place-naming processes. These regulations will be discussed in more detail later, both in relation to the State forest project and in some of the conflicts that arose in applying official documentation in an on-the-ground consultative process.

## The Midlands State Forest Name Review

In early 2004 the Forestry division of the Victorian Department of Sustainability and Environment (DSE) became aware that the boundaries and place names of many State forests in Victoria were inadequately defined. The purpose of the State Forest Naming Review was to address the current issues of poorly defined boundaries and lack of toponyms in the State Forest system, and provide solutions to this situation. Thus, the Victorian Department of Sustainability and Environment contracted the authors

[2] United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, "Consistent Use of Place Names," (New York: United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names, 1999). p. 1.
[3] Department of Sustainability and Environment, "Guidelines for Geographic Names," (Melbourne: Department of Sustainability and Environment, 2004). Overview, p. 3.

at the University of Ballarat to undertake a pilot study program investigating different methods for officially naming the State forests in the Midlands Region of Victoria. The pilot study program focused on producing a best practice model for naming State forest areas, which would then be utilised for all State forests across Victoria.

The Midlands region is located approximately 1–2 hours west of Melbourne, in the state of Victoria, Australia. The pilot study focused its attention on three areas of State forest in the Midlands region due to their ability to represent best the issues faced in other areas of Victorian State Forest, and their proximity to the University of Ballarat. These areas were:

- Beaufort and the State Forests of Mt. Cole, Mt. Lonarch, Ben Major, Waterloo, Musical Gully, Camp Hill, Trawalla and Andrews. This area was chosen due to the State forests being disparately located and relatively small in scale. Also, this area contained not only State forests that adjoined other public land, but also State forests which were isolated. Furthermore, these forests surrounded the township of Beaufort, which provided the opportunity of interviewing users from the local community.

- Daylesford and the Wombat State Forest. This area was chosen due to the large scale of the Wombat State Forest. This forest had multiple access roads, and was located mainly in four separate areas. These areas were only attached by access through other public land, and thus the boundaries were unclear at the ground level. This forest allowed for the opportunity to gauge community reactions to the renaming of the forest sections.

- Linton and Scarsdale and the State Forests of Linton, Mt. Erip and Enfield. This area was chosen because the forests adjoined other public land and were also scattered. In addition, because the forests surrounded the townships of Linton and Scarsdale, with possibly little tourism attracted to these forests, this area was thought to provide an excellent case study of community based issues.

It was understood by the researchers that place names were markers of national, regional, local and personal identity, and as such, part of the State Forest Review concentrated on recognising all the various historical and contemporary identities apparent in the Midlands region. These identities centred around the local communities and the indigenous custodians. It was understood that whilst names were not officially in use for the State forest areas, there would nonetheless be unofficial names in use by the local communities, and also historical and contemporary names in use by local indigenous groups. This process was also informed by the outcomes of a renaming project undertaken by the Victorian Government in the early 1990s in the Grampians National Park. [4]

## Grampians National Park

In the early 1990s there was an effort from the incumbent state government to reinstate the indigenous names of significant sites and features within the Grampians National Park in Victoria. During the process of researching the indigenous place names for the Grampians area, news of the research began to reach the local indigenous and non-indigenous community. The indigenous groups had not been consulted about this research prior to the government commissioning the researchers, and when they found out about the project they asked the government to reinstate the indigenous names and remove existing European names. In this case ‘Gariwerd’ was proposed to replace ‘Grampians’. This proposal invoked a strong reaction from the local non-indigenous community, who protested by stating, among other things, that ‘changing the name would remove our history’.[5] The place name ‘Grampians’ had provided the locals with a vocabulary for defining their distinct geography, and they were not willing to part with this part of their identity. Indigenous acceptance of dual-naming was announced relatively late in the public discussions and by that time local non-indigenous resistance to name changing, including the adoption of dual-naming, was intense and inflexible.

[4] Ian D Clark and Lionel Harradine, "The Restoration of Jardwadjali and Djab Wurrung Names for Rock Art Sites and Landscape Features in and around the Grampians National Park," (Melbourne: Koorie Tourism Unit, 1990).
[5] Tony Birch, "Nothing Has Changed: The 'Making' and 'Unmaking' of Koori Culture," *Meanjin* 51, no. 2 (1992).p. 232.

One of the main criticisms of the Grampians (Gariwerd) debate was that the indigenous and non-indigenous locals felt 'left out' of the place name decision-making process, and thus were angered at what they perceived to be an attack on their identities. An understanding of this psychological process is offered by cultural geographers working in the field of place attachment.

Place attachment is described generally as 'the bonding of people to places',[6] or the 'emotional link formed by an individual to a physical site that has been given meaning through interaction'.[7] Understanding of the community reactions to the Gariwerd debate can be explained by the definition of place attachment being a 'framework for both individual and communal aspects of identity, and has both stabilising and dynamic features'.[8] Thus, in a world where place attachment gives a *raison d'être* for local community identity, the perception that attempts are being made to change the name of that place, or the symbol of that identity, will undoubtedly threaten local residents, especially if that change is perceived to be coming from government authorities.

The history of the Gariwerd events deeply influenced the Midlands State Forest Name Review process. To avoid the possibility of adverse local resident and indigenous community reaction to the State forest name review, there was strong motivation to involve the groups from the outset of the review process. It was decided to ask the local residents about the unofficial names they used for the State forest areas, in an effort to make these names the official ones.

To be able to consider the levels of local resident attachments to names, and comply with the Registrar's place names guidelines, it was imperative that there be two rounds of community consultations for the pilot study. The first round needed to be organised so that the residents could inform the steering committee as to which unofficial names they used for the State forest areas, and the levels of attachment to these names could be measured. This was done by convening resident consultations, wherein the attendees were informed of the project, given a questionnaire to complete, and then a presentation was given on government guidelines and the indigenous history in the areas.

The method of mental mapping used in this review involved producing A3 maps which had the State forest areas outlined with roads and towns visible. The participants were asked to write on the map the names they considered to be official/unofficial, and to highlight any areas of the map that they believed were not State forest. The resulting compiled map material could then be used as an information source for State forest official names.

The second round of consultations were organised so that the Steering Committee could represent to the residents the information gathered from Round One and provide information on the names being considered for official adoption. This second round of consultation allowed the residents to give final feedback on the naming processes, and provided them with an opportunity to be involved in the naming of their State forests throughout the entire review period.

Outside of these resident consultations, meetings were held with local indigenous groups as to the processes they would like to see implemented with the project. It was part of the project outline that the indigenous groups be contacted and consulted in order to ensure that the indigenous heritage of the State forest areas was considered as part of the naming process along with the non-indigenous heritage. This process of indigenous consultations was not entirely straight-forward, and will be described in more detail as part of the general discussions on the problems with the consultation processes. Indigenous people were invited to the general community consultations also. It was recognised that indigenous people share a dualistic geographical understanding of the landscape, that they work and live within both the colonial and indigenous framework, and their input was sought in both spheres.

Having outlined the methodology of the State forest name review, the five areas of difficulty that arose as part of the attempts to recognise historical and contemporary associations with the State forest areas will now be considered.

---

[6] Irwin Altman and Setha Low, "Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry," in *Place Attachment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Setha Low (New York: Plenum press, 1992).p. 2.

[7] M Milligan, "Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment," *Symbolic Interaction* 21, no. 1 (1998)., p 2.

[8] Barbara Brown and Douglas Perkins, "Disruptions in Place Attachment," in *Place Attachment*, ed. Irwin Altman and Setha Low (New York: Plenum Press, 1992). p. 284.

The first difficulty arose in applying vague government guidelines on naming to a practical and tangible situation such as this State forest names review. The guidelines that informed the review were written by the Registrar in 1999. They stated that:

**PRINCIPLE I**
Australia has a national language: Australian English. Geographic naming practice must be based on the form of Australian English, together with, where desired, the spoken Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander languages (CGNA Guidelines, 1995).

**PRINCIPLE II**
Names in public use shall have primary consideration; recognition of present day local usage or preference is the underlying guiding principle for authorities when assigning geographic place names (PNC, 1995).

**PRINCIPLE III**
Names established in specific legislation are automatically recorded in the Geographic Place Names Register as official names (PNC, 1995; CGNA, 1995).

**PRINCIPLE IV**
Duplication of geographic place names by repetition of names already assigned is to be avoided, especially for similar features in generally close proximity (PNC, 1995).

**PRINCIPLE V**
Recognition of Aboriginal/Koori place names is encouraged and preferred for features presently unnamed (PNC, 1995; CGNA, 1995).

**PRINCIPLE VI**
Commemorative and historical names in long usage are preferred for the provision of new geographic place names, or where alteration of a name is being considered. Names of living persons, registered commercial businesses or non-profit organisations can be subject to change, either of legal entity or public perception and are therefore strongly discouraged for use as official names (PNC, 1995).[9]

The principle that names in public use shall have primary consideration is relatively straightforward (and indeed the project format was deeply focused on obtaining these names) until it faces the principle that recognition of Aboriginal/Koori names is encouraged and preferred for features presently unnamed.

A few questions presented themselves. What was to be done when there was an unofficial non-indigenous community name? What's more, what was to be done in areas where a commonly understood non-indigenous name existed but there was also strong evidence of an applicable indigenous name?

The answers to these questions led to the Registrar's guidelines on dual naming, and it was foreseeable that an inevitable outcome of the project would be that some State forest areas would be dual named.

Where a feature has an existing European name that has been in common use for a long period of time, dual naming of that feature should be considered as an appropriate mechanism to recognise both cultures. Address features such as suburbs, towns and rural districts cannot have a dual name.

The approach adopted in assigning dual names, and determining which name shall take precedence, needs to be based on the information available at the time.

[9] During the review process the Registrar of Geographic Names released a new set of naming guidelines. The new guidelines were only in a draft format until the conclusion of the review, therefore the guidelines stated here were used for the review. The new guidelines are included in Appendix 6.

Where the European name has little or no associated information, but had been recorded on maps for a considerable time, and the origin and meaning of the indigenous name are well documented, the indigenous name should take precedence over the European name (appearing as the primary name on official maps).

In cases where the indigenous name has little or no detail of origin or meaning, the European name should remain as the primary name.

Dual naming can also apply to names of other ethnic origins where appropriate, e.g. an English and German name. However dual naming in these circumstances, should be very limited, preference being for one name to be the official name and the other as an official variant/alternative name.

Yet, the dual-naming agenda as outlined by this policy is not easy to resolve in a real-world situation, as was discovered in this review process. Indeed, the wording of this dual-naming policy, whilst being useful for all researchers and toponymists as it steers clear of being prescriptive, in practical terms remains ambiguous. This ambiguity lead to confusion during the review process. Indeed, when meeting with the Ballarat and District Aboriginal Cooperative (BADAC) the confusion was evident when discussing dual naming of certain state forest areas.

As part of the consultations, BADAC was approached by the authors and asked how it would like to proceed with the recognition of indigenous heritage in the State forest areas within its cultural heritage area. There were a few possibilities, such as erecting signposts which informed State forest users that they were entering traditional Wathawurrung country; or dual naming State forest areas. BADAC members indicated that they would be interested in dual naming, and that they would appreciate the researchers providing them with a list of traditional Wathawurrung and Djabwurrung names for the areas. It must be understood that in the state of Victoria, due to the colonial processes of shifting indigenous people onto missions and forcing them to speak English, much of the language and place names have been removed from the vocabulary of the indigenous peoples. There are programs in place to restore these languages, and the Victorian Aboriginal Corporation of Languages (VACL) undertakes much research into the historical records of word and place name lists.

As part of the historical research and compilation of the Wathawurrung and Djabwurrung names, the authors, in association with the AAV and DSE, devised a scoring system to be given to the indigenous names, to allow a distinction between the pedigrees of particular place names.

| Rating | Meaning |
|---|---|
| 5 | Aboriginal place name has known meaning; relates to a clan name; there is at least one variant source. |
| 4 | Aboriginal place name has partial meaning; at least one variant source. |
| 3 | Aboriginal place name has partial meaning and only one variant source. |
| 2 | Aboriginal place name meaning is not known; there is at least one variant source. |
| 1 | Aboriginal place name meaning is not known; there is only one variant source. |

**Table 1: Rating system for indigenous place names**

The information for these names came primarily from the Dictionary of Aboriginal Placenames in Victoria, commissioned by VACL and published by Clark and Heydon. The research for the names in the dictionary involved archival research as well as face-to-face consultancies with local indigenous groups. The dictionary is unique in that it actually does not give a translation for an indigenous place name where one is not available, or not wanted to be given to the general public. So, in a sense having this dictionary as a guide for the indigenous names in the State forest areas was a wonderful help, as it gave instant access to appropriate names (will go into further detail on this later on).

It was recommended to BADAC that the names with a scoring of five be considered for dual naming where a European name was already in existence. BADAC agreed to this, as they believed that only names which could be historically traced and evidenced should be applied, as this would stave off any

controversy. In addition, they only wanted their cultural heritage, which was appropriately understood to be represented in the official government landscape. Yet, discussions were had as to the application of one indigenous name per European name, where multiple indigenous names existed. One example of this was for the Mt Cole State Forest area. Research showed that there were two cognate indigenous names for this State forest area:

Indigenous Name: 'Burb-ba-burb'
Language Area: Djabwurrung
Translation: It could mean "Hilly-Hill".[10]
Discussion: It was recorded by Robinson in his journal of 26/07/1841. Also recorded in Smyth's ethnographical book of 1878. Rating: 5

Indigenous Name: Beeripmo
Language Area: Djabwurrung
Translation: Name of local clan 'Beeripmo-baluk'[11]
Discussion: This name is currently in use for a trail walk in the Mt Cole State Forest. Rating: 5

These names are variants of the same Djabwurrung word, with 'beerip' being a version of the 'burb' in 'burb-ba-burp'. Essentially, the two names for the area posed a problem, as one needed to be chosen for inclusion as an official place name for the State forest area.

Discussion was had with BADAC as to the name they wished to be used for the Mt Cole equivalent. It was decided that the name Beeripmo should be utilised because there was already a Beeripmo trail walk in the State forest. For BADAC the contemporaneous existence of this name in the landscape meant that they felt that the local non-indigenous communities would be least resistant to this name allocation. More of this will be discussed later. For now we need to discuss the further implications of dual naming.

Once the indigenous names were chosen for dual-naming purposes, discussion as to the order of the names was held. The view expressed by BADAC was that having the indigenous names allocated second, as in Mt Cole (Beeripmo) State Forest, would be appending the indigenous history as secondary to the non-indigenous history. Indeed, the use of parentheses was seen as subordinating indigenous heritage to that of an after-thought in colonial landscape identifications. BADAC therefore recommended that the indigenous names be allocated first place order, with the European names placed in parentheses. Due to the ambiguous nature of the naming guidelines, the allocation of the names could have been done either way, as both the European and indigenous names had recorded meanings and origins.

The consultation process became difficult at this point. It was understood from the second round of community consultations that the local non-indigenous communities would not be welcoming of indigenous dual-naming, and that was in the context of the indigenous name coming second in parentheses. The very notion of the indigenous name preceding the European name brought up images of the Grampians National Park toponymic history. One attendee at the second round of community consultations wrote on the feedback form that 'I am objecting to the new names. I feel they should be left as they are…; the majority of the population is of European descent and the new indigenous names have no relevance in the locality or district due to the small and insignificant Aboriginal population'. For this participant, as Peter Read, the Australian Historian would state, the presence of indigenous people in Australia stopped in 1788. Peter Read has written on shared landscapes in Australia, and has often noted that an official absence of Aboriginal people in official government and media practices make Aboriginal people, culture and geography seemingly invisible to non-indigenous Australians.[12]

Given that the orthography of the Mt Erip State forest was to be corrected to Mt Yirip (Wathawurrung for 'iron bark'), and there were to be three State forest areas which were identified only with indigenous

[10] Ian Clark and Toby Heydon, *Dictionary of Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria* (Melbourne: Victorian Aboriginal Corporation of Languages, 2002). p. 61.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Peter Read, *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

names (Berringa, Trawalla and Mt Yirip), BADAC agreed, where dual naming was proposed, to allow the indigenous names to follow the European names. Yet, restrictions were placed on this allocation. BADAC stated that the indigenous names would only be allowed to come second if they were not placed within parentheses.

Advice was sought from the Registrar's Office as to the orthographic format of dual names in Victoria. There was no official written policy regarding the signage of dual names, it was commonly understood (and practiced) within the department that the second names would be placed within parentheses. When the Registrar's Office contacted the CGNA, it was also discovered that there were no national Australian guidelines on the orthographic format of dual names. New South Wales utilised italics to distinguish between dual names, whilst the Australian Capital Territory, Northern Territory, South Australia and Western Australia utilised a slash ( / ).[13] When faced with this problem, the Registrar undertook to formalise the orthography of dual-naming across Australia. This process is still underway, and has had no resolution to date. Subsequently, the State forests which were the focus of this review will only be dual named upon the formalisation of the dual-naming procedures by the Registrar, and only then if the policy states that the second name does not become captured in parentheses.

In addition to the dual-naming problems, we were faced with the problem of having only a colonially-based understanding of the landscape evident in our naming procedures. Indeed, an interesting challenge faced the researchers in trying to recognise indigenous heritage within a colonial geographical framework. Indigenous landscape boundaries did not align with the State forest areas designated on official government maps, and in some instances State forest areas contained three indigenous language areas. This problem was most evident in the Daylesford study area. The State forest in this area was known officially in some parts and unofficially in others by the indigenous and non-indigenous communities alike by the Anglo-Celtic name, Wombat State forest. This was also confirmed in the community consultation mental-mapping exercise. The problem posed itself in relation to the indigenous dual naming of this forest area.

Three indigenous groups share their cultural boundaries in this area, the Djadjawurrung, the Woiwurrung, and the Wathawurrung. To be able to dual name, you need one non-indigenous name and one indigenous name. Yet, indigenous understandings of landscape differ from non-indigenous understandings, as evidenced by the fact that three indigenous cultural boundaries transect the one colonially-defined boundary of the State forest. In this instance also, it is the non-indigenous understandings of the landscape that are those officially recognised for government purposes. Thus, the choice of an indigenous name to complement the non-indigenous name of Wombat was impossible, as the guidelines excluded the understanding of this problem. Indeed, this problem in the State forest name review process highlighted for all involved in the project the existence of colonially-tainted understandings of the Australian landscape still pervading the official government literature.

Since the time of European exploration of Australia, the topography of the continent has been mapped from a colonial cartographic perspective. Before the process of colonisation began, the continent of Australia was inhabited by multiple indigenous groups, each of which had its own language and connection with the landscape. The process of colonisation changed these landscape connections permanently. Where indigenous understandings of the landscape relied upon oral traditions, and allowed the inhabitants to 'cross the country along clearly defined routes',[14] the colonisation of Australia led to the mapping of the landscape, the control of it being materially based. This mapping led to the perceived 'ownership' of the land by the colonisers.

Colonial government guidelines have 'controlled' the knowledge base of understanding of the landscape for non-indigenous Australians. A part of this control came in the application of place names upon the landscape. Place names are signifiers of place identity. They are, as Claude Levi-Strauss stated, the markers of place from space. It is a common assertion in the literature that at the preliminary stage of colonisation whilst indigenous people understood their landscape, for the colonists, these

[13] For example: In Victoria we have Grampians (Gariwerd) National Park, in NSW it would be written Grampians *Gariwerd* National Park, whilst elsewhere in Australia it would be Grampians/Gariwerd National Park.

[14] Luise Hercus, Flavia Hodges, and Jane Simpson, eds., *The Land Is a Map: Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia* (Canberra: Pandanus Books, 2002).

indigenous places were perceived to be spaces, and thus the colonists undertook their own processes of understanding the landscape, and put these understandings into their maps. Naming was one such way in which the landscape was made sense of. Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor-General of Australia, was one of the most important figures in this process of capturing the landscape. As Tony Birch has described:

> Mitchell was a surveyor, taking control of the land by charting it on a map. By naming features, he placed a symbolic British flag on each of them. The land was charted, ordered and labelled, becoming a colonial possession.[15]

Yet, Mitchell did not only use colonial names for the landscape. He also set out regulations on using indigenous names for the landscape. As he wrote,

> The great convenience of using native names is obvious… so long as any of the Aborigines can be found in the neighbourhood… future travellers may verify my map. Whereas new names are of no use in this respect.[16]

Thus, Mitchell admitted that English vocabulary was limited as an identifier of Australian geographical knowledge. This idea of utilising the indigenous names was one wherein the colonisers realised the country was so different for them that European names would not suffice. This perspective has lead to a colonially-tainted sense of place for non-indigenous (and some indigenous) Australians. Yet, even historians of the Australian landscape lament the unease with which Anglo-Celtic Australians call the landscape theirs. Manning Clark, doyen of Australian history during the later part of the Twentieth Century, told his students at Yale:

> Sometimes when I stand in the Australian bush on a clear windless day I am visited with strange thoughts… I wonder whether I belong… I am ready, and so are others, to understand the Aboriginal view that no human being can ever know heart's ease in a foreign land, because in a foreign land there lie foreign ancestral spirits. We white people are condemned to live in a country where we have no ancestral spirits. The conqueror has become the eternal outsider, the eternal alien. We must either become assimilated or live the empty life of a people exiled from their spiritual strength.[17]

Such Eurocentric-focused governance and management of the development of the Australian understanding of the landscape was strongly exemplified during the State forest name review. As stated previously, during the time of European exploration of Australia, both European and indigenous names were used to describe the landscape, and most of these names remain today, both officially and unofficially. Importantly for this paper, is the understanding that it is the government who controls the official application and use of place names. This government is still informed by procedures that have evolved from colonial practices. Whilst the policies today do account for indigenous landscape heritage, they are often hard to implement, especially when they do not account for the indigenous landscapes overlapping colonial landscape understandings.

In addition to the problems faced with multiple indigenous cultural boundaries existing in the Wombat forest area, there was the problem of the localisation of indigenous names. Indigenous names are traditionally used for localised features, and rarely for entire mountain ranges or forests, as colonial toponyms represent. Thus, for this entire process the researchers had the task of finding localised indigenous names and having to apply them to a larger geographical context. In a sense, this application of the names was similar to cultural homogenisation, as we were forcing the indigenous words to fit into the colonial landscape for which they were not originally intended. An example of this arose in relation to the area to be named 'Linton State forest'; the indigenous name chosen for this area was 'nawnight-widwid' which in the Wathwurrung language means 'toy throwing stick'.[18] This name

---

[15] Birch, "Nothing Has Changed." p. 239.

[16] Thomas Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and the Present Colony of New South Wales*, vol. 1 (London: T&W Boone, 1838). p. 174.

[17] Manning Clark, "Australia, Whose Country Is It?", in *Speaking out of Turn*, ed. Manning Clark (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1997). p. 144.

[18] Clark and Heydon, *Dictionary*. p. 193.

relates specifically to the Black Hill area near Scarsdale, yet in this instance of dual naming the name is being applied to a much larger geographical area.

Similarly, there were difficulties in engaging the indigenous communities into the review process. Essentially in Victoria there are two types of indigenous representative groups. The first of these are the cultural heritage groups, funded in part by the Federal and State governments to provide services to local indigenous people, and to work with local groups in the promotion of indigenous heritage. The second consists of native title claimant groups. These groups represent indigenous people from specific areas of the State who are attempting to claim the title of land that was traditionally a part of their heritage. As part of the State forest project, we were wanting to meet with the indigenous groups who were responsible for the cultural heritage of the areas we were investigating. We met with AAV to discuss the project and facilitate approaches to relevant indigenous groups. In some cases this meeting process proved extremely difficult for a multitude of reasons:

1. Cultural Heritage Groups are extremely busy providing services to their local indigenous residents and visitors. Finding time to meet with us was difficult for some groups, as they had more pressing matters to attend to compared to discussing place names. In addition, many meetings that were organised were not attended by the indigenous groups. On one occasion in particular, the excuse for non-attendance was 'he's on blackfella time'. There were clearly problems in both non-indigenous and indigenous understandings of the review processes that would be appropriate for all involved.

2. Following the Grampians toponymic program in the 1990s, two precedents had been set in relation to the choice of indigenous names for areas. The Grampians case stated that there should be two ways in which indigenous names were chosen for features. The first of these stated that local indigenous names should be chosen to name features. These names should be taken from historical records. The second regulation stated that where a recorded indigenous name could not be found, then a language list localised to the area should be checked for words which relate to the principle motif of the feature (in the Grampians case this related to rock-art sites).

   In one specific case during this State forest project, one Native Title group claimed that the names that had been located in historical records as indigenous to the areas were no longer relevant to the groups, and they were not 'overly thrilled with naming a specific place with an unknown name [they were] more in favour of a specific indigenous name/meaning that would have more meaning to the contemporary Wurundjeri' 19

   This notion of finding a name to suit the contemporary indigenous groups was not a part of the original guidelines of the State forest review. Indeed, the DSE found it difficult to reconcile this notion of a new name, with the insistence that non-indigenous groups could not provide 'new' names, but they had to apply names of current or historical usage. By not accepting the Wurundjeri's appeal for the use of a new name, the DSE were in effect relegating the use of Wirundjeri names to a group that was static, which did not develop. Indeed, the government guidelines relegate these names to a distinct time period, which does not allow for the acknowledgement of changing indigenous identities.

   This problem was not resolved, due to the next problem.

3. In some areas of Victoria, whilst there is a clear distinction between the traditional cultural heritage boundaries, there can be more than one group claiming to represent this area. Indeed, when it comes to Native Title groups, some of them are involved in interfactional disagreements, and refuse to cooperate with each other. This created a tension in some consultations, as one Native Title group refused to meet with us when they heard that the other competing Native Title group was also involved in the discussion. Further to this, we were informed during the final stages of the consultation process that two of the competing Native Title groups were under investigation by Consumer Affairs Victoria because there were significant procedural irregularities with the Annual General Meetings held by both

[19] Private Correspondence between Laura Kostanski and DSE representative 21/02/2005.

groups. This information led to us putting a hold on the consultations with these two groups, with the promise of reconvening the discussions when the issues had been resolved.

In addition, the local non-indigenous community also proved difficult on occasion, especially in relation to the proposal of dual-naming State forest areas. The notion of native title claims, and a deficiency of general community understanding in relation to indigenous sense of place were pervasive, and caused a great deal of resistance against the recognition of indigenous heritage in the State forest areas.

In summary, the State forest name review was successful in identifying unofficial non-indigenous names, and instituting them as official names for the State forest areas. We are still awaiting word from the CGNA as to the orthographic format of dual names before the dual names identified during the project will be instated. Other indigenous names, such as Mt Yirip and Berringa will be made official in the near future. Professor Leroy Little Bear's statement that you 'cannot reconcile a holistic way of thinking with a reductionist model (sic.)' is very salient to this study. Indeed, the indigenous consultations in this project were part of a western-government's desire to recognise indigenous landscape, but only within a western framework, and only for western purposes. We are caught in a catch-22 situation, whereby giving a voice to and recognising indigenous heritage, would give a sense of identity to indigenous groups. But on the other hand the giving of this identity would be through a colonial means of production, a means of production which modifies the original meaning of the names and identity.

The outcomes of the project indicate that there needs to be a shift of paradigm within official government policy to recognise that whilst the official recognition of indigenous heritage is important, the actual processes involved in recognising indigenous heritage within the constraints of colonially-defined geographies are difficult and the policies, as they stand, change the original meanings of the indigenous toponyms.

## Bibliography


Altman, Irwin., & Low, Setha. (1992). Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry. In I. Altman & S. Low (Eds.), *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.

Birch, Tony. (1992). Nothing Has Changed: The 'Making' and 'Unmaking' of Koori Culture. *Meanjin, 51*(2), pp. 229–46.

Brown, Barbara., & Perkins, Douglas. (1992). Disruptions in Place Attachment. In I. Altman and S. Low (Eds.), *Place Attachment*. New York: Plenum Press.

Clark, Ian D., & Harradine, Lionel. (1990). *The Restoration of Jardwadjali and Djab Wurrung Names for Rock Art Sites and Landscape Features in and around the Grampians National Park*. Melbourne: Koorie Tourism Unit.

Clark, Ian., & Heydon, Toby. (2002). *Dictionary of Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*. Melbourne: Victorian Aboriginal Corporation of Languages.

Clark, Manning. (1997). Australia, Whose Country Is It? In M. Clark (Ed.), *Speaking out of Turn*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Department of Sustainability and Environment. (2004). Guidelines for Geographic Names." Melbourne: Department of Sustainability and Environment.

Hercus, Luise., Hodges, Flavia., & Simpson, Jane. (Eds.) (2002). *The Land Is a Map: Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia*. Canberra: Pandanus Books.

Levi-Strauss, Claude. (1962). *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Milligan, M. (1998). Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment. *Symbolic Interaction 21*(1), pp. 1–33.

Mitchell, Thomas. (1838). *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia, with Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and the Present Colony of New South Wales*. Vol. 1. London: T&W Boone.

Read, Peter. (2000). *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names. (1999). *Consistent Use of Place Names.* New York: United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names.

# Toward the hospitality of the academy[1]

**Dr. Rauna Kuokkanen**
McMaster University

The academy is considered by many as the major western institution of knowledge. This paper, however, argues that the academy is characterised by prevalent 'epistemic ignorance.' Epistemic ignorance refers to academic practices and discourses that enable the continued exclusion of other than dominant western epistemic and intellectual traditions. The academy fails to recognise indigenous epistemes grounded on different conceptions of the world and ways of knowing, and thus, indigenous people 'cannot speak'; that is, when they speak from the framework of their own epistemic conventions, they are not heard or understood by the academy.

There is a need for a radical shift in approaching 'cultural conflicts' in the academy. So far, various programmes and services for indigenous students have been set up on the premise that they need special assistance to adapt to the academy. I argue, however, that it is the academy that is responsible for 'doing its homework' and addressing its ignorance so it can give an 'unconditional welcome' not only to indigenous people but to their epistemes, without insisting on translation. Instead of assuming the need to 'bridge' the gulf between the cultures of indigenous students and that of the institution, or help students make the transition from their cultures to the academic 'culture', this paper contends that we need to focus on the academy itself; that the academy must take a critical look at its own discourses and assumptions and address the sanctioned epistemic ignorance that prevails in the institution.

I propose that the responsibility of the academy toward indigenous epistemes can be assumed by espousing a specific logic embedded in many indigenous epistemes; that is, the logic of the gift. This logic is characterised particularly by acknowledging of and acting upon one's responsibilities to recognise and reciprocate the gift—to ensure the gift is not taken for granted or misused. In this paper, I demonstrate why it is necessary to consider indigenous epistemes as a gift, how in the current academic system this gift is not possible, and finally, what needs to be done to enable the gift. I argue that if the academy does not assume its responsibilities, the gift of indigenous epistemes remains impossible.

## Epistemic ignorance

It is widely recognised that conflicts between cultural values, expectations and goals between indigenous and mainstream societies are among the most common reasons for uneasiness among indigenous students in the academy.

'Cultural clash' or 'conflict' is an expression that is being used to describe the situation where indigenous scholars and students, in educational institutions which are predominantly Western European in their intellectual and philosophical traditions, are faced with a set of values, views and expectations that differ in several critical ways from their own. The underlying principles and values of the 'dominant' or 'mainstream' culture that underpins many theories and practices of the academy often not only differ from, but also conflict with those of indigenous cultures.

However, focusing only on the idea of conflicting cultures or cultural values can be limiting when it seems that the 'conflict' in fact is a consequence of a larger problem of ignorance that has not been adequately discussed in considerations dealing with indigenous students in the university. I call this 'epistemic ignorance'. This enables us to frame the problem of cultural conflicts in broader terms and to pay closer attention to the responsibility and role of the academy rather than focus solely on indigenous people.

---

[1] This paper is based on my doctoral dissertation titled "Toward the Hospitality of the Academy: The (Im)Possible Gift of Indigenous Epistemes" (University of British Columbia, 2004). A longer version of this paper appears in *The Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies* (forthcoming).

What I call epistemic ignorance refers to ways in which academic theories and practices ignore, marginalise and exclude other than dominant Western European epistemic and intellectual traditions. These 'other' epistemic and intellectual traditions are foreclosed in the process of producing, reproducing and disseminating knowledge to an extent that generally there is very little recognition and understanding of them. Epistemic ignorance is thus not limited to merely not knowing or lack of understanding, it also refers to practices and discourses that actively foreclose other than dominant epistemes and refuse to seriously contemplate their existence. Epistemic ignorance is thereby a form of subtle violence. When other than dominant epistemes and forms of knowing are not seen or recognised, they are made to disappear through this invisibility and distance. In this way, also the reality that they attempt to represent is erased and destroyed (Shiva, 1993, p. 12).

Operating on a more or less taken-for-granted set of values, norms and expectations, the academy at large usually knows very little, if anything, about indigenous epistemes, thus creating various kinds of conflicts with and perpetuating discrimination against those indigenous people who 'speak through' their own epistemes—who desire or attempt to express their views based on an episteme foreign to the mainstream academic conventions. While there might be awareness of the existence of 'local narratives' and 'truths' (and possibly other epistemes), there is not necessarily much understanding of their contents and ontological foundations.

Epistemic ignorance is not, however, only a question of individuals acquiring a 'multicultural perspective' or 'a cross-cultural understanding'. One of the key challenges with which indigenous people are faced in the academy (and also elsewhere) is that 'speaking' through an epistemically different framework is too quickly interpreted as little more than a 'difference.' This difference, then, usually requires a translation into the 'sameness'—the language that makes sense to a general public and the code that we are expected to share in academic circumstances for communication.

Epistemic ignorance is not limited to making changes in the curriculum. It is a much more fundamental concern questioning the narrow epistemic foundations of the academy which fail to welcome and recognise indigenous epistemes. In other words, manifestations of epistemic ignorance are not random offshoots or isolated incidents but, rather, a reflection of a structural and systemic problem that is "endemic to the social, economic, and political order, deeply embedded in all of its self-reproducing institutions", of which the academy is a part (McIntyre, 2000, p. 160). Epistemic ignorance occurs at both the institutional and individual levels and is manifested by exclusion and effacement of indigenous issues and materials in curricula, by denial of indigenous contributions and influences and by the lack of interest and understanding of indigenous epistemes or issues in general by students, faculty and staff alike. It can be either explicit and visible, or it can take the form of what Sheila McIntyre calls 'studied ignorance' and 'privileged innocence'; this is reflected, for instance, in the tendency of the privileged academics to choose not to know (2000).

## The problem of speaking

In her well-known essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1994), Gayatri Spivak analyses the problems of representation and complicity of well-meaning Western intellectuals in constructing the colonial subject as Other. What is particularly relevant to the question of epistemic ignorance is Spivak's intention to illustrate that the level where the subaltern could be heard or read cannot be reached because what is said is either ignored, forgotten or it simply "disappears from the official, male-centred historical records" (Morton, 2003, p. 33). Whether muted by colonial authorities or the liberal multiculturalist metropolitan academy, the intended 'message' of the subaltern remains either not heard or misinterpreted (Spivak, 1999, p. 308).

It is important to notice that 'the problem of speaking' discussed here is not whether indigenous people are being allowed to speak or not in the academy. In many cases, the situation is quite the opposite: they are not only 'given' a voice but urged to speak and express their views and perspectives in the name of diversity and decolonisation (though in official, public circumstances such as conferences and anthologies, they tend to remain tokens in the fashion of 'one indigenous person per event/publication'). Trinh Minh-ha aptly calls this phenomenon "the voice of difference that they long to hear" (1989, p. 88).

## The gift of indigenous epistemes

I suggest that to counter epistemic ignorance, indigenous epistemes have to be recognised as a gift to the academy. This implies learning about and engaging in a specific logic embedded in many indigenous epistemes; that is, the logic of the gift.

While recognising that indigenous peoples are not homogeneous even internally and that their cultures, histories and socio-economic circumstances are not the same, I maintain that underpinning these apparent differences is a set of shared and common perceptions and conceptions of the world related to ways of life, cultural and social practices and discourses that foreground and necessitate an intimate relationship with the natural environment. This relationship, considered one of the central aspects of indigeneity[2], is often manifested through gift giving and the philosophy of reciprocity—a close interaction of sustaining and renewing the balance of the world by means of gifts. I call this "the logic of the gift"; it applies not only to human relations but to the entire kinship with the world. This logic, manifested, for example, in various 'give back' ceremonies, is different from the logic of exchange that prevails in modern society and through which gift-giving practices and philosophies of indigenous societies are commonly interpreted (and thus, misunderstood).[3] The underlying logic of the exchange paradigm is that gifts cannot be given unless the receipt of countergifts is guaranteed (Vaughan, 1997).

Unlike the binary give-and-take of the exchange paradigm, in the gift logic of indigenous thought, gifts are not given first and foremost to ensure a countergift later on, but to actively acknowledge the relationships and coexistence with the world, without which survival would not be possible. In this logic, the gifts of the land are not taken for granted but recognised by giving back or by other expressions of gratitude.

The gift thus implies response-ability—an ability to respond, to remain attuned to the world beyond self and be willing to recognise its existence through gift giving. Such a sense of responsibility is a result of living within an ecosystem and being dependent on it. It is this sense of responsibility toward other epistemes that is called for in the academy; a responsibility that emphasises the necessity of reciprocal, non-hegemonic relationships rather than discourses of control and change that shape the social system of mainstream western society.

The gift continues posing a threat to the prevailing modes of thinking and interaction that characterise the contemporary transnational capitalism in the same way that potlatch (and countless other gift-practices) posed an early threat to the civilisation and the emerging nation-state of Canada—so serious that it had to be outlawed by the early colonial authorities and later put under erasure by various, sometimes very ambiguous and insidious, forms of cultural imperialism. In other words, the gift has the potential to interrupt and even subvert the agenda of what Spivak calls 'the new imperialism of exploitation' (Spivak, 1999, p. 371). As Derrida contends: "There is gift, if there is any, only in what interrupts the …" (Derrida, 1992, p. 13). One of the reasons for the academy not to recognise the gift is then the fear of interruption and ambiguity, loss of control, erasure of boundaries (e.g., disciplinary), excess of endless relativity. The gift may threaten the hegemony and hierarchy of epistemes which serve certain interests. One reason to prohibit the gift is also that the current academy is deeply rooted in the ideology of exchange economy.

The dominant paradigm highlighting the importance of exchange (i.e., giving in order to receive) has made the gift of indigenous epistemes impossible in the academic world also. In a current system, indigenous epistemes are not regarded as gifts but are as something else, such as intellectual property. In some cases, they are appropriated and exploited in the name of profit or fulfillment of the spiritual needs of others. The basic premises of the exchange paradigm are manifested in the one-sidedness and unilaterality of academic discourses that are usually thoroughly self-oriented and without attention (i.e., 'responsibility') to the other.

---

[2] See, for example, working definitions of Indigenous people by United Nations, such as the Convention No. 169 (ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries 1989) and the Cobo Report (1986).

[3] I have elaborated the logic of the gift in Indigenous philosophies in detail elsewhere (Kuokkanen 2004).

The exploitative, hegemonic and asymmetrical exchange that commonly takes place in academic discourse is a reflection of a broader, dominant neocolonial and also often neoliberal paradigm continues to foreclose indigenous epistemes. This logic of dominance is not, however, detrimental only to indigenous peoples and their worldviews, but it removes everybody "from all connections except the circuit of capital accumulation" (Kailo forthcoming, n.p.). The commodification of all life forms and the shortsighted abuse of the environment, women, the 'Third World' and other vulnerable countries and groups also affects the culture of learning, education and academic freedom (Kailo forthcoming, n.p.).

The gift is impossible when it is located within the exchange economy informed by colonialism, capitalism and patriarchy—all of which have made sure that in many cases only traces are left of indigenous relation-oriented epistemes and social and cultural orders. Conversely then, the gift is possible only in specific circumstances outside the logic of exchange. In a system where the logic of the gift does not imply 'earning' the gift or 'owing' something to the giver, and where the formation of the relationship through gift giving is not considered in negative terms (a burdensome obligation, or a loss of one's individuality and independence) but a condition of balanced existence and, ultimately, part of one's identity, the gift cannot be ignored or rendered to something else. In such a system and social order, if the gift is not recognised and received, it ceases to be a gift and the relationships formed through the gift are weakened and ultimately lost. Contrary to Derrida's argument that the gift is annulled when it is recognised, I maintain that in indigenous philosophies, it is the very recognition that makes the gift possible.

## Recognition

Recognition is generally considered an "acknowledgement that must be given to human beings who are subjected to inquiries", consisting primarily of remembering and knowledge (Fabian, 2001, pp. 159–60). In some cases, recognition does not go beyond rhetoric. At worst, recognition is relegated to a mere gesture of tokenism as in officially, publicly acknowledging those considered 'minorities' or marginalised' and then quickly forgetting them and continuing 'business as usual.' Could such 'gestures of convenience' mark an attempt of a neocolonial discourse to fabricate its allies in a new way, as suggested by Spivak (1993, p. 57)? Does such a discourse suggest an exchange (which is a tit-for-tat relation, not a gift) that agrees to recognise 'the indigenous other' for a conciliatory cooperation as native informants, 'add-ons' or consultants and perhaps in the future, shareholders, as universities are increasingly aligning themselves with corporations? Or could it be argued that it is better than anything; that it is a good starting point? Spivak disagrees, insisting that

> 'One must begin somewhere' is a different sentiment when expressed by the unorganised oppressed and when expressed by the beneficiary of the consolidated disciplinary structure of a central neocolonialist power.... If the 'somewhere' that one begins from is the most privileged site of a neocolonial educational system, in an institute for the training of teachers, funded by the state, does that gesture of convenience not become the normative point of departure (Spivak, 1993, p. 58)

The gesture of recognition might be a necessary first step in engaging with, establishing or improving relationships with the indigenous peoples of the area in question. It cannot, however, become a proxy for continued repressive tolerance or benign neglect of indigenous peoples' issues, concerns and epistemes.

The question of recognition remains crucial for indigenous peoples whether we are discussing the validation of identities erased by colonial gestures or the recognition of indigenous peoples' collective, historical rights. As I suggest, recognition is also a central aspect of indigenous philosophies that I call the logic of the gift. In this framework, recognition is a condition for survival. It stems from the philosophy according to which the well-being of all is dependent on the balance of the entire socio-cosmic order. Within the logic of the gift, recognition is a form of reciprocation not only between human but all living beings.

## Hospitality and the academy

Hospitality is commonly understood as various practices of welcoming guests into a space that is considered, in one way or another, belonging to the host, whether an individual or a group of people. Like the gift, hospitality implies a relationship and is other-oriented in the sense that both hosts and guests are expected to look to the well-being and needs of the other. Like the gift, hospitality requires reciprocity, a contract between two individuals, groups or entities.

It is a relatively well-known, though inadequately acknowledged fact that early settlers and colonisers—who were not only foreigners and strangers but absolute, unknown and anonymous others—were in many cases presented with an unconditional welcome by various indigenous peoples who had been living on the continent for generations. Though unique in different regions and taking place in different periods of time, the history of first contact and early encounters between indigenous peoples and newcomers also share many similarities across the globe; these are manifested in trade, conflict and conquest, intermarriage and politics characterised by 'gift diplomacy' of sealing agreements and alliances with other peoples (Dickason, 1992, pp. 76–8).

The hosts welcomed the arrivants[4]—the guests—and treated them according to their laws of hospitality, without which many newcomers would not have survived and prospered (Carter, 1999, pp. 33–6). In many cases, however, this welcome turned against the hosts.

Derrida suggests that in order for hospitality to be hospitality—that is, not a mere duty—it must be unconditional. This unconditionality requires an unquestioning welcome (Derrida, 2000, pp. 23–5). If the academy only welcomes what it is ready to welcome and what it considers it must welcome, it is not hospitality. It is not a welcome but a compulsory obligation or an act of superficial political correctness. In short, the hospitality of the academy must consist of two critical moments: a welcome of the other without conditions (such as expectations of translations or definitions) and openness to receive the gift that the guest may bear.

Unconditional welcome calls for and urges the academy to take responsibility—to respond to/be answerable to—toward indigenous epistemes by embracing the logic of the gift. This logic requires a new relationship that necessitates both knowledge and action; a relationship which is continuous, interminable and where responses flow from the both sides (cf. Spivak, 1999, p. 384). It requires transforming the way the dominant academic discourses and practices perceive and relate to other epistemes and also epistemologies. It would imply that indigenous epistemes are given an unconditional welcome in the academy without asking their names; that is, without asking them first to be defined or transcoded into the language of the host, and thus violated.

Unconditional welcome is a continuous relation, not another academic policy, programme or guideline that can be forgotten once implemented. It is also a mindset that propels us—everybody in the academy—into action by a commitment to responsibility toward the other, whether a guest or a host. It also recognises the existing tensions of the guest–host relationships and therefore does not falsely assume a space that is entirely comfortable and uncontested or even 'safe.' It recognises that attempting to do away with the existing tensions is not hospitality but the continuance of ignorance, and consolidation of the Self by the shadow of the Other.

Unconditional welcome implies changing the way indigenous epistemes are perceived in the academy; neither as supplements nor commodities, but as indispensable elements in the process of pursuing knowledge; as imperative for the academy in professing its profession.

In order for the academy to properly practice its profession, it ultimately needs, in Derrida's view, to be unconditional and absolutely free. This would not, however, imply that academics can work without condition or that it is autonomous in the Kantian sense. Instead, it refers to and calls for the

---

[4] Derrida observes: "if the new *arrivant* who arrives is new, one must expect ... that he [sic] does not simply cross a given threshold. Such an *arrivant* affects the very experience of the threshold" (Derrida 1993, 33). This certainly was the case with the colonizers and I would suggest, should, conversely, be the case when the *arrivant* is Indigenous epistemes in the academy.

responsibility toward the other. It necessitates "the opening of the university on its outside, on its other, on the future and the otherness of the future" (Derrida, 2001, p. 255). For Derrida, the future of the university is necessarily less enclosed in itself and more "open to the other as a future" (2001, p. 256; see also1983, p. 16).

In other words, the ethics and the future of the academy require hospitality.[5] Without openness to the other, responsibility toward the other, there is no future of and in the academy. The future of the university is in its openness to the other. This openness must go beyond a mere opening of the doors to indigenous people while dismissing or failing to recognise their epistemes. As a good host (or guest–master), the academy must accept and claim its responsibilities (in the sense that it must respond) towards indigenous and other epistemes in the name of knowledge but also of ethics. "The opening of the university on its other" also implies opening up the discourse that so far has remained rather selective and exclusive. Expanding the epistemic foundations is, therefore, a question of the profession of the academy but also of an ethical relation to the 'other.'

An example of hospitality where 'Western' and indigenous epistemes meet in a responsible and reciprocal way is Derrida's visit to the University of Auckland in August 1999 where he was received and welcomed according to the Māori tradition of *pōwhiri* (Māori ceremonial welcome) held on the University's *marae* (meeting place of kinship groups). Through the elaborate procession, the guest crosses the threshold, "passing from being strangers to becoming friends" (Simmons, Worth, and Smith, 2001, p. 24).

In the same way as in Māori ceremony of *pōwhiri*, the threshold for the academy is a place where the university comes together face-to-face with the world, where some of its Eurocentric, arrogant assumptions and definitions are challenged and where it has to assume its responsibilities. It is crucial to notice, however, that the 'world' is not something external or liminal, something 'out there,' but always already in the academy. This is also true with the gift that has already entered and arrived in the academy and, therefore, passed beyond the threshold without waiting for hospitality.

Derrida further suggests that "the crossing of the threshold always remains a transgressive step" (2000, p. 75). With regard to the gift of indigenous epistemes, this means transgressing academic hegemony and exclusivity and irretrievably changing it, even if gradually. With regard to the academy, transgressing the threshold (that is internal to it) means that it cannot not respond. In order to have a future, the academy must face the existence of the threshold and thus be able to respond. It must be able to receive the gift and also, to be taught, to listen, and to learn to listen.

What is more, the recognition of the gift of indigenous epistemes implies that the academy is challenged to re-examine its role as a host (or, considering the colonial history, the guest–master). It no longer can assume the role of the sovereign host.

## Implications

The recognition of the gift of indigenous epistemes amounts to a more respectful and responsible scholarship as the academy is compelled to accept responsibility for its own ignorance and act upon it. It enables a vision of a discursive space where indigenous people can be encountered in their own terms.

Calling for an improved understanding of indigenous epistemes, however, does not suggest an unheeded access to, and prospecting of, indigenous knowledge in the name of academic freedom, or the use of indigenous philosophies as convenient models without addressing the systemic power inequalities and hegemony. Rather, it suggests the necessity on the part of the academy to commit to reciprocal relationships with and to actively recognise other worldviews in order to address its own ignorance. By doing so, the academy is able to reinforce its standards and commitment to rigorous research, not to undermine them. In the same way that the gifts of the land cannot be taken for granted

[5] I take it as an axiom that the future has always already begun, and that at once, it is constantly beginning over and over again. In other words, the future is always here at this moment yet it starts with every step we take.

or exploited within this specific logic of the gift, indigenous epistemes should not be ignored, appropriated or misused in the academy.

While it is clearly necessary to have knowledge and understanding of indigenous peoples and their epistemic traditions to rid oneself of ignorance, it is necessary to remain aware of the pitfalls of "knowing other cultures" and what Spivak calls the Eurocentric arrogance of conscience—a simplistic assumption that as long as one has sufficient information, one can understand the 'other' (Spivak, 1999, p. 171). To exceed the Eurocentric arrogance of conscience, the academy must move away from yearning or claiming to know the 'other' to willingness to engage in the patient work learning from other epistemes (cf. Spivak, 2001). This necessitates that the academy is open and prepared to stretch into a different mode of understanding and perceiving the world (cf. Kremer, 1996).

One of the implications of the shift from the approach of knowing the other to the continuous process of 'learning to learn' is that the academy is propelled to 'do its homework' rather than expect indigenous people to offer ready-made answers or divert their attention away from their priorities and concerns to teaching the 'mainstream.' Spivak links 'doing one's homework' with unlearning one's privilege and 'unlearning one's learning' (1993, p. 25). This requires, among other things, critically examining one's beliefs, biases, and 'habits of dissociation' as well as understanding how they have risen and become naturalised in the first place.

At the same time, it is critical to bear in mind that for indigenous peoples, the gift and hospitality are not merely conceptual abstractions but are, above all, practices and strategies. In other words, to contemplate the possibility of the gift and hospitality, does not imply remaining only at the level of theorising. It is about evoking new strategies and paradigms for the future university; a university that will have a significant increase in the number of successful indigenous academics.

## Bibliography


Brody, Hugh. (2000). *The Other Side of Eden. Hunters, Farmers and the Shaping of the World*. Vancouver & Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre.

Carter, Sarah. (1999). *Aboriginal People and Colonisers of Western Canada to 1900*. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Cobo, Martinéz. (1986). Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations In *Report for the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination of Minorities*.

Derrida, Jacques. (1983). The Principle of Reason: The University in the Eyes of its Pupils. *Diacritics 13*(3), pp. 3–20.

———. (1992). *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money*. Translated by P. Kamuf. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press.

———. (1993). *Aporias*. Translated by T. Dutoit. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. (1997). *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*. Translated by P.-A. B. A. M. Naas. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

———. (2000). *Of Hospitality. Anne Dufourmantelle Invites Jacques Derrida to Respond*. Translated by R. Bowlby. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

———. (2001). The Future of the Profession or the Unconditional University. (Thanks to the 'Humanities', What *Could Take Place* Tomorrow). In *Derrida Downunder*, edited by L. Simmons and H. Worth. Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore.

———. (2002). Hostipitality. In *Acts of Religion*, edited by G. Anidjar. New York: Routledge.

Dickason, Olive Patricia. (1992). *Canada's first nations: a history of founding peoples from earliest times*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

ILO Convention No. 169 concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries. 1989. Intenational Labor Organisation.

Kailo, Kaarina. (forthcoming). From Give Back to the Gift Economy. The Return of the (Ethical) Repressed. In *Women's Worlds Congress, Uganda 21st–27th July, 2004. Conference Proceedings*.

———. forthcoming. From Sustainable Development to the Subsistence or Abundance Perspective—Back to the Gift and Give Back Paradigms in the North. In *Women's Worlds Congress in Uganda, 21st–27th July, 2004. Conference Proceedings*.

Kremer, Jürgen W. (1996). Indigenous Science. Introduction. *ReVision 18*(3), pp. 2–6.

Kuokkanen, Rauna. (2004). Indigenous Gift Philosophies and Practices. In G. Vaughan (Ed.), *Il Dono/The Gift: A Feminist Analysis. Special edition in English of the Athanor Journal*. Available at http://www.gifteconomyconference.com/pages/Articles/raunaathanor.html
McIntyre, Sheila. (2000). Studied Ignorance and Privileged Innocence: Keeping Equity Academic. *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law 12*(1), pp. 147–96.
Morton, Stephen. (2003). *Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*, *Routledge critical thinkers*. London; New York: Routledge.
Shiva, Vandana. (1993). *Monocultures of the Mind. Perspectives on Biodiversity and Biotechnology*. London & Penang: Zed & Third World Network.
Simmons, Lawrence., Worth, Heather., & Smith, Graham. (Eds.) (2001). Introduction: Powhiri for Jacques Derrida. In *Derrida Downunder.* Palmerston North, N.Z.: Dunmore.
Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1993). An Interview with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. With Sara Danius and Stefan Johnsson. *Boundary 2 20*(2), pp. 24–50.
———. (1987). *In other worlds: essays in cultural politics*. New York: Methuen.
———. (1993). *Outside in the teaching machine*. New York: Routledge.
———. (1994). Can the Subaltern Speak? In P. Williams and L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Hemel Hempstead: Harverster Wheatsheaf.
———. (1999). *A critique of postcolonial reason: toward a history of the vanishing present*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
———. (1999). Translation as Culture. In I. C. Suárez, A. G. Fernández and M. S. S. Lafuente (Eds.), *Translating Cultures*. Oviedo & Hebden Bridge, UK: Dangaroo.
———. 2001. A Note on the New International. *Parallax* 7(3), pp. 12–16.
Trinh, Minh-ha T. (1989). *Woman, Native, Other: Writing, Post-coloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press.
Vaughan, Genevieve. (1997). *For-Giving. A feminist criticism of exchange*. Austin: Plain View Press.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *marae* | meeting place of kinship groups |
| *pōwhiri* | Māori ceremonial welcome |

# Technology transfer and indigenous peoples: the diffusion of advanced biotechnologies and Māori horticulture

**Simon Lambert**
Environment, Society and Design Division, Lincoln University

## Abstract

The role of technology in any society is difficult to isolate. First, it is all-pervasive: no society lacks technology (although some certainly lag in their attempts to acquire specific technologies). Secondly, it is constituted of tangible innovations—pots, metal implements, buildings, computers —and intangible knowledge—pottery, metallurgy, architecture, and programming. Innovative technologies are indicators of 'civilisation'. They are also integral to contemporary development, now promoted in terms of a 'Knowledge Economy'.

The sheer pace and scale of technological change has meant that although technology is 'intentionally and systematically' put in place, it is now experienced as a somewhat 'alien and uncanny force' (Rapp, 1981, p. 2). The very 'success' of certain technologies (revealed in their comprehensive diffusion) is implicated in threats to the sustainability of various communities and even humanity itself. How can sustainable technologies be diffused in order to 'avoid, remedy or mitigate' adverse effects on the environment?

In this phenomenon, indigenous peoples are almost generically described as 'laggards', which is to say that they are slow to adopt new technologies. While remaining the originators of (acceptably quaint) traditions, indigenous peoples are incessantly targeted as potential receptors of new and therefore beneficial technologies. In this paper I present data from a research project revolving around the innovation of sustainable biotechnologies for Māori horticulturalists. These technologies are distinguished from unsustainable technologies in a number of ways, not least the requirement that they be comprehensively diffused in order to 'work'.

Inputting this data into a classical diffusion model reveals the phenomenon of 'reverse cascade' diffusion where innovation can be observed diffusing from Māori growers acting as case studies and/or collaborators. This flow contributes to the academic standing of a Centre of Research Excellence; ultimately it is to contribute to the Centre's 'financial independence'. Subsequent innovations will therefore be mediated by neo-liberal market forces, further hindering the vital diffusion of sustainability on to Māori land.

**Keywords**: diffusion of innovation, Māori bioprotection, sustainable Māori horticulture, technology transfer.

## Introduction

This paper treats Innovation as any idea, practice, or object that is perceived as new; it can also be the rediscovery of an idea, practice or object. Adoption is the singular decision—whether by an individual, institution, firm or other 'adoptive unit'—to take up an innovation. Diffusion is the process whereby the adoption of an innovation is transferred through certain channels over time among the members of a social system.

The technology has been identified as the very human activity of positing ends and procuring and utilising the means to them (Heidegger, 1977). This description is echoed by Rogers (2003, p. 12) who considers technology to be the "…design for instrumental action that reduces the uncertainty in the cause-effect relationships involved in achieving a desired outcome" (Rogers, 2003). Technology has been variously posited as the means to improve productivity and reduce uncertainty in economic development (Schumpeter, 1928), as the cause of uncertainty in more broadly ascribed development goals, and as a solution to these concerns.

Given the absolute importance of diffusion in the ultimate success of any technology, the lack of diffusion of sustainable technologies, where they exist, speaks of their failure regardless of their efficacy in isolation. This fact must be kept in mind during the following discussion.

## The diffusion of innovations

The diffusion of innovations exhibit a number of empirical regularities (Brown and Cox, 1971). Of these, one of the more commonly acknowledged is that such diffusion can be represented on a graph where an item's diffusion can be expressed as a cumulative level of adoption whereby it will approximate an S-shaped curve (Fig 1). It seems to have been initially promoted by French sociologist Gabriel Trade (1903) who saw the task of the sociologist as tracing "…the curve of the successive increases, standstills or decreases in every new or old want and in every new or old idea, as it spreads out and consolidates itself, or as it is crushed back and uprooted". History, for Gabriel Trade, "…is a collection of those things that have had the greatest celebrity…those initiatives that have been the most imitated" (cited in Katz, p. 149).

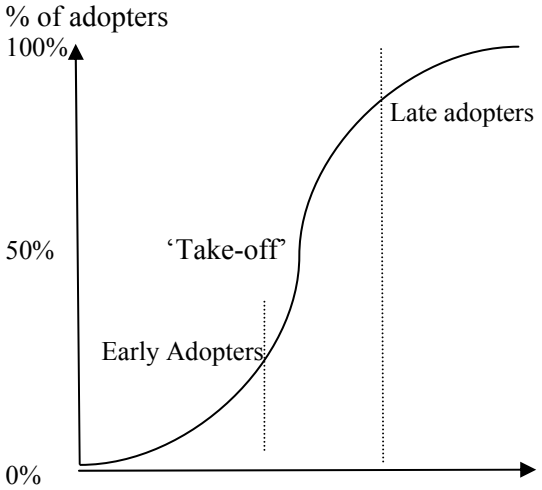



**Figure 1: Classic Adoption/Diffusion S-Curve**

The relationship of indigenous peoples to modern technology is commonly treated as a development problem—how to transfer appropriate technology to indigenous groups—or an ethical dilemma where indigenous culture is somehow threatened by new technology and yet cannot be wholly protected from its influence (Grim, 2001; Stephenson, 1994). In the words of the New Zealand Institute of Economic Research report (2003), "A common feature…of all successful economies is the degree to which innovation—in the widest possible sense— permeates everything people do." This report goes on to say that Māori openness to innovation may be constrained due to the "…strange influence of traditions, culture and spiritual values." The inference is that Māori are slow on the uptake and hinder the uptake of new technologies in general. The diffusion of innovative crop protection methods through the 'social system' that is Māori horticulture is critically evaluated in this paper.

The phenomena of innovation and diffusion have been described by James Blaut as being associated with core/periphery relationships that originate within European imperial strategies (Blaut, 1993). Blaut notes that 'cross-diffusion' is also evident, by which he means that the 'core' (e.g., Britain) benefits from peripheral (e.g., New Zealand) innovations.

In this paper I examine the transfer of sustainability to Māori land by utilising the model of hierarchic diffusion. This occurs through a sequence of institutions and/or hierarchies. Such diffusion is generally assumed to be 'downward', for example from large to smaller cities and towns. However, examples of 'reverse cascade' occur where innovations diffuse 'upward', from smaller to larger centres.

## Case Study: The National Centre for Advanced Bioprotection Technologies

The data on which this paper is based has been gathered from within a network established for the innovation of agri-biotechnologies. The National Centre for Advanced Bioprotection Technologies (NCABT) won funding set aside for the establishment of Centres of Research Excellence (CoREs) in the NZ Government's 2002 Budget. This Lincoln-based CoRE is comprised of four themes: biosecurity, biocontrol, agri-biotechnology, and *mātauranga Māori* (traditional Māori knowledge) bioprotection. This last theme is to be conducted in accordance with *kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophies and methodology) and Participatory Action research principles (Environment Society and Design Division, 2004; Harris, 2003; The Royal Society of New Zealand, 2003). The transfer of NCABT technologies—promoted as 'sustainable'—is an explicit objective.

Recently the NCABT released its first commercial innovation (commercial innovations being an important goal of government-funded research of this type). The product is an organic fungicide ('Sentinel') designed to protect grapes from botrytis. It is marketed by Agrimm Technologies of Christchurch (Collins, 2005).

The NCABT proposal was quite explicit as to where innovation was to originate with respect to Māori:

> Research at the border between Māori science, *mātauranga Māori*, traditional ecological knowledge and Western science will lead to innovation, the creation of new knowledge and a new paradigm—one that is better equipped to deal with many of the issues confronting agricultural and horticultural development in NZ.
> (CoRE Fund Application Number 02-LIN-501, p. 22; emphasis in the original)

Innovations involving Theme 4/*mātauranga Māori* Bioprotection in the first two years of operation of this CoRE are noted below. They are taken from publications, presentations, the CoRE website, and participant observation.

- *Kaupapa Māori*/Participatory research practices.
- Databases that will include archiving aspects of '*mātauranga Māori*' such as *māramatanga* (illumination, understanding) and other Traditional Ecological Knowledges (TEKs) relevant to horticulture.
- Intellectual property
- Novel foods notably *taewa* (potatoes)
- Tertiary education (including 'staircasing' for Māori students and two doctoral scholarships).

The following table describes the broad diffusion processes of these innovations.

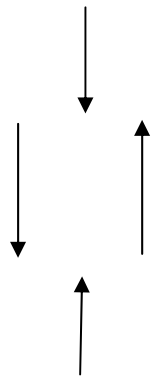
| | **institution** | **innovation** | **direction of diffusion** |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Upper level** | Govt.<br>MoRST<br>CRIs<br>TEC | 'Responsiveness to Māori' policy |  |
| **Middle level** | NCABT<br>Theme 4 '*Mātauranga Māori*' | Tertiary education, advice, new networks | |
| **Lower level** | *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) trusts, *whānau* (family/families), individuals | *mātauranga Māori*, case study participation, *taewa* | |

**Table 1: Preliminary innovations and mātauranga Māori relevant to the National Centre for Advanced Bioprotection Technologies.**

## Discussion

Māori are now returning to the proactive adoption/diffusion practices of the 19th century. In health (Durie, 1998), education (Simon, 1998; Walker, 1996), and business (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003), Māori as individuals and groups are seeking new ways of doing things. A willingness to embrace innovation in horticulture is also evident (Lambert, 2004; Roskruge, 2004). Historical precedents exist for this adoption of agricultural and horticultural innovations that involved interacting with government and private institutions and individuals. This ubiquitous development strategy now involves increasing collaboration with new research institutions, such as the CoREs and their strategic positioning of *mātauranga Māori* themes.

An examination of the operation of the NCABT from the perspective of innovation reveals Māori —as individuals and groups—are actually the source of a number of important innovations. This includes criteria to satisfy the controversial requirement for 'responsiveness to Māori' in the government research funds (see Benfell, 2003; The Royal Society of New Zealand, 2003).

## Conclusions

Approaches to Māori in the context of 'partnership' and 'responsiveness' have positioned Māori as collaborators and participants in a manner quite distinct from historically racist research programmes which sought to study indigenous peoples as passive subjects. Māori will originate as well as adopt innovations. However, where funding and research priorities are to commercialise the resulting technologies—especially those designed with sustainable development of land-based industries as a goal—they are ultimately placed on the global market for such technological innovations. This method of diffusion has never been easy for indigenous peoples to access. Where such technologies are supposed to enable sustainable production on Māori land, the risk must be that diffusion is delayed, consigning Māori land-based production to extended unsustainable production.

## Bibliography


Benfell, Peter (2003). Māori factors minor in R&D funding criteria. *The Press*, pp. A7

Blaut, James (1993). *The Colonisers Model of the World; Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York and London: The Guildford Press.

Brown, Lawrence., & Cox Kevin R. (1971). Empirical Regularities in the Diffusion of Innovation. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers. 61*, pp. 551–559.

Collins, Ian (2005). Quick commercial response to University research. vol. 2005. Christchurch: Lincoln University.

Durie, Mason (1998). *Whaiora: Māori Health Development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Environment Society and Design Division (2004). Māori values infuse agriculture project. *Environment, Society and Design Division Research Profile*, pp. 12–13.

Grim, John A. (2001). *Indigenous Traditions and Ecology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Harris, Nigel (2003). Team presentation. edited by T. F. colleagues. Christchurch.

Lambert, Simon (2004). Indigenous Research Ethics and Agro-ecological Development: *Raising the IRE in Biotechnology Transfer.* Te Papa: Wellington.

New Zealand Institute of Economic Research (2003). *Māori Economic Development/Te Ohanga Whaneketanga Māori.* Te Puni Kōkiri: Wellington.

Rapp, F. (1981). *Analytical Philosophy of Technology*. Translated by S. R. Carpenter and T. Langenbruch. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company.

Rogers, Everett M. (2003). *Diffusion of Innovations*. New York: The Free Press.

Roskruge, N. (2004). Snapshot of Māori Horticulture. In *Te Ohu Whenua*. Massey University.

Schumpeter, Joseph Alois (1928). The instability of capitalism. *The Economic Journal* 38:361–368.

Simon, Judith A. (1998). Anthropology, 'native schooling' and Māori: the politics of cultural adaption policies. *Oceania,* 69.

Stephenson, Rebecca A. (1994). Traditional Technologies' Structures and Cultures of the Pacific: Five Papers from the Symposium Technology and Cultural Change in the Pacific. In R. A. Stephenson (Ed.), *Technology and Cultural Change in the Pacific XVII Pacific Science Congress*. Honolulu: University of Guam/Micronesian Area Research Centre.

The Royal Society of New Zealand (2003). Selection Criteria for Centres of Research Excellence. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, vol. 2004.
Walker, Ranginui (1996). *Ngā Pepa a Ranginui: The Walker Papers*. Auckland: Penguin.

## Author Details

Simon Lambert
Ngāti Ruapani me Ngāi Tūhoe
PhD candidate
Environment, Society and Design Division
Lincoln University

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *kaupapa Māori* | based on Māori principles and methodology |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *māramatanga* | Illumination, understanding |
| *mātauranga Māori* | traditional Māori knowledge |
| *taewa* | potato(es) |
| *whānau* | family/families |

# ‘A lot is riding on sun, surf, and souvenirs’ [1] tourist longing and conservation: landscaping agendas of the state

**Sydney Iaukea**
Department of Political Science, Hawai`i — Mānoa

One windy day on the island of Hawai`i, Māui the demigod decided to make something that would use the wind to fly way up high. He took the strongest *kapa* (cloth) known in Hawai`i and cord made of *olonā* fibre. Building a giant *lupe* or kite, he used his magic powers to make it move back and forth across the sky as it rose higher and higher into the clouds.

Māui wanted his kite to fly even higher so he called upon the Priest, Kaleiioku of Waipi`o Valley. He was the keeper of the calabash called ‘Ipu-makani-a-ka-maumau’, meaning ‘Calabash of the perpetual winds’. He sent powerful winds up the Hāmākua coastline to Hilo Bay and along the rugged terrain of the Wailuku River.

Māui’s kite soared into the heavens. The winds were so strong he had to brace himself against the lava rocks along the Wailuku River. His footprints can still be seen there today.

Māui decided his kite would be useful as a signal for good weather. When the people of Hawai`i saw Māui’s kite flying high above the volcanoes Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, they would lay out their kapa to dry in the sun and breeze.

Māui also used his kite to travel across the ocean from island to island. When the winds were blowing strong in the right direction, he would fly his kite and have it pull his double canoe quickly across the open waters. The swiftness of his canoe became legendary and well known throughout all of the Hawai`ian Islands.

When Māui’s great kite flew for the last time, it landed between Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa and a large flat area was formed. Today, this place is a reminder of the many great times had by Māui flying his wonderful kite and travelling in his famous canoe (Lee, 1998).

This *mo`olelo* (story) speaks about dominant features in the *`āina* (land) and various relationships between *akua* (Gods) and *maka`āinana* (people). For Hawaiians in the 1700s, a wind discourse like the one expressed in this mo`olelo of Māui and his famous kite, illustrates other connections between people and place. This mo`olelo emphasises physical features of the terrain, speaks of the adventures of the Gods and situates people according to these narratives. In contrast, contemporary landscaping discourses, as promoted and legislated by the State, reassign and renegotiate use, function and meaning to land and place. This affects and impacts how we live and work on the land.

I will read conservation and tourism agendas in Hawai`i as they progressed together in the late 1950s. The two were interconnected in social and juridical discourses as they positioned land, people and culture in particular ways. I will also relate a Hawaiian interpretation of land in the legend of La`amaomao, the Hawaiian wind deity, wherein a discourse on wind situates both land and people. The direction the wind comes, the manner in which it blows, and the effects on the surrounding geography all factor into knowing the terrain. Place is highlighted here, or that which exists in a lived relationship with man and nature, as opposed to viewing land as spatial and therefore conquerable and dividable. Social relations in Hawai`i changed as discursive practices have highlighted and privileged Western readings. Implicated in this discussion is the question of how *`āina* (land) is constructed and produced as land and landscape, and subsequently the manner in which *ka po`e kahiko* (literally ‘the people of old’) are naturalised and neutralised within the biopolitical and juridical discourses of the state. Native

[1] Enloe 1989:40.

people are implicated by the policing of bodies across these spaces and the types of actions allowable in these spaces according to the State.
I am personally implicated in this discussion of land use, land loss and conservation agendas. My great great grandparents, Curtis and Charlotte Iaukea, lost some land in Kalihi Valley in the mid-1900s when the Territorial Government expanded the Forest Reserve region. In 1882, Curtis Piehu Iaukea was granted Kamanaiki Valley from King David Kalākaua. The boundaries were later remapped by a land grant from Queen Lili`uokalani, with the final allotment totaling 237.47 acres. Some of this land in Kamanaiki Valley was taken as part of the Honolulu Watershed Forest Reserve by the Territory of Hawai`i.

## Western visions

Land is a primary site of contention in many political imaginaries, but it carries different kinds of significance. Because there are multiple ways to conceptualise and ascribe meaning to the land, land becomes the physical space wherein multiple groups contest their particular epistemologies. Of the various social interpretations of land, conservation agendas originate with notions of nature and empty space. Conservation agendas act as nation-building projects by emptying peopled places in the name of the nation and reasserting new ways of interacting with land and nature. In doing so, these sites that seek to preserve instead become primary sites of consumption as nature and culture is evoked, utilised, and consumed. By mapping land according to a spatial discourse, indigenous practices of place are for the most part distorted and silenced.

Geographer Bruce Braun (1997) states that nature is constructed as a "space of visibility" so that economic and political investments in nature may be constituted. The spaces of visibility in conservation agendas are legitimised and institutionalised in a landscape discourse, one that materially and epistemically delegitimises some people while emptying all people from space. Conservation lands rely for their status on myths of the landscape and wilderness. Both myths position nature as independent and devoid of human contact. In reality, conservation lands are "created out of lands with long histories of occupancy and use" (Neumann, 1998, p. 2). People live and have lived in these areas for many generations and therefore these areas are already peopled and alive with activity. For native peoples, a coexistence with nature is necessary for physical and psychological survival.

In contrast to this actuality, the laws that created Yellowstone and Yosemite national parks in the United States in the 1870s depended on notions of 'empty space'. The acts of emptying these spaces were either violently enforced by the military and miners for Yosemite, or seemingly more passively encroached upon by hunters and campers in Yellowstone. The end result of both lands entering into what can now be called 'parkland' were the same: creating vacant space. "Parks help to conceal the violence of conquest and in so doing not only deny the Other their history, but also create a new history in which the Other literally has no place" (Neumann, 1998, p. 31). This ignorance of prior occupancy is the necessary ingredient in the externalisation of nature, whereby nature is seen as something 'out there', as opposed to that which is implicit within human contact. Also included in this idea of externalisation is the privileging of sight over multi-sensory perceptions of 'nature'. Nature then becomes "a place to which one goes - the site of 'resources', a stage for 'recreation', a source for 'spiritual renewal', and a scene for 'aesthetic reflection'" (Braun, 2002, p. ix).

Spatial practices, such as mapping and surveying (the agents of modernity), condensed land to the notion of *landscape*. Denis Cosgrove (1998) traces the genealogy of landscape to the social formation of land and labor in Renaissance Italy. Over the course of time, "landscape constitute(s) a discourse through which identifiable social groups historically have framed themselves and their relations with both the land and with other human groups, and this discourse is closely related epistemically and technically to ways of seeing" (xiv). With the change from feudalism to capitalism in Italy, social relations to the land were altered as the state and town transformed. Underlying this genealogy of landscape were the forces of politics and industry, which changed social relations to the land. In doing so, "the separation of subject and object, insider and outsider, the personal and the social are already apparent at the birth of the landscape idea" (26).

Seeing *place* as *space* relies upon the positioning of sight over multi-sensory perception. Viewing as a biological priority subsequently led to the classifying and enframing of nature as privileged space in Western empirical thought. "Enframing is a method of dividing up and containing, as in the

construction of barracks or the rebuilding of villages, which operates by conjuring up a neutral surface or volume called 'space'. Plans and dimensions introduce space as something apparently abstract and neutral, a series of inert frames or containers" (Mitchell as cited in Foucault, 1977, p. 45). With this understanding, space is *a priori* to place; it is pre-existing and abstract, and can be ordered into being. Western constructs of land are heavily coded in power dynamics and are reinforced through the legitimacy of institutions that view and articulate land as a spatial entity. In contrast, a place-based perspective of land recognises place as a primary site that exists with and through the interactions of local communities and indigenous thought worlds.

As the landscape idea separates the viewer from the viewed and privileges spatial orders, the concept of *wilderness* again separates human habitation from the natural, but through the use of different tropes. The wilderness notion comes from 19th century English romantic traditions that viewed sublime nature as a source of aesthetic value. The vastness and grandeur of nature is appreciated for its aesthetic qualities alone, and can only be recognised by those who possess an assumed moral and cultural superiority. This aestheticisation of nature devalued or ignored the laborer who shaped it. As shown in paintings during this era, laborers working on the landscape were emptied from the view so that wilderness could be appreciated.

***Spaces of conservation and tourism in Hawai`i***

The Territorial Government in Hawai`i foresaw a long history of conservation and preservation in 1903. They relied upon myths of the landscape and myths of wilderness to enact their landscaping order both on the land, as well as impregnate this way of seeing land on the citizen. Today Hawai`i has the eleventh-largest state-owned forest and natural reserve area in the United States. Conservation began in 1892, one year before the illegal overthrow of the Hawai`ian Kingdom, when a Bureau of Agriculture and Forestry was established. In 1903 a Division of Forestry was created primarily to set aside forestlands for the protection of streams, springs and other water supply sources. "The first decade (1904-1913) saw the establishment of 37 forest reserves totaling nearly 800,000 acres of state and private land." (Division of Forestry and Wildlife, 2006, p. 2). The Territorial Government in the early 1900s borrowed the newly implemented conservation policy of the United States to restructure the use, function, and meaning of the land. Preservation and conservation is a creation of United States state-making policy that secured land and nature for a 'national good', often with the violent and aggressive removal of Indians from the land. In the United States, a 'national good' was imagined in the physical terrain, as the desire for open spaces and grand views facilitated and enhanced the myth of the 'frontier'. "In North America, the national parks were intended to, among other things; preserve the memory of an idealised pioneer history as an encounter with "wilderness" that was conquered by enterprising Europeans" (Neumann, 1998, p. 18). In this manner, the need for a national park went beyond the European appreciation of sublime nature and instead focused on a 'national heritage' as it clarified national myths. A sense of historic time and memory was supported with desires for, and control over, the wilderness.

These examples of nation building precipitated the parks system in Hawai`i. This process allowed the Territory and the State to speak for nature as the guardian, chosen to do so by virtue of their role of 'Enlightened men' as a function of nation building. It also uses United States' juridical discourse to ignore the fact that Hawai`i was already recognised as sovereign, and therefore not accountable to the internal jurisdiction of the United States. In this era, a 'policy for recreation' was formally created and fashioned after conservation efforts in the United States, and done so to further a false sense of guardianship from the U.S.:

> In these words by the President the recreation needs which apply to the country as a whole and to Hawai`i in particular are aptly expressed. The federal government recognises its duty in this important field of public welfare by stressing recreational development through various federal agencies such as the National Park Service, the US Forest Service, the Bureau of Reclamation, etc.
>
> The furtherance of these ideals by states and local governments has brought about the recognition that each of these levels has a specific duty to perform according to its jurisdiction and responsibility. In Hawai`i, the latter defines its scope of recreation development as being directed towards local residents, while the responsibility of the territorial government in

> recreation should extend to all the people of the Islands, including our visitors from afar, and should also include the proper conservation and development of our manifold natural, scenic and historic resources in the interest of the public and the nation as a whole. (Territorial Planning Office, 1959, p. 42)

This agenda helped to solidify the implementation and coherence of a United States' national consciousness, with the use of the land as the vehicle. That which would be preserved should be developed for, and in the interest of, the public and the nation as a whole. In the process, a linear narrative is validated. The parks acted as a legitimising vehicle of drawing Hawai`i closer to the United States by the Territorial Government in Hawai`i in the early 1900s. The radical shift of government from the Hawai'an Kingdom to the imagined existence of the Territory of Hawai`i began its journey with changes to the use and function of the land. A juridical discourse based on the U.S. model took hold in the early 1900s, although it was never legitimised on the international arena for the entity called the Territory of Hawai`i. The use of land laws to assist the shift simultaneously confined Hawai`i closer to the United States Government by using their newly produced conception of 'landscape' and the production of a 'national good', while it also continued the change of social relations for Hawai'ans to the `āina.

By the mid-1950s the need for open spaces as a backdrop for tourism was being expressed both in legislation and in the public opinion of the relatively few with political and economic power in Hawai`i. The Planning Office of the Territory of Hawai`i wrote in 1959: "Over and above the need to develop a coordinated and comprehensive Territorial park system *per se* is the additional requirement that the Territory conserve and preserve valuable but rapidly disappearing historic sites, monuments, and scenic area throughout Hawai`i" (Territorial Planning Office, 1959, p. 12). Attention was drawn to the fact that after much development to the land in the early 1900s, a more centralised and better-structured plan for preservation was needed in order to both preserve and conserve land and culture.

The Hawaiian Trail and Mountain Club wrote in the early 1950s of the "GROWING NEED for POPULATION DISPERSAL AREAS where people can hike, camp, or just relax and escape from crowds, noise, smoke, and the rush of modern life" (original emphasis; 1). Within their short five-page report urging the legislature to implement a parks system, the need for "open space" was stressed. Categories for land management were detailed as lands to be divided based on historic, educational, and scientific value. This document maintained that a division of the state parks within the Department of Natural Resources should be in charge of the lands. A few years later in 1959, the Territorial Planning Office set forth a plan of conservation in a report entitled *A Territorial Parks System for Hawaii.* This plan continued the narrative that stressed the enormous need for 'open spaces' and the complete necessity of allocating more conservation sites.

The line that is drawn in the case of conservation lands is between nature and culture, as if the two are independent of one another. In this aspect, we are conditioned to see cultural features, or 'place', as separate from geographic features, which are 'space'. Other connections to the land are disqualified through this landscape rhetoric. Other ways of existing on the land are criminalised if they fall outside of this mythical 'national good'. The policing of bodies and their actions across these spaces are a primary concern for the State and a primary practice for the State to legitimate itself. In this realm, physical interactions with the landscape can be judged in a binary manner as either 'good' or 'bad 'behaviour. In 2004, the Department of Land and Natural Resources defined good and bad behaviour in relation to the land:

> The native forest is of great cultural significance as the home of plants and animals important in Hawai`ian culture and of folklore and traditions based on ancient relationships with the land. Hunting of feral pigs, deer, and goats is a popular sport and source of food for some of Hawai`i's residents. While these animals represent a valuable resource to the hunting community, if left uncontrolled, can seriously damage the watershed. Hiking, mountain biking, fishing, photography, and nature study are (instead) popular recreation activities in many of Hawai`i's watersheds. (Division of Forestry and Wildlife, 2006, p. 3)

Under this rhetoric, new categories of citizen are emphasised as having "legitimate" social relations to the land. This creates a new set of binary oppositions: visitor/trespasser, tourist/squatter, and

lover/destroyer of nature. Culture is also seen through the binary scope of either/or, legitimate/illegitimate and native/non-native.
Because of the 'otherness' of 'new' natures such as Africa and Oceania, landscaping agendas became dominant forces in the formation of national and imperial identities. Implicit in this encounter is the recognition of culture and its identification. The manner in which land in the Pacific is encountered is varied, but rests primarily with the identifying marks of femininity and sexuality. James Michener describes such an encounter in his book *Hawai`i*:

> These beautiful islands, waiting in the sun and storm, how much they seemed like beautiful women waiting for their men to come home at dusk, waiting with open arms and warm bodies and consolation. All that would be accomplished in these islands, as in these women, would be generated solely by the will and puissance of some man. I think the islands always knew this. (1982)

Besides the obvious feminising aspects of this perceived encounter, the space of the islands and the otherness of nature can be that of "regular ontological shock. It is filled with competing indigenous meaning, a foreign semiotics that does not accommodate class and gender distinctions in the same way, which must consequently be rewritten so that it appears willing to admit colonial appropriations" (Gregory, 2001, p. 98). More so than Michener, geographer Derek Gregory (2001) speaks more specifically about natural historians and travellers in the mid-1800s and their roles in classifying 'tropicality,' or the 'othering' of nature"

> The first represented the tropics as an Acadia, a sort of Garden of Eden before the Fall. This rhetorical space was most closely associated with the islands of the Caribbean and the South Pacific. In the eighteenth and on into the nineteenth centuries the production and reproduction of such an emphatically exuberant nature was sustained by an intimate cross-fertilisation between luxuriance and sexuality. (98)

This sexualised reading of 'otherness' extends beyond the geography to include the inhabitants. The edenic myths of the 'noble savage' (natives in harmony with nature) and of the 'ignoble savage' (natives living in disharmony with nature) became important aspects to forming the national identity of the state as the container of both wilderness and native people. The thematic of the exotic and/or erotic 'other' over-exposed people in Oceania, and the construct was used as a mechanism to sell 'Self' and 'Other' in the form of mass tourism. In *Reading National Geographic,* Lutz and Collins expose the fact that bare-breasted women are the most photographed body in the Pacific region and the most sexualised body in any region. "Tropical setting are often conflated with femininity and sexuality, the naturalism and eroticism of at least some of these islands is a cultural theme already made available through the National Geographic images" (Lutz and Collins, 1993, pp. 152-3). In such instances, culture is important (but only particular bodies and their actions), as well as the 'historic sites' that accompany them, which can be represented in precise and pre-negotiated ways.

Because the availability of land and people is read through a feminising lens, and because of modernising agendas that promote particular realities, Neumann in *Imposing Wilderness* makes the argument that conservation lands are primary sites of consumption (1998). Neumann says, "a national park is the quintessential landscape of consumption for modern society" (24). In Hawai`i, as in other places that require and promote conservation, tourism is engaged primarily to promote consumption in the form of paying a fee 'to get back to nature'. This search for authenticity is modernity's very necessary other. It is also an erasure of one type of human consumption, as those found in these already-peopled places, and the commencement of other means of consumption, such as through tourism that needs culture to be represented as hegemonic, mystical and exotic for economic purposes. People do not come to Hawai`i to gaze at one another alone, but to see that which is 'Hawaiian'. The irony of the 1959 Territorial report is that, out of a 20-page report, only two sentences refer to conservation, and the rest of the report focuses on tourism, pondering what visual aspects the visitor will need for 'visitor satisfaction' (although the benefits to residents of the lands are also put in throughout the text in parenthesis, much like this sentence).

The Territorial Government wrote: "Hawai`i is fortunate in that it possesses not only many heiaus, historic monuments, and other cultural sites but she also possesses scenic areas which, in their natural unspoiled beauty, also represent a great potential economic resource as far as visitor satisfaction is

concerned" (Territorial Planning Office, 1959, p. 6). These cultural sites are named and positioned as a purely economic resource and for the purposes of visitor satisfaction.
Some examples taken from the Territorial Planning Office's report of presuming that tourism impacts on conservation are:

- "At this point, it is only necessary to indicate that the responsibility for developing and maintaining a park programme to supplement existing county and federal facilities, as well as to increase our tourist attractions, is inescapably a Territorial responsibility."
- "Oahu, which is widely advertised as the mecca of Pacific tourism, has only two Territorial parks, representing a total of 17.2 acres, to "service" some 175,000 tourists!"
- "The lesson is clear: tourists and local residents will visit parks if they are of sufficient interest educationally, scenically, or historically, and are properly developed."
- "Parks do compromise a significant tourist attraction if properly developed - clearly indicate the direction the Territory should follow if it desires to assist in maintaining the pace of tourism to Hawai`i, and to help disperse such tourists (and local residents seeking new recreational experiences) to the Neighbour Islands."
- "The advertising programme of the Hawai`i Visitors Bureau, which emphasises the Polynesian atmosphere and attributes of life in the islands, also contributes to the illusion of space and availability of recreational facilities; we have, in a sense, become victims of our own sales and promotion programme."

Tourism relies upon exotic imagery as well as exits and entrances into extraordinary experiences: "central to much tourism is some notion of departure" and escape to the "extraordinary" (Fergusion and Turnbull, 1999, p. 124). According to John Urry in *The Tourist Gaze* (2002), the tourist experience seeks an inversion from the everyday and therefore imagines and celebrates the extraordinary. In the process, the sacralisation of the site or object occurs with an economic impetus. The site is only a site because it has been named, framed, and elevated from the everyday and enshrined as a sacred object and a social reproduction (10-11). In this rhetoric, culture and the people that inhabit it are read as cohesive and as part of a community. This construction of a 'core community' or a 'core culture' is vital to conservation agendas because these are the bodies and sites that are the objects of the gaze. Araun Agrawal and Clark Gibson in *Communities and the Environment* (2001) argue the need to represent the 'noble savage' as a hegemonic entity is problematic because community itself is hard to measure and the cohesiveness of such can only be guessed at. In the case of conservation, communities do not necessarily correlate, and native communities do not always translate as actors in conservation agendas.

***An epistemological difference: Hawaiian understandings of land through the winds***

All of these notions of conservation and tourism insist on insider versus outsider notions of encounters with nature, the natural, and with one another. But for native peoples, there may not be a way to epistemically divorce oneself from the land. "One travelled through the landscape as an observer "taking in" (consuming) the scenery, rather than travelled in the landscape. In contrast, for the insider, there is no firm distinction between herself or himself and the land, no way to simply step out of the picture or the landscape" (Neumann, 1998, p. 20). 'Placial' understandings for indigenous peoples are related to living and surviving within the environment; it is that 'intimate experience' that Yi Fu Tuan speaks about. Within this experience learning is dynamic and active. Manu Meyer sees the dynamics of interacting with place as active: "the linking of experience with awareness is active. For example, surfing affects our knowledge about the ocean. Relationship is the cornerstone of Hawai`ian experience which shaped knowledge" (1998, p. 134).

Examples of local knowledge or placial connections between people and space in Hawai`i can be found in many narratives. The Wind Gourd of La`amaomao is a narrative about landscape, as read through the story of the winds. The Wind Gourd of La`amaomao is a translated text from the Hawaiian legend, *Mo`olelo Hawai`i o Paka`a a me Kuapaka`a, na Kahu Iwikuamo`o o Keawenuiaumi, ke Ali`i o Hawai`i, a na mo`opuna hoi a La`amaomao*. This legend speaks of the personal attendants to Keawenuiaumi, Chief of Hawai`i, and the descendants of La`amaomao, the wind Goddess. The legend relates the close relationship between the Chief, Hawai`i and his attendants as well as the responsibilities they had for each other.

> The wind gourd referred to in the title of this legend was believed to contain all the winds of Hawai`i, which could be called forth by chanting their names. According to Handy and Handy,

> the gourd is an embodiment of Lono, the Hawai`ian god of agriculture and fertility. In the Pāka`a legend, the gourd, along with the wind chants naming dozens of local winds, is passed down from La`amaomao, the Hawai`ian wind goddess to her granddaughter La`amaomao; to her granddaughter's son Pāka`a, to Pāka`a's son, Kuapāka`a. (Nakuina, 1992, p. viii-ix)

In this mo`olelo, the winds are chanted first by primary *akua* (Gods) and passed down through the *`aumākua* (family Gods) to the *kūpuna* (grandparents), and then passed down to the son and grandson. The winds, consisting of more than a hundred — far too many to recount for this paper — are memorised generationally because of the *kuleana* (responsibility) of descendants to continue the 'memory.'

These chants, which speak of not only the winds but of the ocean currents, situate Hawaiians accordingly. You know where you are based on the name of the wind, the type of the wind, and the particular relationship that it has with birds, swells and other aspects in nature. It is not simply naming the spot, but knowing the spot based on these other factors which serves as place-marking. In effect, it is the chance to be a participant in the relationship with nature. Access to the knowledge of the winds was granted by genealogy and carried down through family lines. The wind chanter not only knew the names of winds and the directions they blew, but also had control over the winds and was able to use the winds to serve his *ali`i* (kings and queens). This discourse on wind is exemplified in the story of the wind gourd.

For the island of O`ahu there are over 40 winds. Each wind is attached to a particular area and named for different qualities of the wind itself and the part of the island it passes. This wind discourse supported an infrastructure based on cosmology and rights to resources and status regulated by ancestry. It also supported another way of relating to the environment and exemplified other relationships to the land and ocean in response to winds.

In the legend Kuapāka`a learns the winds from his father Pāka`a, a descendant of La`amaomao the Hawaiian wind goddess. In one section of the narrative, Kuapāka`a's genealogy is being challenged by the attendants of Keawe. In response to the challenge, Kuapāka`a recites all of the names of the winds, for all of the islands in Hawai`i, in order to prove his heritage. Here is a partial list of some of the winds of O`ahu as Kuapāka`a narrates:

> From the sea, the storm comes sweeping toward shore,
> The windward Kuilua wind churns up the sea,
> While you're fishing and sailing,
> The Ihiihilauakea wind blows,
> It's the wind that blows inside Hanauma,
> A wind from the mountains that darkens the sea,
> It's the wind that tosses the kapa of Paukua,
> Puuokona is of Kuli`ou`ou,
> Maua is the wind of Niu,
> Holouhā is of Kekaha,
> Māunuunu is of Wai`alao,
> The wind of Lē`ahi turns here and there,
> `Ōlauniu is of Kahaloa,
> Wai`ōma`o is of Pālolo,
> Kuehulepo is of Kahua,
> Kukalahale is of Honolulu,
> `Ao`aoa is of Māmala,
> `Ōlauniu is of Kapālama,
> Haupe`pe`e is of Kalihi,
> Komomona is of Kahauiki,
> Ho`e`o is of Moanalua,
> Moa`eku is of Ewaloa,
> Kēhau is of Waopua,
> Waikōloa is of Līhu`e,
> Kona is of Pu`uokapolei…

The winds are called systematically going around the island of O`ahu in a clockwise direction and ending at Makapu`u on the eastern edge of O`ahu. In this legend, the speaker of the winds also has control over the direction the winds blow. In this manner, responsibility and ancestry intercept with natural elements. This discourse positioned around wind and land was interrupted periodically and eventually silenced in its original form by many events in Hawai`i's history.

***Hawaiian understandings: co-participation and local knowledge versus the 'tourist gaze'***

For a wind to be of a place signifies relationship and a belonging to the environment rather than a separation from it. Language accentuates the 'of' with the possessive 'o/a' in the Hawai`ian language. The 'be of' a place, for instance *No Māui mai au* (I am from Māui with the use of kino `ō), signifies possession and implicit in this possession is interaction. The recognition of Māui as being my birthplace means that Māui also becomes part of my existence and representative in all of my interactions. This active participation in the environment also designates communities of people that also understand these interactions and understand nature as the co-participant in the particular community as the basis of functioning. Gregory Cajete, in his book entitled *Native Science,* evokes the 'participation mystic' to speak of the interaction with place as affecting identity: "Native languages are verb-based, and the words that describe the world emerge directly from actively perceived experience. In a sense, language 'choreographs' and/or facilitates the continual orientation of Native thought and perception toward active participation, active imagination, and active engagement with all that makes up natural reality" (2000, p. 27). For Cajete, the co-participation with the natural world is simultaneously a type of 'perceptual phenomenology', as well as a sensual type of experience because of the close intimacy.

At least for cultural geographers, or those that recognise the importance of a sense of 'place' over the conception of 'space', the importance of local knowledge in relating to and relating with the environment is emphasised. David Turnbull recognises this and speaks on the local in the universal:

> Cathedrals were built without plans or standardised measures, Pacific Islanders navigated without maps or compasses, maps became adopted by the state through a social process of linking local sites; turbulence research and malaria vaccine research, like all technoscience, is local and site-specific in the first instance. In every case disorganised local knowledge was assembled in contingent circumstances; yet scientific knowledge is publicly presented as universal and rational. (2000, p. 210)

The "universal and rational" is arguably a local knowledge that was put forth as the dominant discourse. This discourse was then imposed through the power project of Europeans by the griding of people and place.[2]

## Conclusion

The effect of 'landscape thinking' on indigenous communities has been one of displacement and erasure. Michael J. Shapiro looks at the recoding of the landscape in the continental United States and argues "Euro American representational practices played a role in the historical displacement of the Native American from the continent's landscape" (2003, p. 1). He adds, "they participated in the expansionist process through which the West was settled, 'tamed,' and effectively inscribed, as the state recorded the landscape, turning it into a white provenance and a resource that would aid in the process of industrialisation" (2). This links landscapes to a 'nation-creating' endeavour wherein particular ideological constructs, such as the nation, are made to appear natural and all other relations made to appear unusual.

In Hawai`i, the land has gone through massive ideological transformations as the Hawaiian reading of land as *`āina*, or literally that feeds and sustains an intimate connection between people, their ali`i, and the cosmos has moved to the notion of land as real-estate/private property that can be bought and sold without cultural emotional connections. Over time, this land has come to reflect the multiple discourses of power as a site of the "visual experience and social production" contingent in the act of Western landscaping (Cosgrove, 1984, p. 14). Under this mode of mapping, the land has fulfilled preconceived

[2] Michel Foucault and the grid as recognised as the represented through the dominant discourse of science in *The Order of Things* (New York: Vintage, 1970).

roles that conform to both the 'tourist gaze' and 'conservation agendas'. Other ways of knowing the land are erased from contemporary state discourse, except as those imagined to represent the authentic and anachronistic.

In the mid-1950's in Hawai`i, the Territorial Government and those that had been in power for close to 50 years, began to re-emphasise the need for an entity called 'conservation land', or that which would 'preserve' the 'natural' Hawai`i. Subsequent laws were passed in order to solidify a land base that would set land aside for activities such as recreation, viewing the natural vista, and preserving Hawai`i's natural landscape and culture. This underlying motive for conservation by the Territorial Government was economically provoked. An already booming tourism industry and an eye towards the future of this industry necessitated 'conservation land' so that this industry could continue and, more importantly, prosper as well.

As Ferguson and Turnball argue, "this new order revalued certain kinds of land. While it still needed to be 'empty,' it was no longer measured by its productivity in metric tons or contiguous acres, but by its proximity to sandy beaches and clean bays" (1999, p. 40). No one wanted, or I suppose wants, to come to Hawai`i to see only hotels and only other tourists. The myth of Hawai`i as a destination spot relies in large part on the continued existence of the natural beauty and access to that which is natural and wild. Therefore to assure continued interest by outsiders in Hawai`i, steps for conservation needed to be implemented. Supporting this construction of nature are landscaping ideologies that reposition people *vis a vis* land and the natural. And in this narrative, "the question is not whether we should or should not preserve the past, but what kind of past we have chosen to preserve" (99).

## Bibliography


Agrawal, A., & Gibson, C. (2001). *Communities and the Environment: Ethnicity, gender, and the state in community-based conservation*. London: Rutgers University Press.

Basso, K. (1996). *Wisdom Sits in Places*. New Mexico: School of American Research Press.

Braun, B. (1997, March) Buried Epistemologies: The politics of nature in (post) colonial British Columbia. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *87*(1), pp. 700-2.

Braun, B. (2002). *The Intemperate Rainforest: Nature, culture, and power on Canada's West Coast*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Cajete, G. (2000). *Native Science; Natural Laws of Interdependence*. New Mexico: Clear Light Publishing.

Cosgrove, D. (1998). *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Enloe, C. (1989). *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making feminist sense of international politics.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ferguson, K., & Turnbull, P. (1999). *Oh, Say, Can You See? The Semiotics of the Military In Hawai`i*. Minneapolis*:* University of Minnesota Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punishment*: *The birth of the prison*. Translation by A. Sheridan. New York: Pantheon Books.

Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of Things*. New York: Vintage.

Gregory, D. (2001). (Post) Colonialism and the Production of Nature. In N. Castree and B. Braun (Eds.), *Social Nature; Theory, Practice, and Politics* (pp. 84-110). Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.

Lee, R.K. (1998). *Legends of the Hawaiian Waters*. Honolulu: Makapu`u Press.

Lutz, C., & Collins, J. (1993). *Reading National Geographic*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kylselka, W. (1987). *An Ocean In Mind*. Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press.

McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial Leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial contest*. New York: Routledge.

Meyer, M. Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, *31*(1), pp. 124-8.

Michener, J. (1982). *Hawaii*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Mitchell, T. (1988). *Colonising Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Mitchell, W.J.T. (2002). *Landscape and Power*. Chicago: Univeristy of Chicago Press.

Nakuina, M. (1992). *The Wind Gourd of La`amaomao*, Second Edition. Translated by Esther T. Mookini and Sarah Nakoa. Honolulu: Kalamaku Press.

Neumann, R. (2002). *Imposing Wilderness: Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Shapiro, M. J. (2003). *Stating Indian Country.* Patterned Ground.
Territorial Planning Office, Territory of Hawaii (1959, January). *A Territorial Parks System For Hawaii*.
Hawaiian Trail and Mountain Club. *The Need For A State Park System in Hawaii*.
Turnbull, D. (2000). *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers*. London: Gordon and Breach Publishing Group.
Urry, J. (2002). *The Tourist Gaze,* Second Edition. London: SAGE Publications.
Division of Forestry and Wildlife, *Watershed Protection and Management Program.* www.state.hi.us/dlnr.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *`āina* | land |
| *akua* | gods |
| *`aumākua* | family gods |
| *ali`i* | kings and queens |
| *ka po`e kahiko* | the people of old |
| *kapa* | cloth |
| *kuleana* | responsibility |
| *kūpuna* | grandparents |
| *lupe* | kite |
| *maka `āinana* | people |
| *mo`oleo* | story |
| *olonā* | a native shrub valued as a strong fibre for fishing nets etc. |

# Hawaiian place names: mnemonic symbols in Hawaiian performance cartography

**Renee Pualani Louis**
Department of Geography, University of Hawai`i

## Introduction

Hawaiian place names are powerful cognitive mechanisms that unfold the richness of the Hawaiian cultural landscape. They are a convergence of the Hawaiian cultural, social, political, and economic order, providing a key to the lives and imaginations of Hawaiians by incorporating into the physical landscape constant reminders of past events, cautionary tales, and epic sagas.

Knowledge of their meaning provides insight to the importance these place names had in shaping Hawaiian cultural identities. Sharing the names and meanings of places was a conscious act of cultural regeneration. Frequently, narrative accounts contained more than one place name, often times spanning the island chain, yet they are grouped together in the Hawaiian consciousness, as in the following examples of the journey of Hi`iakaikapoliopele, Pele's youngest and most beloved sister.

Popular Map Name: Chinaman's Hat

Hawaiian Name: Mokoli`i

Literal translation: Little mo`o lizard)

Cultural connection: The tail of a mo`o (lizard) defeated by Hi`iaka.

Popular Map Name: Crouching Lion

Hawaiian Name: Kauhi'īmakaokalani

Literal translation: Kauhi, the great eye of heaven

Cultural Connection: A dog demigod from Kahiki that travelled to Hawai`i with Pele. He was turned to stone in a crouching position by Hi`iaka.

With the introduction of the Western cartographic tradition, many Hawaiian place names became the (un)intentional victims of epistemological difference. Western cartography at the turn of the 20th century gave preeminence to presenting an objective, practical, and functional reality (Harvey, 1989, p. 245). The place names used on Western maps are meant to give a generalised knowledge of locational relativity and proximity to other features. By adopting Western cartographic techniques, Hawaiians unwittingly lost many place names of cultural significance.

This is a difficult statement to make when there are more native place names on maps in the state of Hawai`i than in the contiguous U.S. Hawai`i is the only state in the United States where a majority of place names are in the native language. Of the place names in U.S. Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) database for the state of Hawai`i, 93 per cent have a Hawaiian component to them.

However, I wonder exactly what type of place names have been preserved. In scanning the place names in the GNIS, a majority of them are 'associative' (Stewart, 1970, p. xxviii), in that they share the same specific name (uniquely identifies the particular place, feature, or area) and have a different generic name (usually a single topographic term such as bay, hill, peak, or point). For example, there are eleven entries with the specific place name "Honolulu" in GNIS. Honolulu is listed twice: once as a civil feature type and again as a populated place feature type (there are 51 different feature types with a Hawaiian specific place name). Then there is the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu Channel, Honolulu Community College, Honolulu Harbor, Honolulu Junior Academy, Honolulu Observatory, Honolulu Stadium, Honolulu Watershed Forest, and the Honolulu Zoo.

The type of place names that have been preserved probably have more to do with the conversion to private property than with preserving Hawaiian culture. The USGS used maps compiled from surveyors' notes during the Hawaiian monarchy in compiling the place names for Hawai`i currently in the GNIS. Although these surveyors may have collected numerous place names while in the field, at that time the Hawaiian government was more interested in surveying land boundaries for a conversion to private land ownership. So, only a few place names collected by the surveyors were selected for inclusion on Hawai`i government maps.

I am not saying Western cartographic techniques are the sole culprit in the loss of place names of cultural significance, but they do play a part. By far the greatest contribution came from the loss of both Hawaiian lives due to disease and Hawaiian youths moving into cities for financial stability during a time when Hawai`i was undergoing massive social, political, and cultural change. As a result, Hawaiian place-naming practices declined.

Hawaiians wrote their culture on the landscape and used place names as mnemonic symbols in a cognitive cartography. (Basso, 1996, p. 7). The Hawaiian cartographic tradition, although similar to the Euro-American cartographic tradition in that it is a social construction, evolved along a different course than did Euro-American cartography.

Hawaiians have an oral tradition and hence did not encode their knowledge in archival graphic forms. They privilege process over product, incorporating their understanding of their island setting into their mo`ōlelo (stories), oli (chant), 'ōlelo no'eau (proverbs), hula (dance), mele (song) and their mo`okū'auhau (genealogy). This is a form of cartography categorised by Woodward and Lewis as "performance or ritual cartography" (1998, p. 4). Performance cartographies are external interactions or performances that "may take the form of a nonmaterial oral, visual, or kinesthetic social act, such as a gesture, ritual, chant, procession, dance, poem, story, or other means of expression or communication whose primary purpose is to define or explain spatial knowledge or practice" (ibid.).

Although place names serve different purposes in Hawaiian performance cartography than they do in a Western cartographic tradition, at least one thing ties both traditions together and that is that every people, in order to survive, must be able to communicate to others, their knowledge about the place they live. I assert that in the Western tradition, this knowledge was inscribed into archival graphic documents called maps. In the Hawaiian tradition, this knowledge was incorporated into various cultural acts in which mnemonic symbols such as place names are of central importance.

The terms, "inscription" and "incorporation" are from Robert Rundstrom's use of Paul Connerton's work entitled, "How Societies Remember". Incorporating practices traditionally emphasise oral communication and other performance-based modes (e.g., dance, painting) in transmitting all sorts of meaningful information. The actions, lasting hours or days, carry greater meaning than any object they produce. By contrast, inscribing practices hold and fix meaningful information years after humans have stopped informing, and typically must do so by means of some object (e.g., maps, GIS). Storage is crucial, and leads to stasis and fixity (Rundstrom, 1995, p. 51).

Furthermore, the impact of writing on social memory is much written about and evidently vast. The transition from an oral culture to a literate culture is a transition from incorporating practices to inscribing practices. The impact of writing depends upon the fact that any account which is transmitted by means of inscriptions is unalterably fixed. When the memories of a culture begin to be transmitted mainly by the reproduction of their inscriptions rather than by 'live' tellings, improvisation becomes increasingly difficult and innovation is institutionalised (Connerton, 1990, p. 75).

## Research Project

This paper presents qualitative research I am currently conducting on Hawaiian performance cartography as it relates to Hawaiian place-naming practices and is funded by both the Ford Foundation and the National Science Foundation. This research revolves around two main questions (each with a number of sub-questions):

1. Does Hawaiian performance cartography still exist? If so,

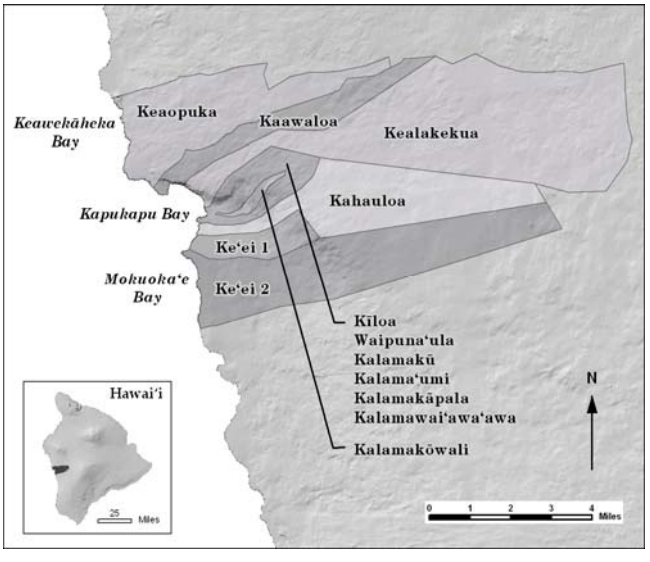
    - how does it relate to Western cartography? What parts are the same, different, parallel to or in tandem with it?
    - (how) or can it be depicted, communicated or displayed beyond a plane surface?
    - can Western cartographic techniques map processes?

2. How did Western cartography affect Hawaiian place-naming practices?

    - Of the 93 per cent of place names with a Hawaiian component, what kinds of place names have been preserved on maps and in the GNIS?
    - Do they represent places of cultural significance?
    - Or do they have more to do with the conversion to private property?
    - Or were they randomly selected as part of a Western process of cartographic generalisation?
    - How many of the place names found in textual sources (maps, gazetteers, etc.) are 'storied' places that still exist in the cognitive cartographies of the kūpuna (elders and ancestors)?
    - Do yet other 'storied' place names exist in these cognitive cartographies?
    - How many of the place names found in textual sources are no longer a part of the cognitive cartographies of the k**u**puna?

Now although it seems as though this first question is a "no-brainer", especially with Woodward and Lewis providing the definition of Performance Cartography; however, later in that same chapter, they state, "the evidence for mapping as performance—dances, dreamings, sandpainting ceremonies—is less complete than for material maps and is subject to greater errors in interpretation. Although such performances were observed and recorded in some traditional societies in the recent past, we do not know what proportion of performance maps were too sacred to have been witnessed by outsiders" (Woodward and Lewis, 1998, p. 7).

This indicates that most of the research on performance cartographies has been conducted from an outsider's perspective looking in. As a Hawaiian, I believe I can provide a better insight to Hawaiian performance cartography with less interpretive error and I do not believe sacred performances should be witnessed by outsiders or included in any kind of academic research. I am not looking for a culprit or someone to blame. I don't believe place names were maliciously left off of maps. I just want to know what happened.




I am concentrating my research in the Kealakekua Bay area of Hawai`i Island (see map on right). The significance of this site is

the community's continued maintenance of important cultural practices in the face of upscale community development and the loss (theft) of cultural artifacts. It also has a rich cultural heritage involving many generations of ali`i.

One important ali`i, `Umi, chose to move his royal court from Waipi`o to Kona. He brought his entire entourage of gods and warriors which required more agricultural and aquacultural produce to feed them, thatching and timber to house them, kapa bark to clothe them, and other resources to support warrior training and various entertainment activities.

This influx of people required the people of the area to find ingenious ways of providing these resources. The inland areas north and south of Kealakekua Bay have been noted as part of the agriculturally unique feature known as the Kona Field System. (Kelly, Barrère, and Hawai`i. Dept. of Transportation, 1980, p. 27). Their ingenuity can still be seen today both on the landscape and in topographic maps.

Other features of importance specific to this study site include Hiki`au Heiau (below left) reportedly built by Kalani`ōpu`u and the Moku`ōhai battlefield (below right) where Paiea Kamehameha began his rise to power by defeating his enemies with the help of the Kona Uncles. These types of cultural features will hopefully provide additional sets of storied places names.

The theoretical lens, I hope, will guide this research involves the affect of epistemology on cartographic development. Maps "are constructions of reality, images laden with intentions and consequences that can only be studied in the societies of their time" (Andrews, 2001, p. 36). They are re-presentations of the environment as seen by the societies that create them.

In the Western world, this reality is enframed by a disenchantment of Nature, a colonisation of the environment, and those discourses that reflect a Western vision of the world including how that world should be studied, organised, ordered, classified, and made safe for people to live and rule. This disenchantment of nature, construction of space, gridding of place, enframing of landscapes, along with the privileging of sight and domination of visualisation sciences are central issues that constitute the basis of the social influences on cartographic technological development. I will concentrate the rest of this paper on the discussion of indigenous Hawaiian cartography, specifically on the differences between Western and Native science, knowledge transmission, and place making/naming/memory.

## Native science

> Native people's science is grounded on an understanding of perspective and orientation. All things are related and interconnected, everywhere and at all times.
>
> (Cajete, 2000, p. 36)

The way people experience the world and express themselves in it is tied directly to their epistemology which in turn indicates how knowledge is processed and used in Native science. Roberts indicates that Native science in the Pacific and Western science are "distinct but not necessarily entirely dissimilar knowledge systems" (Roberts, 1996, p. 59). Both sciences:

1. gain information by observation over time,
2. make use of models or theories to predict possible outcomes to particular situations, and
3. involve explanations of cause and effect as an important component.

However, indigenous sciences:

1. include subjective sources of information and consider qualitative information relevant to their information gathering;
2. "largely involve trial and error 'experiments' under natural, uncontrolled conditions" (Roberts, 1996, p. 63);
3. have explanations that frequently make use of "metaphor, personification and symbolism to embellish and sometimes encode the explanation" (ibid.); and lastly,
4. the knowledge gained by indigenous science is not meant to be an objective representation; instead, it is a culturally and geographically rooted presentation meant to impart not only the knowledge itself but also ethics and morals of the society.

## Knowledge transmission

Storing information on a map is like drinking orange juice made from a frozen concentrate. It may smell like an orange, taste like an orange, and even have some pulp to provide the texture of an orange, but it cannot compare to the experience of picking the orange from the tree, peeling it with citrus oils and fresh juice spraying about, and biting into it. While you may be able to control who gets to pick the fruit from your tree on your property, you don't have a say in who is buying the frozen concentrate or how it is being used, but you can be sure it is being mass- produced and commodified (adapted from Andrade).

In regard to knowledge transmission, there are three points of contention adapted from Robert Rundstrom's 1995 article on "GIS, indigenous peoples and epistemological diversity":

1. Putting Native knowledge onto a map makes it tangible and accessible to everyone. It does not discern the appropriateness of the knowledge transmission relationship. In Western society, knowledge about the world we live in is generally something everyone has the ability to gain access to via books, the internet, or direct experience. In most Native societies, only a few chosen people are given knowledge about specific ceremonies, herbal remedies, fishing spots, water holes, etc. It creates "circles of interdependencies" within a society. Granted, not everyone in the Western society can actually become a doctor, lawyer, or university professor. There are hoops the society sets up that an individual must jump through in order to achieve that level of knowledge. The point here is that everyone in the Western society has access, has a path to that knowledge. This is not so in most Native societies.

2. Storing information on a map makes it easier for that information to be used beyond its original intent and context and because of this it may even diminish it as it is no longer contextually defined.

3. Lastly, because the source and recipient of the information is separated in space and time it becomes more difficult to impose moral restraint on its use. This point undoubtedly has less meaning in a Western society whose moral obligations are not intertwined with its quest for knowledge. Recall that Native knowledge systems are culturally and geographically rooted and

> Western knowledge systems have traditionally developed objectively. So there is no way to establish any moral restrictions for over fishing, hunting or gathering. No way to ensure it is done with the correct reverence for the reciprocal relationships of the exchange of life.

## Place making/naming/memory

Place making is a way of constructing the past, a venerable means of doing human history; it is also a way of constructing social traditions and, in the process, personal and social identities. We are, in a sense, the place-worlds we imagine (Basso, 1996, p. 7).

In naming the landscape, people bring place into existence, into their consciousness (Barry, 1999, p. 21). Basso refers to this as place-making. Hawaiians maintain complex symbolic relationships with their physical surroundings via social traditions and cultural processes. These cultural processes shape their understanding of their environment infusing it with value and significance.

Hawaiian place naming was a conscious and necessary act of place-making similar to other cultures with oral traditions. Hawaiian society depended on its physical environment to embody its culture values. The Hawaiian landscape was a repository of stories of the "lives and deeds of the immortal beings from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole countryside is his family tree" (Tuan, 1977, p. 158).

Hawaiian place names are symbols, repositories of meanings on the landscape that "arise out of the more profound experiences that have accumulated through time. Profound experiences often have sacred, other-worldly character even though they may be rooted in human biology" (Tuan, 1990, p. 145).

According to Casey, there is something about the irregular features of a landscape and its durability that lends itself to be the perfect place-memory repository of human experiences. Landscape provides a place of "memorial evocativeness in three primary ways: by its variegation, its sustaining character, and its expressiveness" (Casey, 2000, p. 199). The expressiveness of landscapes has two dimensions: its inherent emotionality—especially evident in the case of wahi pana (sacred or special places), and its luminosity—that self generating light emitted from within rather than reflected light generated from an outside source (Casey, 2000, pp. 199–200).

A good example of this is Mauna Kea. When speaking to a person from Ka moku o Keawe (Hawai`i Island) about the significance of Mauna Kea, an immediate response included discussion on the goddess, Poli'ahu, her intimate relations with Wākea (Sky-Father), and the enormous mana (power) the place possesses. The luminosity Casey describes is an element of the mana Hawaiians recognise as part of the characteristics of place, especially wahi pana.

Landscapes are mesmerising; we can get lost in their essence, sacrificing "all temporal, spatial, and objective precision" (Casey, 2000, p. 200), an experience of ecstasy that paradoxically manifests its full power "at the very moment when place and body fuse and lose their separate identities." (Casey, 2000, p. 200) Furthermore, it is our nostalgic tendencies that enable us to be transported back to places that have been emotionally significant in a kind of "re-implacing: re-experiencing past places" (Casey, 2000, p. 201).

For Hawaiians, naming a place is not just a conscious act of constructing meaning and social pattern on the landscape; it is literally bringing that place to life. Epistemologically speaking, the landscape is the map; a map of cultural expression, cultural regeneration, and cultural identity.

## Methodological approach

This research involves an in-depth exploration of the Hawaiian cartographic process as it relates to Hawaiian place naming practices in Kealakekua. I use archival research to catalogue place names from textual sources and use it as a basis for conducting open-ended interviews with various maps, aerial photographs, and other visual aids that allow participants to express their views on a digital audio or video recording, which is then transcribed to provide a more accessible public record and allow for different interpretations of the data being collected.

This research relies heavily on qualitative methods, using the interview as the main form of instrumentation. While I intend to record these interviews, I recognise this may not be acceptable to the research participants as I have noticed changes in character and description when use of a recording device is mentioned.

I have currently collected 248 place names from Boundary Commission testimonials, USGS topographic maps, GNIS, and Bier's maps. I am in the process of transcribing Aunty Mona Kahele's manuscript of place names she has collected and recorded over the span of her life. I will validate my findings in a community presentation. As a Native researcher, I hold myself to a different ethical standard. I recognise that knowledge shared does not belong to me and I will have a lifelong responsibility to the people and places that shared their knowledge with me.

### Qualitative reflexive and interpretive data analysis

This part of the analysis will be subjective as an attempt will be made to translate the Hawaiian cartographic experience related by the informant and re-present it in a manner that utilises modern cartographic techniques and technologies. If possible, recordings will greatly aid in this discussion and will require an additional venue for appropriate representation.

In other words, since Hawaiian cartography is performance oriented, reading a description of the experience may not be sufficient. The written document will be supplemented by either a video, CD, and/or DVD of the interviews described in the text thereby insuring it is written from a position of indigeniety, "an approach that borrows freely from feminist research and critical approaches to research, but privileges indigenous voice" (Smith, 1999, p. 147)

Methods of interpretation and evaluation to be used are presented in "Decolonising Methodologies" by Linda Tuhiwai Smith; specifically, "representing", "naming", and "storytelling" will be employed. "Representing" is an "attempt to express an indigenous spirit, experience, or world view" (ibid, p. 151). "Naming" involves both "renaming the world using the original indigenous names" and "retaining as much control over meanings as possible" (ibid, p. 157). "Storytelling" which has "become an integral part of indigenous research" (ibid, p. 144) is not simply about telling the story or collecting an oral history, it is a way to pass "down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further" (ibid, pp. 144–145).

### Research expectations

The most important expectation I have for this research is to experience Hawaiian performance cartography in the form of place name story telling. Having informants bring places to life as they relate the stories is a priceless gift and will be cherished well beyond the scope of this research. Additionally, this research expects to:

- find more culturally significant place names from participants than exist in any textual source and more data about their meanings and stories
- find some loss of place name meaning and stories
- find story groupings that may extend beyond the study site
- have enough data to begin compiling a more appropriate autoethnographic
- re-presentation

### Conclusion

This research proposes to establish that Hawaiian performance cartography exists, although it may be outside the realm of the Western cartographic tradition. It is my hope that in recognising alternative cartographies, the mainstream cartographic discipline will begin to incorporate these ideas and guide future technological and technical development that benefit people still practicing performance cartographies everywhere.

In any kind of academic research, extending the knowledge base in a way that helps us understand ourselves and our interactions with the world is of fundamental importance. This research proposes to

establish that a Hawaiian cartography exists, although it may be outside the realm of the Western cartographic tradition. By illuminating the possibility of an alternate cartographic tradition, this research hopes to expand the margin of the grey area between what is and isn't considered cartography such that it will eventually lead to Western disciplinary and technical developments that support people of locality.

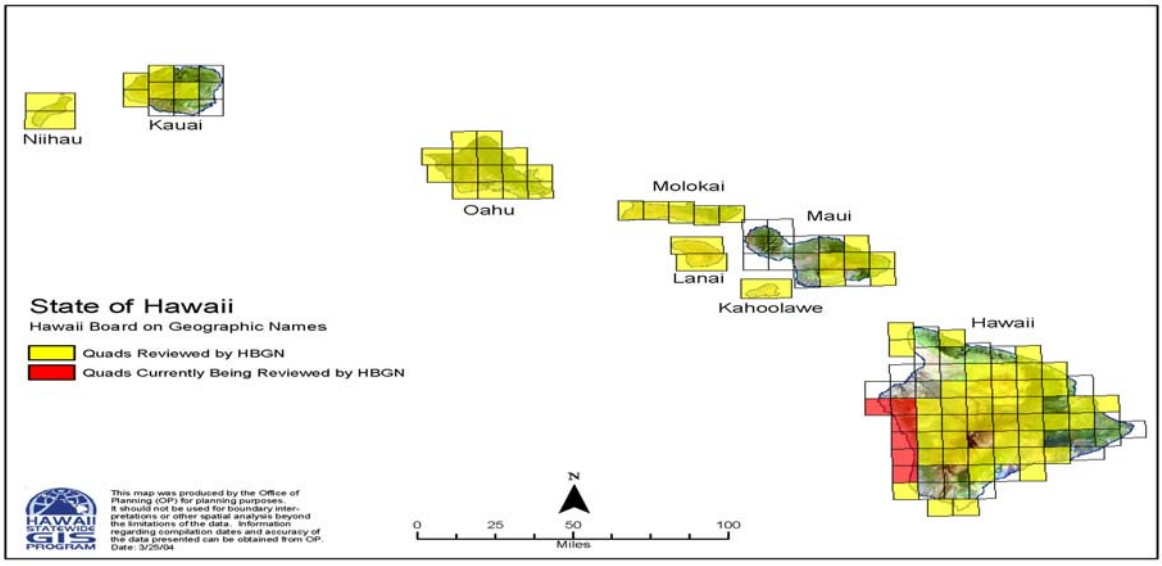
Indigenous research heralds values of respect, reciprocity, and relationship accountability. As the community shares its knowledge, so must the research provide to the community. An area of importance that more than one community member voiced, is replacing inappropriate names on USGS maps. By working with the Hawai`i Board on Geographic Names to include Hawaiian orthography for those Hawaiian place names whose meanings are known, I have already become a catalyst for the community to make those corrections.

In April 1999, the U.S. Geological Survey offered to begin correcting Hawaiian place names in their Geographic Names Information System Database by adding Hawaiian diacritical marks. The Hawaii Board on Geographic Names (HBGN) accepted the offer of adding kahakō and `okina as long as they were added with a very deliberate attention to accuracy. The HBGN specified that these additions must be made by consulting accepted authorities on Hawaiian place names including the Hawaiian speaking kupuna (elder generation) who might have special knowledge of specific geographic areas and the meaning of the names given to places.

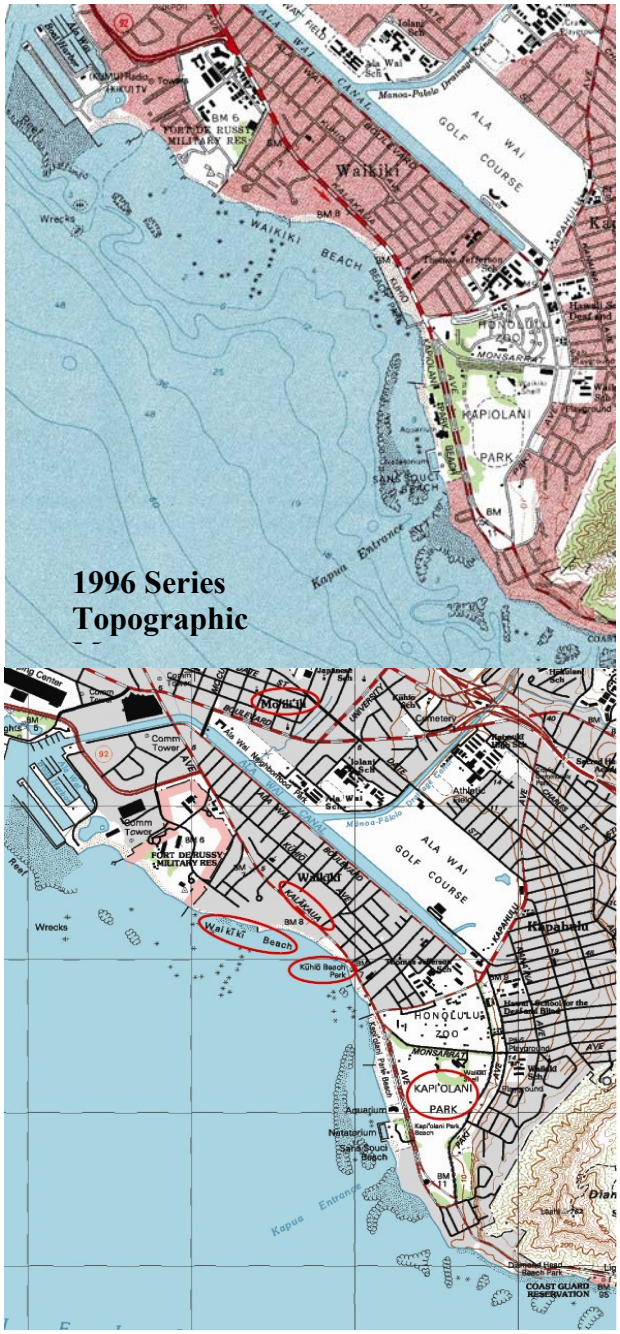
The importance of including diacritical markings in Hawaiian place names help to distinguish its meaning. For example, the letters P, A, U can be combined to form 4 separate meanings:

- Pau: finished, ended, through, completed, done,
- Pa`u: soot, smudge, ink dregs
- Pa`ū: moist, damp, soaked, drenched, moldy
- Pā`ū: type of skirt worn by women horseback riders

Thus far, the board has completed 95 of 124 quads, or nearly 77 per cent.



**1983 Series Topographic Map**




## Bibiography


Andrade, C. L. (2001). Hā`ena, ahupua`a: towards a Hawaiian geography. Dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI.

Andrews, J. H. (2001). Introduction: meaning, knowledge, and power in the map philosophy of J. B. Harley. In J. B. Harley & P. Laxton (Eds.), *The new nature of maps: essays in the history of cartography*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Barry, J. (1999). *Environment and social theory*: *Routledge introductions to environment series*. London; New York: Routledge.

Basso, K. H. (1996). *Wisdom sits in places: landscape and language among the Western Apache*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

Cajete, G. (2000). *Native science: natural laws of interdependence*. 1st ed. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

Casey, E. S. (2000). *Remembering: a phenomenological study*. 2nd ed. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*, *Themes in the social sciences*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press.
Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Oxford [England]; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell.
Kelly, M., Barrère, D. B., & Hawaii. Dept. of Transportation (1980). *Background history of the Kona area, island of Hawaii*. [Honolulu]: Dept. of Anthropology Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
Roberts, M. (1996). Indigenous knowledge and Western science: perspectives from the Pacific. *Royal Society of New Zealand,* Miscellaneous Series, 50 (pp. 59–75).
Rundstrom, R. A. (1995). GIS, indigenous peoples and epistemological diversity. *Cartography and Geographic Information Systems 22*(1), (pp. 45–57).
Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. New York, NY: Zed Books; Distributed in the USA exclusively by St. Martin's Press.
Tuan, Y. (1977). *Space and place: the perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
———. (1990). *Topophilia: a study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Morningside ed. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
Woodward, G., & Lewis G. M. (1998). *The history of cartography: cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies*. 6 vols. Vol. 2, Book 3. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hula* | dance |
| *kūpuna* | elders and ancestors |
| *mana* | power |
| *mele* | song |
| *mookū`auhau* | genealogy |
| *mo`ōlelo* | stories |
| *oli* | chant |
| *wahi pana* | sacred or special place/s |
| *Wākea* | Sky-father |
| *`ōlelo no`eau* | proverbs |

# Linking Māori-Celt indigenous perspectives with a new kind of social science holistic methodology: Wholesome Life Ecology (WLE)

**James Rapatini**
Ngāwhā Waiariki Pools Operations Manager,
Taitokerau, Aotearoa/New Zealand

**Lesley R. Bradley-Vine**
PhD Candidate, Social Complexity,
University of Western Sydney,
College of Arts, Education and Social Science

May the nourishment of the earth be yours,
may clarity of the light be yours,
may the fluency of the ocean be yours,
may the protection of the ancestors be yours,
and so may a slow
wind work these words
of love around you,
an invisible cloak
to mind your life.
(O'Donohue, 1997)

## Abstract

The Rio Declaration 1992 stated that Indigenous Peoples (IPs) "have a vital role in environmental management and in development because of their knowledge and traditional practices." The Global Biodiversity Assessment (Addison Posey, 1999) presented the UN Environment Programme's contributions towards broadening the debate from 400 individual indigenous people worldwide; Klaus Tōpfer, Executive Director, in the preface commented on our loss of 'Borrowed Knowledge': "We have lost it not listening to Indigenous Peoples. Here is the embodiment of values, institutions and patterns of behaviour. It is a composite whole representing a people's historical experience, aspiration and worldview. It is also a call by the United Nations to transform the slogan 'we the peoples' from words into action." Our presentation sets out to link this body of knowledge to a new kind of socio-ecological inquiry—that of the wholesome ecology of life (Dimitrov, 2003). The research into the self-organising nature of human dynamics considers "a fundamental uniqueness of expression of the universe through each individual—uniqueness that is *sine qua non* for the immortality of the human kind" (ibid.).

## Acknowledgements

In linking indigenous perspectives with science in the continuum of past, present, future, we wish to acknowledge firstly the ancestors in the country of Australia, particularly Dharug on whose country I stand as a student at Hawkesbury campus, the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land) of Aotearoa, New Zealand), especially *Ngāpuhi*, the Northland tribes, the focus of this study, and the Celts, who are for many of us, our distant yet dynamic, emotional links to existential wholeness. Even this three-fold clan grouping offers great diverse evolvement and adaptation intergenerationally in our "cultural ocean" (Bradley-Vine, 2004).

## Introduction

The fledgling science of complexity aims to reorient our universal interrelatedness and interconnectedness that some 370 million Indigenous Peoples (IPs) worldwide have struggled to hold on to through the various processes of colonisation, manipulation and assimilation. As wave upon wave of impacting influences wash over their cultural identities and traditions, IPs continue to respond with resilience, increasingly expressing their desire for self-determination into the 21st century. This is a

redefining point, a place in our evolvement as spiritual beings having a human experience, for the re-emergence of a "significant group of people who have the vision and spirituality, the skills, attributes and values" (Robinson, 2002), that are needed in this transition phase of our current civilisation. New networks and economies of disaggregation will emerge in this process.

In understanding the real meaning of 'quality of life'[1] as integral to the contemporary notions of 'sustainability' and 'sustainable development', IPs have much to offer and share with those of us who study and research from different worldviews. In developing research-based responses to this recognition, we examine here the linkage between complexity and ecology, through ecology of health, as it relates, in the first instance, to the *tangata whenua* - the original people of this land of Aotearoa, New Zealand. We argue that in order to transform academic paradigms, collaboration at 'a flax root level' necessarily informs the research process—in this case through the methodology of action science (Argyris, 1974; 1978) for localised scientific validity. In the iterative qualitative process of analysis, away from conventional quantitative research, 'frontiers' of knowledge are rediscovered. In each cycle, this understanding in turn informs action which may lead to advocacy and intervention. The aim of this particular doctoral research into 'Leadership Change' highlights a thesis chapter from a Wholesome Life Ecology (WLE) perspective, to strengthen future generations—the capacity enhancement and capacity utilisation of *rangatahi* (youth), who will in their turn, be responsible to take on the duties and obligation of *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship)—their unique cultural-spiritual heritage—in its various forms.

*"He panehe toki, ka tū te tangitangi kai"* ("A small adze well used brings plentiful results").

## Who speaks? Who responds?

> "The ice is melting……" (Anqaanqaq, Inuit Elder, Greenland).
> "The 'Bulldog' is not barking… the water is not as hot as it used to be in this pool…."
> "It is not about fencing pieces of land… we are borrowing the land, using and enhancing it for future generations so that they will prosper…."
> "There are issues now about nutrition…."
> "People are not listening to wisdom…."
> "There is a loss of Indigenous truth, of the spiritual dimension…."

'Sustainability' is the compelling theme of our times—the global road is littered with definitions, declarations and delineations of the term; the road from Rio to Johannesburg, where my very first encounter at the Summit (WSSD) was with this Inuit Elder, who spontaneously related to me the creation narrative. Here at the Tribalink 'sacred site', wedged on the hillside between the huge marquees of international trade stands, the reassembled Antarctic collection of debris gathered there each year. Anqaanqaq introduced me to his colleague, a Yukon Elder, who continued with his account of the creation story. Harold challenged me to finish my journey to Alaska, begun as a nomadic traveller some years ago from 'Mile Zero'[2], then a long lonely, enfiladed highway only crossed by the occasional logging truck. At this point I connect with my co-creator of this paper, James Rapatini, who was himself a rig driver for some years, interstate in Canada and America, and later across the 'Red Ocean' of Australia. Indigenous Peoples (IPs) have a great reputation worldwide for their skills in driving machinery, as well as for telling stories, often passed down generation by generation and thereby steeped in wisdom—stories of an earlier sustainable world.

> Stories retold are part of our oral tradition. Not mere myths, legends, fables and stories to us. Rather, they form part of tribal histories, subtribal histories and *whakapapa* (lineage), which is the prime axis upon which the Māori world turns. Because our life approach is holistic in nature, we see ourselves in our mountains, our rivers and lakes, and even the trees and the birds. They are all inextricably part of our own physical heritage.
>
> (Winitana, 2001)

About 700 years behind us, the great mythical scientific star-path navigator, Kupeariki, arrived in these northern harbour waters. He named this land and the landmarks he would have sighted on his approach.

---

1 'Quality of life' = well-being+joy+self-fulfilment, compared to 'standard of living' linked to index GDP
2 At Dawson Creek (Peace River Project). Reached Fort Nelson on that first attempt.

The ring of nine mountains that presents the pattern of Hyades in Saturn, and the geographical boundary of the House of Ngāpuhi, forms the "ramparts watching the territory between them; they stand as symbols of the *mana* (integrity) of Ngāpuhi" (Hohepa in WAI 304, 1993). Later voyagers, particularly of another navigator, Captain Cook,[3] were to have a "more immediate impact" (Kāwharu, 2004) on the descendants of Kupeariki and the many Eastern Polynesian migrants who followed in similar remarkable journeys "than on other indigenous peoples of the Pacific region" (ibid.).

In the 1600s, Kareariki II, a chiefly Māori woman, a descendant of Kupe, and daughter of Rahiri, having just given birth to her first child, Maikuku, was to find postpartum relief bathing in the pool when hunting and gathering food and perhaps wood fuel with her husband, Uenukukuare, along with her family and servants during the winter months. This is still named the Baby Pool and next to it is the Bulldog Pool, named after the dog she subsequently lost in the forest. The mud was used for healing packs placed on the body in the same way that it is used today. Thick forests covered the land which had been uplifted from the sea, then weathered by the action of wind, rain and sun long before the series of volcanic upheavals that threw up the younger Taheke basalts, derived from eruptions which occurred some 1,000–2,000 years before, spread out on top of the older Horeke basalts. The "lines of instability along which [the volcanoes] occur cross land surfaces for only a comparatively small proportion of their total length and hidden in the ocean depths are far more volcanoes than appear on land" (Pearce, 1977).

Anglican missionaries recorded their visits to the pools in the 1800s. Samuel Marsden, later instrumental in drawing up the treaty, wrote in 1820 that he "went to see a hot spring in a wood… the water was warm and strongly sulphurous… it sent forth a continual steam… it has rather a redder cast than common yellow ochre… [and is] used by the natives to paint themselves" (Rockel, 1986). William Wade wrote in 1842 of the "natives…who bring baskets of provisions with them, and remain on the spot to use the sulphur-warm bath till a cure is effected." British soldiers defeated and wounded in the battle at nearby Ohaewai (1845), were brought here by the warriors of Hone Heke according to *kaumātua* (elders), less than five years earlier. Hone Heke had been the first signatory to Te Tiriti o Waitangi – the partnership agreement.

*"Ko te ngāwhā te pare o te hau ora o te tinana."* ("Ngāwhā is the doorway to the spiritual and physical well-being of the body). We believe that our *taonga* (treasure) is unique as a complex of 15 geothermal natural healing pools. It is a cultural heritage that has both tangible and intangible *wairua* (spirit forces) the 'all-seeing eye', where wisdom has been gathering for hundreds of years since discovery by our ancestor Kareariki II, and where the practice of *kaitiakitanga* is in continuum by her descendants. This communal passive bathing could be likened to a kind of Roman agora, a place of conversation and exchange of ideas. Centred over the cluster of pools is an extensive greywacke boulder under which beats the heart. The arteries carry geothermal fluids, enfolded intrinsically in *mauri* (life principle), with a variety of minerals held in suspension. Each of the pools varies only a couple of degrees from day to day, yet the colour in each can change significantly. The temperatures vary somewhere between 30–46 degrees Celsius, and the colours between milk, green and ink tones. The resistivity field extends naturally out to approximately 25–50 sq kms from this epicentre, as does the bell-shaped aquifer. The esoteric being, Takauere, the *taniwha* (guardian monster said to reside in deep water), moves through these arteries, to whip his tail in nearby Lake Omapere.[4]

> The Springs, indeed the entire underground geothermal resource is a *taonga* to us. You have heard of its miraculous healing powers and I can confirm in my long experience as *kaitiaki* (guardian) of that *taonga* that everything that these *kaumātua* have told you is the truth. I believe that its healing powers, God-given, are sourced deep within our Mother Earth. Any interference in that spiritual source is a desecration of our *taonga*.
>
> (Kereama Rankin WAI 304, 1993).

[3] Sponsored and funded initially to record the rare occurrence of the Transit of Venus in 1769 by the Royal Society and the first merchant guild, the Freemasons, which had been established in 1193 and whose philosophy appealed to the Society; hence, the first collaboration between Science and Philosophy.

[4] As set out in the Tribunal claim (Wai 304), Ngāwhā Geothermal Resource 'is not a single isolated or discrete phenomenon. In traditional Māori terms, the springs are the face or eye of the resource, but its *'whatumanawa'* (seat of emotions) is below the ground and connected to all other manifestations in the districts through arteries and veins. The holistic whole field contains some 30 pools.'

Māoridom is careful about preserving the many forms of *mana* it holds, and in particular, that of the *mana* of the *kaitiaki*.[5] As minders, *kaitiaki* must ensure that the *mauri* of their *taonga* are healthy and strong. This includes *te hau o te kāinga* (the life essence or 'winds' of home), which carry and waft the life essences emanating from both the land and sea. *Tangata whenua* are warned at the outset of the depletion in the *mana* of their ancestral lands[6] when the characteristics of our *hau kāinga* (place of birth) start to change, as they do with any major development such as mining of a natural resource for minerals or fluids. Inevitably, ecosystem integrity is at risk.

Tribal Ngāpuhi, in the northern part of this many-thousand-island archipelago, are privileged to have as a member of their clan anthropologist Patrick Hohepa, who was called upon to write up the *whakapapa* of the Ngāwhā for the Waitangi Tribunal hearing (ibid), requesting return of a triangle of just over four acres within this complex 'inadvertently' taken into settler government ownership in the 1880s.[7] In trying to unravel the complexity of why only a few acres remained of several thousand acres owned by the original peoples of this land, both over and around the geothermal resistivity field, we went back 1000 years in the journey, drew up a bicultural timeline and a list of players—of over 60 individuals, many of historical significance— in the discovery and exploitation of this ecosystem and the overlaying *whenua* (land). In the action-research process, we identified a significant cultural difference of understanding in the 'ethos of *kaitiakitanga*' (the spiritual integrity outlined above), and the 'ethic of stewardship.' The Eurocentric meaning of the latter term relates to moral conduct: of looking after someone else's property in individual title derived from the British system of landholding that evolved from the 'commons.'[8]

We have opened this discussion with ecosystem sustainability issues positioned globally and now locally to indicate indigenous commonality. To issues of unsustainability, who will respond? Who will respond to 'active responsibility' rather than 'passive responsibility', to what, in essence, relates to integrity of life-sustaining forces (argued here in the link between coupling Indigenous Knowledge and Wisdom with new scientific thought; namely, through the socio-ecological concept of WLE)? Who will respond to Inuit anecdotal evidence, for instance, that the ice is melting off the shores of Greenland? The main questions are whether we have a governance style that provides honest stewards and social architects for well-being and prosperity rather than raising the standard of living for a few at the expense of others, together with enough human persons whose inner dynamics are self-mobilised and authentic enough to see change for sea change.

At the heart of recent divergence in bicultural understanding at Ngāwhā—through imposed legislation affecting this unique cultural-spiritual site—was a lack of consultation with Māori, together with lack of acknowledgement of anecdotal evidence (from the wisdom of the elders who know the pools intimately) by the various stakeholders involved in the geothermal enterprise. This relates to the current, second resource consent process in less than eight years since commissioning of the nearby power plant; the consent is for the increased extraction of geothermal fluids for power supply, a situation that could further undermine the *mana* of the *mauri* of its healing waters, which are the surface manifestations of an ancient natural resource.[9]

---

5 *Kaitiakitanga* is enabled through *'rangatiratanga'* (the exercise of *mana*), which includes the authority that is needed to control access to, and use of resources and to determine how the benefits will be shared.

6 The Māori Land Court, set up in 1862 as the Native Land Court, recognised customary rights 'title' of pre-contact times, based on the twin factors of discovery or conquest, and occupation. One without the other would have been insufficient. A tribal or subtribal group that could successfully assert and sustain such a claim would be regarded as exercising their *'mana whenua'* (literally, authority over the land).

7 A report from the Surveyor General's Office 1886 described the area as 'a curious little bend on the boundary line, evidently purposely made but is not a *kāinga* (home) or *wāhi tapu* (burial ground; reserved ground). I think very probably is a hot spring…' During this decade a pivotal role of the settler court was to make the collective role of *kaitiaki* into 'owners' and determine the extent of their guardianship. Westminster law title documents necessarily listed 11 'owners.'

8 In Celt-Saxon times (AD 400s), wooded commons were owned by one person, as was the soil, but used by others, the commoners. Common rights are embedded in a particular ecology with its local husbandry. Lands and forest became enclosed after the Norman Conquest (1066) when they became legal rather than physical entities and the supreme status symbol of the king. Magna Carta, the charter example used to the draw up of the Treaty of Waitangi, set the precedent for western civilisation with colonisation of lands rather than people. It established 'rule by law.'

9 Consultation is a requirement of the Resource Management Act (RMA) 1991. A recent Environment Court hearing for Genesis Energy to extract power for the maximum allowable consent term of 35 years (applicable to any situation), from the waters of the Whanganui River has reduced consent to ten years. This relates to a similar *iwi* (tribal) concern for integrity of the lifeforce of river waters.

One of the essential skills in consultation is creative listening. Consultation itself is an art; Kalahari San, or !Kung people, have understood the process of consultation to reach consensus using a basic model, which anthropologist Megan Biesele (1978) describes as centrifugal, whereas in Western society the process is centripetal—a competition to get into the centre, have your say, make your important speech and draw attention. In current thinking, this centrifugal art of consultation indicates an aspect of effective self-leadership that exhibits humility. In turn, humility linked to integrity contributes to the 'principle of harmony'[10] (Dimitrov, 1998). In essence, this principle relates to the balance of energy flows between human existence in harmony with nature. The practice of *kaitiakitanga* presents this principle as an organic, flowing, innovative and creative process. As such, it can be considered as a sophisticated model for application to the global efforts towards 'sustainability' in the 21st century.

## Linking indigenous perspectives with science

> There is a danger when we start to draw lines and boundaries. This is true whether outside ourselves or inside ourselves. The danger is losing sight of the interconnectedness. When we lose sight of interconnectedness, separation, possessiveness (this is mine, I can do what I want) and conflict results. Even at an individual level, if we don't believe we are connected to all things we get self-centred, and have self-seeking motives. We must think in harmony, balance and integrity. We must see our relationship to the great whole and conduct ourselves accordingly. Great spirit today, let me think beyond boundaries.
>
> (Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce, in Nerburn & Mengelkoch (Eds.), 1991)

Classic examples of this intuitive understanding of people who are embedded in their holistic landscapes and self-referential genealogy, intertwined with cyclical elements and hidden forces, are now to be found in the MBA programme—Hardin's (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons* scenario and the abovementioned creative listening process of the Kalahari San or !Kung have been translated into the modern negotiating skill of "getting to yes" (Fisher & Ury, 1992). IPs in their wisdom, understand that the cure for ills and dis-ease, the 'unhealth' (Dimitrov, 2003), of the world emanates from the heart and spirit rather than the bivalent reasoning brain that considers there are only two ways to answer a question: either yes or no, true or false.

As Jean Liedloff[11] observed and reflected upon during her extraordinary journey living with Yequana Peoples in the Brazilian rainforest, at the individual level, the human person has evolved from the time of creation and adapted over millennia in self-organising nonequilibrium and homoeostasis:[12] "Man was a success… as a hunter-gatherer with an efficient lifestyle" (1975). Similarly, Helena Norberg-Hodge (1991), who has lived for many years with the Ladakh in the Himalayas, considered that "many archaic societies are more sustainable than our own in terms of their relationship with the earth, and their patterns of living more conducive to psychological balance—more in touch with our own human nature, showing us that peace and joy can be a way of life."

In non-equilibrium—the flow of matter and energy in our existential wholeness of dynamics that inextricably links, interconnects and interrelates our human and natural complex adaptive and self-organising systems—we can sense a new surge towards scientific understanding of the mystery, the *mauri ora* (life principle), of our embeddedness in the universe. In the fledgling science of Complexity, we can increasingly become as *kaitiaki* of change and transformation through our own Self-Leadership in self-reflective, wise research. Emergent wisdom has the power to ignite new ways of knowing and becoming in our complex and diversely globalising society. Such new, wise social design and social architecture suggests creative scientific enterprise at the 'edge of chaos', that place poised between order and chaos.

The "New Kind of Social Science" (NKSS) the study of self-organisation of human dynamics, explains "that the level of integrity and harmony of individual dynamics tends towards the level of integrity and harmony of the universe" (Dimitrov, 2003). In the continuum of our sustainability in the present and into the future therefore, there can be no abstract or reductionist analysis. We draw on the past to guide

---

[10] In this study of interactive dynamics are also the Principle of Unity (interconnectedness) and the Principle of Self-Organisation (restoring, rejuvenating, revitalising, renewing capacities of natural life systems).

[11] It was Liedloff's book that introduced me to the Indigenous way of knowing as a new mother.

[12] Homoeostatis is word invented by American phsyiologist Walter Cannon that refers to the remarkable state of constancy in which living things hold themselves when the environment is changing.

our future. We as human persons, have the ability to reflect in upon ourselves, to implode and to draw energy inwards, to bootstrap knowledge[13] that will have its basis in that embedded in us from our ancestors. A body of accumulated knowledge and wisdom emerges from these self-referential processes. Society as an entity does not have this capability, society has only the outwards expression tending towards dissipation and destruction, as we can easily trace from our long history of civilisation.

Even now, current political attempts to impose Western market society on fledgling indigenous nation states, in the name of 'development' and 'economic growth', where land is held in common or by the state, can only create further social fragmentation (e.g. Tanzania, Ethiopia). Our economic 'success' in effect separates the parts from the whole in our dominant, Western, linear thinking. Both ecology and economics derive from the Greek word *oikos*—economics is two fifths ecology—yet now they represent two quite different paradigms in disciplinary discourse, implementation and action. According to 'eco principle' pioneer Arthur Dahl, "economics is not only a dismal science, it is a science incapable of reflection" (1996). When we measure economic growth by the single indicator of GDP, it is like asking for a full medical examination yet only getting our blood pressure taken. Dahl's notion of the 'eco principle' reorients by design a symbiosis between ecology and economics.

In the socio-ecological inquiry of NKSS, Dimitrov (2003) has designed an advanced holistic methodology in three directions: Ecology of Health; Wholesome Life Ecology (WLE); Ecology of Learning and Ecology of Organisation. In aligning the indigenous reality to academic priorities in this discourse, we are linking our Māori-Celt perspectives. Here we see the similarities in our creation myths, traditional rituals and values, where everything is considered to be in wholeness or, in other words, in the whole space of existence that is the Integrated Ecological Space (IES). No one cell, no one living creature can live in isolation. Our ecological wholeness is social reality—self reflexivity. In the wholeness of these dynamics, everything constantly moves, emerges, sustains, disappears, re-emerges. There has, therefore, to be a centre or essence, the galactic vortex that is identified in our universal creation myth, for instance as 'The Void', 'Nothingness' or 'Chaos'. In our individual wholeness in this physical sphere of becoming, we are mastering our own self-identities. This requires dynamics of energy: physical, emotional, mental and spiritual.

In studying WLE, we focus on the unique web of life and health supporting interactions of their self-organising emergence. We are exploring the spaces between intrapersonal and interpersonal, individuals and nature, individuals and their environment, individuals and society, society and nature, society and environment, nature and the whole evolving universe. By experiencing other cultural worlds, it is through their language, then observing, listening, interacting, communicating in their tangible places—such as the healing pools complex—that "we see our own for what it is, and are thereby enabled also to see fleetingly what the real world, the one between our own cultural construct and those other worlds, must in fact be like" (Castenada, 1968).

As an example of the Celtic interactions in wisdom (1000BC–500AD), leapfrogging then into recent self-conscious cultural realities, we could identify between the universe and nature: Albion (Alba), the primal archetype of the Celtic world, the forms of forms, the original pattern for all that flowed into creation of the Celtic spirit; Annwfn, the Celtic otherworld, the place of ancestral power that corresponds with chaos, the principle of destruction in Cymric cosmogony. Between nature and the human being is Anu, the goddess of fertility, guardian of cattle and a health giver. Between the environment and society is Aisling (vision woman), who represents the land of Ireland, oppressed under English yoke, the 'survival' of Arthur, ancestor of Alexander, who is thought to be 'asleep' at Glastonbury. This sacred site is linked to other Arthurian sites around Europe (Begg & Rich, 1991).

### In summary: our past guides our future

> The continuum of an individual is whole, yet forms part of the continuum of his family, which in turn is part of his clan's, community's and species' continua, just as the continuum of the human species forms part of that of all life. Each continuum has its own expectations and tendencies, which spring from long, formative precedent. Even the continuum that includes every living thing expects, from experience of it, a suitable range of factors in the inorganic surroundings. (Liedloff, 1975)

[13] Bootstrap by one's own effort, learning step by step, lifting oneself to the next level of knowledge.

Celt traditional society-to-society relationships set great store on warlike power: warriors, muscular and strong, could not be fat by law and they often had up to a dozen sons since tribal conflict was frequent in the many kingships. In society-to-person relationships, there were three paths in life. Firstly, the bardic path—the world of sea—which involved the mind, past ancestors, lore, genealogy, songs, poetry, storytelling, and transformative magick. On the bardic path a person could be travelling for twenty years or more in learning. Secondly was that of the druid path—the world of sky—involving spirits, the future, gods and goddesses of tribes, theology, administration, politics, adjudication, intercessionary magic. Thirdly, the seer path—world of land—which involves the body in the present, nature spirits, herbalism, healing, alchemy, weather, divination and natural magic. Person to person, the sense of 'Celt' emerged as an idealised identity in the 18th century from an earlier passage as small scattered tribal bands. The "continuity derives not from anything intrinsic…, [it] derives from… self-consciously civilising a centralising culture" (Chapman, 1992). Intrapersonally, there is now a unique sense of 'self', of being self-referential in expression of Celtic poetry and prayer.

Embedded within the threads woven above in this interlinked web of wholeness, dynamics and forces of the Celtic human and natural worlds—from the universal evolving movement through nature, environment, society, individual to the intrapersonal—can be identified those self-referential synchronicities of relational experiences and events. Applying the WLE model within *Māori* life- and health-supporting interactions at these levels, for instance, to the role of *kaitiaki*-guardianship, one of my research participants explained that what guardianship doesn't explain is the relationship: "You can be the protector or the guardian. When your relationship with *taonga* is more than just being guardians in terms of *whakapapa* connections, that is what we are trying to explain about there being a relationship. With inanimate beings, it cements the role of unequivocable protection." This highlights the dynamic situation at the Ngāwhā healing site—the whirling vortices of social interaction in the confusion of tangible and intangible cultural continuity between two worlds of Pākehā and Māori.[14]

At the level of 'self', the sophisticated and intrinsic value of *kaitiakitanga* is explained as a serious duty and responsibility because it is an undertaking inherited from the 'spiritual guardians' enumerated in the creation myth. The "first duty of humans as *kaitiaki* is to ensure that the spiritual qualities of themselves and the resources for which it is their duty to protect, is protected by performing ceremonial rituals according to tikanga-customary laws" (White, 2003). The three spiritual elements are *mauri*, *mana*, further encompassing six key elements and, thirdly, *tapu* (sacredness). *Kaitiakitanga* is an inherent part of *rangatiratanga* (self determination), a complex model of duty and interaction in integrity, harmony and unity in this sophisticated system of indigenous knowledge.

Knowledge itself has become increasingly fragmented over the centuries at the wider level. Essentially humankind is now choosing to travel along two significantly different paths, in varying degrees—the one that recognises the spiritual dimension of our knowing and being in the world, a universe of forces that are naturally and humanly holistic, harmoniously self-organising, adapting and evolving in ecological unity, compared with the path that is ego-centered, thereby self-interested and greedily separated from the natural-spiritual relationship through 'will-to-power' (Nietzsche in Dimitrov, 2003) struggles. Since this latter path represents the pervading dominant view, we are out of balance with our environment—with Gaia[15]—and therefore with ourselves. We are walking along an ever-narrowing, precipitous, zig-zag, ecological path that is neither wholesome nor sustaining.

In attempting to revision and converge the dominant, Westernised, individualistic approach to 'development' with its focus on the hierarchical structure of market capital exploiting human beings, rather than the process of enabling human spiritual and social capital, together with the need to re-centre our values, this ongoing collaborative research considers that by appreciating IPs' 'ways of knowing' we will find a deeper understanding in restoring balance between self, spirit, community and environment. Since NKSS explores the inner urge of emergent self-responsibility to heal the wounds on Earth Mother before ministering to human physical ills that are man-made and result from dis-ease in society, this holistic methodology potentially reveals the source of human self-organisation and

[14] It is significant to note that a series of three hui (meetings) (mid 2005) are being held by Māori leaders to discuss the real essence of Tiriti O Waitangi 1840. As discussed in this paper there are subtle differences in cultural understanding of language. And while the Crown gained the right to govern and to make laws (including for the purpose of resource conservation) under Article 1 of the Treaty, 'the Crown must heed the guarantees it made under Article II when designing and implementing its policies and laws.' (Te Ope Mana a Tai 2003).

[15] Our planet 'Gaia', from the Greek, considered by Lovelock (1979 ), to be a living self-regulating entity!

explores ways to consciously connect with it, for instance the power of one's will can trigger outward change towards 'see change' and then 'sea change' in society.

Finally, when the inherent integrity of indigenous Māori guardianship is considered in the context of the contemporary Western notion of Leadership practised through Self-Leadership, it becomes authentic, resilient and a style of "Apotropaic Leadership [...] that is in harmony with one's endeavour to master her or his self-organising human nature" (Dimitrov, 2003). In our natural urge towards self-organisation, as complex adaptive systems, we work towards self-realisation and self-fulfillment.

> Tāne*,* God of the forest, had another task to complete. He would empower his brothers to be the guardians of the world…to ensure that the life essence-*mauri* of all things remained strong and untarnished"…From the entrance to the spirit world, to the bosom of the land and onto the windows of the sky, guardians were set in place…With their world in place, Tāne set about producing people….
>
> (Winitana, 2001)

> Man has lost his way…and will have to retrace his steps…He will have to discover where he went wrong and make his peace with Nature. In so doing, perhaps he may be able to recapture the rhythm of life and the spirit of the Māori[s], which led them to make peace with the children of Tāne and to recapture also, the love of the simple things of life, which will be an ever-unfolding joy to him.
>
> (St Barbe Baker, 1956)

## Bibliography


Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1974). *Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness.* Jossey-Bass: San Francisco.

——— (1978). *Organisational Learning.* McGraw-Hill: New York.

Begg, E., & Rich D. (1991). *On the Trail of Merlin: A Guide to the Celtic Mystery Tradition.* Aquarian Press, Harper Collins: UK.

Biesele, M. (1978). Sapience and scarce resources: communication systems of the !Kung and other foragers. *Social Science Information, 17*(6), pp. 912–947.

Bradley-Vine, L.R. (2002). *A worldview 'dream journal' of our creation myth: a complex tapestry weaving together the contemporary threads of Social Fuzziology and Narratology*. Unpublished Masters essay.

Castaneda, C. (1968). *The teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui way of knowledge.* Washington Square Press: New York.

Chapman, M. (1992) *The Celts: The Construction of a Myth.* St Martin's: New York.

Dahl, A. L. (1996). *The Eco Principle.* George Ronald, Oxford & Zed Books: London.

Dick, B., & Dalmau, T. (1990). *Values in Action: Applying the Ideas of Argyris and Schön.* Chapel Hill: Queensland.

Dimitrov, V. (2003). *A New Kind of Social Science: Study of Self-Organisation of Human Dynamics.* Lulu Press Morrisville: NC USA. Available online at http://www.zulenet.com/VladimirDimitrov

——— (1998). Principle of Harmony in Human Drift with Nature. Revised English Version of Principle of Harmony in Econometric Modelling, originally published in Bulgarian in *Economic Thought: Journal of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia.12*, pp. 96–105.

Fisher, R., & Ury, W. (1992). *Getting to Yes: Negotiating an Agreement Without Giving In.* Random House Business Books.

Global Peoples Forum: Civil Society Secretariat, WSSD, Johannesburg 2002. *A Call to Action and Struggle.* Available online at: www.worldsummit.org.za

Hardin, G. (1968). The Tragedy of the Commons. *Science,* 13 December.

Kāwharu, M. (2002). Cook, Tupaia and Māori*. British History: Empire and Sea Power*. Internet publication: BBC History. Available on line at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/discovery/exploration/cook_tupaia_maori_01. Retrieved February 2, 2004.

Liedloff, J. (1975). *The Continuum Concept.* Duckworth: London.

Linebaugh, P. (2003). *The Secret History of the Magna Carta.* Available on line at: http://bostonreview.net/BR28.3

Lovelock, J.E. (1979). *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth.* Oxford University Press: London.

Ngāwhā Geothermal Resource Report (1993). (Wai 304) Waitangi Tribunal Report: 7WTR. Brooker & Friend: Wellington.
Nakashima, D., & Elias, D. UNESCO (Eds.). *International Council for Science 2002.* ICSU Science for Sustainable Development No.4:Science, Traditional Knowledge and Sustainable Development.
Nerburn, K., & Mengelkoch, L. (Eds.) (1991). *Native American Wisdom.* New World Novato: California.
Norberg-Hodge, H. (1991). *Ancient Futures: Learning from Ladakh.* Oxford University Press: UK.
O'Donahue, J. (1997). *Anam Cara: Book of Celtic Wisdom.* Harper Collins: UK.
Pearce, G.L. (1977). *The Story of New Zealand Volcanoes.* Collins: Auckland.
Posey, D. A. (Ed.) (1999). *Cultural and Spiritual Values of Biodiversity: A Complementary Contribution to the Global Biodiversity Assessment.* Intermediate Technology Publications: London.
Robinson, Mary. (2002). In UN Permanent Forum for Indigenous Issues (UNPFII) Opening Address, May 13. Available on line at: http://www.yachaywasi-ngo-org/forum.htm.
Rockel, I. (1986). *Taking the Waters: Early Spas in New Zealand.* Government Printing Office: Wellington.
St Barbe Baker, R. (1956). *Dance of the Tree.* Oldbourne Press: London.
UNCED. The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, June 14, 1992. UNCED Doc.A/Conf.151/5 Rev.1, reprinted in 31 I.L.M.874 (1992), reprinted in Basic Documents 179 (1994).
White, P. (2003). Expectations of the Biosecurity Strategy (Māori): Treaty of Waitangi: Basis of Māori Culture and Values. Available on line at: http://www.maf.govt.nz/biosecurity/biosecurity-summit.
White, T. J. (1999). Irish Demography in a Comparative Context: European Transition Theory vs. a Post-Colonial Understanding. *Irish Journal of Sociology, 9*.
Willis, R. (Ed.). (1993). Foreward Robert Walter. *World Mythology: The Illustrated Guide.* Duncan Baird.
Winitana, C. (text), & Reisinger, A. (photos) (2001). *Legends of Aotearoa.* Harper Collins: NZ.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hau kāinga* | place of birth |
| *kāinga* | home |
| *kaitiaki* | guardian |
| *kaitiakitanga* | guardianship |
| *kaumātua* | elder(s) |
| *mana* | integrity |
| *mana whenua* | literally, authority over the land |
| *mātauranga Māori* | traditional Māori knowledge |
| *mauri / mauri ora* | life principle |
| *ngāwhā* | boiling spring or other geothermal activity |
| *rangatahi* | youth |
| *rangatiratanga* | self determination |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people of the land |
| *taniwha* | guardian monster said to reside in deep water |
| *taonga* | treasure |
| *tapu* | sacredness |
| *wāhi tapu* | burial ground; reserved ground |
| *wairua* | spirit forces |
| *whakapapa* | lineage |
| *whatumanawa* | seat of emotions |
| *whenua* | land |

## Phrases and sayings

| | |
|---|---|
| *He panehe toki, ka tū te tangitangi kai* | A small adze well used brings plentiful results |
| *Ko te Ngāwhā te pare o te hau ora o te tinana* | Ngāwhā is the doorway to the spiritual and physical well-being of the body |
| *te hau o te kāinga* | the life essence or 'winds' of home |

# Literacy cultural continuity and dynamism for indigenous communities[1]

**Āneta Hinemihi Rāwiri**
Whanganui Iwi Researcher
Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui—Whanganui Iwi Education Authority

## Abstract

Adult English language literacy has become more commonly defined and approached by non-indigenous peoples as an important means of ensuring economic stability, and stimulating growth. While acknowledging the wider social and community benefits, recent international emphasis and national activity have focused primarily on raising English language literacy skills in order to secure improved employment and economic outcomes. This paper describes an indigenous community-based adult literacy and employment study being carried out by Whanganui *iwi* (tribe) to examine these issues and their impact on Whanganui River descendants and their ancestral communities.[2] A key aim of the project is to closely consider, and further extend, traditional Western notions of 'literacy' as referring solely to English language skills of reading and writing.

## Introduction

Te Awa Tupua Whanganui—the Whanganui River—flows from the mountains of the Central Plateau region, to the lower West Coast of the North Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand. It is the longest navigable river in Aotearoa. Whanganui *iwi* is the tribal confederation of *tangata whenua* (indigenous people of the land) who have lived in, beside, and with the Whanganui River for centuries.[3] The tribal territory and ancestral homelands of Whanganui *iwi* stretches from the lands surrounding the river's source, through to its outlet at the sea.

Whanganui *iwi* is widely known as the Whanganui River people, or simply 'the river people'. *Whānau* (families) and *hapū* (sub-tribes) of Whanganui *iwi* hold an extensive body of specialist knowledge and management practices that have evolved from their close ancestral lived knowing of our ancestral river. This ancestral knowledge base—handed down from generation to generation—binds past, present and future generations together. It also binds the people and the river together, to the extent that the people and the river become inseparable.

Underlying this knowledge base is an ancestral philosophy which pays deep respect for the sacredness of the river—in the rich web of life that it supports (of which people are a part), and the wider web of life of which the river is itself a part, the insights gained from practising our ancestral values and philosophies help us to understand and speak about life itself. It also serves to uphold an ancient ethic that prescribes that, as peoples, we must all set our activities first and foremost around the values that the river has determined for itself. Whanganui *iwi* has respected and lived according to the natural order and seasonal dynamics of our ancestral river for centuries. This is expressed in the oft-quoted axiom:

> *E rere kau mai Te Awa nui*
> *Mai i Te Kāhui Maunga ki Tangaroa*
> *Ko au Te Awa*
> *Ko Te Awa ko au.*

---

1 This title is from the paper by Margie Kahukura Hōhepa (2001), '*Maranga e te mahara*: memory arise—learning, culture and language regeneration'.

2 The author wishes to acknowledge the NZ Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology for its support of the project under grant MAUX0308 Literacy and Employment.

3 See further pages 15–104 of: Waitangi Tribunal (1999) *The Whanganui River report: Wai 167 Waitangi Tribunal report.* Wellington: GP Publications.

The River has always flowed
From the Mountains to the Sea
I am the River
The River is me.

## Adult English language literacy and colonialism

The International Adult Literacy Survey (OECD, 1997 & 2000)—known as the IALS survey—measured the levels of adult English language literacy skills in New Zealand as part of a series of international surveys. It found that the majority of adult Māori, have poor English language literacy skills. These levels are associated with a greater likelihood of unemployment, lower pay when in work, poor health, less likelihood of owning a home, and poorer basic skills for children living with adults with poor English language literacy.

Indigenous peoples acknowledge that English language literacy skills are critical for their communities' well-being in today's world. However, the nature and extent of the distinctive adult literacy issues facing indigenous communities have received scant research attention. Conventional literacy research has employed a 'deficit' approach where poor English language literacy levels are explained in terms of addressing failure and a lack of intellectual capacity within indigenous communities, largely due to anthropological explanations of cultural difference (Nakata, 2000).

Traditional Western notions of 'literacy' denigrated and devalued indigenous ways of being in the world, describing these as 'preliterate', 'primitive' and 'uncivilised' (Jackson, 1992; Hōhepa & Jenkins 1996). Notions of 'cultural superiority' and 'cultural inferiority' are strong recurring themes within this discourse, and deeply embedded in past and neo-colonial literacy approaches intended to make Māori equal to Pākehā via assimilation (Soler, 2000). Such traditional attitudes are long-standing, strongly-held convictions that continue to inform adult literacy understandings, policy, and practice. These deeply entrenched Western eurocentric assumptions are so widely taken for granted as being 'what adult literacy is about', that they are extremely difficult to challenge, let alone change (Yates, 1996; Antone et al., 2003).

Arguably, the rhetoric of this discourse largely persists today. It has been argued that the IALS survey fits in well with a Western capitalist agenda of globalisation (Darville, 1999; Hamilton and Barton 2000). It reaffirms an orthodox Western view of 'what literacy should be' rather than supporting indigenous and other communities to determine for themselves their literacy needs, and how English language literacy skills can best be used to achieve their own community-determined aspirations.

## Ngā Whiringa Muka—Whanganui Iwi Adult Literacy and Employment Research Project

This paper describes the basis from which the Whanganui Iwi Adult Literacy and Employment Project called Ngā Whiringa Muka was developed. The study is part of a wider collaborative community-based adult literacy and employment project, funded by a grant from the New Zealand Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology. Whanganui *iwi* instigated the study to meet the need to undertake research appropriate to our local indigenous river communities. The research team members are mostly Whanganui *iwi* descendants, who work closely with river elders, community representatives and descendants. A non-indigenous Canadian adult literacy researcher, whose thinking and research experience in workplace literacy strongly aligns with the values and philosophies of the project, has also recently joined the study in an advisory capacity.

The four objectives of the *iwi* study are:

1. To establish the adult literacy needs of Whanganui *iwi* descendants, both employed and unemployed.
2. To identify the social, attitudinal and economic barriers to adult literacy, numeracy and analytical thinking skills of Whanganui *iwi* descendants, both employed and unemployed.
3. To evaluate how effectively adult literacy programmes secure employment outcomes for Whanganui *iwi* descendants.
4. To examine adult literacy learning processes and their relationship to employment for Whanganui *iwi* descendants and their communities.

The name Ngā Whiringa Muka was given to the project by one of our river *kuia* (female elder), Nanny Julie Ranginui. It describes the process of adult learning as a weaving together of many different threads of knowledge and understandings to provide meaning, purpose, and wisdom for river descendants and their communities.

The study aims to provide our communities with a means to articulate their lived realities of the impacts of English language literacy on their lives, the issues and priorities arising from those impacts and needs, as well as ways to formulate their own community-determined notions of 'literacy' to support and enhance community development aspirations. Ngā Whiringa Muka is an example of indigenous community-based research, in that the research aims and methodologies are based on the experiences and aspirations of the local indigenous river communities themselves. This paper describes the findings of a literature review, undertaken as the first phase of the project.

## Research methodologies

Developing indigenous research paradigms seeks to facilitate more meaningful research outcomes for indigenous peoples. Indigenous scholars have long argued that orthodox approaches to research about indigenous communities have been poor, with an indigenous 'perspective' treated as an additional variable within theories loaded with unspoken and undeclared Western assumptions and biases. It is advocated that research should instead seek to make respectful connections, and facilitate understanding among different peoples who hold different ways of relating to the world (Smith, 1999). As an important first step in the *iwi* study, the following indigenous community-based research methodologies were adopted to guide the project:[4]

***Elders mentor and guide the research project***

Within indigenous communities, elders are highly respected. They are often very unassuming, and people from outside the community may have difficulty in recognising or understanding the vital leadership role they play. Elders are both men and women, and their respective roles are held in equal regard. Their knowledge has been passed on to them orally and they have gained deep insights from living it. They are not all aged and often have a keen sense of humour. Their recognition as elders comes from the fact that they speak wisely and have integrity.

Including elders to mentor and guide the research project ensures that cultural integrity is maintained (Irwin, 1994). Furthermore, their involvement is valued for the many rich and valuable insights that they bring in guiding those involved in the project. Researchers who have been privileged by such experiences understand this well. The leadership that elders provide is to be respected and valued.

***Indigenous cultural and spiritual ways of knowing and understandings are brought from the margins into the centre***

Acknowledging and paying respect for the rich interconnections between the spiritual and the material—as well as the past, present and future—is very important to indigenous communities. One way this is achieved is through observing formal protocol. They are not merely a means to 'open' and 'close' meetings, nor are they simply traditions from a time past. They express ancestral values which are equally relevant for present-day realities, and future generations. These values continue to provide the basis for community social, economic and political action within day-to-day living (Smith, 1999; Cajete, 1994). Centring indigenous epistemologies and ontologies within research projects validates ancestral knowledge and understandings as the basis for developing effective theories and methodologies; it establishes an equality of approach (Smith, 1999). Ancestral ways of knowing are reaffirmed and validated as being just as systematic, and just as philosophical, as non-indigenous approaches to research theory and method.

[4] These guidelines were adapted from the research framework developed and applied within the 'Purga Community Cultural Development Project', a collaborative Indigenous community-based research project, between Purga Elders and descendants and the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Unit of the University of Queensland (Sheehan and Walker 2001).

***Indigenous cultural and spiritual ways of knowing and understandings are celebrated and affirmed***

This principle validates ancestral ways of knowing as being practical, useful, and valuable in research praxis. It seeks to reverse a traditional Western approach of researching 'indigenous failure' or the 'indigenous problem', particularly in terms of cultural deficit (Smith, 1999). Instead, culture is affirmed as a community strength, and a positive basis for exploring, understanding and seeking effective solutions to the contemporary issues facing indigenous communities.

This approach does not imply exclusivity; it simply places indigenous epistemologies and ontologies as the principal framework to further develop and adopt Western research methods that support cultural and community regeneration. This principle firmly supports a fundamental aspiration of indigenous communities to live their ancestral heritage, and to pass it on to future generations in its full richness and vitality.

***Indigenous cultural and spiritual ways of knowing and understandings are respected as not being open knowledge***

Ancestral knowledge is treated with great respect within indigenous communities. It has its own life-force, and is the source of their humanity and dignity. It is not to be misinterpreted, misappropriated, misapplied, or used for personal gain or prestige, particularly where there is no reciprocation which 'gives-back' to the dignity of the community from which the knowledge was sourced. Indigenous communities have very clear expectations about what appropriate 'reciprocation' is—and these expectations are very different from traditional Western notions.

This principle challenges the long-held traditional Western belief that researchers have an inherent right to knowledge in the pursuit of finding the 'truth' (Smith, 1999). Instead, it maintains that there is no automatic right to ancestral or community knowledge. It is important that the authority over the ways in which ancestral and community knowledge is represented, analysed, and shared remains in the community.

***Interconnection and reconnection are emphasised***

This principle emphasises the importance of taking an holistic approach to research within indigenous communities. It acknowledges and respects the community's ancestral and natural values (Cajete, 2000). It respects the life-force in all things and includes listening to the land, as well as the importance of custodianship. Traditional Western research paradigms generally do not acknowledge this, and in doing so, fail to support the development of community-appropriate research theory and methods.

Within the process of research, indigenous communities are asked to express their lived realities and experiences. With this, comes stories of dispossession, racism, cultural denigration, disconnection, pain and struggle. The need for reciprocation and mutual-benefit is of particular significance here. It is equally important to seek out community solutions within research projects to rise above these realities. The importance of ancestral heritage within this process, as a basis for developing community solutions, is to be acknowledged and respected.

***Research theory, praxis and method are simplified and demystified (particularly language), and shared openly and generously***

Undertaking research within indigenous communities—even where the researchers are community members themselves, as is the case here—essentially involves an interface between Western research praxis and indigenous values and ethics. This principle emphasises inclusivity and mutual benefit in the research process. It seeks to reverse past negative experiences of research as 'information-mining'. Orthodox Western approaches to academic research have traditionally excluded the community from the design, implementation and benefits of research (Cameron et al., 1997).

Working through an ongoing, robust process of information-sharing about research method in appropriate ways enables the community to take a more active and informed decision-making role. It makes space for community expectations and aspirations to be built into the research project in a

systematic and proactive way. To indigenous peoples, it provides for a respectful, ethical approach (Smith, 1999).

Clearly, working through the challenges inherent in this approach requires time, commitment and goodwill from both the researchers and the community. However, it creates the potential for building strong working relationships and positive synergies between academic research and indigenous communities, as well as seeking to ensure research outcomes that are effective, meaningful, and practical.

***The project facilitates proactive processes of change that seek to reshape non-indigenous research understandings and approaches, rather than fit indigenous peoples into a Western paradigm***

Within this principle, research projects within indigenous communities seek to take a critical approach, challenging the ideologies, values, and assumptions underlying traditional Western approaches (Bishop, 1994). It has been noted that this approach is difficult for a number of reasons. First, because Western orthodox 'ethical' and 'professional' requirements serve to constantly reaffirm these ideologies as the most legitimate and valid way to approach research. They remain the dominant framework within which academic institutions and research funding agencies operate (Cameron et al., 1997). In addition, these prevailing ideologies are widely held as 'taken for granted', 'common sense' beliefs within the wider society, and they are reinforced by 'mainstream' social, economic, political and legal institutions (Deloria, 1995; Smith, 1999).

Traditional Western approaches to research are highly problematic for indigenous peoples. Overall, non-indigenous research approaches have failed dismally to understand or analyse indigenous communities' needs and aspirations. This has meant that research has often 'missed the point', with conclusions then drawn which are based on false assumptions, value judgments and misunderstandings (Smith, 1999).

By bringing into focus the issues, aspirations and priorities that are significant to indigenous communities, research theory and methods can then be developed within indigenous frameworks. In doing so, the community can define the questions that are important to them, and then develop systematic way to work through these questions, to enable the community to find the answers themselves. The community can give a 'voice' to the things that matter to them—things that others may dismiss and reject in terms of importance or validity. And more importantly, the community can find solutions—in real, meaningful, effective and sustainable ways—to the many critical issues they face today (ibid.).

## Ancestral literacy, English language literacy, and indigenous communities' cultural continuity and dynamism

If we consider that, in its broadest sense, literacy can be defined as the means with which to express, understand, provide for, and make sense of, oneself—and the 'whole' richness of oneself in its widest cultural, spiritual, intellectual and physical sense (Penetito, in Irwin et al., 2001)—then we come to understand the notion of 'literacy' in a more fundamental and critical way. There are many rich, ancestral 'literacy' practices which function in this way. Describing these as 'indigenous literacy' validates these literacy skills and approaches as being just as important and just as relevant as orthodox Western understandings and economic approaches to adult literacy learning.

It has been argued that Western notions of literacy are biased towards documentation rather than experience; they view text as the 'keeper of knowledge'. In contrast, for First Nations and Indigenous peoples, whose ways of life are attuned to the natural order and dynamics of the natural world, there is no decontextualisation of knowledge—the knowledge is the people, the forest, the creatures, the plants, and the land (Roburn, 1994).

Takirirangi Smith (1998) has described the natural environment as the predominant 'text' for *Māori* prior to colonisation. Reading the natural environment was an everyday part of life and the mnemonics for recalling the specialised knowledge held by the community were in everything Māori saw, smelt, heard, felt and sensed. Detailed ancestral knowledge about the natural environment was accumulated over years of close community living with the land, and handed down from generation to generation.

Underpinning this knowledge base is a distinctive '*tangata whenua* discourse' based on *whakapapa*, a complex set of relationships linked by ancient genealogies, and located in entirely different notions from Western lineal descriptions of time and space. Smith argues that this discourse is recorded in our own distinctive forms of literature, such as ancestral carvings, which are just as valid as the representations of a Western world view expressed in written texts.

In discussing the notion of 'Māori literacy', Wally Penetito described it in this way:

> Being literate in Māori should also include having the capacity to read the geography of the land, i.e. to be able to name the main features of one's environment (the mountains, rivers, . . . valleys, etc); to be able to recite one's tribal/ *hapū* boundaries and be able to point them out on a map if not in actuality, as well as key features of adjacent tribal/ *hapū* boundaries; and being able to 'read' Māori symbols such as carvings, *tukutuku* (ornamental panels), *kōwhaiwhai* (painted scroll ornamentation) and their context within the *wharenui* (meeting house), *poupou* (upright slabs forming the solid framework of the walls of the meeting house), *heke* (rafters of the meeting house), and the *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) *ātea* (courtyard situated directly in front of meeting house), *ā-rongo* (peace brought about by the mediation of man), etc.
>
> I'm not even sure but the ability to 'read' body language (paralinguistics) should not be outside the scope of a definition of 'literacy' in Māori terms.
>
> This is the sort of work that 'the politics of everyday life', structured in the nature of relationships, has much to say about. This might be taking a definition of literacy too far but then again perhaps the definition that has been imposed has been far too limiting. (Irwin at al., 2001, p. 26)

The role of education in caring for Whanganui *iwi* ancestral literacy and literacy practices has been noted:

> For Whanganui *iwi*, education will contribute to the achievement of positive development and outcomes. It is a central brace to the process of growth and well-being for the individual, the *whānau*, the *hapū* and the *iwi*. Education is the gateway to understanding and wisdom, so that Whanganui *iwi* can be independent and strong, yet willing to coexist with respect and dignity, while caring for and nurturing the Tribal Estate for future generations. [Emphasis added].
>
> (Te Rūnanga o Te Awa Tupua [on behalf of Whanganui *iwi*] 2000, p. 3)

'Tribal Estate' is defined as "*marae*, land, forests, tribal knowledge, philosophy and practice, such as *mita* (dialect), *tikanga* (customary practices), *whakapapa* and *wānanga* (learning)." They provide the basis for Whanganui *iwi* to move forward as a strong, vibrant, robust and prosperous *iwi*—culturally, socially, and economically.

For Whanganui *iwi*, our ancestral 'river literacy' binds the people to the river and the river to the people, to the extent that the people and the river become inseparable. Through these ancient literacy, river descendants come to understand and respect who they are and their relationships and responsibilities to each other, wider communities, and the natural world. Ancestral literacy adds meaning to physical landscapes, changing them into cultural, spiritual, and historical landscapes that help river communities make sense of themselves and their wider selves—that is, their wider world and their collective past, present and future. Colonialism, which aims to separate Indigenous and First Nations peoples from their ancestral literacy, has had serious adverse human and environmental consequences on a world-wide scale (Nettle and Romaine, 2000).

The impact of this on Whanganui *iwi* has been very real and cannot be overstated. The severing of this literacy has impaired our ancestral connections, to the extent that our spiritual, intellectual, physical and community well-being has also become impaired (Māreikura, 1994; Wood, 2003). At the same time we have seen the physical, cultural and spiritual well-being of the river gradually eroded (Tihu, 1984; Māreikura, 1994). It has been noted that colonising processes seek to extinguish ancestral literacy by a number of means, one of the strongest tools being to make indigenous peoples ashamed of and ambivalent towards their cultural heritage (Jackson, 1992; Memmi, 1991). This, together with the

gradual loss of political, economic, and legal ability to practice and uphold this literacy, saw Western social and economic activities and philosophies, which place people as having the authority to 'control' natural resources, encroach upon the river, and cause degradation at an increasingly rapid pace (Waitangi Tribunal, 1999). Revitalising our ancestral literacy for the river's well-being is inextricably connected to restoring our people's well-being.

Within day-to-day living, indigenous communities seek to be able to integrate new knowledge, technologies and skills, while also maintaining the integrity of ancestral values and ways of life. Indigenous cultures are not static—indeed, *tangata whenua* have a rich early contact history of reading, writing and publishing widely in Western print-based forms, with most written in *te reo Māori* (the Māori language). *Tangata whenua* newspapers published from the 1840s into the early 20th century demonstrate this well. While using the new print-based medium, the text conveys complex metaphors and imagery that require a sound understanding of ancient literacy to be able to comprehend the subject matter (Curnow et al., 2002). The many petitions, submissions and letters of this time to the Crown and the colonial administration, protesting against the relentless and ongoing invasions to *tangata whenua* way of life, provide good examples of strong political literacy firmly based in ancestral values and philosophy (Cleave, 1979; Smith, 1998).

The demise of *tangata whenua* enthusiasm and vigour in pursuing these new literacy synergies reflected the gradual erosion in their ability to maintain control over their own lives, and in particular, sustain their ancient customary literacy. Education policy and practice, which imposed English language and English cultural literacy as a means to abolish and supplant their ancestral literacy, closely aligns itself with wider Crown and colonial settler legal, political and military action, thus undermining *tangata whenua* political and economic strength (Jackson, 1992; Smith, 1999; and Soler, 2000). Such recent histories resonate with Indigenous and First Nations peoples' experiences worldwide (Churchill, 1993; Deloria, 1995).

Margie Kahukura Hōhepa (2001) has noted that extreme care is needed to ensure that English language literacy programmes do not default into assimilation. She draws a distinction between 'assimilation' and 'acculturation'. Assimilation is where it is advocated (intentionally or otherwise) that ancestral heritage should be abandoned for non-indigenous ways of life. By comparison, acculturation involves the community adapting non-indigenous skills, technologies and tools into day-to-day living, in a manner which retains and enhances an indigenous worldview and its incumbent ancestral values and practices. Dr. Hōhepa argues that, in seeking to reverse the adverse impacts of imposed assimilationist policies—the impacts which our communities are now living with—literacy programmes need to be able to support and provide for cultural continuity and dynamism.

Similarly, Martin Nakata (2000) has argued that indigenous peoples need to develop a more effective theoretical framework for literacy, one which gives primacy to indigenous standpoints. By framing literacy theory around the needs of indigenous communities (as articulated by those communities), the discourse then shifts away from discussing 'cultural difference' within literacy theory, to the notion of 'community empowerment'. Within this shift, the debate about the importance of English language literacy learning then becomes focused on improving the ability of indigenous communities to shape, influence and reshape knowledge of the outside world that seek to position them within a perspective that is not their own. Nakata argues that this is as critically important for community future survival as understanding and practising traditional knowledge pathways.

## In summary

Indigenous peoples accept that English language literacy skills are critical factors in addressing the high rates of poverty, poor health, and widespread unemployment their communities face today. However, the widely-held belief that literacy barriers are simply due to culturally determined intellectual and linguistic differences which require 'special learning assistance', is firmly rejected. Furthermore, an assimilationist approach—where English language literacy programmes for use in indigenous communities are devised and taught in isolation from ancestral literacy—is also firmly rejected.

Instead, indigenous notions of adult literacy and employment are about participation on their own terms in today's world. They are based on a desire to continue to manage their own affairs according to ancestral ways of life and values, as they have done for many centuries. An indigenous discourse on

adult literacy and employment is about elevating and validating indigenous communities' aspirations and values. It is emancipatory and self-determining in its thrust, and it is human rights based. It is about cultural continuity and dynamism, and about being able to transform the 'outside' institutions that impact their lives. The inherent difficulties and challenges of seeking to change institutions that continue to legitimate deeply entrenched monocultural beliefs is well understood by indigenous peoples. These institutions influence the level of autonomy—or conversely the level of subjugation—within which indigenous communities are able to operate (Nakata, 2000).

Having now completed the literature review, the Whanganui *iwi* study—Ngā Whiringa Muka—has now moved into the field study phase of the project. In this phase, the assumptions of indigenous notions of literacy for employment described in this paper will be explored via in-depth interviews and focus groups with river elders, descendants, adult literacy learners and tutors, and those closely involved in community development. This second phase will further explore the notion that 'literacy' means more then simply English language skills of reading and writing; further, it will examine how adult English language literacy programmes can be modified to engender employment outcomes that are consistent with maintaining ancestral values and philosophies as a basis for positive community development and growth.

For Whanganui *iwi*, the emphasis and priority to live our ancestral 'river' literacy as the fundamental basis for community development and well-being, is expressed in the Whanganui *iwi* maxim:

> *Kauaka rā e kōrero mō tō Awa*
> *Engari, me kōrero* ***ki*** *tō Awa*
>
> Do not speak about your ancestral River
> But rather, go and speak **to** your ancestral River

## Final words: is a post-colonial approach to adult English language literacy and employment possible?

As explained earlier, the *iwi*-based study described in this paper is part of a wider collaborative community-based adult literacy and employment project, funded by a grant from the NZ Foundation for Research, Science, and Technology. While the opportunity to develop the *iwi* project has been valuable, participating in the overall project has been challenging. The overall project is essentially university-driven and university-determined by a non-indigenous university research team that is, as we see it, heavily entrenched in orthodox Western ways of thinking and approaches to research.[5] Because of these constraints, it is our view that the *iwi* study has not been actively integrated into the strategic direction of the overall project in any real or substantive way.

We are therefore faced with two significant dilemmas. The first is that, in our view, the *iwi* study has effectively become marginalised within the overall project. The second is that in doing so, the other sub-projects may indeed serve to further entrench Western orthodox approaches to adult literacy that are inimical to our communities' needs and undermine positive growth and development for our and other Māori communities. The *iwi* researchers have therefore sought the advice of the university's Human Ethics Committee to assist in finding a resolution to these and other related issues that have arisen around both control and structural inequities within the collaborative project.[6]

The profound irony of the situation is not lost on us. It is our view that the adult literacy issues for indigenous peoples that have emerged within the *Iwi* study are exactly the same as those that have arisen within the overall research project. It appears that a paradigm shift in the prevailing (Western) thinking about English language literacy skills for employment is required to bring about an 'equality of approach' (Smith, 1999), so that indigenous ways of being in the world and priorities are held in equal

---

[5] This is compared to non-Indigenous adult literacy researchers and practitioners that the author has worked with in the course of the *Iwi* project, who embrace ways of working that meaningfully engage Indigenous communities' needs and aspirations within English language literacy learning. Their thinking and work inherently challenges the prevailing rhetoric found within the dominant orthodox Western approaches to adult literacy.

[6] The specific issues that have arisen are around: equity in resourcing, publishing, and setting the strategic direction, methodologies, and analysis of data in the overall project.

regard with orthodox Western ways.[7] It is argued that this is unlikely to occur unless it is first adopted within the field of adult literacy research. Further, it is argued that this is essential within Aotearoa/ New Zealand, given that the greatest adult literacy disadvantage and need can be found within Māori communities.

## Acknowledgements

This paper is dedicated to our *pāhake* (elders) and *rangatakapū* (adults) of Whanganui *iwi*, who nurture our ancestral heritage and share it with our *tamariki mokopuna* (children and grandchildren) for the physical and spiritual well-being and vitality of our communities and our ancestral river. *E mihi ana ki a koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, otirā, tēnā rā tātou katoa.* (Please accept this as a personal acknowledgement, greetings to you all, greetings to all of us).

Ngā Whiringa Muka—the Whanganui *iwi* adult literacy and employment project—is supervised by Dr. Brendon Tiwha Puketapu (Whanganui *iwi*), with academic peer review and support provided to the researcher (the author) by Esther Tinirau (Whanganui *iwi*). Dr. Judy Hunter (School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University Albany Campus) provides advice and support on ethnographic approaches to adult literacy research.

Grateful thanks to Margaret Forster (Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi/ Māori Studies, Massey University Palmerston North Campus) and Maraea Rakuraku for their feedback and comments on a draft of this paper. Any omissions or errors, however, rest solely with the author.

## Bibliography

Antone, E. et al. (2003). *Literacy and learning: acknowledging Aboriginal holistic approaches to learning in relation to 'best practices' literacy training programs: final report.* Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto.

Bishop, R. (1994) Initiating empowering research? In *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 29*(1), pp. 175–188.

Cajete, G.A. (1994). *Look to the Mountain: an ecology of Indigenous education.* Durango, Colorado: Kivaki Press.

_____ (2000). *Native science: natural laws of interdependence.* Santa Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers.

Cameron, D. et al. (1997). Ethics, advocacy and empowerment in researching language. *Language and communication, 13*(2), pp. 145–162.

Churchill, W. (1993). *Struggle for the land: Indigenous resistance to genocide, ecocide, and expropriation in contemporary North America.* Maine: Common Courage Press.

Cleave, P. (1983). Tribal and state-like political formations in New Zealand Māori society 1750–1900. *Journal of Polynesian Society*, *92*(1), pp. 51–92.

Curnow, J. N. Hopa and J. McRae (Eds.) (2002). *Rere atu, taku manu! discovering history, language and politics in the Māori-language newspapers.* Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Darville, R. (1999). Knowledges of adult literacy: surveying for competitiveness. *International Journal of Educational Development, 19*, pp. 273–285.

Deloria, V. (1995). *Red earth, white lies: Native Americans and the myth of scientific fact.* New York: Scribner.

Hamilton, M.E., & Barton, D.P. (2000). The international adult literacy survey (IALS): what does it really measure? *International Review of Education, 46*(1–2), pp. 377–389.

Hōhepa, M.K. (2001). Maranga e te mahara: memory arise—learning, culture and language regeneration. *NZARE Conference Papers*. Rangiora: New Zealand Association for Research in Education.

Hōhepa, M.K., & Jenkins, K.E.H. (1996). Te ao tuhi—Māori literacy: a consequence of racism? Joint paper presented to the Conference on Racism, Indigenous Peoples, Ethnicity and Gender in

[7] Arguably, a shift towards this kind of thinking has started with the advent of the 'New Literacy Studies' theories and ethnographic approaches to research. Within this shift, English language literacy skills are considered to be socio-cultural practices, and become historically situated and placed within a wider context of power relationships. Mary Hamilton and David Barton (2000) argue that this approach is more humanitarian in its agenda, and has yet to be widely accepted and integrated into literacy strategies and policy.

Australia, New Zealand, Canada, 9–11 December, 1993, Sydney, Australia. In *Ngā Kete Kōrero: Journal of Adult Reading and Learning,* pp. 4–5, 5–11.
Irwin, K. (1994). Māori research processes and methods: an exploration and discussion. *Sites*, *28*(Autumn), pp. 27–33.
Irwin, K., et al. (2001). *Te Kāwai Ora, reading the world, reading the word, being the world. Report of the Māori Adult Literacy Working Party.* Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.
Jackson, M. (1992). The Treaty and the word: the colonisation of Māori philosophy. In G. Oddie & R.W. Perrett (Eds.). *Justice, Ethics, and New Zealand Society.* Auckland: Oxford University Press.
Māreikura, M. (1994). Brief of evidence of Matiu Marino Marutuna Māreikura to the Waitangi Tribunal, in *Wai 167 Whanganui River claim hearing*, concerning the close ancestral interconnectedness between the Whanganui River and Whanganui Iwi, undated.
Memmi, A. (1965). *The coloniser and the colonised* (Expanded edition, 1991). Boston: Beacon Press.
Nakata, M. (2002). *Some thoughts on literacy issues in Indigenous contexts*. Melbourne: Language Australia.
Nettle, D., & Romaine, S. (2000). *Vanishing voices: the extinction of the world's languages.* New York: Oxford University Press.
OECD and Human Resources Development Canada. (1997). *Literacy skills for the knowledge society: further results from the International Adult Survey.* Paris: OECD.
_____ (2000). *Literacy in the information age: final report of the International Adult Survey.* Paris: OECD.
Roburn, S. (1994) Literacy and the underdevelopment of knowledge. *Mediatribe: Concordia University's Undergraduate Journal of Communication Studies*, 4(1). Montreal: Concordia University. Retrieved from: http://collection.nlc-bnc.ca/100/202/300/mediatribe/mtribe94/native_knowledge.html.
Sheehan, N., & Walker, P. (2001) The Purga project: Indigenous knowledge research. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education, 29*(2), pp. 11–17.
Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies: research and Indigenous peoples.* Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
Smith, T. (1999). Doing research from home: tangata whenua issues and Māori research. In, Te Pūmanawa Hauora (Ed.). *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Māori Research and Development Conference: School of Māori Studies, Massey University 7-9 July 1998.* (2nd ed.) Palmerston North: Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University.
Soler, J. (2000). Māori literacy and curriculum politics: 1920–1960. In J. Soler & J. Smith (Eds.), *Literacy in New Zealand: practices, politics and policy since 1900*. Auckland: Longman.
Te Rūnanga o Te Awa Tupua o Whanganui (on behalf of Whanganui Iwi). (2000). *Ngā kai o te puku tūpuna: Whanganui Iwi education plan 2000–2005.* (Revised ed.) Whanganui: The Author.
Tihu, T. (1984). Petition of Titi Tihu to the New Zealand House of Representatives on behalf of Whanganui Iwi', concerning the well-being of the Whanganui River and Whanganui Iwi, and seeking to "recover the mana of The River, and the mana of The Ancestors, removed without reason, without agreement, and without justice", undated.
Waitangi Tribunal. (1999). *The Whanganui River report: Wai 167 Waitangi Tribunal Report.* Wellington: GP Publications.
Wood, K.W.P. (2003). Brief of evidence of Keith William Paetaha Wood to the Environment Court, in *Ngāti Rangi v Manawatū-Wanganui Regional Council and Genesis Power Ltd (2004)* RMA 874/01, concerning the close ancestral interconnectedness between Ngāti Rangi and their ancestral Rivers, 18 July 2003.
Yates, B. (1996). Striving for tino rangatiratanga. In J. Benseman, B. Findsen, & M. Scott. (Eds.), *The fourth sector: adult and community education in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.* Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

## Author Details

Āneta Rāwiri
Ngāti Rangi/ Whanganui Iwi nui tonu, Ngāti Kōpaki/ Ngā Puhi nui tonu
Whanganui Iwi Researcher
Te Puna Mātauranga o Whanganui—Whanganui Iwi Education Authority
Level 1, 11 Watt Street
PO Box 7241, Whanganui Aotearoa, New Zealand

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *ā-rongo* | peace brought about by the mediation of man |
| *ātea* | courtyard situated directly in front of meeting house |
| *hapū* | sub-tribe(s) |
| *heke* | rafters of the meeting house |
| *iwi* | tribe(s) |
| *kōwhaiwhai* | painted scroll ornamentation |
| *kuia* | female elder(s) |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *mita* | dialect |
| *pāhake* | elders |
| *poupou* | upright slabs forming the solid framework of the walls of the meeting house |
| *rangatakapū* | adults |
| *tamariki mokopuna* | children and grandchildren |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people of the land |
| *te reo Māori* | the Māori language |
| *tikanga* | customary practices |
| *tukutuku* | ornamental panels |
| *wānanga* | learning |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |
| *whānau* | family/families |
| *wharenui* | meeting house |

# Marine space and Makah identity

**Joshua L. Reid**
University of California, Davis

On May 17, 1999, a Makah whaling crew successfully hunted a gray whale off the Washington coast. This act brought praise and admiration from indigenous groups similarly engaged in cultural struggles, and condemnation from certain environmental and animal rights activists and parts of the local community. Protected by the 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay, whaling is just one of many practices that illustrates the critical role of marine space to contemporary and historical Makah society.

Flowing east, the Subarctic Current batters into the western coast of Vancouver Island and splits. The Alaskan Current flows north along the coast of British Columbia, while the California Current heads south along the coast of Washington State. The upwelling of colder water offshore nourishes plankton, the foundation for a rich marine environment of shellfish, sea mammals, fish, and seabirds.[1] Located immediately south of where the Strait of Juan de Fuca separates Vancouver Island from the Olympic Peninsula and opens into the Pacific Ocean, the Makah encompass this rich marine space.[2] Rugged landforms, acidic soil, nearly ten feet of rainfall annually, and the dense vegetation of a temperate rainforest have encouraged the Makah to rely heavily upon their marine environment for the 1500 to 2000 years they have occupied the Cape Flattery area.[3]

Promising Washington's territorial legislature that he would take the "promptest action" at terminating Indian title to the land, Governor Isaac Stevens set out for Neah Bay 150 years ago.[4] During a hurried negotiation of only three days, Stevens convinced the Makah to sign his treaty on the condition that the government did not intend to stop their fisheries; instead, he promised that the government would send "barrels in which to put your oil, kettles to try it out, lines and implements to fish with."[5] His promises responded to repeated Makah declarations about the importance of their marine space. For example, Tse-Kaw-Wootl, chief of Ozette village, stated, "I want the sea. That is my country."[6]

Histories of the American West usually and mistakenly end at the coastline. Similarly, histories of American Indians typically focus on connections to the land. This results in a standard narrative: Indians signed treaties that ceded lands to whites, they moved onto reservations where they became dependent upon the federal government, and assimilation policies eroded identities and impoverished communities. However, this pattern does not fit the narrative of Makah history. I argue that the Makah shaped their marine space as the primary location of their identity and success. The 1855 Treaty of Neah Bay did not result in the loss of cultural and economic autonomy; instead, it resulted in the incremental loss of their marine space over the seventy-five years following the treaty and significantly undermined Makah autonomy. This presentation provides a glimpse into the marine space of the Makah

---

1 Wayne Suttles, "Environment," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990). Including this article by Suttles, nearly all writings of the Makah and coastal peoples of the Pacific Northwest begin by placing them terrestrially.

2 Greg Dening, "Deep Times, Deep Spaces," in *Sea Changes: Historicizing the Ocean*, ed. Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun (New York: Routledge, 2004). I use "encompass" in the way Dening argues, implying that power is an important part of the encompassing process. For centuries, the Makah exercised nearly exclusive power over their marine space.

3 Numerous authors describe the terrestrial features of this part of the Olympic Peninsula, including Ann M. Renker and Erna Gunther, "Makah," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990). Historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists continue to debate when exactly the Makah, who are closely related to the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka) of Vancouver Island, arrived on the Olympic Peninsula. Gary Wessen, "Prehistory of the Ocean Coast of Washington," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990). David R. Huelsbeck, "Whaling in the Precontact Economy of the Central Northwest Coast," *Arctic Anthropology* 25, no. 1 (1988).

4 Isaac I. Stevens, "Governor Isaac I. Stevens to the First Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly, February 28, 1854," in *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854–1889*, ed. Charles M. Gates (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1940), 4.

5 "Ratified Treaty No. 286: Documents Relating to the Negotiation of the Treaty of January 31, 1855, with the Makah Indians;" Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties with Various Tribes of Indians, 1801–69; (Nat'l Archives Microfilm Publication T494, roll 5); Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; NARA, Washington, D.C., 4. [Hereafter noted as "Treaty Negotiation Notes"].

6 *Ibid*, 2.

and enables us to begin to understand just how important this space was—and continues to be—for them.

Some of the first European explorers to the Northwest Coast recorded instances of Makah actions in their marine space and interactions with other indigenous communities inhabiting the land bounding it and ships encroaching upon it. In 1788, Tatoosh, an important Makah leader, objected to Captain Meares about an exclusive trade agreement which the British mariner had recently brokered with Wickaninnish, a "powerful chief" of the Clayoquots on Vancouver Island. Several days later, the Pacheenaht of Vancouver Island attacked Meares' longboat as it explored the Strait of Juan de Fuca, hoping to determine whether or not this was the fabled Northwest Passage. Probably in alliance with the Pacheenahts, at the same time, Tatoosh declared war on Wickaninnish to protest the trading agreement.[7] This incident showed how indigenous communities on the edges of this marine space eagerly wished to incorporate Europeans into their existing marine-oriented trade networks on terms most favourable to themselves. The incident also demonstrated their willingness to fight to retain rights to this space. Prior to the 1850s, Spanish, Russian, British, and American mariners noted Makah fishing for halibut, hunting gray whales, taking slaves, conducting trade, and attending ceremonies within and across this marine space.

Makah perception of their geographic location differed from the mid-19th century Anglo-American perspective that emphasised the extreme isolation of the Cape Flattery area. Writing to a San Franciscan audience in 1859, James G. Swan, an early Washington pioneer who became the first white teacher on the Makah reservation, described the trading post at Neah Bay as an "almost Robinson Crusoe residence on this bleak, extreme northwest portion of the domain of the United States… the farthest west of any settlers on American soil."[8] Swan perceived this isolation as an adventurous challenge for the robust, white pioneer to overcome. Henry Webster, one of the first Indian agents to the Makah, echoed Swan's words four years later in his annual report: "It should be borne in mind that this is on the most remote frontier of the northwestern domain of the United States."[9] He was concerned with possible attacks from Vancouver Island Indians "only held in check by the gunboats of the British navy," a veil of protection he appeared to have found quite thin.

My analysis of the physical contours of Makah marine space illustrates the connections this space enabled. Drawing from the 1859–1866 diary of James Swan, I have reconstructed a map showing the extent of Makah marine space. See overpage.

7 John Meares, *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N. W. Coast of America*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: J. Walter, 1791), 200–97.

8 William A. Katz, ed., *Almost out of the World: Scenes from Washington Territory* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1971), 73–74.

9 Henry Webster, "Report of Henry A. Webster, Agent," U.S. Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (USOCIA), *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1863), 446.


Makah Marine Space
1859-1866
1-10
11-30
31-60
Port Angeles (103)
Victoria (124)
Port Townsend (140)
British Columbia
Vancouver Island
Clayoquot
Nitinaht
Pacheenaht
Makah Res.
Elwha
Quilleute
Olympia
Washington State
Pacific Ocean
San Francisco

In steamers, schooners, and, most normally, canoes, these trips across marine space knitted together places and provided various connections.[10] For example, in June of 1863, Clap' a lan hoo, a prominent whaler, attended a potlatch thrown by his brother-in-law at Nitinaht on Vancouver Island.[11] Makah had a history of seeking out the assistance of Indian doctors from Vancouver Island, and by 1864, they were travelling there for surgery from Anglo doctors in Victoria.[12] Swan also noted numerous times when Makah would run errands for himself or the Indian agent, such as delivering mail or cargo and taxiing them around the Strait of Juan de Fuca and Puget Sound.

In 1861, Swan detailed one of his more vivid accounts of his time at Neah Bay for readers of the territorial paper, the Washington Standard. Setting out from Baadah Village in twelve canoes with 80–90 men and 70 guns, Makah warriors sought vengeance for the killing of one of their leaders at the hands of the Elwha. Returning three days later with the heads of two Elwha, Cobetsi, one of the Makah war chiefs, explained: "We think Mr. Simmons [the Indian Superintendent of Washington Territory] has made fools of us and the Indians on Vancouver's Island, the Nittinats and the Clyoquots laugh at us, and call us old women. It is for this that we have gone up and killed these two men. Swell [the victim they avenged] went up to Port Townsend for the Bostons [the Americans], and he was killed; and the Bostons promised to hang his murderers, but they have not done so, and now we will look out for ourselves."[13] This incident uncovers several networks of exchange at work in their marine space: labour (Wha-laltl as sá buy, also known as Swell, had been delivering cargo for an Indian trader); kin (the reason why Metsonak, also known as Elwha Charley, attacked Swell); news (Indians across the Strait had heard about the incident); and violence.

Marine space also provided the Makah with valuable trade goods and networks for this exchange. Makah families and villages traded extensively among one another. Families held rights to specific fishing grounds, like the ling cod bank off the mouth of the Hoko River, and got certain types of fish, which they traded for other types to which they did not have access.[14] Living in the Cape Flattery area, the Makah strategically occupied a critical position in a large trade network stretching from Alaska to California and east of the Cascades. In 1864, Clyoquots from Vancouver Island delivered to the Makah two "fine large canoes", finished products they most likely traded for dried halibut and whale oil.[15] The Makah also made annual trips deep into Puget Sound where they traded dried halibut for dried clams, salal berries, and spring salmon from the Squaxins and Puyallups.[16] By the 1850s, schooners made regular stops at Neah Bay. In addition to stocking up on fish and water, captains regularly traded sugar, pilot bread, molasses, and liquor for seal skins, sea otter pelts, and valuable whale oil. In 1852, the Makah traded over 30,000 gallons of oil with Anglo captains, and Makah oil lit the streets of Victoria.[17] As these examples make clear, more groups than the Makah helped create this marine space—these networks needed participation from non-Makah.

Marine space enabled the Makah to remain prosperous during a time when most Western tribes fell into poverty. Nearly every agent posted to Neah Bay noted the abundant resources the Makah drew from the ocean. For example, Agent Webster described the Makah as an "anomaly in the Indian service" because of the wealth of marine resources that enabled them to be successful regional traders in the 1860s; he felt that if the government encouraged their fisheries, they could "live in a state of civilisation."[18]

---

10 Of the nearly 900 trips across and into marine space that Swan noted during this time period, more than half (57%) were in canoes.

11 James G. Swan, June 28, 1863, Diary 6, Box 5, James G. Swan Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Manuscripts and University Archives (UWSC), Seattle, WA.

12 Swan, April 29, 1861 and April 5–6, 1864, Diaries 5 & 8, Boxes 1 & 5, UWSC.

13 Katz, ed., *Almost out of the World: Scenes from Washington Territory*, 107.

14 Makah Elders to Edward Swindell (Special Representative of the Indian Office), Oct. 15, 1941, "Old Fishing Locations," Box 1, Edward Swindell, Makah Cultural and Research Center, Neah Bay, WA (MCRC).

15 Swan, June 20, 1864, Diary 8, Box 5, James G. Swan Papers, UWSC; Makah elders to Edward Swindell, Oct. 15, 1941, "Old Fishing Locations," Box 1, Edward Swindell Papers, MCRC.

16 Peter Eggers to Roger Chute, July 27, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, Washington State Historical Society Archives (WSHSA).

17 George Gibbs, *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory* (Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1972), 35. Jennifer Sepez, "Political and Social Ecology of Contemporary Makah Subsistence Hunting, Fishing and Shellfish Collecting Practices" (Dissertation, University of Washington, 2001), 106. Arthur F. McEvoy, *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980*, ed. Donald Worster and Alfred W. Crosby, *Studies in Environment and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 74.

18 Henry Webster, "Report of H. A. Webster, agent at Neah Bay agency," USOCIA, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1865), 91.

Fifteen years later, another agent found that Makah and neighbouring Quilleute sealers had earned over $20,000 in a five-month period while working for Euro-American sealers.[19] Through traditional subsistence practices like whaling, sealing, and halibut fishing, Makah succeeded financially in the Anglo markets for decades.

However, with the incremental loss of this space, the Makah began losing autonomy. American commercial whaling was the first intrusion. The discovery of gray whale calving grounds in Baja, California during the mid-19th century accelerated the harvest and resulted in a dramatic population decline. By the time of the treaty, the Makah were already whaling less than they once had, and for the next 70 years, although the practice continued, returns dwindled.[20] By the 1870s, whaling had lost nearly all commercial importance.[21]

As whaling diminished, another traditional subsistence practice, sealing, rose in importance. By the 1880s, the Makah had already begun to modernise their sealing equipment. In 1885, a Makah purchased a schooner for sealing and made a profit of nearly $1000 in one season.[22] Makah elder Nora Barker estimated that individuals owned ten schooners used for fishing and sealing by 1900.[23] A young Doctor, a prominent Makah, owned a gas-powered boat by 1902 and used it to go to Alaska several times.[24] However, the North Pacific Sealing Convention of 1911 limited "aborigines dwelling on the coast… [to] carry on pelagic sealing in canoes… propelled entirely by oars, paddles, or sails… in the way hitherto practiced and without the use of firearms; provided that such aborigines are not in the employment of other persons, or under contract to deliver the skins to any person."[25] This convention ignored the fact that the Makah had already modernised their practices and actively participated in commercial sealing. It also forbade indigenous forms of contracts.

By the 1890s, the Makah also had entered the early commercial halibut fishery. Theo Eggers, white owner of a Tacoma-based fishing company, started a commercial dock at Neah Bay and bought all of their fish in 1898.[26] Well positioned to access the halibut banks, a traditional marine resource they had been using for generations, Makah fishermen, however, engendered rivalry and competition.[27] Once white fishermen began plying these halibut banks, they quickly exploited the resource. As one halibut fisherman noted in 1936, "The method of exploitation was exactly that now employed by professional exterminators of vermin and varmints—attack from the outside, destroy everything as you go, and keep down the species in cleaned-up ground."[28] White competition, plummeting halibut prices, and over-exploited halibut banks resulted in Makah boats wasting away on the shores of the reservation. As the Makah chief Kal-chote prophetically noted during the treaty negotiations, "if [I can] not take halibut where [I want], [I will] become poor."[29] With this, the Makah lost their economic autonomy, which in turn strengthened the cultural assaults of the final decade of the assimilation period.

The 1999 whale hunt illustrated the Makah's continuing efforts to reclaim their marine space. In a study conducted on the recent hunt, three-quarters of the Makah respondents supported it, and most cited the whale's role in creating a "living culture" for the tribe. As one Makah noted, "We want back a living,

---

19 Charles Willoughby, "Report of Makah agent," USOCIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880), 155–56.

20 Sepez, "Political and Social Ecology of Contemporary Makah Subsistence Hunting, Fishing and Shellfish Collecting Practices", 107.

21 Cary C. Collins, "Subsistence and Survival: The Makah Indian Reservation, 1855–1933," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 87, no. 4 (1996): 183.

22 Oliver Wood, "Report of Makah agent," USOCIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1885), 188.

23 "Written Testimony of Nora Barker, Makah Elder and Teacher of Makah History," August 23, 1977, Legal Case C85–1606M, Makah v. U.S.—Plaintiff's Exhibit HH, Makah Tribal Council Papers, MCRC.

24 Eggers to Chute, July 27, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.

25 Quoted in N. O. Nicholson, Taholah Superintendent, to *Western Weekly, Inc.*, September 19, 1934; Seals and Sealskins—Reports, etc. (Original Neah Bay Agency); Decimal File 921.5–936; Taholah Indian Agency, Taholah, WA; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; NARA—Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle, WA).

26 Theo Eggers, Oral Testimony, Collected by Roger Chute, June 19, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.

27 Eggers to Chute, December 12, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.

28 Howard Bell, halibut fisherman, Oral Testimony, Collected by Roger Chute, January 20, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in MS 15/84, Box 5, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.

29 "Treaty Negotiation Notes," 2.

breathing whale culture. I don't want to stand behind the red rope, put my nose on the glass cases, point up at the whalebones in the museum, and think 'Wow, we were whalers.' I want to get out there on the ocean and be part of it. Actually part of it. I want to be a whaler."[30] This current conviction echoes the words of those Makah leaders who expressed their concerns to Governor Stevens 150 years ago; this would also be a sentiment understood by Tatoosh, the Makah who confronted Captain Meares over 200 years ago.

Strategic exploitation of marine space enabled the Makah to participate successfully in Anglo markets, resist assimilation, and retain greater autonomy than many other reservation communities throughout this period of American history. Their marine space is the borderland that allowed them to transcend the terrestrial ecological limitations of the Cape Flattery area and subvert the socio-political boundaries of expanding European and American empires that might otherwise have contained them. As this critical borderland became limited through the demise of marine species, competition from Anglos, and state and international regulations, the Makah lost autonomy. However, as evidenced by the recent whale hunt and current efforts at obtaining legal permission to exercise this reserved treaty right, the Makah fully intend to reclaim their marine space. Today's Makah understand Tse-Kaw-wootl's words: "I want the sea; that is my country" not as historical words locked in the static past, but as an element crucial to their current identity.

Acknowledgement: I would like to acknowledge Jay Johnson's timely assistance with the map included in this paper.

## Bibliography

Barton. (2000). *'Red Waters': Contesting Marine Space as Indian Place in the U.S. Pacific Northwest*. Dissertation, University of Arizona.

Collins, C.C. (1996). "Subsistence and Survival: The Makah Indian Reservation, 1855–1933," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly 87*(4), p. 183.

Dening, G. (2004). "Deep Times, Deep Spaces," in *Sea Changes: Historicising the Ocean*, ed. Bernhard Klein and Gesa Mackenthun. New York: Routledge.

Gibbs, G. (1972). *Indian Tribes of Washington Territory*. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press.

Huelsbeck, D.R. (1988). "Whaling in the Precontact Economy of the Central Northwest Coast," *Arctic Anthropology 25*(1).

Katz, W.A. ed. (1971). *Almost out of the World: Scenes from Washington Territory*. Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society.

McEvoy, A.F. (1986). *The Fisherman's Problem: Ecology and Law in the California Fisheries, 1850–1980*, ed. Donald Worster and Alfred W. Crosby, *Studies in Environment and History*. (p. 74). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meares, J. (1791). *Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the N. W. Coast of America*, 2 vols., vol. 2, (pp. 200–97). London: J. Walter.

Nicholson, N.O. (1934). Taholah Superintendent, to *Western Weekly, Inc.*, September 19, 1934; Seals and Sealskins—Reports, etc. (Original Neah Bay Agency); Decimal File 921.5–936; Taholah Indian Agency, Taholah, WA; Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; NARA—Pacific Alaska Region (Seattle, WA).

Renker, A.M., & Gunther, E. (1990). "Makah," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

Sepez, J. (2001). *Political and Social Ecology of Contemporary Makah Subsistence Hunting, Fishing and Shellfish Collecting Practices*. Dissertation, University of Washington.

Stevens, I.I. (1940). "Governor Isaac I. Stevens to the First Annual Session of the Legislative Assembly, February 28, 1854," in *Messages of the Governors of the Territory of Washington to the Legislative Assembly, 1854–1889*, ed. Charles M. Gates. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 4.

Suttles, W. (1990). "Environment," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.

[30] Barton, "'Red Waters': Contesting Marine Space as Indian Place in the U.S. Pacific Northwest" (Dissertation, University of Arizona, 2000), 249–50.

Webster, H. (1863). “Report of Henry A. Webster, Agent,” U.S. Office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs (USOCIA), *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.
Wessen, G. (1990). "Prehistory of the Ocean Coast of Washington," in *Northwest Coast*, ed. Wayne Suttles, *Handbook of North American Indians*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution.
Willoughby, C. (1880). “Report of Makah agent,” USOCIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior.* (pp. 155-156). Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.
Wood, O. (1885). “Report of Makah agent,” USOCIA, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior.* (p. 188). Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office.

***Oral Sources***

Howard Bell, halibut fisherman, Oral Testimony, Collected by Roger Chute, January 20, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in MS 15/84, Box 5, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.
Peter Eggers to Roger Chute, July 27, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, Washington State Historical Society Archives (WSHSA).
Eggers to Chute, July 27, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.
Eggers to Chute, December 12, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.
Theo Eggers, Oral Testimony, Collected by Roger Chute, June 19, 1936, MCRC photocopy from original in Ms 15/58, Box 4, Roger Chute Collection, WSHSA.
Makah Elders to Edward Swindell (Special Representative of the Indian Office), Oct. 15, 1941, “Old Fishing Locations,” Box 1, Edward Swindell, Makah Cultural and Research Center, Neah Bay, WA (MCRC).

***Legislation***

“Ratified Treaty No. 286: Documents Relating to the Negotiation of the Treaty of January 31, 1855, with the Makah Indians;” Documents Relating to the Negotiation of Ratified and Unratified Treaties with Various Tribes of Indians, 1801–69; (Nat’l Archives Microfilm Publication T494, roll 5); Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75; NARA, Washington, D.C., 4. [Hereafter noted as “Treaty Negotiation Notes”].

***Diary Excerpts***

Swan, J.G. June 28, 1863, Diary 6, Box 5, James G. Swan Papers, University of Washington Special Collections, Manuscripts and University Archives (UWSC), Seattle, WA.
Swan, J.G. April 29, 1861 and April 5–6, 1864, Diaries 5 & 8, Boxes 1 & 5, UWSC.
Swan, J.G. June 20, 1864, Diary 8, Box 5, James G. Swan Papers, UWSC; Makah elders to Edward Swindell, Oct. 15, 1941, “Old Fishing Locations,” Box 1, Edward Swindell Papers, MCRC.

***Other***

“Written Testimony of Nora Barker, Makah Elder and Teacher of Makah History,” August 23, 1977, Legal Case C85–1606M, Makah v. U.S.—Plaintiff’s Exhibit HH, Makah Tribal Council Papers, MCRC.
“Treaty Negotiation Notes,” 2.

# Exploring indigenous knowledge

**Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal**

## Abstract

In this paper Dr Charles Royal (Te Ahukaramū) reflects upon his experience of being a researcher in *mātauranga Māori* (traditional Māori knowledge). Since 1986, Charles has been studying particularly the knowledge systems of his own *iwi* (tribe) and has written and presented ideas on *mātauranga Māori* in a variety of forums. In 2005, Charles commenced a new research project entitled '*Te Kaimānga: Towards a New Vision for Mātauranga Māori*' and so he presents an overview of the goals and outcomes of this project. This project concludes in 2007.

Following this, he discusses ideas pertaining to an epistemology of indigenity which arises from both a deep reflection upon the key themes within *mātauranga Māori* as well as a desire to create a response to the worldwide issue of improving the relationship between human societies and cultures, and the natural world environments in which we dwell. Charles suggests that it is a feature of the human condition to be in conscious and unconscious correspondence with the environments in which we dwell. However, a key feature of a formal indigenous culture is that it is deliberate and conscious to the expression of the forms of the natural environment into the outward activities of the culture.

Charles's presentation discusses concepts of knowledge and knowing that can be found within *mātauranga Māori*. He describes the journey from *mātauranga*, (codified and explicit knowledge) through to *tohu*, (a term used for an experience in which the natural world seems to speak directly into human consciousness)—a concept upon which a view of indigenity can be constructed. In journeying from *mātauranga* to *tohu*, Charles touches upon other concepts of knowledge and knowing including *kai* (knowledge as food), *mōhiotanga* (embodied knowing), *māramatanga* (illumination, understanding), *whakaahua* (coming to form) and *wānanga* (a conscious energy).

Finally, Charles poses a number of questions concerning the possible application of indigenous knowledge in our contemporary circumstances. What might it offer for society and culture today?

## Introduction

From the late 1980s through to 2000, I was fortunate to spend a lot of time with elders of my own *iwi* and other *iwi* as well, working on projects designed to record, retain and collect aspects and portions of our traditional knowledge. These activities included a number of book projects containing *waiata* (songs), *tātai* (genealogies), and *kōrero* (stories). It was my great fortune to be able to record elders and to study their writings and aspects of their *tikanga* (customary practices). Many of the elders that I knew during those years are no longer with us but many of their *taonga* (treasures) are and I hear them saying to me now:

> *I ahatia e koe taku taonga?*
> What did you do with my treasure?[1]

This statement challenges me to think not only about taking care of their treasures but also to add to them in some way, to grow them, to expand them. And so I have found my thinking moving from concerns about retention only to an interest in cultural creativity.

When I think about *mātauranga Māori*, I find that there is much that we can do with it and I am excited by both what is already happening in our communities and also the prospect of what could happen. In thinking about the creative potential of *mātauranga Māori*:

[1] Te Ōuenuku Rene, an elder of Ngāti Toarangatira, used the following version, '*Tērā te Atua e pātai mai nei ki a tātou, i pēwheatia e koutou te reo rangatira i hoatungia nā e au ki a koutou'*, ('There God asks us, now what have you done with the chiefly language that I gave to you?') My thanks to my *kaumātua* (elder) Ngārongo Iwikātea Nicholson of Ngāti Raukawa for sharing this with me.

- I think we need to be thoroughly knowledgeable of aspects of *mātauranga Māori* so that one is informed when one is creative with *mātauranga Māori*—let us build on solid foundations.
- We should not be afraid of our imagination when thinking about the potential applications and innovations that might be possible when using *mātauranga Māori*. Let us be courageous and innovative, not undermining or diminishing in the least, the creativity of the past.
- We should also be realistic and humble about those things that *mātauranga Māori* is well suited to respond to and those areas where *mātauranga Māori* is less well developed. Like all knowledge systems, *mātauranga Māori* has its strengths and weaknesses.

By *mātauranga Māori* I mean a body of knowledge that was first brought to these shores by Polynesian ancestors of modern Māori, a body of knowledge that changed and grew according to life in these islands; a body of knowledge that changed again following encounter with European peoples; and a body of knowledge that was to become endangered in major and substantial ways during 19th and 20th century colonisation. Despite colonisation, however, all was not lost, as new knowledge was created during the establishment of the New Zealand nation and fragments and portions remain with us today, including, particularly, the Māori language. The fragments and portions that remain today are sufficient to catalyse a new interest in this distinctive body of knowledge. The fact that we are having this conference today indicates the degree to which this body of knowledge, and knowledge held by indigenous peoples worldwide, remains with us and retains much creative potential.

It is important to note that *mātauranga Māori* of the past century or so did not necessarily find expression in the world in the way that its creative potential might suggest. That is, the practical expression of *mātauranga Māori* in New Zealand society was seriously inhibited—primarily through a lack of resources, power and influence—and so what we have tangibly seen in recent decades is not necessarily an accurate image of its actual potential. It is my view that *mātauranga Māori* in the future is most likely to evolve and change in quite unexpected ways—unexpected in the sense that may not reflect practical expressions in the past but not necessarily unexpected from the point of view of its internal meaning and organisation.

We are rightly concerned with the retention and revitalisation of the traditional knowledge bases of our people, and I believe that this concern will remain for quite some time yet. However, I would like to position cultural retention and revitalisation within a larger paradigm of cultural creativity, one which looks to the wisdom of the past to inspire responses to the challenges of the present and future. I see this as a creative activity within which the goals of cultural retention and revitalisation might be achieved.

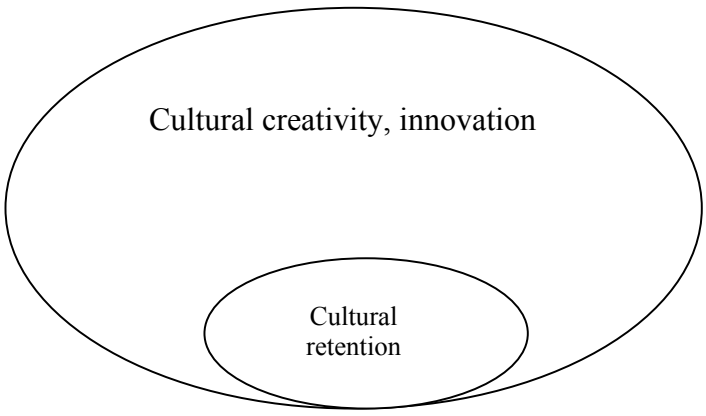



**Illustration: Locating cultural retention within a larger paradigm of cultural creativity**

It is good for us to be inspired by the wisdom of our ancestors but at the same time it is also important to recognise that we live in a world that is vastly different to that experienced by our ancestors. Further, we should recognise that their knowledge reflects their experience, universal and timeless as some of its aspects may be. Just as our Polynesian ancestors were faced by the 'new world' of Aotearoa when they arrived here, so we too have come to a new place, a new experience in the 21st century. And just as much of the Polynesian worldview and knowledge continued to express itself in subsequent *mātauranga Māori* within Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu, the South Island of New Zealand—it is remarkable how the old Polynesian worldview still left its traces within *mātauranga Māori* several

centuries later—so traditional Māori knowledge will leave its traces in an indigenous knowledge of the future.

In this paper, I would like to sketch out a few ideas concerning a possible epistemology of *mātauranga Māori* specifically and indigenous knowledge generally. The paper contains three parts:

- Part One sketches three themes which I suggest are operative within indigenous knowledge worldwide today. My thought is that these themes woven together constitute the major themes of indigenous knowledge.
- Part Two of this paper briefly considers six key concepts on knowledge and knowing that can be found within traditional *mātauranga Māori*. This discussion demonstrates ways in which our ancestors were thinking about knowledge, knowing and experience.
- Part Three sketches further ideas about an indigenity of the future, inspired by key ideas that can be found in traditional indigenous knowledge. The task here is to think about indigenity as a way of being in the world that may improve or at least contrast with current worldwide dilemma of humankind as consumer and exploiter.

## PART ONE: Three major themes within 'indigenous knowledge'

In my view, the international and cross-cultural body of knowledge entitled 'indigenous knowledge' contains three major themes which simultaneously inspires it and defines it. I suggest that these themes when woven together constitute the major features of indigenous knowledge in the world today.

### *The search for better relationships between human communities and the natural world*

The first theme concerns the search for better relationships between human communities and the natural world environments in which we live. This theme arises from the deep 'call' within indigenous knowledge which sees humankind as part of the natural order rather than superior to it. From this idea arises much of the substance of indigenous knowledge such as the notion of the natural world as the embodiment of knowledge, the natural world as a teacher for the human person and that life reaches its fullness when the natural world seems to 'live in' and 'speak into' the consciousness of the human being and their community. This idea influences the very idea of knowledge itself and presents knowledge as an energy rather than a finite product, and knowledge as equivalent to the world rather than as representation of it. This theme is also deepened by the lived heritage of indigenous communities in particular land and seascapes.

### *Knowledge weaving: Cross-disciplinary, cross-boundary thought, discussion and knowledge*

The second key theme within indigenous knowledge concerns the weaving of knowledge and experience across domains of knowledge and the boundaries articulated for disciplines. This theme arises from the notion that indigenous knowledge is 'holistic' in the sense that knowledge is interconnected and relational in the same way that all life is interconnected and relational. We dwell within the web or weave of life—in Māori we use *tātai*, for all creation as a metaphor for this aspect of existence—and so our knowledge reflects this reality.

Some see this theme as an attempt to undermine and compromise disciplines. Some might even suggest that this idea is anti-methodological. (One will note how this theme is deeply relevant to notions of power and its expression through knowledge.) However, the idea of weaving across boundaries can not take place without the boundaries themselves existing. Just as the world contains natural borders—as between the sea and land, as between mountains and flatland, as between knowing and ignorance—so there are natural borders within knowledge and they exist for substantial reasons. A 'holistic' view of the world and of knowledge is not blind to parts, boundaries, borders and thresholds, but rather sees these parts both as 'wholes' in themselves as well as parts of larger wholes (confer 'holon'). Life is a complex and multidimensional whole and the quest to see the 'whole' is to render disciplines as part of a complex set of pathways leading to wholeness rather than fragmentation. In this way of viewing the world, understanding relationship is the key to understanding the world.

***The revitalisation and rejuvenation of the traditional knowledge bases of indigenous communities***

A third and important theme within indigenous knowledge is the desire to revitalise and rejuvenate the traditional knowledge bases of indigenous peoples, particularly knowledge that has been in decline through colonisation. This theme is deeply aligned to the desire by indigenous peoples to overcome their experience of colonisation and to build futures upon deep and indigenous foundations. That is, in rearranging indigenous communities and preparing them for the future, this task is not merely concerned with acquiring general knowledge and resources which enable them to participate in a national or regional economy, it is also concerned with understanding ourselves as a distinctive people and what we can distinctively contribute to a wide range of activities within the nations in which we live. Contrary to what some critics may say about the rejuvenation of traditional knowledge ('going backwards'), the revitalisation of traditional knowledge is as much about understanding our future as it is about our past.

In my view, these three themes woven together—(1) searching for better relationships with the natural world, (2) cross-boundary styles of thought and knowledge and (3) the revitalisation of traditional indigenous knowledge—are the key ideas within international indigenous knowledge today. There may be other themes, such as the use of traditional knowledge to improve the harvesting of indigenous flora and fauna; however, I would like to present the above three themes as a starting point for discussion when we think about indigenous knowledge in world terms.

Contiguously all three themes are both indigenous to indigenous knowledge as well as important and substantial contributions to issues and challenges facing humankind throughout the world. For example, theme one provides ample scope to discuss the nature of environmental degradation and stress. The contribution of indigenous knowledge to this issue is to challenge notions of the superiority of humankind to the natural order—humans as consumers. Lying at the heart of indigenous knowledge is kinship between ourselves and the natural world and this idea asks us, how much of the degradation we see in our world today a projection or product of the disequilibrium we see inside ourselves?

Theme two—weaving of knowledge and experience across boundaries—represents a deep and fundamental critique of power and authority as expressed through knowledge. It suggests that there may be other ways of thinking about power and knowledge than the top-down, bounded and hierarchical model which dominates the world today. As mentioned, the theme does not undermine the position of boundaries and disciplines—discipline here is defined by the presence of methodology, with power and authority thus vested in those in possession of methodology—but rather it shows how disciplines and fields of knowledge are regions and locations within a larger multidimensional whole. Further, much can be gained when one field encounters another. A cross-over approach can often lead to unexpected and novel innovations and discoveries.

Finally, theme three—the revitalisation of traditional knowledge of indigenous communities—challenges us to think carefully about a range of matters including:

- Why is cultural knowledge associated particularly with a population of people so vital to a people's well-being and prosperity?
- Why is heritage, and particularly memory, so important to a people's health?
- Do we endanger the wisdom of generations at our peril?

This theme urges humankind to take pause when one group wishes to summarily dismiss whole bodies of knowledge associated with another people.

***Towards an epistemology of indigenous knowledge***

I would like to turn now to epistemological matters relating to indigenous knowledge. By considering epistemology, or a theory of indigenous knowledge, one is drawn inevitably to think, mediate and reflect deeply upon the way one resides in and experiences the world. That is, like all knowledge, indigenous knowledge is derived from a particular way of being in the world, and I call this 'way' of being in the world 'indigenity'. As our discussion proceeds, we will see that an indigenous concept of knowledge may not necessarily see knowledge as distinct from experience and, hence, at this point, indigenity becomes synonymous with indigenous knowledge.

In considering the potential contribution of indigenous knowledge in our world today, there are a number of avenues worth considering. These include exploring the traditional technologies of indigenous peoples and their uses of flora and fauna: for example, in the fashioning of materials and objects. We might also consider traditional architecture and the design of settlements, artworks, indigenous concepts of health and social cohesion, identity and so on. There are many items within the traditional knowledge of indigenous peoples that could serve as the basis of a new creativity.

This paper, however, looks at what might lie 'underneath' indigenous knowledge to discover a particular way of being and experiencing the world that may be of assistance to humankind in the future. In the first instance we can use indigenous knowledge:

- To point to or indicate concepts of knowledge and knowing that might be found within the traditional knowledge of 'indigenous communities'.
- To think about indigenous and indigenity as an experience, as a way of seeing being, thinking and experiencing the world.

In the next section we will consider traditional concepts of knowledge and knowing that are found within *mātauranga Māori* before moving, in the last section, to consider a theory of indigenous knowledge.

## PART TWO: Concepts of knowledge and knowing found within mātauranga Māori

Concepts of knowledge and knowing found within *mātauranga Māori* move from the idea of explicit, codified and externalised knowledge, on to knowledge as an internalised knowing, through to the experience whereby there is no such thing as knowledge, only the experience of the world expressing itself in human consciousness.

### *Kai—ancestral nourishment*

In traditional times, knowledge was sometimes referred to as *kai* (nourishment), something that was fed from one person to another. This perspective of knowledge as a food is reflected in numerous places in traditional literature such as *whakataukī* (proverbs) and other expressions. For example, the following proverb appears widely:

> *Ko te manu e kai ana i te hua o te ngahere, nōna te ngahere*
> *Ko te manu e kai ana i te hua o te mātauranga, nōna te ao.*
> The bird who partakes of the fruit of the tree, theirs is the forest
> The bird who partakes of the fruit of knowledge, theirs is the world.

Another proverb states that knowledge is:

> *te kaimānga a ngā tūpuna*
> the masticated food of the ancestors.

Pei Te Hurinui uses a variant of this term in his biography of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero. He writes:

> Through the ages the peoples of the world have shown resentment toward any man possessed of the treasures of the Baskets of Knowledge. They are governed by their feelings of envy, and will select those of shallow minds like themselves, or those who will give the *mānga* (chewed-over food). The people who continue long in these ways will become possess of languid souls.[2]

The term '*kaimānga*' translates as 'masticated food'. The image used here is of a mother who chews a piece of food in her mouth before she feeds it to her baby. This is to ensure that the food is supple and digestible and that her baby won't choke while he or she eats it. Particularly, it ensures that the nourishment contained within the food is released to the child. As the proverb suggests, true or good

[2] *King Pōtatau: An Account of the Life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero, the First Māori King,* by Pei Te Hurinui, Polynesian Society 1959, p. 253.

knowledge is like a food masticated by our mothers before it is fed to us. Knowledge should not be passed in large, unpalatable and indigestible chunks; it should be broken down into pieces and carefully 'chewed over' before it is passed to another. This is an important statement for education for it tells us that teachers should be like our mothers, chewing through knowledge before it is taught to others. As we all know, the best teachers are those who thoroughly understand the knowledge they are passing to others; they are the teachers who have 'chewed through' the knowledge they are imparting to others.

The proverb also states that knowledge is the masticated food 'of the ancestors'. That is, knowledge is 'chewed over' and passed from one generation to the next. It reminds us that the best and most effective learning takes place in a family context where a child partakes of knowledge as if it is a '*kai*' fed to them by their parents. The proverb reinforces the 'parent as first teachers' ethos. It also underlines the idea that knowledge that nourishes has the 'feel' of generations upon it.

***Mātauranga—knowledge externalised, codified***

Whilst *mātauranga Māori* is being used today as a title for a body of knowledge, the word *mātauranga* itself can be considered more directly as a perspective on the nature of knowledge. That is to say, *mātauranga* is often used in everyday parlance to stand for knowledge generally. However, there are a number of aspects to its usage:

**(1) Transfer**

Firstly, we can say that *mātauranga* is often used to refer to that type of knowledge that is passed, exchanged and transferred between people. For example, the words that one utters to explain something are a type of knowledge passed from one person (the speaker) to another (the listener). We would refer to this type of knowledge as *mātauranga*. As a result of this transfer aspect of *mātauranga*, Reverand (Rev.) Māori Marsden discusses the notion of being able to collect or gather *mātauranga* and place it in one's *kete* (basket):

*Nā, ko te mātauranga, hei ā kohikohi. Whakarongo ki te kōrero, kua kohikohia, kia kī ai tāu kete. Tango mai i ngā tohunga kua whāngaia ki ngā kai o ngā kete e toru.*[3]

Now, concerning knowledge, this is something we collect. One listens to stories and explanations and gathers these things into one's basket so that it may be full. One gathers together these things from priests and experts who have partaken of 'the food of the three baskets' (sacred knowledge). Your task is to gather together these treasures into your basket.

We might say that *mātauranga*, in this way, is passive, a finite product (of words mainly) passed between persons.

**(2) Active**

However, *mātauranga* also possesses an active aspect in the same way that the English term 'knowledge' is both passive and active. That is, *mātauranga* can refer to knowledge generally—that which is exchanged between people—and it can also refer to a person's understanding of something. For example:

*Ko tana mātauranga ki te tuhituhi, ko tana mātauranga ki te kōrero.*
His knowledge of writing, his knowledge of speaking.

This usage is derived from the root word '*mātau*' (to know, to understand). Hence the expression:

*He tangata mātau tērā….*
He is a knowledgeable person….

3 *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden,* edited by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal. The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden 2003, p.75.

and:

*Kei te mātau ia ki tāu e kōrero nā.*
He understands the matter you are discussing.

The Williams Dictionary glosses '*mātau*' as 'know, to be acquainted with' and provides the following illustration:

*E kore au e mātau ki ngā whakaaro o ngā tāngata katoa.*
I do not know the thoughts of all people.[4]

The Dictionary also includes the derived terms of *whakamātau* (make to know, teach) and *whakamātautau* (to make trial of, test). Today, *whakamātautau* is often used for examination.

**(3) A Learned Person**

Finally, sometimes *mātauranga* is also used to refer to a learned person. As in:

*E ngā mātauranga o te motu, whakarongo mai.*
Knowledgeable persons of the land, please listen.

This usage is similar to the use of *wānanga* to refer to an expert person:

*Kīhai i tae ki ngā pūkenga, ki ngā wānanga, ki ngā tauira.*[5]
He did not go to the teachers, the wise persons, the models.

To summarise, *mātauranga* is used to refer to knowledge generally. We have noted, though, the idea of *mātauranga* as a kind of knowledge that passes between individuals. It is an entity or a phenomenon that people pass between each other. We have also seen that *mātauranga* possesses a more active aspect as an adjective describing a person's understanding of a particular matter. This aspect of *mātauranga* is drawn from the root word '*mātau*', meaning 'to know'. We have also seen that *mātauranga* at times can be used to refer to a wise and knowledgeable person.

***Mōhiotanga—internalised knowing***

*Mōhiotanga* is a term widely used in Māori language circles. The following quote, again from Rev. Māori Marsden, makes mention of '*mōhio*' (knowing) and also demonstrates the relationship between *mātauranga*, *māramatanga* and *mōhio*:

> Tēnei mea, rerekē anō te mātauranga i tēnei mea i te mōhio. He mātauranga anō te mātauranga, he mōhiotanga anō te mōhio. Ā, e ū ai te mōhio ki roto ki te tangata. Nā te tae mai o te māramatanga o te wairua pēnei i tā ō koutou mātua titiro. Kia puta te māramatanga o te wairua ki te hinengaro o te tangata, nō te mea, ko te mātauranga, he mea nō te māhunga o te tangata, ko te mōhio he mea nō te ngākau, o te hinengaro o te tangata. Ā, kia tae rā anō ki te wā e mārama ai te wairua o te tangata, tana hinengaro, katahi anō ka kiia kua mōhio ia.
>
> Knowledge or *mātauranga* is different from knowing or *mōhio*. When the illumination of the spirit arrives, the one truly knows, according to your ancestors. When the illumination of spirit arrives in the mind of the person (that is when understanding occurs) for knowledge belongs to the head and knowing belongs to the heart. When the person understands both in the mind and in the spirit, then it is said that that person truly (knows) *mōhio*.[6]

---

4 *Dictionary of the Māori Language,* H.W. Williams, p. 191. Seventh Edition 1971, Reprint Legislation Direct 2000.

5 *Ibid.* p. 479.

6 *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden,* edited by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal. The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden 2003, p.75

*Mōhiotanga* can be viewed as ('internalised or embodied knowing'), one that does not require an exchange (of knowledge) to be present in one's consciousness. An example of this kind of 'knowing' is the knowledge of the new-born child to suckle at his/her mother's breast. In most cases, a child is not taught to suckle, but rather and somehow the child knows what to do. Examples of '*mōhiotanga*' can be found throughout the natural world. For example, the movement of a leaf toward the rays of the sun, the knowledge of a bird to build a nest, the 'brace' of the body when one is struck with fear and so on. These are all aspects or features of 'knowing' that do not require the deliberate transfer of knowledge from one to another. '*Mōhiotanga*' is generally used to stand for this kind of knowing.

The Marsden quote above suggests that *mōhiotanga* might be a higher form of knowing than that suggested by *mātauranga*. The sense here is that *mōhiotanga* is some kind of 'embodied' knowing, suggestive perhaps of 'consciousness'. A key feature of *mōhiotanga* is the notion that it is not transferred as *mātauranga* is and, further, that somehow it resides in the body.

***Māramatanga—understanding, illumination, wisdom***

Another kind of 'knowing' and 'knowledge' considered here is *māramatanga* which can be literally translated as 'illumination'. *Māramatanga*, hence, is connected with degrees of *mārama* (understanding). One might consider a spectrum of understanding where one end of the spectrum indicates no understanding and illumination. The other end of the spectrum is distinguished by great illumination, understanding and wisdom.

Our usual experience of *māramatanga* occurs on an everyday basis in such activities as conversation. Here we converse and thereby pass *mātauranga* between each other. However, with respect to *māramatanga*, it is up to the receiver to determine whether they understand or not. Hence, *māramatanga* is that quality and experience of understanding that takes place inside a person when they have received certain knowledge. Curiously, however, *māramatanga* does not arise solely through the arrival of *mātauranga* alone to the person. Some rather mysterious alchemy takes place inside a person which transforms what they have heard, *mātauranga* into understanding or *māramatanga*.

From the traditional Māori worldview, it might be argued that māramatanga is the highest form of knowledge and knowing. Such a notion is based upon tribal creation traditions which speak of the rise of *Te Ao Mārama* or 'The world of light and illumination'. Hence, the ubiquitous oratorical phrase used on *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) throughout the country:

> *Tihē mauriora ki Te Whaiao*
> *Ki Te Ao Mārama!*
>
> The breath and vital energy of life
> To the Dawnlight
> To the World of Light of Illumination!

Finally, we can note that *māramatanga* was also a popular concept in the 19th century, following the adoption of a Biblical paradigm in many Māori communities. The various *poropiti* (prophets) were gifted individuals who were said to come into possession of a *māramatanga* out of which certain teachings and statements were made. When the gifted individual went through an illuminating experience by which they came to see deeply into some aspect of existence or felt that they received some special knowledge, the expression used was:

> *Ka tau mai he māramatanga ki a ia*
>
> An illumination and an understanding came upon him/her.

The sense here is that the person had experienced a profound learning the expression of which took various forms.

***Wānanga—process and energy leading to understanding***

A further important concept relevant to knowledge and knowing is *wānanga*. There is much that can be said for this term (it is worthy of its own study); however, we will restrict our discussion to a few comments only. In its simplest form, *wānanga* means to discuss, to debate and to analyse.

> *Kei te wānanga te hui i te take.*
> The gathering is considering the matter.

*Wānanga* is considered here as an activity, an active process of exploring and considering. Further, we can say that the general purpose of the activity called '*wānanga*' is the creation of new knowledge and understanding. When some one or some people are conducting *wānanga*, they are going through a process whose outcome is a new idea, a new understanding, new knowledge. This idea is reinforced in everyday parlance, for example, when we use a phrase like:

> *Kei te wānanga tātou i te pātai nei.*

we are saying that:

> We are considering/debating/analysing/exploring the question (before us).

The intention, of course, is to find out something new, to come to a new understanding or realisation. Whilst the sense of 'finding' or 'seeking' is not made explicit in the term *wānanga*, it is nevertheless implied and well understood throughout the community of Māori language users. Hence, we can say that at a very simple and everyday level, *wānanga* is used to stand for a process by which we can come to some kind of new idea or understanding. *Wānanga* is also used to refer to a particular person skilled in the work of the *whare wānanga* (school of higher learning):

> *Kīhai i tae ki ngā pūkenga, ki ngā wānanga, ki ngā tauira.*
> He was not taught by the teachers, the learned ones, the exemplars.[7]

Another perspective on *wānanga* is contained in the narrative concerning the flight of Tāne or the 'gatherer of knowledge' to the highest heavens, there to receive the baskets of the *wānanga*. In the following extract, *wānanga* is referred to almost as an object:

> *Nā ka mea a Whiro ki ngā tuākana, 'Ka haere ahau ki te tiki i te wānanga i te Toi-o-ngā-rangi…'*
> Whiro said to the elder siblings, 'I shall go to fetch the *wānanga* at the highest heaven..."[8]

These few and brief examples offer thoughts and directions with regard to *wānanga*. Whilst *wānanga* is generally concerned with the process by which knowledge is considered and created, this process is critical to exploring traditional notions of knowledge and knowing and with the creation of knowledge.

***Tohu—a verb used to refer to the arrival of illumination***

We shall conclude this section on concepts of knowledge and knowing found in *mātauranga Māori* with the term *tohu*. We conclude here because the explanations that follow lead us to the inevitable point in which knowledge becomes equated with the world itself. Here the world is seen as knowledge and wisdom and the task of the student is to become 'open' and 'receptive' to the teachings of the world. The student has to 'cleanse the lens of their perception' and to not merely see the world as his thoughts incline him/her to see it, but rather remove these lenses to see the world as it actually is.

---

7 *Dictionary of the Māori Language,* H.W. Williams, p. 191. Seventh Edition 1971, Reprint Legislation Direct 2000.

8 *The Lore of the Whare Wānanga* by S. Percy Smith. Polynesian Society 1913.

In an explanation provided by the late Rev. Māori Marsden, *tohu* is the term used to describe the arrival of *mana* (integrity) within a person. When *mana* does arrive, this person is considered a *tohunga* (learned, expert) the gerundive of *tohu*;, a vessel of *mana*. Marsden describes the final examination of a *whare wānanga* student who is sent out on his own into the wilderness. This student is not able to return to the *whare wānanga* until a new idea or new knowledge has come into his or her mind. Through *whakatiki* (fasting) and *nohopuku* (meditation), the student studies their natural surroundings—a clearing in a forest perhaps—and awaits for a new illumination to arrive in his/her mind. When this is done, the student is then able to return to the *whare wānanga*, there to be tested by the elders. If the student's illumination was considered to be appropriate, then this was considered as evidence of the arrival of *mana* into the experience of the student.

Interestingly, the question asked by the teachers to the student who was sent into the forest was:

> *Pēhea nei te kōrero a te wairua o Tāne ki a koe?*
> What was the teaching of the spirit of Tāne to you?

In this question we see reflected the idea of the forest itself, in the form of Tāne, speaking directly into the experience and consciousness of the student, teaching him and imparting important lessons. In this sense, knowledge was not created by the student, by the human person, but rather it was imparted directly by a 'higher consciousness' into the student. Further, in this model, knowledge is not the product or representation of the experience but rather the experience itself.

This illustration serves to show that finally the kind of knowing and knowledge of importance to the traditional *whare wānanga* is that kind of knowledge that arises from an 'immediate' and 'intimate' experience of the world. Here there is no notion of knowledge per se, a discretely created phenomenon standing as a representation of the world and experience, like a photograph. Rather the world is knowledge.

It is on the basis of this interpretation—particularly the perspective which explains that '*tohu*' is the adjective used to describe the arrival of *mana* into a vessel—that I promote the idea that a true *tohunga* is a creative person, one who is able to bring forth new realisations, ideas and understandings through the presence of *mana* within them. A *tohunga* is not simply a knowledgeable person, although they usually are. Rather, a *tohunga* is finally a creative person, illuminated with an essential authority which allows them to bring new understandings and knowledge for the benefit of their community.[9]

## PART THREE: 'The Sympathetic Touch': indigenity as an experience, a way of seeing and being in the world

We now turn to explore a few ideas concerning indigenity as a way of seeing and experiencing the world. Our discussion of the '*tohu*' concept is a springboard into our next discussion concerning the relationship between human person and the natural world. My interest here is to think about an indigenity of the future drawing inspiration from indigenous knowledge of the past. I suggest that it is a feature of the human condition to exist in relationship with the environments in which we dwell. For example, when the day is warm, we feel warm; when it is cold, we feel cold. We could call this a natural indigenity in the sense that it is part of our experience as humans to relate to, reflect and image the places and locations in which we live. We become pictures of the environments in which we dwell and it is remarkable how the world of our upbringing continues to leave traces upon us deep into adulthood.

Today, however, our environments are complex. We live in a mixture of environments: built environments, natural world environments, linguistic environments, value environments, social environments and so on. One of the fascinating features of our lives today is that the environments we live in are increasing in complexity, made more so by the ease with which we are able to travel distances.

---

[9] This perspective on *tohu* and *tohunga* is more fully described in *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden,* edited by Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden 2003.

However simple or complex our living situations might be, in time we come to reflect those environments. We can not help but have our worlds speak into our experience and for us to reflect that experience. Again I call this a natural indigenity and I see this applicable as much to the long-term urban dweller, living generation after generation in high rise apartment buildings, as much as traditional indigenous communities, living generation after generation in natural environments such as forest or beside waterways. (More and more we see young people 'indigenising' now to virtual environments of the internet and so on.)

What I think distinguishes formal indigenous cultures, however, is the explicit attention paid to the expression of natural world environments into human cultural expression. That is, a formal indigenous culture is one which turns human consciousness on its head by allowing the natural world to teach human thinking and experience. Humankind as the consumer and superior to the natural order, conversely, projects itself into the natural world, there to dominate it, to acquire it. Hence, whilst I think we can become indigenous to the built environments of our own conscious projections—the urban dweller, for example a formal indigenous culture, seeks to allow the natural world to find form in human consciousness.

Traditional indigenous knowledge abounds with evidence of this idea. This includes the *tohu* example discussed earlier and also includes ideas such as the unification of the human body with the natural world and transformation of individuals in rituals and ceremonies into animals and birds. These are traditional pre-literate and pre-Christian examples. Our challenge now is to consider the importance of this principle or aspect of traditional indigenous knowledge for an indigenity of the future.

I named this section 'the sympathetic touch', taking these words from an English translation of the well-known speech attributed to Chief Seattle, a native American chief of the 19th century. The passage reads as follows:

> Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks which seem to be dumb and dead as they swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people. And the very dust upon which you now stand respond more lovingly to their footsteps than to yours, because it is rich with the blood of our ancestors and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch.[10]

I love the phrase which says that 'our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch' for I think this is what we are looking for. We are searching for a way of being in the world that is far less corrosive and invasive of the natural world. We are looking for a 'sympathetic' way of being in the world. The aggression of human kind and human cultures needs to be somehow ameliorated or transformed in some way. How might we do this?

One way of considering these matters is by contrasting aspects of an oral culture with that of a text and, latterly, a screen-based culture. Illustrated below is a comparison of the differences between oral and text based cultures and how they differ on matters pertaining to knowledge, experience and memory. In presenting this comparison, it is recognised that these ideas are approximate only and that it is an assumption to align 'oral' to 'indigenous' knowing that the 'oral' experiences can take in a text based culture as well. The key idea to note is that indigenous knowledge, which till relatively recently arose predominantly in oral cultures, and that way of experiencing the world, with its absence of major technologies, literacy and so on, does bequeath to the members of that culture a particular way of being in the world. The way the physical body encounters the world is tremendously important as is the place of memory in one's consciousness. I think indigenous knowledge can make an important contribution to world knowledge generally in matters relating to the physical body, memory and knowledge itself.

[10] *The Wisdom of the Native Americans*, edited by Kent Nerburn. New World Library, California 1999, p. 198.

| *Oral Culture* | *Literate Culture* |
|---|---|
| Knowledge is seen<br>as an internal energy in the body | Knowledge is *external*, 'contained'<br>in external receptacles and traded |
| Knowledge is the internal consciousness<br>of a person | Knowledge is the *product* of consciousness |
| *Te hiringa i te mahara*<br>Memory is not distinct from cognition<br>Memory is conscious awareness | The repositories of knowledge (i.e.<br>books) can be separated from the<br>analysis of knowledge and experience<br>(cognition) |
| Memory is not solely concerned with retaining<br>knowledge of past events | Repositories are concerned with<br>retaining pre-existent knowledge |
| Experience is inseparable from knowledge | Knowledge is the explanation of<br>experience |

There are many, many things to be said about each of these statements. In a rather imprecise way, this is how knowledge, memory and experience occurs to us today and our experience remains a mixture of these things. Whilst there is now a splendid written tradition in indigenous knowledge systems such as *mātauranga Māori*, the oral experience is a major dimension within *mātauranga Māori*. We can consider this matter further by discussing the Māori concept of '*aroaro*'.

***Aroaro: three dimensional and spherical conscious awareness***

The usual explanation of the term '*aroaro*'—the one we teach students of the Māori language—is that the *aroaro* is: (the area located immediately in front of the person). What is captured, usually, by the eyes prescribes the physical dimension (height, width, breadth) of the *aroaro*. For example, if I can see it, it is now in my *aroaro*. We might say that this is the first or primary form of the *aroaro*, that prescribed by sight.

Now, if one closes one's eyes and listens to the world, it is hearing that prescribes the size of the *aroaro*. As we know, the *aroaro* now becomes three-dimensional and stretches out in a spherical fashion and in a 360 degree radius. We can imagine that hearing creates a kind of invisible sphere about the body. Those things that come into that sphere are said to be in the *aroaro* and those that are not in the sphere are outside the *aroaro* (although we know that hearing is not entirely omni-directional.) This is the *aroaro* prescribed by hearing.

If we consider the other senses—taste, touch, smell—the spherical *aroaro* is intensified and sensitised further for when all five senses are operating in harmony, the entire body encounters the world. Although not all senses work perfectly all of the time, we do dwell somewhat in a sensuous three-dimensional world encountered by the physical senses on a daily basis.

The *aroaro* concept is drawn further, in Māori thinking, when we consider that the Māori word *whakaaro* (thought)—is related to the word *aroaro*. The word '*whakaaro*' literally translates as 'cause to be considered' ('whaka 'is the causative prefix), meaning that thought is that experience inside ourselves that brings things into our *aroaro*. Just as there is an external *aroaro* defined and prescribed by the physical senses, there is an internal *aroaro* defined by thought. Each, however, is intimately connected with the other.

The relevance of this discussion is that texts and, latterly, screens serve to narrow the *aroaro*. Consider what happens to our bodies when we spend some time either reading texts or sitting in front of a screen. This experience, this physical position, narrows and sharpens the *aroaro*. The more time and the more often we do this, the more the *aroaro* becomes fixed in a certain shape and the less 'omni-directional' we become. Hence, an oral culture—one that is not reliant upon text and screen, and more upon hearing, physical touch and so on—is one that fosters the *aroaro* broadly. Indeed, there are times when the *aroaro* is focused sharply in an oral culture—listening intently, focusing upon detail in artwork and

so on. However, on the whole, we can say that an oral culture fosters the *aroaro* broadly whilst a text and screen based culture narrows and sharpens it.

The implications of these ideas to knowledge, memory and experience are vital. Firstly, with the text and screen as repositories of knowledge, this serves to emphasise the external nature of knowledge, that is, outside of the body. In an oral culture, with its emphasis upon listening and seeing another person, this fosters the view that knowledge resides within the human person, externalised nevertheless at various points. Memory, in this way of being in the world, is concerned with qualities rather than quantities for it is based, again, on the notion that knowledge is within the body. Memory, therefore, is really concerned with awareness as much as knowledge of past events. Finally, experience is mediated through the whole body in an oral culture rather than through the images presented by text and screen. All these aspects serve to influence the nature of one's *aroaro* and, hence, how one encounters the world.

Paying attention to the *aroaro* is one way of thinking about Seattle's 'sympathetic touch'. This issue is concerned with sensitising the body in order to engage the world as it actually is. Today we make great use of 'fortifications'—substances such as stimulants like coffee and instruments such as eyeglasses. The *aroaro* concept challenges us to think about how the whole body encounters the world and how this might influence our ideas about knowledge, memory and experience.

***An indigenous concept of knowledge***

In considering an indigenous concept of knowledge, we necessarily need to consider the nature of indigenity itself and understand how this impacts upon our view of knowledge. When we think of knowledge today, our minds usually turn to ideas, concepts, philosophies and language that we pass between ourselves. To a very great degree, knowledge is a constantly negotiated and mediated entity that we pass between ourselves to help us understand and guide our experience of the world. This transfer of knowledge, particularly through the use of the written text, has meant that knowledge has taken on the aspect of a commodity that is traded between individuals and groups. Knowledge has become a resource available to one and all but most of all to those who can afford it.

Our current discussions on the 'knowledge economy' and the 'knowledge wave' is predicated on the basis that knowledge is indeed a tradeable resource and that the best knowledge that exists is one that can create products for a modern economy. For it is in the economy, the current orthodoxy argues, that the future of our nation is secured. This concept of knowledge stands in sharp contrast to many other perspectives on knowledge and I would argue that the nation would be impoverished indeed if it was held that this is the only purpose for knowledge.[11]

In an indigenous culture, the exchange of knowledge is predicated upon a fundamentally different view of the nature of knowledge and human existence. An indigenous culture would argue that humans are the progeny of the land and we must take our place alongside all the other things that are birthed from the land, such as trees, flora and fauna and so on. In Māori culture, for example, the first human is said to be Hine-ahu-one, whose name reflects the idea of the 'woman-arising-from-earth'; Hine is said to be the progenitor of humankind.

This perspective on the birth and nature of humankind impacts upon our understanding of knowledge as well. Just as Tāne was born from the earth to separate earth and sky, so the human person is born from Papatūānuku, the land. However, a physical birth is then followed by an intellectual birth (for want of a better term) and a spiritual birth.

What this means is that the human person walks the land having been born from it while the land continues to bequeath its gifts to him or her in the form of thought. As the physical body arises from the land, so thought arises from within the person. This is why the adjective for the appearance of thought within a person is *hua*, as in the expression '*ka hua te whakaaro*' (thought blooms) also *puta*, (appear, come into sight), *toko* (arises, springs up) and others. The sense here is that the interior of the individual

[11] Discussions have taken place in recent times, however, concerning these alternatives ways of thinking about knowledge. See, for example, *Catching the Wave? The Knowledge Society and the future of education* by Jane Gilbert. New Zealand Council for Educational Research 2005.

is an organic 'arising' (this is the meaning of the terms '*toko*' and '*tikanga*'), by which thought 'arises' within the person. Thought is a fruit that blooms within the mind. This idea gives rise to the expression:

*Ka hua te whakaaro*
*Ka hua te kōrero*

Meaning:

Thought blooms
Spoken words blossom

Hence, an indigenous concept of knowledge is based upon the notion that the entire being of the human person is the fruit of the earth. This includes human cognition, consciousness, thought and more. Life in these terms is understood to be the nature of the flow of earth consciousness and knowledge into the person where the person becomes the living embodiment and 'fruit' of the earth and its progeny. The land and the person becomes one as in the well-known term, 'tangata whenua' (indigenous people). The person is the earth, the earth is the person. In this worldview, knowledge is indigenous to the human person who is indigenous to the earth, dwelling in a symbiotic organic relationship. Certainly knowledge is externalised as a 'fruit', a 'nourishment'; however, in the first instance, knowledge is internal to the body and the earth.

This is an 'indigenous' knowledge tradition in the sense that human beings respond spontaneously to the environments in which they dwell. Thought may, in some traditions, be considered to be the spontaneous production of the mind, but in an indigenous tradition, thought is the product of the environment, of the land and so on. It is a very deliberate 'bequeathing' of that environment into the consciousness of the individual.

Dr. Charles Royal (Te Ahukaramū) is a researcher, writer and musician. His tribal affiliations are Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Tamaterā and Ngā Puhi. From 1996 to 2002, Dr. Royal was Director of Graduate Studies and Research at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, a Māori-operated centre of higher learning located at Ōtaki. During that time, he convened a Masters programme in Māori knowledge which was presented substantially in the Māori language. In 2001, he was New Zealand Fulbright Senior Scholar and a recipient of a Winston Churchill Memorial Trust Travelling Scholarship which enabled him to travel to the United States and Canada where he conducted research into indigenous worldviews. Since the beginning of 2003, Charles has been working fulltime for his own company conducting research and developing research policy for the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology. Charles has written and/or edited five books all involving aspects of *mātauranga Māori* including The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden and 'Native traditions by Hūkiki te Ahu Karamū o Ōtaki Jany 1st 1856' These were published in 2003. In 2005, Charles will commence a new research project entitled '*Te Kaimānga: Towards a New Vision for Mātauranga Māori'*.

## Bibliography


Jones, P.T.H. (1959). *King Pōtatau: an account of the life of Pōtatau Te Wherowhero*. Wellington: Polynesian Society.

Nerburn K. (1999). *The Wisdom of the Native Americans*. Novato, CA: New World Library.

Royal, T.A.C., ed. (2003). *The Woven Universe: Selected Writings of Rev. Māori Marsden*. Masterton, NZ: The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.

Smith, S.P. (1913). *The lore of the Whare Wānanga, Te Kauwae Runga Volumes I and II*. Polynesian Society, Wellington.

Williams, H.W. (1971). *Dictionary of the Māori language* (7th ed). Reprinted 2000. Wellington: GP Publications Ltd.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *aroaro* | the area located immediately in front of the person |
| *hua* | appearance of thought within a person |
| *iwi* | tribe |
| *ka hua te whakaaro* | thought blooms |
| *kai* | knowledge as food; nourishment |
| *kaimānga* | masticated food |
| *kaumātua* | elder(s) |
| *kete* | basket |
| *kōrero* | stories |
| *mana* | integrity |
| *mānga* | chewed-over food |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *mārama* | understanding |
| *māramatanga* | illumination, understanding |
| *mātau* | to know, to understand |
| *mātauranga* | codified and explicit knowledge |
| *mātauranga Māori* | traditional Māori knowledge |
| *mōhio* | knowing |
| *mōhiotanga* | embodied knowing |
| *nohopuku* | meditation |
| *poropiti* | prophet(s) |
| *puta* | appear, come into sight |
| *tangata whenua* | indegenous people |
| *taonga* | treasures |
| *tātai* | genealogies |
| *tikanga* | customary practices |
| *tohu* | a term used for an experience in which the natural world seems to speak directly into human consciousness |
| *tohunga* | expert, learned |
| *toko* | arises; springs up |
| *waiata* | songs |
| *wānanga* | a conscious energy |
| *whakaahua* | coming to form |
| *whakaaro* | thought |
| *whakamātau* | make to know, teach |
| *whakamātautau* | to make trial of, test |
| *whakataukī* | proverb(s) |
| *whakatiki* | fasting |
| *whare wānanga* | school of higher learning |

# Landscape: perceptions of Kāi Tahu i mua, āianei, ā muri ake[1]

**Khyla Russell**
Te Kura Matatini ki Otago

"E ngā iwi o ngā hau e whā e noho ana i runga i ngā motu nei, Aotearoa, Te Wāhi Pounamu whiti atu ki te ao hurihuri tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou katoa."

Ngāi Tahu, an indigenous people of New Zealand,
extends our greetings to all, national and international.[2]

"A Kāi Tahu's perception of Landscape: (re) defining those understandings from an indigenous perspective".

## Abstract

Our worldview as Kāi Tahu, the principal Māori tribe of the southern region of New Zealand, raised in our home places, is based on how we thought, think and relate ourselves to those places as part of our environment and with our landscapes and seascapes, who are our *tūpuna* (ancestors). We are living *whakapapa* (genealogy) as well as being both past and future parts of it. We accept this way of understanding as usual. We also understand that there can never be a separation of *whakapapa* from DNA or of DNA from *whakapapa* and both of these are as much a part of us as we are a part of our landscapes. We also accept, as usual, that use rights to the landscapes are also about *whānau* (family) or *hapū* (sub-tribe) boundary management and why these are inseparable from identity and the place of Kāi Tahu within our environment.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to explain why Kāi Tahu adopted the term "landscape" in preference to other terms more usually associated with place, identity and environment, as would be understood within the academy—namely Western knowledge-based places of learning. This is based also on the knowledge of *whakapapa*, in that it is made up of layers, in and of understanding, for our consumption from *kōhukahuka tae noa ki te pakeke* (childhood through to adulthood) and *kāhui kaumātua* (assembly of elders). As our *tūpuna* defined it, this term encompassed both land and sea, as it continues to do for us, the *uri* (descendants) of those early people of these landscapes. Clearly, use of such a definition must also include the foreshore and seabed since land and shore are indivisible from the perspective we held and still hold. Lastly, woven within the paper that I am presenting is my personal journey in relation to being able to speak on such matters legitimately, and the context to which I have needed to explore in order to do so.

## Histories

The existence of *tauiwi* (foreigners) in this nation came with the arrival of whalers and sealers and later through the colonisation of Te Wā'ipounemu, (Te Waipounamu) the South Island of Aotearoa, New Zealand. Claudia Bell (1996) has suggested that this *tauiwi* settlement was as big a myth in its portrayal of being a peaceful colonisation as is said of *iwi* (tribal) historical accounts of their arrivals here via the great fleet migration. Both were created: one may have been to inform the minds of those who needed our nation to have a peaceful settlement whereby friendly colonisers were here for the benefit of *iwi Māori* (Māori people)*;* the other a creation in the minds of its creators in order to justify the ways in which colonisation occurred here. A number of *tauiwi* historians (Dacker, 1990, 1993; Evison, 1988, 1993; Oliver, 1991; Orange, 1997) have attempted historical rewrites of the settlements of Aotearoa and Te Wā'ipounemu in which both Māori and *tauiwi* remembrances of a less than idyllic colonisation are acknowledged. Our version begins thus:

---

1 *i mua, āianei, ā muri ake* (in the past, present and into the future)
2 http://www.ngaitahu.iwi.nz/Home.

Ko Aoraki te mauka ariki, nohonā ko Pūkaki te roto e hora rā, nohonā ko Waitakitaki te awa tawhito, e rere rā ki Te Tai o Ara-i-te-uru. E haereere ai ki te toka ki te tai o Rabuwai. Koinā te moana kei Ōtākou; ko Ōtākou te papatūwhenua manaaki i te hapū, te whānau me te marae o reira. Ko te waka o Aoraki tētahi waka ōhoku, rāua ko te waka Huruhurumanu. Ko rāua tahi kā waka atua. Ko Uruao, ko Ārai-te-uru, ko Mānuka, ko Tirea, ko Takitimu ētahi anō. Koinā kā waka takata i hoe nei ki te Wa'ipounemu. Ko ēnei te iwi whānui: ko Kāi Tahu, rātou ko Kāti Māmoe, ko Waitaha, ko Rabuwai, ko Hāwea, ko Maeroero, ko te kāhui tipua hoki.

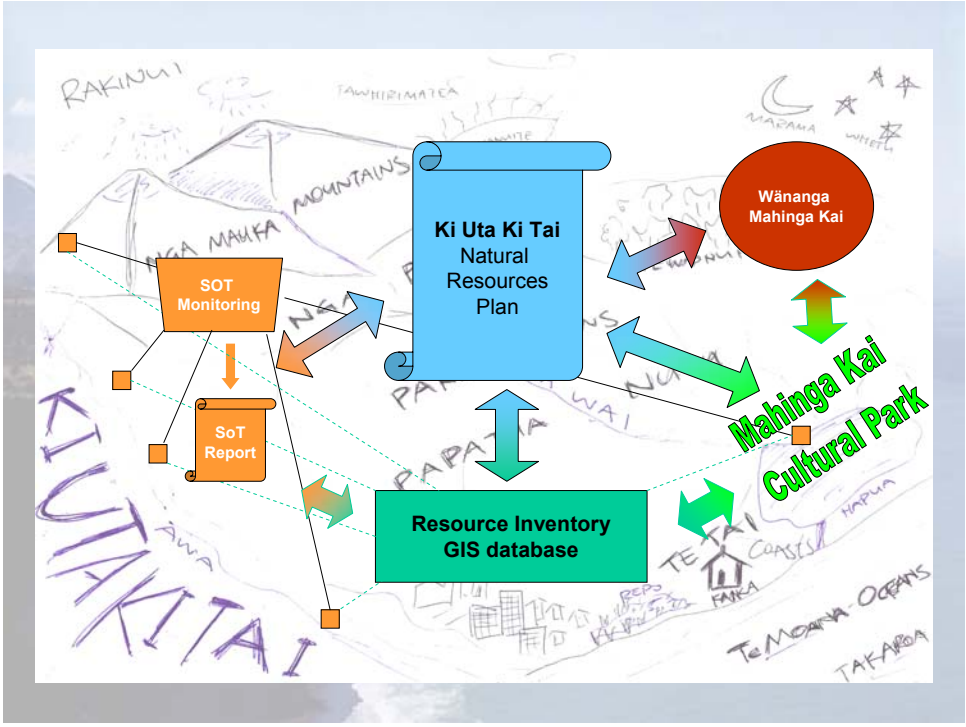
On the one hand, *tauiwi* historical accounts were an accurate portrayal from their worldview. At the same time, however, many I know are not as sure as others amongst us that some of the settlers from Britain had intentions of a fair and humane colonisation (Orange, 1997). Our *tūpuna* would certainly never have comprehended that the incomers, many of whom they welcomed (since their technologies were as much what we craved as some of their men by our women) would have had what they deemed a more appropriate use of our *tūpuna* landscapes. This thought pattern inevitably arises when colonial masters more than occasionally consider that 'their' culture to be superior to the pre-existing *iwi* one, (and wherein there were a multiplicity of land-tenure understandings and user rights).

There are therefore two purposes to this paper: one is to inform readers that Kāi Tahu made their own the term "landscape" whereby a preference to other terms more usually associated with place, identity and environment has become established. Unlike the *tauiwi* definitions of landscape, we have understood and continue to perceive it as *tūpuna* and thus adopted and adapted the term to suit our particular understanding. Even so, we had pre-existing terms to describe our landscapes, such as Te Ao Tūroa, Papatūānuku, Papatūwhenua, Takaroa and many others no longer used to describe the spaces and places we occupied and from which we sourced our *kai* (food).

The paper, in the second instance, looks at how we know who are now as Kāi Tahu and the *pepehā*[3] (maxim) at the start that alludes to those from whom this modern *iwi* are descended and how using this as the base from which to begin to understand landscape as *tūpuna*. However, within the academy the conceptualisation was seldom, if ever, understood by the anthropologists who were my supervisors and the geographer who was my internal marker.

The paper, therefore, also looks at how we formerly allocated and understood *whakapapa*-based use and access rights to the landscape. For our *tūpuna* this landscape encompassed both land and sea as it continues to do for we who are the *uri* of those early people of these landscapes. By use of such a definition, that must include the foreshore and seabed since land and shore are indivisible from the perspective we held and continue to hold. We also have *kā kōrero o nehe rā* (the ancient stories) on how particular places had *mana whenua* (tribal customary authority over the land) status upon them and in more than one occasion this was done by placing one foot on the dry foreshore and the other in the sea. Te Rāpaki o Te Rakiwhakaputa is one such example of such a *kōrero ki tōhoku mōhio* (story according to my knowledge). Even these several years later, these same persons are unable to see the connections and connectedness of Kāi Tahu with their landscapes and why we continue to hold fast to the idea of it and them as ancestor. After all, I have been told that I am an intelligent, well-educated, modern woman who cannot possibly believe what I have written.

[3] *Pepeha* has been described by Yoon as a "motto maxim". We think of it as a skite in the sense of being proud to be of the land and seascapes who are first, our cosmological *tūpuna*; and second the places in which our human *tūpuna* are laid.




## Te reo mahau - a platform for the many voices

The expressing of my thoughts in English is done with *tikaka-ā-iwi* (tribal customary practices) and its resulting *tikaka-ā-reo* (language conventions) in mind. It is important to note that since legal status of *te reo Māori* (the Māori language) has been aligned with English, a proviso to "accommodate" its use within the academy and legitimate its legal status. My thesis, upon which this paper is based, could have been written in *te reo* (the language), but for all of the following reasons that was decided against:

1. *Tikaka-ā-iwi* is the first and most important to me and to have prevented even one of those who were the *kaikoha* (contributors) of knowledge from being able to partake of this paper in its original format would have been to *whai mana mōhoku* (seek self glory). Many voices of the silent majority, as a result of that choice, have had a chance through the academy to have their stories heard and their opinions fully aired in the (re)telling of their stories.
2. Recognition of the worth of these stories would have been lost had they been unable to read the sharing and retelling of them in this way.
3. Such arrogant behaviour would have ignored and in fact trampled the *mana* (integrity) of the participants and therefore that of us as *iwi*.
4. Other reasons for the use of English came out of respect for: a) the academy, and b) various colleagues in many areas most of whom do or may not have *te reo*.
5. It is also hoped that this paper may add to the general body of knowledge that exists in Western thought as another way of viewing the world.

Utilising the academic arena as well as this forum has provided a platform for the voices who are *kaitiaki-ā-reo, ā-wāhi, ā-whenua, ā-moana, ā-tikaka me kā mea katoa a tō mātou nei iwi* (guardians of the language, customary sites, the land, the ocean, traditional customary practices and all matters pertaining to our very own tribe). Having defined the self and stated the reason for the language preference, I wish to make clear my intended understanding of other terms and spellings used.

## Terms and spellings used

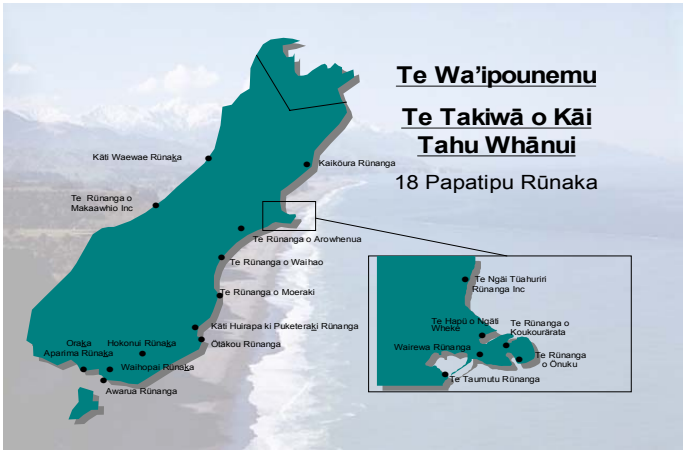
The most important, from my perspective is the way I have chosen to spell Te Wā'ipounemu. The version I have chosen was the one used (with some variation such as a "V" for "W," and it being three as opposed to two words).[4] The only instances where the present (and better-known) spelling will be used, is when I am directly quoting someone else's rendition of it. It is after all our landscape which is

[4] One of our *kāhui* (assembly), Huata Holmes also uses Te Va'i Poenemu

being defined and it should therefore reflect our spelling of it. Others, however, would redefine the spelling of our *ikoa tawhito* (ancient names) pronunciation as Otāgo with Ōtākou and mis-pronounce it in this form. Some amongst us still argue that *te reo* has no 'g' or 'b' or 'v', yet our landscape *ki tā toka i te* Waitakitaki (south of the Waitakitaki river) has many different spellings. We have a series of lakes named Mavora and another named Waihola and *whenua* (land) named Niagara. In early writings of Mantell which were part of a display of Hocken Library archival material displayed in 2003 at the University of Otago library's Special Collections section, such spellings were clearly evident *ki tōhoku mōhio*. From the Waitakitaki south, there are distinct differences in how we express ourselves as *hapū* and that is all these are. North of this *awa tawhito* (ancient river), our relations use the 'ng' where we use the 'k' or even a 'g'.[5]

In terms of the academy, then, and from my supervision whilst writing up the thesis upon which this paper is based, I was constantly challenged in the way I spelled out southern *reo*. Because those charged with the *mahi* (job) of supervision had no *reo* or had no knowledge of our *mita* (dialect), I was told that I had spelling errors, that the Māori language does not contain the letters I was using. Yet our *tūpuna* landscape names in many areas remain. Such areas that may not be known to the wider public are Mavora (a series of southern lakes); Niagara (usually mispronounced as the falls in Africa are pronounced. Waihola a lake near the Dunedin airport; Kil'mog[6] (a section of road on the motorway north of Otepoti (Dunedin). Such misunderstanding permeates not only the academy but the National Geographic Board as it constantly decides how we might best spell the names of our *tūpuna* and landscapes. These 'present' day *tauiwi* are the *uri* of their *tūpuna* who were initially of Anglo-American or European extraction in the collective sense of coming from the continents of Europe or North America (including Canada, the United Kingdom and Eire). It was they who began the redefinition of our landscape in terms of clearing and how these would be better cultivated. It was also from our understandings of their *reo* that we came to make the term "landscape" our own and to define what it meant for us. So just as they redefined our landscape through clearances, fences, stocking Papatūānuku with cattle and sheep and stocking of Paptūānuku's veins with foreign species of *ika* (fish), so too we have assumed the right to help ourselves to their *reo* and to redefine some of their terms.

The French who settled in Akaroa[7] were referred to by our *tūpuna* as *tākata Wīwī*[8] (French people). Their influence is evident in names across our landscape on Horomaka (Banks Peninsular) while Cook's name has been superimposed upon our *mauka ariki* (paramount mountain) and across our *tūpuna* landscapes in the names of Aoraki's brothers such as Eichlebaum and Sefton and other *tūpuna* names. Thus terms and their understandings vary and the term *tauiwi* as I intend it be understood in this paper may now include the many other ethnic groupings who make up the nation of New Zealand whether their origins are from Asia, the Pacific or the earlier mentioned areas. It will also mean other *iwi* when they are from Aotearoa, but resident in Te Wā'ipounemu since they too are arrivals or descendants of them.




[5] The word Pākehā is now widely used by most Kāi Tahu since northern influences and use of Māori terms have become standardised. Nonetheless, I have chosen to use the original Kāi Tahu term since the dissertation is about our perceptions and us.

[6] In the north, most dialects would pronounce this a "*kirimoko"* meaning blue skin after *tā moko* (art of tattoo).

[7] Akaroa is southern reo dialect for the northern Whāngaroa.

[8] Our rendition of their oui oui (yes, yes) or a term of agreement to statements being made.

Kāi Tahu as defined here, are those *iwi* referred to in the *pepeha* above and who now make up Kāi Tahu Whānui. [9] Such as Kāti Māmoe, Waitaha, Te Rapuwai and others, some of whom are said by "cultural others" (and some of our own) to have been non-human. I, however, consider the word *whānui* (broad) should further include Kāti Kura, Te Kāhui Tipua and others mentioned in *waiata whakapapa* (chants, songs of genealogy), since we are also descendants of these so-called "non-human" *iwi*.[10] Our landscape nomenclature use is of their times and places. Jim Williams (2004) states a similar way of thinking to this, but in regard to defining the term "*mauri*"(life force):

> *Mauri*, is the life force; the personality; the ancestral contribution which makes an individual unique. The major contributions are seen to have come from defining ancestors: *atua* (gods). Not only are our ancestors driving us, they are us. And they, and we, are the future generations. This is not so much seen in terms of genetic inheritance, or as a spiritual belief, but as a simple fact.
>
> (Williams**,** *kōrero-ā-waha* (oral discourse), 2004)

If, then, we know this to be fact for us, it necessarily follows that we are the landscape and it is us. We are as related to the flora and fauna of our landscapes which many of us take as a given as we are to our wider *whānui* since we all *whakapapa* to and are descendants of Papatūānuku.

This, then, brings my thinking and the explanation of Kāi Tahu rights into the present through the Kāi Tahu Claim; this claim went before several commissions over 150 years from 1849, through Mateaha Tiramorehu[11] prior to it being a case at the Waitangi Tribunal and the consequential negotiation process between Kāi Tahu and the Crown.[12] That necessarily includes the resultant success or otherwise of its settlement and the many contestations of *raruraru* (conflict) to bring the Claim to settlement. Contestations also exist between Kāi Tahu and those *tauiwi* outside of our worldview of things such as the Crown and similar government and non-government agencies. Such contestations now emanate from the ordinary person in the street to those who are the executive arm of the Crown.

These *raruraru* also exist intra-*iwi* (amongst ourselves) as well as inter-*iwi* (between Kāi Tahu and other *iwi* or tribal groups). This is especially so where:

1) fisheries allocation was constantly being contested within the courts and elsewhere between urban *iwi* and Treaty Tribes;
2) boundaries which separate *hapū* or Rūnaka areas exist in legal terms since the Claim settlement as opposed to those which were in place pre- and early post-contact; and
3) issues of unfair advantage as are being argued by *tauiwi* more outwardly so since the Don Brash speech at Orewa at the start of 2004.

Further to this, on March 14th, 2005, *ki tōhoku mōhio* there was enormous over-reaction from Members of Parliament at the response from the United Nations to the government's Foreshore and Seabed legislation. A member representing Māori for the opposition party (National), Gerry Brownlie, stated that if there were any racial issues it was not because Māori were treated unfairly. He in fact stated that is was the other way, that non-Māori were being disadvantaged in terms of present Government policies and access/user rights *ki tōhoku mōhio*. What such remarks and makers of them often fail to remember is that the landscapes and seascapes of this nation and those of Kāi Tahu were protected under Article the Second of the Tiriti o Waitangi, whereby authority and autonomy is retained by individual *iwi* and *hapū*. Prior to that document being signed, we managed our affairs, our boundaries, our resources and landscapes in our own ways. Kāi Tahu has always known that their title or use rights go to low water and, as such, have sustainably harvested their seascapes and *ākau* (foreshores) over centuries. Had we not done so, we would not have had recognition of the Ninth Section of our Claim that was solely food and fisheries based: our Mahika Kai claim.

---

[9] *Whānui* means "broad" or "wide" and so defines all of those earlier iwi from whom we are also descended.

[10] Maeroero are said by some to be the northern equivalent of *patupaiarehe* (fairy people)'. The ancient name for the Southern Alps where Aoraki *mā* (and others) now reside is Pukemaereoero. Their name in terms of being a reference map for our fisher people when at sea is Te Tiritiri o te Moana.

[11] *Tōhoku mōhio* of our *kōrero neherā* (ancient stories) which is also well documented in various archives nationally.

[12] Refer to appendix I (attachment A).

Many of our names for the planets are the same as for *tamariki* (children) of Takaroa and Papatūānuku, so we had and continue to have extensive knowledge of our planet. The complexities surrounding these issues add to the argument that Kāi Tahu perceptions of the term landscape involve far more than "an aesthetic appreciation of place" (Hay, 1998, p. 246). Landscape is as much about rights inherited by all things—Tahu through *whakapapa* from which our individual to our tribal identity comes—as it is about a Kāi Tahu epistemological understanding of our landscape and us as part of it.

The English language does not preclude what some *tauiwi* did and many still do to understand the term to be where they feel tied to and part of the landscape. The English language borrowed and redefined the term from the German "landschrift" and the term further exists in old Nordik pre-history as "landanama". The variations or contested meanings of these words are still being defined and refined by scholars more knowledgeable than me. However, those *tauiwi* with whom I have interacted over a lifetime have seldom understood the term "landscape" as it is understood by the many Kāi Tahu quoted in this paper.

By way and as a consequence of immigration and settlement through the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, once they had a deed of sale or a written lease agreement *tauiwi* settlers and their descendants needed no further legal entry or entity to gain recognition of their rights to be here sharing our landscapes. The uses to which these deeds and leases have been put and continue to be put are often very much at odds with those of us who consider excessive digging into Papatūānuku is a disrespectful act upon her.

As indigenous people of these landscapes we have had to constantly prove a connection. The Foreshore and Seabed legislation, now enacted into law, will once more see us required to prove ancestral connection through traditional user rights to the *kaimoana* (sea food). This is considered no less our landscape as the land upon which we live.

The legal identity that we now have comes as a result of the Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu Act as well as the now defunct *Iwi* or Tribal Identity Bill. Both were passed by the Parliament of New Zealand and enacted into the law of the nation. The Act and the Bill are about an identity that is recognised and required by the government in order for us to undertake certain monetary, commercial and other related transactions that the laws of the nation require. It is not, however, the type of identity to which I refer in the context of a *whakapapa*-derived identity, though that is still part of our so-called legal identity. The type of identity to which the paper refers comes from connections through birthright and *whakapapa* Kāi Tahu. This identity acknowledges the landscape as *tūpuna* both in its terminology and thinking, and is a politically as well as a practically perceived one. For Kāi Tahu as *iwi*, the political aspect is also about power and with whom that might now rest since our legal identity has been established and our Claim settlement subsequently reached (even if this is not necessarily over in the sense of cross-claims and the constant defending of tribal boundaries to the north and west).

Rather, with one exception, it was perceived of as an economic (or sometimes uneconomic) tract of land to which their ancestors have deeds of property ownership that is exclusive, or over which their family held long-term leases and over which they, as descendants of these original leaseholders, continue to have working rights.[13]

That lack of similar expression of a similar connectedness does not mean to suggest, however, that rural New Zealanders have not formed attachments to their land. In terms of *whakapapa* though, they are not "of" it in the literal and cosmological sense that we conceive of ourselves to be: that is, as actually **being** the landscape. The story, therefore, is an epistemological presentation of the ways in which we understand the term "landscape." For me, this means the story or stories are about how we know what we know and continue to explain our place within and as part of our landscapes. This placing of selves in the landscape comes from perceptions of *whakapapa* through which we organise our world and are, in turn, organised as part of that world.

[13] We, as *iwi*, have always believed and continue to believe that the Treaty of Waitangi gave *iwi* rights and *tauiwi* obligations. Thus, in matters pertaining to Article the Second, we will always refer to our rights and responsibilities and the obligations of others.

Alongside that, the story is about how we continue to be part of the landscapes of Te Wa'ipounemu even though ownership of it has long passed from our hands. Here is one remarkable difference—we continue to be of our landscapes without the need to own them; in fact, they own us.

As a consequence of this long-held belief, my personal, as well as *whānau* and *hapū,* understanding of landscape is different from the way of Western academia understandings/defining, different from many *tauiwi* definitions, and perhaps even different from other *iwi*. As a consequence, in the writing up of my thesis, there were many debates on how I ought to express my understandings. I fought to write in the form of language that those whose stories I was telling would retain the *mana* of their storying. I fought to express myself using a Māori form of English, in that the passive voice best expresses *tikaka* (customary practices). I argued against it being presented as a purely theoretical document; thus, I named the theory "native theory", the epistemology "indigenous epistemology", and the methodology "Kāi Tahu methodology", as it was from such backgrounds and perspectives—even unto the use of expression—that the thesis emanated.

I needed to be constantly reminding my supervisors that *tikaka ā-reo* has a way of expression that is vastly different; different in its structure, in its grammatical usage and order, as well as different in its hierarchical rules. Citations were also different especially in the use of *ki tōhoku mōhio*. Many Māori academics have thanked me for the last and now inform their students that telling a story even as a piece of paper is now possible in a 'Māori manner' because of the acceptance of this phrase in my thesis. They merely have to quote and cite it.

There are for us, then, particular epistemological ways in which we understand the term "landscape." All who were part of this paper as it was being created for the fulfilment of a Doctoral thesis, all who have been part of my life and the contributions made by each of them, are what have informed my ways of knowing and the stories of others I have known over my lifetime.

As the writer, I am merely collaboratively telling the "her" and "his" stories of the group now legally defined as Kāi Tahu, and of our connectedness with one another and as part of the landscape from which we are each derived. Even though most of the understandings have been based on a Kāi Tahu epistemological worldview, the story contains theoretical underpinnings in which I cite theorists with whom our theory sits comfortably since there are areas of similarity.

Differing understandings and differences in understanding of what is best for Kāi Tahu, or what constitutes being Kāi Tahu in the landscape, has through time caused other contestations. Nonetheless, the most important aspect of this paper is the stories of the many participants. Their stories are based on the *pakiwaitara* (tales), *whakatauākī* (proverbs), *waiata* (songs), *kōrero pūrākau* (stories), and experiential understandings of themselves and their *tūpuna*. The stories they have to tell were passed down directly to them from their many elders both living and some, though not all, long since dead. Others were learned through written sources based upon *kā kōrero o kā tūpuna* (the stories of our ancestors). It is therefore an oral history, now become written, of Kāi Tahu, our landscapes and seascapes and of our special places in them and in Te Wa'ipounemu.

Outsiders may fit or have fitted our epistemological understandings into a theoretical parameter of their understanding that is not necessarily ours. I make no deliberate attempt to do this. Kāi Tahu, like all *iwi*, have been papered and theorised about for countless decades by other writers and readers who have placed their own or others' papers within a theoretical framework. This ultimately means we too have been placed within such frameworks. This paper, though, places many of the same stories previously narrated within a framework of our own making. That is, its theory is a Kāi Tahu theory, and is insider ethnography, since I am the ethnographer and I am also Kāi Tahu. The validity of these may well be contested by both academia and Kāi Tahu at some stage, now or in the future. However, the paper is done and the stories it tells are of, and by Kāi Tahu. Having stated who I am, briefly described the way I wish certain concepts or terms to be understood and how I have chosen to refer to others spoken of within this paper, it is timely to add the form of ethnography that will be used.

## Ngā whakapātaritari a tēnei mea te rangahau - ethical dilemmas that arise when conducting research

"Insider Auto/ethnography" and "Native Theory" will be the means used to grant authenticity to the stories of the paper participants and *whānau*, living and dead. Reed-Danahay's (1997) text provides a collection of essays of insider ethnographies by *tauiwi* or European academics, whilst Bishop (1996) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) challenge the dominant paradigm regarding the way the paper is presently undertaken. Smith, in offering an alternative form of paper methods which are "culture-free", is supported by comments such as those of Thaman (cited in Smith, 1999). Thaman states that Smith's text challenges the dominant method where "researchers [have] occupied some kind of high moral ground from which they observe their subjects and make judgments about them" (K. Thaman cited in Smith, 1999: Flyleaf). Ranginui Walker describes how Smith uses "a dual framework—the *whakapapa* of Māori knowledge and the European epistemology in the search for truth in complex human relations" (R. Walker in Smith, 1999: Flyleaf). The methodologies and theories espoused by Māori academics such as Linda Smith, Russell Bishop, Shayne Walker and Charles Royal further substantiate a position different to the usual and often singular form that exists.

It is from an insider's perspective that I approached the paper and from that same perspective that I retold the stories of my participants, *whānau* and *hapū* members known to me from my earliest childhood memories to the present. Consequently, this the paper is also autobiographical since, as stated above, I am Kāi Tahu and will include the shared understanding I have of who I am and the place I occupy in this landscape. It is also an ethnographic record of the stories shared with me by other Kāi Tahu whose stories are of them, in and of these landscapes. Lastly, it is Kāi Tahu epistemology.

Bishop (1996), when exploring information regarding *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophies and methodology) research, quotes Graham Smith (1992) whose argument he claims is about indigenous approaches to research. Here it is stated that practice of *Kaupapa Māori* research is "the philosophy and practice of being and acting Māori" (Bishop, 1996, p. 12). Thus, there is an assumption within *kaupapa Māori* research of social, political, historical, intellectual and cultural legitimacy of Māori, in that it is a position whereby "Māori language, culture, knowledge and values are accepted in their own right" (Bishop, 1996, p. 12). *Kaupapa Māori* as the research method then is not merely a paradigm shift located within Western epistemology—though this is not to say that it may not influence Western epistemology—but this method is wholly placed within our worldview. Shayne Walker suggests it is "a Māori perspective or counter narrative[14] [that] provides its own pedagogical[15] framework utilising traditional methodologies" (S. Walker, 2000, unpublished paper). That epistemology exists and drives the way we are informed of our place in the world. Our worldview is validated and informed by how we know our connections with and ourselves as parts of our landscapes.

I am not criticising "Insider Ethnography" such as that of Sara Roseneil (1993) and Reed-Danahay (1997) who paper themselves as fellow nationals. However, I cannot claim to share an identical position with theirs in this paper, since *whakapapa* makes me who I am in the landscapes of Te Wa'ipounemu and connects me to past as well as future generations of Kāi Tahu. As earlier stated, what gives me identity and is part of the Kāi Tahu epistemological view of ourselves as the landscape are the things that inform our theories, our thinking and are our understandings of who and what we are as *iwi*.

Except for Pnina Motzafi-Heller, others cited in Reed-Danahay (1997) were not connected by *whakapapa* to the landscapes of the persons referred to in their studies, though they had nationality in common. The commonality for those cited in Roseneil's article was that it specifically focused on gender and participation in political activism as the defining factor for insider paper. The insider in many of these instances was undertaken with groups that were of interest to the ethnographers who were also participants. Caroline Brettell (1997) takes stock of a previous ethnography as she talks of her latest work, a biography of her mother. Since completing the latest biography, she concluded that a previous work could no longer be considered in the genre of 'Insider Autoethnography', since the storying of the three Portuguese women in the former work had a strong authorial input from her. If the biography of her mother was considered as fitting within the genre of autoethnography, it did so because "parts of [her] life story and [her] cultural world are contained within it" (Brettell, 1997,

[14] A paradigm is an understanding based on a way of believing
[15] Theoretical manner of doing things.

p. 245). Pnina Motzafi-Haller also had religious/tribal connections with the paper about which she was writing. Motzafi-Heller did not only do autoethnography in her homeplace or on her homepeople as I have, but also undertook ethnographic papers of people in Africa. Even though her article was auto/ethnographical, Motzafi-Haller made the choice to reside in a certain place away from her homeplace (Africa or America). She faced ambivalence in Africa where she was viewed as both "white" and "coloured" as well as having an inner ambivalence regarding her "personal/professional identity" (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 15) in addition to a double experience of "insider" and "outsider" (Brettell, 1997, p. 243). On Motzafi-Haller's return to her homeplace in Israel, she was once more forced to examine her professional self now as native in comparison with her former professional identity of outsider. Though I could make the choice to locate elsewhere, I cannot disconnect from *whakapapa* Kāi Tahu any more than she could disconnect from her Jewishness, even when absent from the landscape.

There are then, similarities in the ethical dilemmas that arise when conducting insider research. The difference that arises when engaging within *kaupapa Māori* methodology and what drives the research: that is *tikaka-ā-iwi*. In this way, ownership of the knowledge stays with the participants even when it is placed within another context, namely this paper. It is also about "acknowledging *whakawhanaukataka* (kinship) and my participatory connectedness with the other participants (as I too am one) [while] promot[ing] a means of knowing in a way that denies distance and separation and promotes commitment and engagement" (Bishop, 1996, p. 23). Thus, I am inextricably involved in this paper, as *whakapapa* places all Kāi Tahu past, present and future in our landscapes.

In any ethnographic research, there are risks that exist in the 'doing' of ethnography. The risk the other participants in this paper have taken is in sharing their stories. The risk I have taken arises in presenting us as *iwi* who are always political, aspects of which are often perhaps not politically correct. These truths—others' and mine—have left me open to condemnation and challenge (which may happen to any who have chosen to write a doctoral dissertation). Therefore, the personal ramifications for me are not only located within the academy but also within the *iwi*, since I am still Kāi Tahu, resident in my home place.

*Ehara i te tākata kotahi anō i oho ai i nehe rā.* (There is usually more than one version to any story). *Pepeha, whakatauākī* or *kupu whakaari* (prophecy) such as this are what embellish a story or are the introduction to storytelling. They, along with *waiata kinaki* (song to embellish a speech) sometimes composed specifically for a particular story, are what add *mana* to the story, whether *pakiwaitara* or pre-history (including so-called legends). In the possessing of this form of knowledge, stories or the various forms of *kinaki* which complete them and the recognised ability to relate them to others, *mana* is bestowed upon the story as well as the storyteller. It could well be said that stories *o nehe rā* (from ancient times) have gone on to produce contemporary truths that may be politically contested.

Stories of *whakapapa*, of course, are always contested since they confer specific access and use rights to certain areas of landscape upon some of us while excluding others of us from them. This has always been the way of tradition and there is no reason why, since we have largely managed our special resources from pre-British colonisation to the present, that this ought to be altered. Yet instances may occur in regard to *tītī*[16] (muttonbird) rights to Crown Islands returned to us as part of our claim settlement. "Leave well alone" is a borrowed *tauiwi whakataukī* (foreign saying) that may have certain relevance in this instance. It is, therefore, within such knowings as these and the contestations that arise from them that this paper was set.

The writing is ethnography/auto-ethnography and, in the role of researcher and ethnographer, I am also a direct part of the story and some of the *rarurarau*,[17] which effect and affect me as they do other participants. The paper is also the many earlier stated things; it can therefore be said to be what one of my supervisors, Ian Barber, has termed, "an insider political auto/ethnography."

The actuality for us as *iwi* is this: our story as related by us is being presented to the world by means of the academy through another of us; this is as opposed to it once more being an account of Kāi Tahu according to an outside ethnographer's theoretical or analytical approach and perspective.

---

[16] Muttonbirds or Sooty Shearwaters.

[17] In this sense I mean that to describe arguments or contested views.

It is because of the latter that we (and I personally) have found many of the representations of Kāi Tahu that exist in the public domain difficult to reconcile in certain aspects and with the way many of us understand ourselves. This lack of understanding has come about because of the more often than not dense, theoretical and analytical base of the outsider in its telling. As Bishop concludes, "Such practices have perpetuated an ideology of cultural superiority that precludes the development of power sharing processes and legitimation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies" (Bishop, 1996, p. 16). In other words, the outsider's written work about Kāi Tahu is believed as fact, while our version of ourselves is considered 'myth'.

Of the various syntheses or histories of anthropology, that by Harris ([1927] 1997, pp. 412-427) provides an overview of the earliest anthropologists and theories developed. Boas, Malinowski and many of their followers created a school of thought and anthropology as a discipline in which their paradigms were based on the belief that the study and the writing about cultural others (ethnography) ought best be undertaken using participant observation. Previously, armchair theorists on other cultures or ethnology written by outsiders made sweeping over-generalisations that were often hugely inaccurate. These were preciously adhered to, nonetheless.

Theories that existed prior to personal participation in fieldwork continued to be argued while Boas himself shifted his thinking. He went from what is termed a diffusionist to being the developer of historical particularism, or more accurately cultural relativism. Boas's thinking assisted enormously in establishment of twentieth-century debates on Nature/Nurture, Genes/Environment, and Psychology/Culture. Ruth Benedict linked psychology with cultural personality types as did Boas's student Margaret Mead. The former based her theories on others peoples' experiences, the latter on participant observation, even as she ignored any influence Christianity had made on the group being studied. Nineteenth-century Kāi Tahu have been placed in ethnographic histories as hunter/gatherers who were fighters when challenged, though Waitaha are said to have been mild mannered like Moriori (indigenous people of the Chatham Islands). Waitaha though, were without a lore within a law - *tikaka tā Moriori*[18] (Moriori customs) which was anti-war. The beneficiaries of these ethnographic accounts have seldom been *mana whenua iwi* (exercising tribal customary authority over the land) but furthered the presence of the colonial agenda.

My hesitancy and reluctance in regard to doing this paper have in no way abated in positioning us within one or any of these theoretical perspectives. My personal issue with "theory" itself is not merely a matter of the density of it, but that it has reproduced colonial relations where the dominant, usually Western discourse, remains the culture of power. Traditional anthropological theories, such as that of Boas, Malinowski, Mead and Benedict have defined theoretical parameters into which they have placed the indigenous peoples whom they have studied. This is so even when we retain agency over our self-definition, as opposed to how we are defined by others.

The more recent writing of Keesing (1989), Hansen (1989), Linnekin (1991) and Dominy (1990; 1995) who have accused Hawaiian and other Pacific *iwi* including *iwi* Māori of culturally recreating themselves, demonstrates how little the thinking of some ethnographers have altered from the times of Boas and his contemporaries. It assumes that we as *iwi* have or should have remained static in time and have an understanding of ourselves at only one level, while the Western peoples have developed and evolved over time.

There are many traditional practices which continue to be enacted, even when these have incorporated new and more sensible or a safer means of doing them. Accusations such as these have initiated passionate responses to the claims with counterclaims by Pacific Islanders, including other indigenes (Trask 1993; Hau'ofa 1993; 1998; and 2000). For many years it was believed that only the "outsider" ethnographer was objectively capable of "truthfully" representing the who, what and how of the cultural "other." I contend that the insider ethnography that I used as the basis of my paper has, as near as possible, "truthfully" represented the Kāi Tahu worldview of those interviewed of themselves, even

[18] In the film, "Feathers of Peace", there was a *kōrero* that told of how Moriori gave up combat and fighting. Thus the *kōrero* concluded that in keeping with their "*ture*" (law), when *iwi* from Taranaki arrived there, that law forbade Moriori to fight back *ki tōhoku mōhio*. Stories related by our own to me have said that Waitaha were peace-loving and that when Māmoe arrived among our Waitaha *tūpuna*, no fighting or conquest to establish *mana whenua* status was necessary since the Māmoe were taken in or absorbed by Waitaha *ki tōhoku mōhio*.

when aspects of our beliefs may be contested. The past history of misrepresentation has made us no less suspicious that such theories are held even now and may also encompass and reduce the stories of the Kāi Tahu participants' stories to the margins. This is when the issue for the use of "insider" ethnography is to legitimate my participants' right to make theory—native theory.

If theory is the development of ideas in order to make sense of one's place in time and space, then of course, it has to be relevant to its context. The context here is Kāi Tahu: Not necessarily the glossy form produced out of the structure known as TRoNT (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu) and its subsidiaries, but the form of Kāi Tahu that sees a necessity to think and make sense of our lives as these may or may not be lived from day to day. As stated in a *kōrero-a-waha*, "If we didn't think, we would be robots; and people, not least your participants, think about and tell their stories to explain their lives" (Matahaere, 2000, *kōrero-a-waha*). Besides, we have variously been placed within other peoples' paradigms and theoretical parameters for over a century and a half, rather than placing ourselves within our own context.[19] Next to North American Indians in their country, we, as an ethnic group termed Māori, are the most studied indigenous people in ours (Matahaere, 2000, *kōrero-a-waha*).[20]

## Contested views

As earlier stated, one inter-*iwi* contestation is over the fisheries allocation presently being fought between urban *iwi* and Treaty Tribes. Intra-*iwi* contestations have always existed within Kāi Tahu as they may in other *iwi* groups. These *rarurarau* continue to be part of our every day lives, though without the physical *whawhai* (battles) of pre-Treaty times where *utu*[21] (retribution) was exacted. *Rarurarau* can often now be (as in former times) an unhealthily divisive or a usefully healthy part of being Kāi Tahu. They are not, however, exceptional in any way because we conceive of them as an aspect of our Tahu-ness that is expressed as part of our being and worldview of ourselves. We were once famous or notorious for *kai huāka* or *kai huānga* (eat relatives) feuding, a Kāi Tahu trait that has been well documented both accurately and inaccurately. We therefore attach much less importance to many of the contestations amongst ourselves than do non -Tahu who hear or read of them.

The more serious rifts we usually attempt to keep in-house, where nothing is thought to be usefully gained from their being publicly aired within or outside of Kāi Tahu forums. Differing inter–*iwi* positions over fish is a contemporary contestable issue between *iwi* who have traditionally sea fished and those who did not, and exist between urban *iwi* and Treaty Tribes. There are others that exist between *iwi* and *tauiwi* over river and lake fisheries, the traditional *take* (issues) of now protected bird and fish species and the right to develop co-management of our landscapes. For Kāi Tahu, these contestations are also about power and with whom that might now rest since our legal tribal identity has been established and our Claim settlement enacted into law. This has happened even when settlement aspects do not yet fully exist in actuality. Power as an issue, both inter- and intra-*iwi*, is contested and contestable.

Contestation is not the prerogative of *iwi* or even Polynesians—it characterises the academy. Borofsky (2000) has discussed how the contested viewpoints of truths about Captain Cook have arisen. He reiterates the competing discourses in the ethnographies of Obeyesekere (1992) and Sahlins (1995) where there are contested versions of who the Hawaiians believed Cook to be. Vilsoni Hereniko (2000, pp. 86–87) also refers to this contestation between the "Sri Lankan" and the "American" over Hawaiians' thinking on who Cook was. He makes the point that indigenous Hawaiians "stand by and watch two foreigners fight over 'fodder' that does not even belong to them." He then compares contested viewpoints of the Kirch and Sahlins' Anahulu (1992) which Dening's review (1994a) stated was "brilliant" and of Sahlins, a "genius." The review of Kame`eleihiva (1994a) showed many discrepancies where it was stated, "a knowledgeable foreigner had bad advice about a culture not his own" (Hereniko, 2000, p. 87). The point being made here is that contestations are not unusual or peculiar to *iwi*. In fact, they seemingly thrive within Western academia whose belief systems and definitions of cultural others and cultural selves are no less complex to outsiders than are those of *iwi*.

---

[19] I here acknowledge the works of Hana O'Regan and Te Maire Tau.

[20] When I asked Matahaere where she had obtained this fact, she stated that it had been by Ngāhuia Te Awekotuku at a paper conference.

[21] This can mean both reciprocity or in another understanding, payback or revenge

The difference is that *iwi* have no seeming desire to make in-depth research studies of the academics—as yet!

Contestations with *tauiwi*, with other *iwi* and within our own are integral to our present definition of us as an *iwi*. That definition is born of *whakapapa* and its fount and origin, the landscape. Inter- and intra-*iwi* complexities surrounding issues of definition of who we are add to the argument that Kāi Tahu perceptions of the term landscape are more than those of aesthetically pleasing vistas or awesomely rugged mountainous areas. The constant themes throughout the paper return to the idea of Kāi Tahu as part of, or emanating from, our landscapes that provide our collective and individual *mana*. That *mana* both enables and requires us to exercise proper guardianship over the land and seascapes. The thesis is about how *rakatirataka* (self determination) and *mana* and understanding of how use rights translate into our tribal and smaller intra-tribal unit understandings of landscape and guardianship of it. It has to do with how abuse of such *mana* by any amongst us in fact reduces the *mana* of all. This is often what is thought to be occurring in the eyes of the rest, of individuals who seek self-elevation in the *tauiwi* world and in doing so reduce our collective *mana*. Such behaviour is referred to by the term "mana munching." That simply means individuals or the individual appears to be seeking glory for him or herself, rather than for what might be in the best interest of *whānau, hapū* or *iwi*. Rakatirataka as recognised and acknowledged by the majority within the groupings mentioned above includes, then, all that that might mean, such as joint landscape management and that of the resources that are part of the land and seascapes of Kāi Tahu. Or, as others might term it, it is an experiential sense of place that gives us an inherited right to its management and which we, as a Treaty partner, now have as a legal right within the state of New Zealand. That right is conferred through *whakapapa*, *rakatirataka* and *mana*, individual and collective. Thus, management in this sense is understood as having an equal and meaningful contribution towards the most appropriate way in which to care for our landscapes.

The constant sites of contestation throughout this paper exist whether within a Marxist-based materialist interpretation of land use, a Foucauldian Power-Base theory, or that of Tilley (1994), Tacon (1994) and others who speak of the symbolic definition of land, (or the Kāi Tahu term landscape). The idea of Kāi Tahu as part of and emanating from our landscapes emerges throughout the dissertation as that person/place which provides our collective and individual *mana*, since it is from the ancestral landscape that we are derived through *whakapapa*. *Mana* as *rakatirataka* then, enables us to exercise proper *kaitiakitaka* (guardianship) over the land and seascapes as these quotes demonstrate:

> What I think of *rakatirataka* or *mana* is [that] in the old times there was no one sticking up, everyone was bought up to the left. Now with the way things are at the moment, society demands that we have people sticking up, rising above the crowd. If you go to do a Pākehā thing they say because it's economically viable and you know it's a great investment. This is the way society looks at the moment. This is the way it's got to be, with the [Kāi Tahu] investments. There's no such thing as stand [ing] up and say [ing] today, 'Well I think because we're part of the landscape we should not fool around with these, ...with the money ... that's going around, [being] put into these funny things.' Today we'll just sort of ease up a bit because we're part of the landscape. That's Aoraki, the man who was there frozen into stone. It's not a commercial thing; you don't jump up and down on his head right? This is what I think we should do.
>
> (T. Wesley, *kōrero-a-waha*, Ōtākou, 1998)

And

> There has [sic] been times in my life that have been more apparent than others when I have felt the land crying out to be acknowledged, just in the simplest kind of way, but it seems like the land is in pain because it is not being acknowledged. It has been trodden over, it hasn't been respected. The ownership thing may change but the land still belongs to us, as we are the people of the land. Let me cite Aoraki for example. Aoraki is our *mauka* (mountain) always has been and always will be. Doesn't matter what's happened on pieces of paper. However part of the deal should be that, especially Kāti Huirapa and Arowhenua, that we are seen as the *kaitiaki* (guardians) of the *mauka* and that we should always be consulted about whatever's happening up there. It comes under our *mana whenua*-ship and we should exercise our *rakatirataka* over it for his protection or we are unworthy *kaitiaki*.
>
> (T. Jardine, *kōrero-a-waha*, Te Umu Kaha, 1999)

It is personal *mana* and pride in homescapes that see most Kāi Tahu at *hui* (meetings) stand to state from whom they are descended. They do so by using the method above—that with which the thesis began, parts contained within it, or, a more localised version. Whichever of these is used, it will be based on this form of *pepeha*.[22] In this way, we continue to bespeak our landscapes in which are embodied our founding ancestors. Using the *pepeha* as a way of self-introduction, the reader (or listener) is informed of those from whom I am descended in the broadest sense of how each of us is defined as *ngā uri o* (the descendants of) Kāi Tahu. To expand further on who I am in this sense by the use of *whakapapa* is not essential to the thesis, though *whakapapa* may be recited at particular times and places which are deemed appropriate. Roberts and Wills (1998, p. 43) state that:

> To Māori, 'to know' something is to locate it in space and time. This applies to individual persons, tribes, all other animate and inanimate things, and even to knowledge itself. Fundamental to this ability to locate a thing in [this way] is knowledge of its *whakapapa*. To know oneself is to know one's *whakapapa* [and] to know about a tree, a rock, the wind or the fishes in the sea - is to know their *whakapapa*.

## Language use

To understand the context in which language throughout this dissertation is framed, it is pivotal at this point to provide some discussion. The language though English, is expressed extensively in the passive voice. *Tikaka-ā-iwi*, by which all things are guided within *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world), sees great strength in the use of the passive. Every person, event or matter to which one refers is thought to be of greater significance than the person or persons narrating it. *Te reo* itself, though, is not passive and has great strengths not always found in the use of English. Thus, the way in which the paper and the stories of the participants have been described or retold in this paper relates to our social places within the hierarchical norms of *iwi* society.

In *te reo*, the verb is often split by a modifier and this pattern has been carried over into English. Other patterns in *te reo* have also influenced English expression. Within the thesis it also comes about as a result of my thinking it out in one language while writing it in another. The language and the way it is used is based upon and according to the rules of *te reo*, which in turn is based upon *tikaka-ā-iwi*. It is that *tikaka*, therefore, which drives the use of *te reo* as well as the way in which I have used English in the form of Māori–English. In this way, the use best expresses the intended meaning of the words of the participants and how many intended their stories would be best related.

Webster (1998) argues that the loss or erosion of this long-held *tikaka* is clearly evident once things Māori—including *tikaka* or Māori culture and *te reo*—were brought within the *kaupapa* (curriculum) of universities. In this context the commodification of cultural imperatives is argued, as the rules governing the subjects within academia effectively negate *tikaka-ā-iwi* just as oppressively as the dominant research paradigm scrutinised by Bishop (1996) and Smith (1999) negates indigenous epistemology.

Sissons (1994) further elaborates on Webster's (2000) position in that he asserts that the commodifications of *tikaka me te reo* (customary practices and the language) are sites of politicisation and rationalisation. As Webster (ibid.) and Sissons (ibid.) have argued, the systemisation of culture or *tikaka* has been bound to meet and further the interests of the state. It could also be argued that these actions by the state coincided with the commodification of *tikaka* and *te reo* within the academy. Within tertiary institutions and the education system as a whole, both *tikaka* and *reo* were commodities to be consumed by the masses as opposed to *iwi* whereby colonial constraints attempt to limit both imperatives as purely a strategic resource (Sissons, 1994). At a superficial level, the commodification of *tikaka* and *reo* appeared to be meeting both *iwi* and state/tertiary needs. Clearly evident, however, is that unless *tikaka* and *reo* are *iwi* driven and defined they remain a commodity that will continue to benefit the state's interest rather than those of *iwi*. *Iwi* no longer wish to be in the position the *kahawai* (native fish of New Zealand) might usually find itself in relation to the shark—realistically or metaphorically

[22] *Pepeha* as defined by H. Williams ([1844] 1985: 274), in his dictionary of Māori Language. Yoon, (1986: 480) states that "the Māori *pepeha* of tribal identity seems to have a closer affinity with the combined characteristics of motto and maxim rather than those of proverb." "Proverb" is what Yoon also states as a word used by others to describe *pepeha*.

consumed—consumed by the dominant cultural ideology that often gatekeeps how and who are, either by governmentally-induced definition or by institutionally-structured paper.

This commodification of culture along with a singular type of paper methodology have prevailed because there are a substantial number of Māori and *tauiwi* academics who have continued to legitimate its currency within academia. Māori who have become separated from their landscapes through urbanisation and have lost *te reo* and *tikaka-ā-iwi* were supported in the consumption of both, which were governed by outsider-imposed *kawa* (protocol) and beliefs. The types of tertiary-learned *tikaka-ā-iwi me tikaka-ā-reo* are the only forms known to many Kāi Tahu (and others) raised and educated away from homeplaces. They therefore dismiss as incorrect the *mōhio tūturu* (historical knowledge) of the home people (K. Davis, 1999, *kōrero-a-waha*). As a result, the societal norms that ordered *tikaka* and *te reo* were ignored and effaced as new forms of both became consumable commodities.

Within the dominance of this methodology, *iwi* rules have been set aside in favour of those governing the institutions. Whilst I acknowledge there is a need for these rules in many research areas, my own position necessitates that the rules governing the way this research is undertaken is based on *kaupapa Māori* (Bishop, 1996, pp. 11–33). Although this research has been undertaken within a university and, as such, conducted within the rules and regulations of the academy, it has been driven by *tikaka-ā-iwi*. The question of whose *tikaka* is the more acceptable within Kāi Tahu, has been a contributing factor to some of the *rarurarau* to which I later refer and address in the dissertation. There is an additional complexity to the binary opposition of *tikaka-ā-iwi* versus the commodification of tertiary *tikaka*; a third position needs acknowledgement as its prevalence will be highlighted throughout the dissertation. The complexity is that this commodified *tikaka* has been appropriated in a manner that challenges the legitimacy of experiential knowing, so its existence and position cannot be ignored. The rarurarau that have arisen out of this complexity involve some of our own who have more knowledge of outside *tikaka* than of the home people's experiential use and knowledge of it. Many of us raised in our homeplace landscapes are guided by the experiential knowing. It is our way of knowing and understanding our world-view. In epistemological terms, it has much in common with other Oceanic cultures (see Chapters One, Two, Three and Five) and indeed with at least one group of academic professionals, though some may not admit it. Borofsky (2000, pp. 7, 18) makes comparisons of the commonalities shared by Pukapukans whom he interviewed and Pacific historians when he states that:

> Both groups value primary sources and believe one should not take a person's testimony at face value. [Instead one should] scrutinise for biases, for unstated personal advantages. Both groups analyse contexts within which testimony is presented to ascertain its validity; and both rely extensively on recognised experts.

He further adds that ascertaining who is expert may be contestable and that other subtle similarities exist, such as "the commonly stated opposition between oral and written accounts" (Borofsky, 2000, p. 7). Yet most academics "take academic documentation on trust."[23]

I have already stated that we are the landscape since we are descendants of the *tūpuna* who are both the landscape and are us, just as we are them, and both are future *reaka* (generations) by way of *whakapapa*. That contention is shared in the *kōrero* (discussions) of many, though not all Kāi Tahu with whom I spoke. *Whakapapa* is rooted in both land and sea and these beliefs are also simple facts which, like *mauri*, need no further justification or explanation.

The terms "*rarurarau*" and "contestation" are used interchangeably throughout this paper. Both are used to describe the real or perceived differences that arise, have arisen and may continue to arise in the future. These contestations are about landscape definition and identity derived from it through *whakapapa* and landscape uses, which include access and use rights to customary *kai* and related resources. This is inclusive of fisheries, quota rights and use; *hopu tītī* (muttonbird harvesting) rights and which *manu* (bird) *whānau* or family specific gathering area; landscape management, including the right of consultation with Kāi Tahu by external bodies on best use practices of land, rivers, lakes,

[23] According to Borofsky, "few of the twenty nine reviewers of Obeyesekere's *Apotheosis of Captain Cook* actually went back and examined his documentation. Fewer still have checked Sahlins' 1995 documentation, despite the praise the book has received for its meticulous scholarship." (Borofsky 2000: 8). See also Hereniko in Borofsky (2000: 86–87).

forests and sea. This will enable Kāi Tahu to have a real influence in the prevention of abuses, which occur over our many land and sea resources. Almost all excesses or mismanagement of and contestations over our landscapes have to do with power and control and the way/s in which landscapes of Te Wā'ipounemu are cared for, defined and perceived; that is, whether they are considered as landscapes, as ancestors or as land commodities. These contestations were and continue to be central to who we are as an *iwi* and therefore to the dissertation. Therefore, I have continued against much opposition from within the academy to exercise those rights in the manner I chose to present, since it was our *whānau, hapū* and *iwi* knowledge that was being written about.

***Appendix 1***

Tahupōtiki's descendants, who formed Ngāi Tūhaitara and Ngāti Kurī, moved south, travelling first to Wellington. Ngāi Tūhaitara and Ngāti Kurī settled in Te Whanganui-ā-Tara (Wellington) under the respective leadership of Tū Āhuriri and Maru Kaitatea.

Ngāti[24] Kurī and Ngāi Tūhaitara migrated to Te Wa'ipounemu. Maru Kaitatea established Ngāti Kurī at Kaikōura. Tū Āhuriri's son, Turakautahi, placed Ngāi Tūhaitara at Kaiapoi Pā. With Kaikōura and Kaiapoi Pā established, and through intermarriage, warfare and political alliances, Ngāi Tahu interests amalgamated with Ngāti Māmoe and Waitaha *iwi* and Ngāi Tahu *iwi* established *mana whenua* or pre-eminence in the South Island. Sub-tribes or *hapū* became established around distinct areas, and have become the Papatipu Rūnanga that modern day Ngāi Tahu use to exercise tribal democracy.

Ngāi Tahu had its first contact with Pākehā sealers and whalers from around 1795. By the 1830s, Ngāi Tahu had built up a thriving industry supplying whaling ships with provisions such as pigs, potatoes and wheat. Shore stations were established from 1835 under the authority of local Ngāi Tahu chiefs.

Many Ngāi Tahu women married whalers, and the tribe was no stranger to European ways. When seven high-ranking southern chiefs signed the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, it was seen as a convenient arrangement between equals. By 1849, when the Crown began defaulting on the terms of a series of ten major land purchases dating from 1844, earlier suspicions of the Crown's good faith by some of the Ngāi Tahu chiefs were confirmed, and the Ngāi Tahu Claim Te Kerēme was born.

The Crown undertook to set aside adequate reserves—to have been approximately ten per cent of the 34.5 million acres sold—but this was never done. There were also disputes over boundaries, and the Crown's failure to establish schools and hospitals, as promised. In addition, the tribe lost its access to its *mahinga kai*, or food gathering resources, and other sacred places such as *urupā* (burial sites).

Ngāi Tahu made its first claim against the Crown for breach of contract in 1849.

Matiaha Tiramōrehu petitioned the Crown to have put aside adequate reserves of land for the *iwi*, as it had agreed to do under the terms of its land purchases from Ngāi Tahu. In the twenty years from 1844, Ngāi Tahu signed formal land sale contracts with the Crown for some 34.5 million acres, or approximately 80 per cent of the South Island, Te Waipounamu.

The Crown failed to honour its part of those contracts when it did not allocate one-tenth of the land to the *iwi*, as agreed. It also refused to pay a fair price for the land.

Robbed of the opportunity to participate in the land-based economy alongside the settlers, Ngāi Tahu became an impoverished and virtually landless tribe. Its full claim involved some 3.4 million acres of lost land, one-tenth of the Kāi Tahu land total sold to the Crown.

When Kāi Tahu first took its case to the courts in 1868, the government passed laws to prevent the Courts from hearing or ruling on the case. A Commission of Inquiry a decade later—the Smith-Nairn Commission—had its funding halted by a new Government and went into recess without delivering any findings despite positive progress reports.

In 1887, Royal Commissioner Judge MacKay said only a "substantial endowment" of land secured to Kāi Tahu ownership would go some of the way to "right so many years of neglect". A change of Government meant that the Commissions report was never actioned.

By the time of the findings on the Kāi Tahu land claim by the Waitangi Tribunal in 1991, at least a dozen different commissions, inquiries, courts and tribunals had repeatedly established the veracity and justice of the Ngāi Tahu claim.

[24] North of the Waitakitaki, the "ng" is used whereas further south we use the "k" in its place. Also the spelling of Te Wa'ipounemu varies and both the use of the Ng and the te Waipounamu are what are now considered the "standardised" or conventional spelling of our *whenua*.

## Bibliography


Bishop, R. (1996). *Collaborative Research:Whakawhanaungatanga*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.

Brettell, C. B. (1997). "Blurred Genres and Blended Voices: Life History, Biography, Autobiography, and the Auto/Ethnography of Women's Lives." In *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* (pp. 223-249). D.E. Reed-Danahay (Ed.) New York and Oxford: Berg.

Davis, T. A. (1990a). *He Kōrero Pūrākau mō Ngā Taunahatanga a Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of The Ancestors*. J. Wilson (Ed.) Wellington: Government Printers.

Dening, G. (1994a). "Book Review: Auahulu." *Contemporary Pacific.* Spring. pp. 212-214.

Harris, M. [1927] (1997). *Culture, People, Nature: An Introduction to General Anthropology*. New York and Reading and Massachusetts and California: Longman.

_____ (2000). Epilogue: "Pasts to Remember" In *Remembrance of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (pp. 453-471). Robert Borofsky (Ed.) Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press.

Hay, R. (1998). "A Rooted Sense of Place In Cross-cultural perspective." *The Canadian Geographer, 42*(3), pp. 245-266.

Hereniko, V. (1997). 'Pacific Cultural Identities' In "The Ideological World Remade" In *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders* (pp. 428-437). D. Denoon et al. (Eds.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reed -Danahay, D. E. (1997). *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*. D.E. Reed-Danahay (Ed.) New York and Oxford: Berg.

Roberts, M., & Wills, P. (1998). "Understanding Māori Epistemology." In *Tribal Epistemologies* (pp. 43-77). H. Wautischer (Ed.) Aldershot: Ashgate.

Smith, L. T. (1998). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. Dunedin: Zen Books Limited and University of Otago Press.

Williams, H. W. (1844) (1985). *A Dictionary of the Māori Language.* (7th ed.) Wellington: P. D. Hasselberg, Government Printer .

Yoon, H-K. (1986). *Māori Mind, Māori Land*. Berne: Peter Lang Publishing Incoporated.


***Kōrero -ā-Waha: Interviews and Personal Communication***


Davis, K. (1999). Kōrero-ā-waha, Te Umu Kaha.

Jardine, T. (1999). Kōrero-ā-waha, Te Umu Kaha.

Matahaere, D. (2000). Kōrero-ā-waha.

Wesley, T. (1998). Kōrero-ā-waha, Ōtākou.

Williams, J. (1997). Kōrero-ā-waha, mai ki 2/10/1997 atu ki ēnei wā.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *ākau* | foreshore(s) |
| *atua* | god(s) |
| *hapū* | sub-tribe, sub-tribal |
| *hui* | meeting(s) |
| *ika* | fish |
| *iwi* | tribe, tribal |
| *kahawai* | native fish of New Zealand |
| *kai* | food |
| *kaikoha* | contributors |
| *kaimoana* | sea food |
| *kaitiaki* | guardian(s) |
| *kaitiakitaka* | guardianship |
| *kaupapa* | curriculum |
| *kawa* | protocol |
| *kirimoko* | blue skin in reference to the art of tattoo |
| *kōrero* | story, discussion |
| *mā* | and others |
| *mahi* | job |
| *mana* | integrity |
| *manu* | bird |
| *mauka / maunga* | mountain |
| *mauri* | life force |
| *mita* | dialect |
| *pakiwaitara* | tales |
| *patupaiarehe* | fairy people |
| *pepeha* | maxim |
| *rakatirataka* | self determination |
| *raruraru* | conflict |
| *reaka / reanga* | generations |
| *rūnaka/rūnanga* | iwi authority |
| *tā moko* | art of tattoo |
| *tākata / tāngata* | people |
| *take* | issues |
| *tamariki* | children |
| *tauiwi* | foreigner(s) |
| *tikaka / tikanga* | customary practices |
| *tītī* | muttonbird(s) |
| *tūpuna* | ancestors |
| *ture* | law |
| *uri* | descendant(s) |
| *urupā* | burial site(s) |
| *utu* | retribution |
| *waiata* | songs |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |
| *whakatauākī* | proverb(s) |
| *whakawhanaukataka* | kinship |
| *whānau* | family |
| *whānui* | broad |
| *whawhai* | battle(s) |
| *whenua* | land |

## Phrases and sayings

| | |
|---|---|
| *awa tawhito* | ancient river |
| *ehara i te tākata kotahi anō i oho ai i neherā* | there is usually more than one version to any story |
| *hopu tītī* | muttonbird harvesting |
| *i mua, āianei, ā muri ake* | in the past, present and into the future |
| *ikoa tawhito* | ancient name(s) |
| *Iwi Māori* | Māori people |
| *kā kōrero o kā tūpuna* | the stories of our ancestors |
| *kā kōrero o nehe rā* | ancient stories |
| *kāhui kaumātua* | assembly of elders. |
| *kai huāka/kai huānga* | eat relatives |
| *kaitiaki-ā-reo, ā-wāhi, ā-whenua, ā-moana, ā-tikaka me kā mea katoa a tō mātou nei iwi* | guardians of the language, customary sites, the land, the ocean, traditional customary practices and all matters pertaining to our tribe |
| *Kaupapa Māori* | Māori philosophies and methodology |
| *ki tā toka i te Waitakitaki* | south of the Waitakitaki (river) |
| *kōhukahuka tae noa ki te pakeke* | childhood through to adulthood |
| *kōrero ki tōhoku mōhio* | story according to my knowledge |
| *kōrero neherā* | ancient stories |
| *kōrero pūrākau* | stories |
| *kōrero-ā-waha* | oral discourse |
| *kupu whakaari* | prophecy |
| *mahinga kai / mahika kai* | food gathering resources |
| *mana whenua* | exercising customary authority over the land |
| *mana whenua iwi* | exercising tribal customary authority over the land |
| *mauka ariki / maunga ariki* | paramount mountain |
| *mōhio tūturu* | historical knowledge |
| *ngā uri o …* | the descendants of … |
| *ngā whakapātaritari a tēnei mea te rangahau* | ethical dilemmas that arise when conducting research |
| *o nehe rā* | from ancient times |
| *tākata Wīwī* | French people |
| *tauiwi whakataukī* | foreign saying |
| *Te Ao Māori* | the Māori world |
| *te reo* | the language |
| *te reo mahau* | a platform for the many voices |
| *te reo Māori* | the Māori language |
| *tikaka tā Moriori* | Moriori customs |
| *tikaka-ā-iwi* | tribal customary practices |
| *tikaka-ā-reo* | language conventions |
| *tikaka me te reo* | customary practices and the language |
| *tōhoku mōhio* | according to my knowledge |
| *waiata kinaki* | song to embellish a speech |
| *waiata whakapapa* | chants, songs of genealogy |
| *whai mana mōhoku* | seek self glory |

# Comparing knowledge traditions: working with multiplicity, sustaining criticism and avoiding 'epistemic charity'

**David Turnbull**
Deakin University, Australia

The conference title 'Indigenous Knowledges' takes a strong and confrontational stand. It asserts there is not just one knowledge, there are multiple knowledges. For many speakers at the conference this inevitably raised questions of "What is knowledge?"; "Who gets to say what counts as knowledge?"; "What happens to indigenous knowledge in the academy, and back in the community once it's been to the academy?"[1] But, just as it is apparent that what knowledge is becomes profoundly problematic in the age of multiplicity, where we no longer have just one but many knowledges, it also follows that what knowledge is cannot be separated from questions surrounding criticism/critique; questions such as: How is knowledge evaluated?; How do you know what is good knowledge, valid knowledge, true knowledge?; Who is to say, by what criteria, where, when? Linda Smith, in her opening address, touched on several different varieties of criticism. She was critical of treating indigenous knowledge as exotic, as separate from everyday life, noting that as an academic she encouraged her students to develop a capacity for critique, to see questions and issues in their context. She pointed out the necessity of being critical of claims in terms of their validity and the authority to speak of them, but she also spoke of critique as a positive outcome of working with irreconcilables—the dynamic fecundity of the tension between traditions. An example of such a dynamic which emerged several times during the conference was the question of women's knowledges, their rights to speak in ceremonies on the *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) and how they are changing within the evolving traditions of Māori knowledge. It is such possibilities for generative critique in working with multiplicity or 'irreconcilables', in working with differing ontologies and with incommensurable knowledge traditions, that are the central concerns of this paper.

In academia there are some indications of attempts to work with multiplicity, but the prevailing regime of truth is one in which there is both too much and too little criticism. Too much in the sense that scientific knowledge and its associated rationalities are taken as the critical criteria by which all knowledge claims are to be evaluated; too little in the sense that knowledge traditions generally, including science do not have strongly inbuilt capacities for reflexive evaluation. What I want to suggest is a rethinking of the role and nature of criticism following the ways that knowledge itself is being rethought, both by indigenous academics and by non-indigenous writers especially, in the sociology of knowledge. Knowledge is usually taken to be rationally justified true belief, and is held to have its best exemplification in modern science. Scientific knowledge is not only rational and true, it is objective and universal. Such knowledge is supported by the scientific method and is typically empirical, measurable and testable. This idealisation of scientific knowledge requires some modification—there needs to be a recognition that science is a human construct, it is produced by particular people, using particular skills and techniques, in particular places and within particular institutions and social structures.[2] Putting knowledge into a social context like this means seeing it not as unified in one monolithic structure, but as multiple and diverse, and it also means seeing it as performative. Knowledge is not only based in human practices—in what we do—but what we know also shapes what we do. The world we live in, and what we know and do in that world, co-produce each other in complex interactions.

Criticism, like knowledge, needs to be recognised as performative. It is both based in practice and also shapes practice. Similarly, just as knowledges are multiplicitous and dialogic, so too are there varieties of criticism with and between differing traditions. These multiple forms should collide and coexist, enabling adaptation and new unpredictable forms of criticism to emerge from the collision. In general, criticism should be generative critique; it should explore limitations and create connections.

---

1 These questions were raised by Linda Smith in her keynote address on the first day; Leroy Little Bear Keyin his keynote address on the second day; by Pita Sharples, 'Indigenous Māori Knowledge—*Kia Whakaarahia Anō*!' by Sarah-Jane Tiakiwai, 'The Whitening of Māori: *Marae* Attempts to Reconstruct Māori Identity in Contemporary Settings' and variously throughout the conference.

2 Turnbull, D. (2003). *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge, 38ff.

The modern era is a period of profound difficulty and contradiction. On the one hand globalisation and the attendant seamless integration of capitalism and science are creating apparently uninterruptible flows of surplus value and information around the globe. On the other hand multiplicity is everywhere—the necessity of recognising the reality and value of differing knowledge traditions is becoming apparent, not just for their importance to indigenous groups, but for all of humanity. If we are to find ways to avoid the total despoliation of the planet's natural environment and the inevitable collapse that would follow the establishment of a global monoculture, we must make multiplicity sustainable. Cultural diversity and its dynamic tensions are not just something to be preserved for the sake of some nostalgic notion of heritage, but because they are essential components of life on this planet.

However, working with incommensurable and multiple knowledge traditions brings with it some difficulties. One such difficulty is that the nature of criticism becomes profoundly problematic. Taking multiplicity or cultural diversity seriously means you cannot assume that one tradition— Western science—can be the measure of all the others. But, nowhere is the problem of criticism more acute than in academia, because it not only has to deal with multiplicity but also with the very transformations of knowledge production occurring under global capitalism.

In order to discuss the question of criticism I want to look at some particularly difficult contemporary cases and issues, which, while not in any sense definitive or the most important, are nonetheless illustrative of some of the problems relating to multiplicity, in that they cross the boundaries between science and religion, science and politics, or science and other knowledge traditions.

## Creationism and intelligent design

In the United States (U.S.) many states now have laws requiring that evolutionary theory not be accorded full scientific status in school textbooks. It is now legally required that evolution be presented as merely a theory, and that creationism or, in some school districts, intelligent design, be presented as equally plausible. Creationists claim that the entirety of the world—all the rocks, fossils, plants, animals, and people—was created around six thousand years ago (some even give it a date and time—10.30, October the 9$^{th}$ 4004 BC). Intelligent Design theory claims that the universe and all its life forms are so complex that they cannot be explained by science alone, but require the supposition of a designer of universal omnipotence. Science, on the other hand, claims the universe started in a Big Bang 13 billion years ago and the Earth and all its contents evolved over time according to determinable physical processes that continue to this day. Superficially it would seem there is a "knock down" argument. The creationists are ideological fundamentalists; they are simply denying established scientific facts. Humans, for example, evolved like their close chimpanzee cousins, from apelike ancestors and moved out of Africa sometime between 50,000 and 150,000 years ago. (A question I want to come back to in discussing the latest version of the Human Genome Diversity Project.) We know this because the fossil record tells us so. Intelligent designers are simply sneaking in an unwarranted and unnecessary extra premise that has no explanatory power. Or, to put the point at its most general with respect to criticism, creationism should not be given equal time with evolution because it is not consistent with established facts. Nor should intelligent design, as it does not conform with the criteria of what counts as a good scientific explanation.

But the case is not quite so straightforward because of the complexities of the fact value relationship. Facts do not exist in isolation, they come complete with a theoretical framework and an ontology; that is to say, facts only exist inside a complex body of assumptions about: the sorts of entities that exist and how they interact; what counts as questions; what counts as answers; what sorts of things are valued and important; according to what sort of principles and who gets to decide any or all of this. So the facts of the matter cannot be the sole criteria. Values play a significant part and, of course, that is why some Christian groups advocate creationism or intelligent design, and have sought to take control of school book and curriculum committees; it is precisely to counter the godless atheists. In the name of Christian values they have also resorted to the law and to civil protest to support their views. For example, the recent Imax film *Sea Volcanoes*, which makes passing reference to the age of the Earth, was withdrawn from screening in the Fort Worth Science Center because some creationists claimed it was

blasphemous.[3] What such moves to religious and legal authority attempt to do is establish orthodoxy and stifle criticism. However, the religious side is not quite alone in this.

Science has traditionally portrayed itself as crucially dependent on criticism. Its conclusions are defeasible, forever tentative, constantly subject to test and revision. Karl Popper famously pointed out that for both democracy and science to flourish they must make criticism central.[4] The essential component being multivocality, many voices must be able to speak. However, it is apparent that criticism and dissent are no longer celebrated as being central to democracy. Arguably a key characteristic of the modern period is the continual diminution and muting of criticism as the political parties become indistinguishable, centralist and hegemonic, while the media become globally-extended means of creating surplus value and profit.

But, it is science where the question of criticism is especially acute, chiefly because of the problematic ways that criticism in science is restricted. Criticism in the form of testing is held to be internal to its practice, but, I would argue that science in all its manifestations needs to be constantly subjected to criticism in ways that it currently is not. Obviously numerous indigenous spokespeople and groups have criticised science for being reductionist, mechanistic, exploitative, dominating, masculinist, exclusive, elitist, scientistic, technocratic and a tool of globalisation and capitalism. However, science nonetheless, through the guise of objectivity, rationality, universality and the scientific method, projects itself as an autonomous unified cultural entity, as beyond external criticism as an institution. It is treated as something that is culturally different, in that it is not like art, film, television, theatre, cooking or wine, all of which have regular critical columns and professional critics in the media. Hence, science displays itself as the ultimate authority. It is not like literature or any of the social sciences that take the notion of critique as central; it has no internal mechanisms for reflexively examining its own assumptions, its values, its role, or its part in the means of production. It has internal means for examining the validity of its knowledge claims, but no means for examining their value; have they asked the right kind of questions and what are their answers for? Do they add to the sum of human happiness and hope, or do they add to a pile of abstractions and techniques whose value is determined in the market place?

## Epistemic charity

Instead of criticism being intrinsic to the whole of science, being critical of science is now typically taken as being anti-science. It is to adopt a dangerous form of relativism, and it is indeed dangerous. The new Pope believes "we are facing a dictatorship of relativism" (*The Age,* p. 1, Ap 21 05) because science itself is the standard against which all knowledge should be judged. In essence, this is Meera Nanda's argument in her recent book *Prophets Facing Backward.*

In my own work I have argued that all knowledge traditions including science should be treated on equal terms because at base all traditions are local, they differ in the ways they move and assemble knowledge.[5] They differ in their ontologies and practices, in the ways in which people; practices and

---

[3] Holmes, B. & Randerson, J. (2005). A Sceptic's Guide to Intelligent Design. *New Scientist* 187 (2507): 10–12.

[4] Popper, K. (1950). *The Open Society and its Enemies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press; Popper, K. (1963). *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. London: Routledge.

[5] There is considerable debate over what indigenous and local knowledge means. I suggest (Turnbull D. (2003), *Assemblage and Diversity: Working with Incommensurability: Emergent Knowledge, Narrativity, Performativity, Mobility and Synergy,* unpublished manuscript, available from author on request). Local knowledge is a generic term referring to knowledge generated through observations of the local environment or at a particular site and held by a specific group of people (Berkes, F. & C. Folke (2002). Back to the Future: Ecosystem Dynamics and Local Knowledge. In C. S. Holling & L. Gunderson (Eds.), *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems*. Washington: Island Press, pp. 121–46.), and in that sense all knowledge including science is local (see Watson-Verran, H. & Turnbull, D. (1995). Science and Other Indigenous Knowledge Systems. In S. Jasanoff, G. Markle, T. Pinch & J. Petersen (Eds.), *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications pp. 115–139). See discussion in Ingold T, (2000), *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge: London. Indigenous knowledge is 'local knowledge held by indigenous peoples, or local knowledge unique to a given culture or society'. Traditional knowledge is 'a cumulative body of knowledge and beliefs, evolving by adaptive process and handed down through generations by cultural transmission' (Berkes and Folke) that may be held by a particular group or profession. See also Semali, L. & Kincheloe, J. (Eds.) (1999). Introduction: What is Indigenous Knowledge and Why Should We Study It? *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*. New York: Falmer Press, pp. 3–58; Viergever, M. (1999). Indigenous Knowledge: An

places become connected and form knowledge spaces. Nanda dismisses this as epistemic charity. In her words:

> What looks like a tolerant, non-judgmental, "permission to be different" is in fact an act of condescension toward non-Western cultures. It denies them the capacity and the need for a reasoned modification of inherited cosmologies in the light of better evidence made available by the methods of western science.[6]

Nanda argues that the weakness of epistemic charity is that it allows too much power to oppressive traditions such as that of Hindu nationalism. On her account, the fundamentalist ideologues of Hindu nationalism claim Hinduism to be the confluence of all knowledge traditions and, as such, it incorporates science and supervenes it. This, Nanda believes, leaves Indian women and outcastes in a state of subjugation and oppression with no power to criticise. Her answer is to claim enlightenment rationality is the only path to the overthrow of traditional authority and superstition.

I agree, we do need a full-blooded form of criticism in this and many of other cases of domination and exploitation. But, uninflected enlightenment rationality is no longer adequate to the task. I want to mention briefly two more contemporary examples before turning to ways in which criticism can be rethought.

## Bar-coding biodiversity

The great enlightenment dream is exemplified by Diderot's Encyclopaedia where he and his fellow authors wanted to assemble the totality of the world's knowledge, and in effect that has been the overall project of science in the last 200 years—to assemble the knowledge of the universe and all its contents in one place. Classic examples are the various attempts to catalogue all of the species in the name of sustainability. Scientists dream that if they could only count the species they would somehow know how to preserve them, or at least they would be able to measure the rate at which they are being destroyed. Despite the fact that many such projects have been proposed and failed, a new one—The Barcode of Life Initiative—was announced last year:.

The Smithsonian Institution in Washington is proposing to develop a genetic barcode catalogue for every species on earth. They have set up a coordinating secretariat and the Sloan Foundation has funded the Barcode of life Initiative as a central repository.[7]

This project is going ahead despite the reality of two profound difficulties. There is no agreed definition of species: a species from a biological perspective is clearly delimited by its capacity to breed; from an ecological perspective a species is a relational concept dependent on interactions and processes in an environment of multiple species and niches.

In a very insightful article Mere Roberts and her colleagues show that the Māori concept of *whakapapa* (genealogy) provides "an epistemological framework in which perceived patterns and relationships in nature are located."[8] Such *whakapapa* also function as ecosystem maps of culturally important resources. More information and meaning is provided by accompanying narratives, which contain explanations for why things came to be the way they are, as well as moral guidelines for correct conduct.

---

Interpretation of Views from Indigenous People. In L. Semali & J. Kincheloe (Eds.), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*. New York: Falmer Press, pp. 333–359; Dei, G. S., Hall, B., et al. (Eds.) (2000). Indigenous *Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Ellen, R., & Harris, H. (2000). Introduction. In R. Ellen, P. Parkes & A. Bicker (Eds.) *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, pp. 1–34.

6 Nanda, M. (2003). *Prophets Facing Backwards: Postmodern Critiques of Science and Hindu Nationalism in India*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, p.127.

7 Holmes, B. (2004). Barcode Me. *New Scientist* 182: 32–5, 34.

8 Roberts, M., Haami, B., et al. (2004). Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct: Some Implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification of Organisms. *The Contemporary Pacific* 16(1): 1–28, 1.

It is just such understandings of where plants, animals and humans come from, what their role is, how they look, behave and interact as a whole, that are dependent on having a synthetic framework and detailed local knowledge and experience. It is to the multiplicity of indigenous knowledge traditions that we need look for such insights. But, it is precisely that rich complexity of local indigenous knowledge that projects such as the Bar-coding Initiative overlook in the drive to turn the universe into information and nature into a Wal-mart of commodifiable abstractions and data.

## The Genographic Project

Despite united indigenous antagonism, the Human Genome Diversity Project has risen from the ashes of its disastrous crash and burn in the 1990s. This phoenix version is called the Genographic Project. It has $55m in funding from the National Geographic, IBM, and The Waitt Foundation. It is led by Spencer Wells who produced a best seller and a TV documentary called Journey of Man, which lays out the genetic narrative of human history with the politically correct anodyne conclusion 'we are all Africans now'. The basic premise of the project is the same as the Mk1 version, by taking DNA samples from indigenous groups around the world it will be possible to trace backwards the movements of humans out of Africa 50,000–60,000 years ago, and thence into every corner of the globe. The only significant differences between the new and the old project are that this one is based on taking swabs of saliva rather than blood, and that the underlying scientific premise is that there was one original human male Adam, and its the variation in his Y chromosome down the generations rather than a mitochondrial Eve that provides the trail back to Africa.

Indigenous groups rallied in opposition to the first Human Genome Diversity Project (HGDP) and formed the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism (IPCB) in 1993 with the principal aim of fighting biopiracy—the theft and exploitation of indigenous knowledge by Western science and corporations.[9] Ultimately the original HGDP failed because of problems with informed consent—which has become one of the key ethical criteria for research with human subjects—as it could not find effective ways to translate the individualistic notion of informed consent into a form of collective consent.[10] The Genographic project is destined to have similar difficulties since it was launched without any indigenous consultation about its possibilities.

What the Barcode of Life and the Genographic projects show is that science is not an autonomous transcendental entity; it takes place in particular institutions and in particular social formations. Such groupings can adopt a variety of strategies for immunising themselves from criticism; however, their rationales for research can and do reflect the interests of those who fund them and often do seem to disregard indigenous knowledge traditions. Yet they cannot isolate themselves behind clearly demarcated, impermeable, boundaries, there are arenas in which they do have to recognise other knowledges.[11] The boundaries are in constant dissolution, encounters and their attendant problems of translation are inevitable. The question is, can this multiplicity be seen as virtuous sustainability in action or will the demarcation police be called to maintain critical vigilance?

## Science, climate sceptics, and the multinationals

Independent of the particular social institutions in which forms of science are practised, there are general problems concerning the social, political and economic context of contemporary science which are especially apparent in the realm of climate change and resource depletion. The U.S. government seems to be able to manage a joint manipulation, it can with impunity fund the research that supplies the answers they want to hear, a systematic bias also reproduced in the private sector where large

---

[9] Debra Harry, who is Northern Paiute and serves as IPCB's Executive Director, noting this new project's similarities with the HGDP, said, "This is a recurrent nightmare. It's essentially the same project we defeated years ago. Some of the actors are different, but also some are the same. With the founder of the HGDP serving on this new project's advisory committee, I can't help but think this is simply a new reiteration of the HGDP." Press Release dated April 13, 2005. Released by: Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism Contact: Debra Harry (dharry@ipcb.org) or Le`a Kanehe (lkanehe@ipcb.org).

[10] Reardon, J. (2001). The Human Genome Diversity Project: A Case Study in Co-production. *Social Studies of Science* 31(3): 357–88.

[11] McNiven, I., & Russell, L. (2005). *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*. Lanham: Alta Mira Press.

corporations fund and control knowledge production and its resale.[12] At the same time the Government and the energy sector are able to deploy science's own defeasibility and the assertions of the critics that science is a social construction embedded in struggles for disciplinary authority, in order to argue that global warming is uncertain and hence merely an unwarranted assertion not requiring any amelioration that would have negative economic impacts on the growth of productivity and profitability.

## Other knowledge traditions

Scientific notions of criticism are founded in the very epistemology that was co-produced with science. Repeatability, testability, correspondence with known facts, coherence and consistency with other disciplines, and peer review, are all internal and highly valuable critical criteria. But they have been decontextualised and separated from the moral values and socially organised systems of trust that underpin and sustain them. Those values and systems of trust are in turn co-produced with the social strategies and technical devices that enable knowledge to be moved and assembled. Science is only separable from its forms of social relations through acts of violence and denial. Other knowledge traditions have their own criteria of acceptance and rejection of authority, trust, and value, of moving and assembling knowledge, which Western science often dismisses as 'cultural' while failing to acknowledge the centrality of its own culture. If we are aiming to work with multiplicity—as for example the $E^2D^2$ Emergent Diversity, Emergent Database project at the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology is doing in trying to rebuild the database for its collection with multiple ontologies—then the varieties of criticism and connection must be allowed to find a common space in which to interact.[13]

In general what these problems show is that there are multiple forms in which the possibility of criticism is needed, now more than ever. While science is one of the best and most exciting problem solving institutions, it has a fairly restricted capacity for generating interesting and important problems. It doesn't do anything for hope, joy or happiness, for making new connections, nor does it have much capacity for reflecting on itself. Criticism itself needs to be multiplicitous and reflexive, and it needs to enable new forms of connectivity to emerge.

## Conclusion: strategies of connection, and emergent reflexive adaptive criticism

What I want to do in the last part of the paper is explore ways in which criticism can be rethought through multiplicity and complex adaptive systems in terms of connection, and becoming. First of all, what is criticism? The idea that there is a fixed set of specifiable criteria or rules, protocols, or methods for criticism, evaluation or assessment of knowledge claims goes with the deterministic ontology that the universe can be explained in terms of set physical laws, and with the attached notion that there are demarcation criteria that can distinguish science from non-science. For example, Popper famously proposed falsifiability as the fundamental exemplar of such criteria using it to eliminate not only astrology, Marxism and psychoanalysis as non-sciences, but also evolutionary theory. In the case of indigenous knowledges, it has been argued that they are only worthy of consideration if they pass the critical criteria of having the capacity to be rendered commensurable and, hence, capable of assimilation into the corpus of unified scientific knowledge. The problem here is the supposition that science is the one true form of knowledge and that it is unified. There are cogent arguments and narratives that portray science as disunified, and for the pluralistic view of this conference that there are multiple universes, multiple ontologies, multiple spatialities and temporalities, and multiple knowledges.[14]

In ordinary usage, criticism is judgement or interpretation. Constructive criticism consists of friendly, well-formed evaluations that attempt to put the work or concepts in question into context. The richest form of criticism is critique that attempts to provide the social and historical context for a theory, a

[12] Revkin, A. (2005). Ex-oil Man Puts Spin on US Climate Papers. *The Age.* Melbourne**:** 11.

[13] Boast, Robin, Michael Bravo, and Ramesh Srinivasen. (2006 forthcoming). Return to Babel: Emergent Diversity, Digital Resources, and Local Knowledge. *Information, Communication and Society*. http://polaris.gseis.ucla.edu/srinivasan/research/BoastBravoSrinivasan-ReturntoBabelICS.pdf

[14] Galison, Peter, and David Stump, eds. (1996). *The Disunity of Science: Boundaries, Contexts and Power*. Stanford: Stanford university Press; Turnbull, D. (2004). Travel, Narrative and Space in the Production of Unified Knowledge. In H. Heinze & C. Weller (Eds.), *Worlds of Reading: Festschrift for Walter Viet*. Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang**,** pp. 203–222.

knowledge claim, or a concept; it is an attempt to provide an explanation of how and why the theory/work takes the form it does and how and why it comes to be evaluated the way it is. According to the Wikipedia entry on criticism, 'A critique is a systematic inquiry into the conditions and consequences of a concept or set of concepts, and an attempt to understand its limitations'[15], yet critique tends to be negative and to ignore the reflexive requirement that it also be able to critique itself.[16] Critique also needs to be generative, to move from probabilities to possibilities. Hence, criticism/critique is a form of strategic connectivity in which the knowledge tradition and its evaluations co-produce each other in a continuous process of adaptation. This would make knowledge production a process like Maturana and Varela's conception of life itself, as an adaptive cognitive process of making connections,[17] as a process in which knowledges are emergent.

An artificial analogue for this biological process is the Wikipedia, the online encyclopedia in which anyone can make an entry and anyone can edit an entry. Contrary to what you might expect the quality and number of articles in the Wikipedia has grown exponentially, 500,000 or so in English alone. What allows for this growth in the wikipedia are emergent protocols of criticism and strategies of connection.[18] The criteria for what is accepted and how it is modified are not preordained, just like the content, they are emergent effects of the activities of the participants. I do not want to elaborate on the Wikipedia too much at this point, except to say that from my perspective what allows for its growth are strategies that encourage connection and protocols of criticism that are emergent, in that they result from a complex interaction between the robustness achieved through negative feedback, and the proliferation of multiplicity achieved through positive feedback.

In brief, what this suggests for both the indigenous groups and the members of academia who are trying to work with multiplicity—with new and emergent flows, with movements and assemblages— is the need to adopt a high risk strategy of connection (what Isabelle Stengers has called an ecology of practices[19]), to encourage emergence at all levels, to allow the protocols of criticism of differing traditions to collide and live in tension with one another so that their concealed ontologies and unasked questions become apparent.[20] It is high risk for all traditions since the forms of criticism will be emergent and unpredictable, but it is a risk worth taking, because it will reveal which strategies of connection the participants find most fruitful, and where the synergies are. Generative critique will

---

15 Wikipedia entry on criticism.

16 Massumi, B. (2002). *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham: Duke University Press, p. 12, states that as 'critical thinking disavows its own inventiveness as much as possible, the balance has to shift from negative critique, which uncovers something which it had no role in constructing. The balance has to shift to affirmative methods that embrace their own inventiveness.' In fact there is a whole school and burgeoning literature on critical thing which takes it for granted that clarity is all and has no concern with creating new connections, movements, or visibilities. See also Zournazi, M. (2002). *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. Annandale NSW, Pluto Press, Navigating Movements; a conversation with Brian Massumi, p. 220.

17 Capra, F. (2003). *The Hidden Connections: A Science for Sustainable Living*. London, Flamingo.

18 'Strategies of connection' is Sandra Harding's very insightful suggestion: Harding, S. (2003). A World of Sciences. In R. Figueroa & S. Harding (Eds.), *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology*. New York, Routledge**:** 49–69, p 54, but see Wylie, A. (2003). Why Standpoint Matters. In R. Figueroa & S. Harding (Eds.) *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology*. New York: Routledge pp. 26–48 for a useful qualification of standpoint theory. Wylie argues that standpoint theory fails if it argues for epistemic privilege for a knowledge position and succeeds where its argues for a critical consciousness of the situated nature of knowledge production

19 Zournazi, M. (2002). *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. Annandale: Pluto Press. A 'Cosmo-Politics'—Risk, Hope, Change; a conversation with Isabelle Stengers, 244.

20 Muecke, S. (2004). *Ancient and Modern: Time, Culture, and Indigenous Philosophy*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, p. 165. Muecke cites and agrees with Christie and Perret's conclusion:
To some formal 'enlightenment' education as we know it represents the best chance for indigenous people to recoup the losses suffered under colonialism. But in the call for a pedagogy of secret English, we find aborigines demanding a very different kind of education, and one which entails the ongoing and situated critique of the very objectivism upon which the enlightenment depends. (Christie and Perrett, 63)
However there is little gained if this is not an open tension, Christie and Perret report in consultations on including aboriginal cultures in the university curriculum that Yolgnu elders wanted to restrict sacred knowledge *and* they demanded that secret English be taught. Secret English is where meaning or reference claims to exceed the context of production.

make working with multiplicity adaptive and allow the conditions for the possibility of cultural diversity being sustainable.[21]

## Performativity, meshing and ecologies of practice

And finally this complex multiplicitous perspective also suggests models for ways in which multiple and incommensurable traditions can work together in practice. The ecologist Ludwig suggested recently that the era of scientific management is over, stating that:

> Management fails when confronted with complex problems with no clearly defined objectives and mutually contradictory approaches each of which is plausible in a particular frame of reference.[22]

He claims we are confronted with 'wicked' problems like climate change, and conservation of species. Problems that 'have no definitive formulation, no stopping rules, no test for a solution.' That is, in terms of the discussion in this chapter, we now have problems where normal criticism criteria cannot be applied.

In his view 'ancient cultural practices of resource use are more than anthropological curiosities they are part of humanity's wealth of adaptations that can serve the contemporary world as well…We must do it in dialogue admitting limits of validity and role of values'.

Finally, I want to suggest a schema for the various models of the possibilities for interaction between all knowledge traditions both within science and between other indigenous traditions.
The two extreme positions are:

i) A separation or apartheid model based in radical incommensurability. Knowledge traditions are separated by different value systems and ontologies and can only be sustained by being kept isolated and distinct.
ii) The integration, assimilation or subsumption model based on radical commensurability. There is only one ontology—that of science; all other traditions have only one option—to be evaluated for what they can contribute. A model that is often found in the ethnoscience project and development studies.[23]

Two closely related models with differing emphases on degrees of commensurability:

iii) The 'meshing' model where complimentary traditions can work together in the style Fikret Berkes suggests. This model is based in weak commensurability and meshing is mediated through 'fuzzy logic', allowing the development of common problems and approaches based in practice-based learning and adaptation.[24]
iv) The dialogical/ecology of practices model based in weak incommensurability is closely related to the meshing model but with an important extra component. It suggests negotiating a third

---

[21] The concept of sustainability introduces a new form of critique in which the temporal range is dramatically altered to include the future. 'In the terms of the 1987 Brundtland Report, sustainability is: "Meeting the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs." This is very much like the "seventh generation" philosophy of the Native American Iroquois Confederacy, mandating that chiefs always consider the effects of their actions on their descendants through the seventh generation in the future.' Wikipedia on sustainability.

[22] Ludwig, D. (2001). The Era of Management is Over. *Ecosystems* 4: 758–764.

[23] Many of the debates around this issue are usefully discussed in the trio of volumes edited by Bicker Sillitoe and Pottier see Sillitoe, Paul (2002). Participant Observation to Participant Development: Making Anthropology Work. In P. Sillitoe, A. Bicker & J. Pottier (Eds.) *Participating in Development: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge*. . London: Routledge, pp. 1–23.

[24] Moller, Henrik, Berkes, Fikret, et al. (2004). Combining Science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Monitoring Populations for Co-Management. *Ecology and Society* 9 (3): art 2 online http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol19/iss3/art2/Synthesis; Gadgil, M., Berkes, F., et al. (1993). "Indigenous Knowledge for Biodiversity Conservation." *Ambio* 22(2–3): 151–6; Berkes, F., & Folke, C. (2002). Back to the Future: Ecosystem Dynamics and Local Knowledge. In C. S. Holling & L. Gunderson (Eds.), *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems*. Washington: Island Press, pp. 121–46.

interstitial space where experimental events and encounters can occur. In such an in-between space, the performative, narrative dimensions of differing ontologies can be held in tension, along with differing criteria of evaluation.[25] The complex layering of the *Māori* concept of *whakapapa*, that Roberts discusses, reveals just such narrative tensions between the *tikanga* (customary practices) and the transgressive possibilities suggested by Māui-pōtiki, leading to an underlying dynamic balance in the Māori "precautionary principle" often expressed in the saying, *"Kia tūpato*": (Be careful).[26]

The difference between the last two models lies in the emphasis on the performative and adaptive nature of the dialogic- and practice-based interaction and the consequent emergent nature of the criteria of criticism and knowledge. While I would clearly advocate the fourth model, there may on occasions be strategic reasons for adopting one of the alternatives. What matters in the long run is the recognition of the value of criticism and the encouragement of the dynamic interaction of multiple modes of criticism.

## Bibliography


Berkes, F., & C. Folke (2002). Back to the Future: Ecosystem Dynamics and Local Knowledge. In C. S. Holling & L. Gunderson (Eds.), *Panarchy: Understanding Transformations in Human and Natural Systems*. Washington: Island Press, pp. 121–46.),

Capra, F. (2003). *The Hidden Connections: A Science for Sustainable Living*. London, Flamingo.

Dei, G. S., Hall, B., et al. (Eds.) (2000). Indigenous *Knowledges in Global Contexts: Multiple Readings of Our World*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press;

Ellen, R., & Harris, H. (2000). Introduction. In R. Ellen, P. Parkes & A. Bicker (Eds.) *Indigenous Environmental Knowledge and its Transformations: Critical Anthropological Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, pp. 1–34.

Gadgil, M., Berkes, F., et al. (1993). "Indigenous Knowledge for Biodiversity Conservation." *Ambio 22*(2–3), 151–6;

Harding, S. (2003). A World of Sciences. In R. Figueroa & S. Harding (Eds.), *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology*. New York, Routledge: 49–69, p 54.

Holmes, B. (2004). Barcode Me. *New Scientist 182*, 32–5, p. 34.

Holmes, B., & Randerson, J. (2005). A Sceptic's Guide to Intelligent Design. *New Scientist, 187*(2507), pp. 10–12.

Ingold T, (2000), *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*. Routledge: London.

Ludwig, D. (2001). The Era of Management is Over. *Ecosystems 4*, pp. 758–764.

McNiven, I., & Russell, L. (2005). *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*. Lanham: Alta Mira Press.

Massumi, B. (2002). *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham: Duke University Press, p. 12,

Mead, H. M. (2003). Tikanga Māori*: Living By Māori Values*. Wellington: Huia Publications.

Moller, Henrik, Berkes, Fikret, et al. (2004). Combining Science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge: Monitoring Populations for Co-Management. *Ecology and Society* 9 (3): art 2 online http://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol19/iss3/art2/Synthesis

Muecke, S. (2004). *Ancient and Modern: Time, Culture, and Indigenous Philosophy*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, p. 165.

Nanda, M. (2003). *Prophets Facing Backwards: Postmodern Critiques of Science and Hindu Nationalism in India*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, p.127.

Popper, K. (1950). *The Open Society and its Enemies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press


[25] Turnbull, D. (2003). *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
Turnbull, D. (2004). Narrative Traditions of Space, Time and Trust in Court: *Terra Nullius,* The *Yorta Yorta* Native Title Claim, and The Hindmarsh Island Bridge Controversy. In G. Edmond (Ed.), *Expertise in Regulation and Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate**,** pp. 166–83.

[26] Roberts et al (2004). On *tikanga* (customary practices) see also Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living By Māori Values*. Wellington: Huia Publications. Rip worries the concept may be overly protectionist and lead to a closed shop i.e. an apartheid in which Māori knowledge is effectively ignored. He argues for agonistic learning with robustness and some degree of mobility, see Rip, A. (2003). Constructing Expertise: In a Third Wave of Science Studies. *Social Studies of Science* 33(3): 419–34.

Popper, K. (1963). *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*. London: Routledge.
Reardon, J. (2001). The Human Genome Diversity Project: A Case Study in Co-production. *Social Studies of Science 31*(3), pp. 357–88.
Revkin, A. (2005). Ex-oil Man Puts Spin on US Climate Papers. *The Age.* Melbourne: 11.
Rip, A. (2003). Constructing Expertise: In a Third Wave of Science Studies. *Social Studies of Science 33*(3), pp. 419–34.
Roberts, M., Haami, B., et al. (2004). Whakapapa as a Māori Mental Construct: Some Implications for the Debate over Genetic Modification of Organisms. *The Contemporary Pacific 16*(1): 1–28, 1.
Semali, L. & Kincheloe, J. (Eds.) (1999). Introduction: What is Indigenous Knowledge and Why Should We Study It? *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*. New York: Falmer Press, pp. 3–58.
Sillitoe, Paul (2002). Participant Observation to Participant Development: Making Anthropology Work. In P. Sillitoe, A. Bicker & J. Pottier (Eds.) *Participating in Development: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge*. . London: Routledge, pp. 1–23.
Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonising Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. London: Zed Books.
Turnbull, D. (2004). Travel, Narrative and Space in the Production of Unified Knowledge. In H. Heinze & C. Weller (Eds.), *Worlds of Reading: Festschrift for Walter Viet*. Frankfurt Am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 203–222.
Turnbull D. (2003), *Assemblage and Diversity: Working with Incommensurability: Emergent Knowledge, Narrativity, Performativity, Mobility and Synergy,* unpublished manuscript.
Turnbull, D. (2003). *Masons, Tricksters and Cartographers: Comparative Studies in the Sociology of Scientific and Indigenous Knowledge*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge.
Turnbull, D. (2004). Narrative Traditions of Space, Time and Trust in Court: *Terra Nullius,* The *Yorta Yorta* Native Title Claim, and The Hindmarsh Island Bridge Controversy. In G. Edmond (Ed.), *Expertise in Regulation and Law*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 166–83.
Harry, D. (2005). *Indigenous Peoples Oppose National Geographic & IBM Genetic Research Project that Seeks Indigenous Peoples' DNA*. (Press release). Auckland: Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism.
Logan, B. (2003). *Civil society vital for democracy and freedom*. **(**Press Release). Auckland: Maxim Institute.
Viergever, M. (1999). Indigenous Knowledge: An Interpretation of Views from Indigenous People. In L. Semali & J. Kincheloe (Eds.), *What is Indigenous Knowledge? Voices from the Academy*. New York: Falmer Press, pp. 333–359.
Watson-Verran, H. & Turnbull, D. (1995). Science and Other Indigenous Knowledge Systems. In S. Jasanoff, G. Markle, T. Pinch & J. Petersen (Eds.), *Handbook of Science and Technology Studies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications pp. 115–139.
Wikipedia entry on criticism. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism
Wikipedia on sustainability. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainability
Wylie, A. (2003). Why Standpoint Matters. In R. Figueroa & S. Harding (Eds.) *Science and Other Cultures: Issues in Philosophies of Science and Technology*. New York: Routledge pp. 26–48.
Zournazi, M. (2002). *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. Annandale NSW, Pluto Press, Navigating Movements; a conversation with Brian Massumi, p. 220.
Zournazi, M. (2002). *Hope: New Philosophies for Change*. Annandale: Pluto Press. A 'Cosmo-Politics'—Risk, Hope, Change; a conversation with Isabelle Stengers, p. 244.

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *kia tūpato* | be careful |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *tikanga* | customary practices |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |

# You say you've listened, but have you heard? Lessons learnt by pakeke and rangatahi researchers about research on rangatahi hauora

**Justina Webster, Wheturangi Walsh-Tapiata, Te Rina Warren, Dylan Kiriona along with rangatahi researchers**
Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi Research Unit, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc.

## Introduction

"The view that youth are passive individuals waiting for adulthood has served to deny the possibility of young people exercising agency over their lives, making their own experiences and being engaged in purposeful and strategic analysis of social structures" (Tuhiwai Smith, Smith, Boler, Kempton, Ormond, Cheuh & Waetford, 2002, p. 177). This is further compounded when Māori, in common with other indigenous peoples find their youth are faced with considerable social issues. While there have been many attempts to address these issues, there has been limited involvement directly from *rangatahi Māori* (Māori youth) and their communities. Generally, the Māori experience has shown that research at best is often viewed with contempt and at the very least suspicion (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; Walsh Tapiata, 1997). Historically, Māori have been subjected to Western constructions of knowledge that have had detrimental effects for them (Walker, 1996; Pihama, 1994). *Rangatahi Māori* are therefore doubly disadvantaged given that they are Māori and subject to all the ills of *te ao Māori* (the Māori world). *Rangatahi Māori* are therefore labelled "at risk" without any consideration of listening to their own stories as a means of creating positive solutions to issues.

This research offers opportunities for *rangatahi* to define what *hauora* (well-being) means for them to have the opportunity to be researchers and play a central role in the research process, to work alongside *pakeke* (adults) to write and deliver findings to various forums, and to offer a contribution to youth *hauora* and youth development that directly impacts on the lives of *rangatahi Māori*.

This research team 'Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi' is discovering with each step of the research journey that *rangatahi Māori* should not be denied the opportunity to exercise agency over their lives and therefore they play an important role as researchers and participants in the research project, and in turn unique approaches to the research have developed.

## Background to the research

In 2002, Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Incorporated secured funding from the Health Research Council (HRC) and the Foundation for Research Science and Technology (FRST). The research was to look at the health and well-being of *rangatahi Māori*. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa was chosen to umbrella the project because it is an *iwi* (tribal) organisation that had a strong presence throughout the Manawatū, Horowhenua and Kāpiti areas; it had established health and social services and was interested in expanding into research and development. In addition, in order to strengthen the *iwi* position collaborative relationships with a number of stakeholders were integral to the development and on-going operation of this research project. The creation of an advisory committee which represented a variety of interest groups was developed to oversee the project. Initial advice was sought from Professor Mason Durie and Professor Whatarangi Winiata as recognised exponents in the *iwi* and research terrains, both of whom would then nominate representatives on the advisory committee. Other advisory committee members came from Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Inc executive, the School of Sociology, Social Policy and Social Work (Massey University), Te Mana Tuku Iho, Highbury Whānau Centre and Wesley Community Action. Several *rangatahi* are also represented on the advisory committee. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa has previously established relationships with all of these groups, but this project offered yet another opportunity to strengthen the relationship between the various organisations. In one instance a Memorandum of Understanding was established.

The project would be undertaken within the geographical boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa, but would include *rangatahi Māori* from any *iwi*. Given that the research was being conducted under the auspices

of Te Rūnanga o Raukawa there was a real possibility for *whānau* (family groups), *hapū* (sub-tribes) and *iwi* focus. While this might intimate bias on one level, on another it should be seen as a unique opportunity to gather information from within a *whānau*/*hapū*/*iwi* domain.

Most research is still conducted within research institutions or universities, but *iwi* and Māori individuals and organisations have aspired to be in control of their own research, believing that they could rectify the negative imagery long seen as an outcome of research by having strong strengths and solutions focussed research. This research, the research topic, the researchers and the *iwi* organisation offer various opportunities to create new relationships, methods and research findings to the field of *rangatahi Māori* and *hauora*. The two methods that have underpinned this research project are:

1. participatory action research which suggests a process which results in social change for those the research is about
2. *Kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophies and methodologies) that addresses the research from a uniquely Māori world view.

## Research approaches

1. Participatory action research sets out to "create new forms of knowledge through a creative synthesis of the different understandings and experiences of those who take part" (Rice and Ezzy, 1999, p. 173). Therefore, this research allows *rangatahi Māori* as researchers and participants the opportunity to convey their own experiences in a manner that hopefully impacts positively on their own health and well-being. Participatory action research also attempts to achieve *rangatahi* desired outcomes by valuing the experiences of the participants and giving *rangatahi* a sense of ownership over the research. A commitment to integrated *rangatahi* involvement meant ensuring that the process was appropriate to the *rangatahi* participants, and empowered *rangatahi* to see themselves as agents of change within their own contexts (Munford and Walsh-Tapiata, 2001). A research project that undertakes participatory action research also requires a combination of active participation, education and collective action with and by *rangatahi*. 'Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi' has a team of researchers with very diverse backgrounds, with both adults and *rangatahi* who are fully committed to this project. It has been important however that the team has a clear understanding of the particular research approaches utilised in the project and there is regular reflection of this across the whole project.

2. *Kaupapa Māori* research has a myriad of interpretations, each different and unique to the particular circumstances though there are also some common threads to this indigenous philosophy. Perhaps the most overarching notion is that *Kaupapa Māori* is unique to Māori and challenges the ideologies of cultural superiority by looking towards the development of a philosophy that takes into account being and acting Māori, it is grounded in a Māori world view, and it takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture, as well as being concerned with the 'struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being' (Graham Smith cited in Mead, 1996, p. 202). It is research 'over which Māori maintain conceptual, design, methodological and interpretative control' (Smith, 1995, p. 1), that acknowledges the diverse realities of Māori (Durie, 1994), and that centres Māori values, attitudes and practices in research by ensuring that they are not lost amongst westernised labels (Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999); given that "there is still not enough literature, guidance around issues that concern indigenous communities, minority group researchers, carrying out research within their own communities" (Smith, 1995, p. 8). *Kaupapa Māori* research has offered a culturally acceptable approach in which to work through some of these issues. Unfortunately there is even less knowledge that pertains to *rangatahi Māori* and therefore this approach is appropriate as it allows research to be undertaken with *rangatahi Māori* while creating unique methods as a part of the research process.

## Tikanga Māori

Within a *Kaupapa Māori* perspective one of the challenges for the research team has been an understanding and the application of *tikanga* (customary practices). *Tikanga* being 'the way things are done according to Māori custom' (Mead, 2003, p. 11). They are the practices, customs and/or habits of the individual or the collective. Mead suggests that *tikanga* is most publicly associated to negative actions of the individual, but that *tikanga* should be acknowledged and further utilised to produce positive outcomes, especially in contemporary times where 'Māori society is subject to every temptation that is known to the Western world' (Mead, 2003, p. 247). In the research context *tikanga* offers a set of guidelines about how research might or might not occur, ultimately leading towards positive outcomes for Māori communities.

A number of Māori researchers such as (Durie, 1994; Mead, 1996; Ruwhiu, 1994; Smith, 1995; 2003; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999) have written about principles that they believe should underpin quality research in the *Iwi*/Māori terrain. Arohia Durie believes that these principles are all informed by *tikanga*. The principles are:

- *mana* (authority) ensuring the individual and collective *mana* of the group is maintained (a principle also supported by writers like Ruwhiu and Winiata)
- *mauri* (life principle) or special character acknowledging that tribal intellectual knowledge is accepted and upheld
- *mahitahi* (co-operation) between the research and the researched to ensure shared monitoring of the process is maintained, and
- *māramatanga* (understanding) that a positive contribution to the expressed needs and aspirations of Māori are accomplished (cited in Jahnke and Taiapa, 2003, p. 46).

Graham Smith offers other principles which include knowledge and understanding of concepts such as *whakapapa* (genealogy), *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*, *te reo Māori* (the Māori language), *tikanga* and *rangatiratanga* (self determination) (cited in Mead, 1996). Mead (1996, pp. 210-213) suggests that:

- *aroha ki te tangata* (a respect for people)
- *kanohi kitea* (to have a physical presence)
- *titiro*, *whakarongo… korero* (look, listen… speak)
- *manaaki tangata* (look after people)
- *kia tupato* (be cautious)
- *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* (do not trample over the integrity of people), and
- *kia māhaki* (be humble)

are all principles that are important in the research terrain of Māori. These writers (amongst others) all believe that when undertaking research in Māori communities you must have a set of *tikanga* or principles that guide your practice, and in this instance the principles are derived from a Māori world view.

The *rangatahi* researchers involved in this project believe that *tikanga* offers not only a foundation in which to undertake the research, but in turn allows unique and distinctive methods to be established as a part of the research process. This article considers some of the methods used by this research project, which utilises aspects of *tikanga*.

*Tikanga* has been important to this research process with the principles guiding safe practice as researchers in *iwi*/Māori and *rangatahi* terrains. *Iwi* manage the research project and all the researchers and participants are Māori, so it is not unusual to see a Māori paradigm such as *tikanga* as a guide to the practice, however, it should not be assumed that *tikanga* principles are a give in. The influence of Western research and the continuing development of Māori research methods appropriate to the context mean that the use of *tikanga* needs a purposeful choice in research projects and to be constantly reviewed in terms of use of development of ideas. Each step and stage of this project has had to be negotiated in terms of the appropriate use of *tikanga*, given the particular *iwi* context and the age group that are the focus of the research.

## Methods

### *Recruiting Rangatahi*

In order to recruit *rangatahi* researchers, cultural processes were utilised (attending marae and *hapū* meetings, hui *rangatahi*, talking with adults and Māori organisations) rather than the conventional means of advertising in newspapers. Te Rūnanga o Raukawa was one of the organisations approached to recommend *rangatahi* from within their *hapū*. One *koroua* (male elder) from this forum used his *whakapapa* connections and wrote a list of *rangatahi* from the seven *marae* (focal meeting place of kinship groups) he was connected to. We then visited all the families and explained about the research project and said that someone would be contacting the *rangatahi*. Acting as a go-between he ensured easy access to the *whānau* and the *rangatahi*. Several of the *rangatahi* that ended up as *rangatahi* researchers came to the project as a result of this process. These *rangatahi* had choices for two completely different reasons, on one hand they were told by their *whānau* and their *koroua* that they should become involved with this research, but were also told by the research team that it was their personal choice as to whether they became involved in the project. While it might be perceived that there was *whānau*/*koroua* pressure, these *rangatahi* have since expressed appreciation that their *koroua* had the foresight to approach them as they now realise that involvement in this project has provided a number of opportunities for them. Recently this *koroua* retired from his job of working with youth in his community and now keeps the *paepae* (orator's bench) warm at his *marae*. However, he remains critically conscious of the need to have young people following in his footsteps. He chairs the advisory committee responsible for the research oversight of the project, regularly visits the project and more recently this *koroua* supported one of his *mokopuna* (grandchildren) to successfully apply for a research position in the team. Regular visits to the project also provide him with feedback about all of his *mokopuna* involved in the project.

A number of Māori youth organisations were also invited to recommend *rangatahi* between the ages of 15-24 years who might be interested in being involved as *rangatahi* researchers on this project. Adults in the research team, given their knowledge of *rangatahi* in the geographical area also approached *rangatahi* they knew or knew about. There was also a second phase of *rangatahi* recruitment where the current *rangatahi* researchers used a form of snow-balling (Patton, 2002) to recommend further *rangatahi* who might be interested in the project.

*Rangatahi* were invited to an initial *hui* (meeting) to hear about the research project. *Rangatahi* who attended this *hui* were already involved in youth related activities such as youth councils and youth leadership programmes or simply *"because koro said"*. About a dozen *rangatahi* became involved in the research working alongside two adults. No *rangatahi* was turned away, however, along the way three *rangatahi* left the project, one having obtained permanent employment, one moved and one didn't return to further *hui*.

In establishing the team there needed to be an awareness of the various activities that the *rangatahi* were already involved in given the importance of the inclusion of their voice at every stage of the research as well as training them in the various aspects of research, their timetables would play a critical role in when the interviews were undertaken (mainly during school holidays). Regular *hui* were also held to update the *rangatahi* of the research progress and to inform them of any up and coming events as part of their ongoing commitment to the group in any given month.

Having consolidated the group of *rangatahi* researchers, the project then identified possible *rangatahi* groups to approach who might be interested in participating in the research. A matrix of the range of *rangatahi* groups in the geographical area was designed using variables such as urban-rural based, differing educational settings, gender and high-low risk *rangatahi*. A number of groups were then identified. In conjunction with advice from the research advisory committee six groups were chosen to approach in order to gauge their interest in participating in the project, inclusive of focus group and individual interviews in the first phase. All six groups that were approached agreed to participate in the project and were based within the *iwi* boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa and the surrounding community. *Whakapapa* connections played a critical role in accessing some of the organisations. It was not always a guarantee but in some instances it was a foot in the door for gaining access to groups of *rangatahi*. Three of the organisations were *iwi* or *hapū* based organisations, two others were urban based, but acknowledged Ngāti Raukawa as one of the *tangata whenua* (indigenous people) in the area of Kapiti-

Horowhenua-Manawatū-Rangitikei. The final group also had a relationship with Ngāti Raukawa given that they were situated in the Ngāti Raukawa *rohe* (geographical area) were rural and were known to some of the researchers. The groups included a school, an *iwi* education programme, a small rural town youth programme, a leadership programme and two alternative education programmes, one based in a city and the other based at a *marae*. All of the organisations were *Iwi* or Māori groups.

Having gained access from the organisations was one part of a process with the other part being the consideration and approval of the *rangatahi* from the group to be participants. Where possible we asked to meet with the *rangatahi*, spoke to them about the research, used our *rangatahi* researchers to run exercises which helped ensure *rangatahi* appropriate approaches, and then finishing with an exercise where they could indicate their interest in being involved. While we gained adult approval from the organisations, *rangatahi* approval would ensure participants. The formal and informal relationships established between the various parties were pivotal in ensuring numbers for the interviews. The specifics of our research tender stated that we would work specifically with *iwi*/Māori youth organisations. We became aware that this had the potential to be perceived as bias, however on the flip side this project offered a unique opportunity for Māori organisations and *rangatahi Māori* to be the central point of concern, rather than an add on or a small part of a much larger project.

***Rangatahi-pakeke relationships***

The Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa or New Zealand (Ministry of Youth Affairs, 2002) highlights the importance of the youth voice in any youth development. Having adults who are committed to this principle is extremely important and vital for the success of this project. The adults involved have strongly advocated for the youth voice to be heard throughout every phase of the project, and have a consciousness of the importance of the role of young people however, in addition the *rangatahi* monitor the project as well as the adults from their perspective. For the adults it is a daily challenge working with *rangatahi* and at their pace.

As Tuhiwai Smith et al (2002, p. 170), states "youth have insightful views and analyses of our society, have solutions to offer and would be willing to voice those if invited". This research endeavours to listen to and hear the voice of *rangatahi Māori*, to allow them to mould the shape of the research as well as developing youth appropriate research methods. This project also set out to involve *rangatahi* in a research process that was driven by them and to encourage them to voice their opinions. For many this was a foreign experience. The combination of young people and adults has ensured joint ownership and has given us "the confidence that our research was well grounded and reflected the daily reality of participants' experiences" (Munford and Sanders, 2003, p. 103).

In addition to a youth development perspective there has also been a *tikanga* process in relation to *rangatahi-pakeke* relationships. Each adult has had to establish what their relationship is with that particular *rangatahi* or group of *rangatahi*. While some *pakeke* may have waited to identify the nature of their relationship with the *rangatahi*, the *rangatahi* clearly stated what these relationships would be. For example the project manager was called *Whaea* (mother or aunt) by all of the *rangatahi* (whatever their age). Some of this may have been in respect to her position, but for many of the *rangatahi* she was known to be of their parents' generation. While the two faces of the coin once again show a youth development perspective on one side and a *tikanga* perspective on the other, both can be compatible given open and honest relationships with all parties.

***Focus group interviews***

The use of qualitative research methods such as focus group interviews and in-depth individual interviews enabled the experiences and stories of the young people to be explored. Reinharz (1988, pp. 15-16) further states that "…if you want to hear it, you have to go hear it, in their space, or in a safe space". It was important that the participants feel comfortable in sharing their experiences and stories so "safe spaces" had to be identified in order for the researchers to "hear it like it is" (Tuhiwai Smith et al, 2002). Like other adolescents, *rangatahi Māori* have grown up with fallacies that age, life experience and skills are barriers to their active participation in finding positive solutions to their *hauora* issues. This project offered the opportunity to demystify these myths and empower *rangatahi* to have their voice heard.

In phase one of the research, focus group interviews were conducted. In order to ensure that the interview schedule was youth focused and youth driven training sessions were held that looked at the types of questions that would be asked and the kinds of activities that would keep youth engaged. All aspects of the interview schedule were piloted with the youth researchers and adapted accordingly. In developing the questions it was important for the young people to have input to ensure that the questions were contextualised within their own experiences and informed by their knowledge of what works or doesn't work when researching young Māori. These methods and exercises allowed information to be gathered in a way that was youth friendly and non-threatening.

The interview for each focus group was undertaken jointly by both *rangatahi* and adults. The focus group interview included a range of information gathering mediums such as ice breakers, brainstorming or mind mapping, group activities and an individual exercise called the 'secret box' (Punch, 2002). Durie (1996) maintains that it is important to find methods that are appropriate in the design of the project that incorporates a Māori world view and reflects the diversity of Māori. Although many of the methods used may not particularly appear to be methodologically 'Māori', having participants and researchers who are both Māori and *rangatahi* have resulted in methods that are appropriate in this context. The group process and the different methods still enabled information rich data to be gathered.

The practice of *tikanga* is perhaps rarely acknowledged in a project where all concerned are Māori because practices such as *karakia* (prayers) or *mihimihi* (greetings), are seen as integral or natural processes. *Tikanga* processes like those identified by the fore mentioned writers were also used in the research interviews with each focus group session beginning with a *karakia* and *mihimihi*. *Whakawhanaungatanga* (building relationships) began through *mihimihi* where *rangatahi* were able to make *whakapapa* links to others in the group as well as stating where they were from. Many stated with pride their connections to *hapū* and *marae* while others still understood the basic *mihimihi* process and could at least acknowledge who they were. Given our knowledge of some of the participants and the adult-*rangatahi* relationships, we encouraged the *rangatahi* to feel comfortable about the use of *te reo Māori*. This was important given that for some English was their second language and it was a means of also validating the use of their own language in yet another setting. Warm up exercises also encouraged *whakawhanaungatanga* to occur within the group. These *whakawhanaungatanga* processes were seen as being similar to team building activities. Such activities were designed to create a safe environment and breakdown initial barriers, especially if *rangatahi* did not know each other well as was the case in one group. The cultural importance of sharing food was also encouraged. Our *rangatahi* researchers advised us that in order to ensure youth participation it was vital to provide food at all of the focus groups. This meant that the research team comprised of an adult and *rangatahi* researcher conducting the focus group interview with other team members were out the back preparing food. An overall balance of the research process was ensured, '*ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai o ki muri'* (by combining the wisdom of seniority and the exuberance of youth, success can be better achieved).

While focus group interviews looked at the broader interpretations of *hauora* it also provided *rangatahi* researchers with the opportunity to utilise the facilitation skills that they already possessed as well as those that they had learnt in the training sessions. In the earlier sessions adults who had dominated the facilitation of the interview began to step into the background as the young people stepped up and took over with the support of the adults involved. *Rangatahi* moved from assisting in the questions, handing out the materials and setting up of equipment to fully facilitating the sessions. The activities used promoted peer interaction and conversation while also enabling youth researchers to track which topics had been addressed and which ones still needed attention. As a research process a true partnership was being created.

All *rangatahi*, whether they were *rangatahi* researchers or participants, appeared to be comfortable with these types of *tikanga* processes. Given the diverse backgrounds of those participating in the research, this created some surprise, particularly with regard to of the so-called high risk *rangatahi* who were participating. On reflection it was acknowledged that all of the organisations involved have strong *tikanga* foundations in their everyday practice. The fact that simple indigenous processes could easily be followed by those participating in the project suggests that there is a level of consciousness around '*tikanga Māori*' (Māori customary practices) and an understanding as to what is expected of the individual at certain times.

There is an on-going debate about the validity of 'insider' research as opposed to 'outsider' research (Patton, 2002). This research is very much situated within the 'insider' terrain as both adults and *rangatahi* had *whakapapa* connections with many of those participating in the research. In addition, many of the *rangatahi* researchers came from one of the groups or had previously been a part of that organisation. It is the premise of this research group that being an insider ensured access; ensured strong relationships with those involved and provided information rich data from the participants. The research process also had participants asking us when we were coming back.

By using collaborative approaches with communities as well as methodologies that are both culturally and age appropriate, this project aims to work towards positive solutions with regards to *hauora* issues for *rangatahi Māori* and solutions that derive from *rangatahi* themselves. Involving *rangatahi Māori* in all aspects of the research process, from having representation on the advisory committee to being researchers or participants ensures that *rangatahi Māori* are actively engaged at all levels of the project. The active involvement of *tikanga* in part is associated to *rangatahi* ownership of the project invoking *rangatahi* to partake in their own *rangatiratanga* or right to determine and influence their own futures. The *tikanga* processes have naturally evolved in part because these are everyday processes that *rangatahi* use in their lives, because of their respect for the adults involved in the project who use *tikanga* processes in their everyday lives, because of the *tikanga* utilised by the groups interviewed and lastly because culturally appropriate processes are a purposeful element of research in this context.

## Conclusion

The preliminary findings of this research project have found that *rangatahi* solutions to *rangatahi* problems benefit from an element of what the youth have named as '*tikanga*'. What this '*tikanga*' encompasses in their eyes needs further investigation; however there is a general agreement that *tikanga* is a central *pou* (pillar) in the way this research has been conducted and it is important in providing possible solutions for addressing youth issues.

*Kaupapa Māori* research methods ensure that a cultural framework, inclusive of *tikanga* is central to this research project. In addition however participatory action research methods support a notion of 'by *rangatahi Māori* for *rangatahi Māori*' ensuring that *rangatahi Māori* is not only listened to but are also heard. This research acknowledges their potential and the *mana* of *rangatahi* as the future of the Māori world.

## Rangatahi researchers (Te Rōpu Whai) include:

Rīria Arapere, Hohua Arapere, Sharn Webster, Amokura Tapiata, Te Aniwaniwa Gotty, Hokowhitu Cook, Terewai Rikihana, Te Puawai Stretch-Logan, Kieran Brown, Rawiri Tapiata, Pita Savage, Areti Metuamate-Tuatini, Tiaria Ransfield, Michael Moses, Mihikore Davis, Istarnia Peachey, Kiriona Pene, Mahinaarangi Baker.

## Bibliography


Durie, M. (1994). Whaiora: Māori Health Development. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. (1996). *Characteristics of Māori Health Research.* Palmerston North, Massey University, New Zealand: Te Pūmanawa Hauora.

International Indian Treaty Council. (2002). Conference Resolution Youth Commission, International Indian Treaty Council Conference, Wednesday 6th – Saturday 9th February 2002, Kahutapu Marae, Wairoa, Tauranga Moana. http://www.treatycouncil.org/section_211513112.htm.

Jahnke, H., & Taiapa, J. (2003). Māori Research. In C. Davidson & M. Tolich (eds) (2003). *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding.* Auckland, New Zealand: Pearson Education New Zealand Limited.

Mead, H. M. (1992). *The mandate of leadership and the decision making process*. Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.

Mead, H. & Grove, N. (2001). *Ngā Pēpeha a ngā Tīpuna.* Victoria University Press: Wellington.

Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values.* Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
Mead, L. (1996). *Ngā Aho o Te Kākahu Matauranga: The Multiple Layers of Struggle by Māori in Education.* Doctor of Philosophy in Education, Auckland, New Zealand: The University of Auckland.
Ministry of Youth Affairs (2002). *Youth Development Literature Review: Building Strength,* Wellington, Ministry of Youth Affairs.
Ministry of Youth Affairs (2002). *Youth Development Strategy Aotearoa: Action for Child And Youth Development*, Wellington: Ministry of Youth Affairs.
Munford, R. & Sanders, J. (2003). In C. Davidson & M. Tolich (eds) (2003). *Social Science Research in New Zealand: Many Paths to Understanding.* Auckland: Pearson Education New Zealand Limited.
Munford, R., & Walsh-Tapiata, W. (2001). *Strategies for Change: Community Development in Aotearoa/ New Zealand.* Palmerston North: Massey University.
Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Punch, S. (2002).Interviewing Strategies with Young People: the 'Secret Box'. Stimulus Material and Task-based Activities. *Children and Society, 16*, pp. 45-56.
Reinharz, S. (1988). *Social Research Methods: Feminist Perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Rice, P., & Ezzy, D. (1999/2001). *Qualitative Research Methods: A Health Focus.* Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press.
Ruwhiu, L. (1994). "Māori Development and social work". In R. Munford & M. Nash (Eds.), Social Work in Action. Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Limited. pp.126-143.
Smith, L. (1995). Re-centering kaupapa Māori research. Paper presented at Te Matawhanui Conference, School of Māori Studies, Massey University.
Stirling, E. (1980). *The teachings of a Māori elder / Eruera Stirling as told to Anne Salmond.* Wellington: Oxford University Press.
Te Puni Kōkiri. (2000). *Progress towards closing social and economic gaps between Māori and non-Māori. A report to the Minister of Māori Affairs, May 2000.* Wellington: Te Puni Kōkiri.
Tuhiwai – Smith, L. (1999). *Decolonising methodologies research and indigenous peoples.* Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
Tuhiwai Smith, L., Smith, G., Boler, M., Kempton, M., Ormond, A., Cheuh, H., & Waetford, R. (2002). 'Do You Guys Hate Aucklanders Too?: Youth Voicing Difference from the Rural Heartland'. *Journal of Rural Studies, 18,* pp. 169-178.
United Nations Youth Unit. (N.D). *Leaflet No. 9: Indigenous Children and Youth*. http://www.unhchr.ch/html/racism/indileaflet9.doc. Last accessed 14 June 2005.
United Nations Youth Unit. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/wyr05.htm
Walker, R. (1996). *Ngā pepa a Ranginui - the Walker papers*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
Walsh-Tapiata, W. (1997). *Raukawa Social Services: Origins and Future Directions.* A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Social Work. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Massey University.
Youth Report. (2005). http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N04/635/83/PDF/N0463583.pdf?OpenElement

## Glossary

| | |
|---|---|
| *hapū* | sub-tribe(s) |
| *hauora* | well-being |
| *hui* | meeting |
| *iwi* | tribe(s), tribal |
| *karakia* | prayers |
| *koroua / koro* | male elder |
| *mana* | authority |
| *marae* | focal meeting place of kinship groups |
| *mihimihi* | greetings, acknowledgements |
| *mokopuna* | grandchild/grandchildren |
| *pakeke* | adult(s) |
| *paepae* | orator's bench |
| *pou* | pillar |
| *rangatiratanga* | self determination |
| *rohe* | geographical area |
| *tangata whenua* | indigenous people |
| *tikanga* | customary practices |
| *whaea* | mother, aunt or female adult |
| *whakapapa* | genealogy |
| *whānau* | family groups |
| *whakawhanaungatanga* | to create or build relationships between people |

## Phrases and sayings

| | |
|---|---|
| *aroha ki te tangata* | a respect for people |
| *kanohi kitea* | to have a physical presence |
| *kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata* | do not trample over the integrity of people |
| *Kaupapa Māori* | Māori philosophies and methodologies |
| *kia māhaki* | be humble |
| *kia tupato* | be cautious |
| *manaaki tangata* | look after people |
| *Ko te amorangi ki mua, ko te hāpai o ki muri.* | By combining the wisdom of seniority and the exuberance of youth, success can be better achieved. |
| *rangatahi Māori* | Māori youth |
| *te reo Māori* | the Māori language |
| *tikanga Māori* | Māori practices |
| *titiro, whakarongo… korero* | look, listen… speak |

# Indigenous strategies for human sustainability

**Janice Whitney Annunziata**
United States Environmental Protection Agency

> We the Haudenosaunee are one of the indigenous peoples of North America. For decades, our territories have been impacted with transboundary pollution from surrounding industries and non-native settlements. Our subsistence economy and entire ecosystem has been transformed, requiring considerable economic, social and political adjustment.
>
> The Haudenosaunee, bring our case to the United Nations to draw international attention to the environmental issues affecting the indigenous communities of North America.[1]

And so the Elders led the Haudenosaunee people to the United Nations (UN), once again, on July the 18th, 1995. This visit was to convene a Summit to address environmental damage on Haudenosaunee territories. This UN visit by the Elders carries on a 50 year tradition by the Haudenosaunee, who have interfaced with the United Nations for its entire 50 years of existence, and who are familiar with the international laws and policies which are intended to benefit indigenous peoples.

One such international policy is the Declaration of Principles of Indigenous Rights, which was submitted by a coalition of indigenous Non Governmental Organisations at the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, in Panama. This Declaration of an indigenous right of self-determination emphasises the need for the world to recognise and respect the view of indigenous traditions, customs and culture; the need to give treaties full effect under national and international laws; and the need to give indigenous peoples their rightful equal place at the negotiating tables across the world.

In 1989, an Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention was adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation. They referenced the terms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention calls for action to be taken, to include measures which will ensure three things: (first) that indigenous peoples are on 'equal footing' in terms of rights and opportunities; (second) the promotion of social, economic and cultural rights of indigenous peoples' customs, traditions and institutions; and (third) assist indigenous people in eliminating socio-economic gaps by encouraging sustainable development. The Convention also addresses indigenous ownership of traditional lands and the right to participate in the use, management and conservation of natural resources.[2] Other areas addressed which may be of interest, include employment conditions, vocational training, social security and health and education.

Another international document of particular importance to indigenous peoples is Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 of the Rio Summit, which recognises and strengthens the role of indigenous peoples and communities. The Haudenosaunee People went to Rio and together with other indigenous Non Governmental Organisations, made a major contribution to the Rio Earth Summit in bringing about Chapter 26 of Agenda 21—the commitment of indigenous peoples to continue sustainable economic practices, and to provide strategies for sustainable development practices and coexistence which serve as models for the future survival of humanity on earth.

Agenda 21 is perhaps the most comprehensive statement on the range of human needs to be addressed in all sectors of society, and in all corners of the world. It is truly intended to energise global action, setting in motion a series of processes aimed at a number of critical issues that require specific attention, including human numbers, the social issues of poverty and equity, the dilemmas of

1. *Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy: An Indigenous Strategy for Human Sustainability*, Section(1), Introduction, p. 3, authored by Janice Whitney Annunziata, under the direction of and including contributions by the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (HETF). Several excerpts from this Strategy are included in this paper so no further citation is provided.
2. Convention Articles 14 and 15, p. 57.

developing, small-island states, the threats to ocean vitality due to over-exploitation of marine resources, land-based sources of pollution, and problems of consumption pattern and lifestyles.

Agenda 21 also forcefully addresses the problems facing indigenous peoples and outlines a series of features designed to align indigenous concerns with those of the international community, and give a fuller sense of urgency to these fundamental needs at the national level, as well as indigenous participation in issues which directly affect indigenous territories.

Chapter 26.5 of Agenda 21 recommends that international development and financial institutions and governments:

(1) Appoint a special focal point within each international organisation, and organise annual international coordination meetings with Governments and indigenous organisations. These meetings will develop a procedure within and between operational agencies to assist Governments to ensure the view of indigenous people is incorporated in the design and implementation of policies and programmes. Under this procedure, indigenous people and their communities should be informed and consulted and allowed to participate in national decision-making, in particular regarding regional and international cooperative efforts. In addition, these policies and programmes should take fully into account strategies based on local indigenous initiatives;
(2) Provide technical and financial assistance for capacity-building programmes to support sustainable self-development of indigenous peoples and their communities;
(3) Strengthen research and education programmes aimed at:
    (a) achieving a better understanding of indigenous peoples knowledge and management experience related to the environment and applying this to contemporary development challenges;
    (b) increasing the efficiency of indigenous people's resource management systems, for example, by promoting the adaptation and dissemination of suitable technological innovations.

Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 contributes meaningfully to the cause of indigenous peoples and gives impetus to the United Nations to address problems in a more energetic and committed manner. The Declaration of the International Decade for Indigenous Peoples provided the time frame for defining targets and measuring performance and achievements.

A Resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, launched the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. The Resolution states that:

> One of the purposes of the United Nations, as set out in its charter, is the achievement of international cooperation in solving international problems. Whether these problems are economic, social, cultural or humanitarian in character, the United Nation's role is to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. The relevant recommendations of the World Conference on Human Rights, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development and the International Conference on Population and Development, in particular Chapter 26 of Agenda 21, recognise and strengthen the role of indigenous peoples and their communities. The General Assembly of the United Nations, has determined to promote the enjoyment of the rights of indigenous people and the full development of their distinct culture and communities.3

Other significant international documents to become acquainted with include the United Nations draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, the World Conference on Human Rights, held in Vienna in June 1993, and the Secretary General's reports regarding the United Nation's Agendas for Peace, Development and International Economic Cooperation. All of these documents form the international legal and policy foundations upon which indigenous peoples from around the world can develop their sustainable development strategies.

3. United Nations Resolution, December 23, 1993

The Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 may be one of the United Nation's most significant achievements for its 50th Year Anniversary. It succeeded in assembling the largest number of heads of state ever to consider the problems facing the Earth as a whole, and to adopt measures where the parts would operate in the service of the whole—the way nature does—and promote a future that is prosperous, equitable and sustainable. In a consensus unique in the annals of international relations, the leaders were able to agree on a new plan of action, Agenda 21, a global blueprint designed to move humanity through a macro-transition towards the 21st century.

Upon their return home from the Earth Summit, the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee convened a Grand Council to discuss environmental degradation in their own communities. The Grand Council established, in accordance with the Haudenosaunee Great Law of Peace and based on Haudenosaunee cultural beliefs and protocols, the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force. This Task Force is composed of delegates chosen by each of the Haudenosaunee Nations. These Nation community members represent all walks of life, from Clanmothers and Chiefs to midwives, technicians and scientists, all interested in environmental and cultural protection.

The Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force launched one of the first comprehensive responses to the United Nations: a sustainable development strategy to initiate the International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples. In March 1994, Haudenosaunee leaders submitted a request to the Secretary General of the United Nations, and asked the Director of the United Nations Environment Programme for assistance. A subsequent partnership was formed between the Haudenosaunee and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP).

A United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) Working Committee was formed, serving as an ad hoc group convened for the purposes of advising the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force on the development of the comprehensive action Strategy. The Working Committee consisted on the UNEP Director and Programme staffer, two members of Indigenous Development International (located in Cambridge, England), a former Ambassador to Jamaica, a Chief of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and myself, working at that time outside of my official capacity as an Assistant Regional Counsel for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.

UNEP's Working Committee oversaw the work of myself, as principal author, who, under the direction of the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force, undertook to compile a comprehensive document on Haudenosaunee environmental deterioration. At the invitation of UNEP, this document was reviewed and published in partnership by Indigenous Development International, a United Nations/University of Cambridge Partnership Programme. This document is entitled: Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy: An Indigenous Strategy for Human Sustainability, and is hereinafter referred to as the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy.

This successful international partnership between the Haudenosaunee People and the UNEP resulted in an indigenous environmental Summit of the Elders, held at the United Nations on the 18th of July 1995, during which the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy was presented to the United Nations. The Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy constitutes one of the first comprehensive indigenous responses to Chapter 26 of Agenda 21 formulated at the 1992 Rio Earth Summit.

UNEP expressed its hope that the Summit of the Elders serves to convince the Haudenosaunee and all indigenous peoples of its concern and willingness to be supportive of actions that will facilitate the restoration and rehabilitation of indigenous territories. In keeping with the spirit of Agenda 21, the United Nations wants to build confidence in the United Nations and its systems of agencies.

Even before the Summit, the United Nations Environment Programme has been assisting efforts and initiatives of indigenous peoples. UNEP provides additional channels of access to the organisation and its various programmes of action, and supports efforts to participate in UN activities, such as the Charter for Nature and the World Conservation Strategies. Since its inception, UNEP has recognised that indigenous peoples are natural allies, and that most indigenous cultures are based on a profound respect for nature. Indigenous consumption patterns and lifestyles are premised on the principle of sustainability—a philosophy all indigenous cultures share—to not pick the first of a species that you see, take no more than you need and give thanks for what you take.

Throughout the years, UNEP has found common cause with indigenous peoples from around the world. During the Rio Summit, UNEP supported a number of indigenous gatherings and even funded the participation of several to the Rio Conference.

The leaders of the Haudenosaunee were encouraged to undertake their environmental restoration strategy as a result of the Earth Summit and UNEP's support. The Rio Earth Summit fully acknowledged the contributions indigenous peoples can make to the concept of sustainability based on their harmonious relationship with the natural order and their holistic traditional, scientific knowledge of the land and natural resources which they have developed over many generations. This knowledge-based system is often referred to as indigenous traditional knowledge.

At the same time, Haudenosaunee leaders welcomed the assertion by Earth Summit leaders that in many instances, indigenous communities are not able to participate fully in decisions that affect them. World leaders called for action—for full partnership with governments and international organisations in the establishment of procedures that will empower indigenous peoples and their communities in order to protect them from activities that are environmentally unsound or socially and culturally inappropriate.

In the post-Rio phase, the United Nations Environment Programme began exploring the most effective ways it might give meaning to Chapter 26 of Agenda 21, and assist in the work of indigenous peoples. It did this in two ways. First, UNEP created a new extension programme in cooperation with the University of Cambridge called Indigenous Development International (INDI); this allowed a global overview to be developed on the relationships of indigenous peoples to existing nation-states—specifically to the political, economic and environmental dimensions. Second, it responded to the specific appeal made by the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to assist in the exploration of environmental hazards in their territories with the intent of formulating a strategy for the restoration of nation lands. In the process, UNEP encourages indigenous peoples to identify for themselves, crucial issues, evaluate these on the basis of available science and research, and formulate a plan of action which UNEP will consider and assist in its implementation. The result was the Summit of the Elders whereby the plan was considered and the case of the Haudenosaunee was given the best possible hearing.

The Summit of the Elders was a combination of several months of intense work, both by UNEP and the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force. The Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force invited me, as the principle investigator, to undertake the work. We reviewed the range of environmental hazards to which communities have been exposed, documented as precisely as possible the sources and nature of these hazards, and designed a plan of action for the remediation and environmental restoration of the territories in question. We reviewed and included some of the most comprehensive studies done to date on chemical pollutants, genetics and the human genome work, the nuclear waste question and international rights, conventions and the law. We also dovetailed environmental appraisals of indigenous communities.

What we learn from this particular process and the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy are the following things:

(1) that indigenous rights should be interpreted in the framework of not just court litigation or conventional law, but the common law of charters and constitutions;
(2) that sustainable development strategies are not formula driven or generic but quite particular and context/culture specific;
(3) that indigenous peoples seek and assert their identity on the basis of territories and lands in a spirit of respect rather than by property control or ownership;
(4) that restoration plans are long-term, capacity-building exercises, including training and education as well as clean-up and they are costly; and
(5) that acting locally means thinking globally, publicly, and above all, compassionately.

The Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy continues the message of the Haudenosaunee Peacemaker to recognise the rights of the children of the world—the 'unborn generations'. The Peacemaker of the Haudenosaunee reminded its leaders to think not only of their communities, or even their own generation, but to think of continuing generations of families, grandchildren and those yet

unborn, whose faces are coming from beneath the ground. I believe the world would do well to adopt the Haudenosaunee belief that all decisions must be made with the Seventh Generation in mind.

How do we incorporate this indigenous reverence for the natural world and natural law, especially in times such as these, with serious fiscal restraints? Back when the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy was presented to EPA for implementation, EPA was threatened with a 34% budget cut for the fiscal year of 1996. With these thoughts in mind, we identified in the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy, the most critical need in the implementation of the restoration plan, namely the requirement for a new kind of 'coalition politics' or partnership between governments, indigenous nations and the United Nations. Ten years later, the fiscal outlook is conservative. EPA was cut 20% last year and is threatened with another 20% budget cut for the fiscal year of 2006. The agency is now designing a plan to try and prevent the budget cuts from going too deep. Due to the enormous cost of the Iraq war, the need for fiscal conservancy at this time makes it even more crucial that we begin to understand the need to form our own cooperative relationships with those responsible for the transboundary pollution which impacts indigenous territories, with a bright light shining from the international community.

I repeat the need for us all to reassess our point of view to favor a new kind of 'coalition politics' or partnership between governments, indigenous nations and the United Nations. Governments do not have enormous sums of money, but they do have political clout. I encourage all indigenous communities to re-examine nation-state executive and legislative actions to glean commitments to preserve and protect the environment and indigenous cultures. If they do not presently exist, create them, using existing models and frameworks. For example, in the United States, President Clinton's Executive Order to address Environmental Justice in Minority and Low-Income Populations is an important source of U.S. policy regarding Native Americans. The Environmental Justice Executive Order requires the executive departments of the United States federal government, including the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), to identify and address disproportionately high and adverse human health or environmental effects of its programs, policies and activities on minority and low-income populations. It specifically includes tribal governments, requiring the government to share existing data and work cooperatively with tribal governments. EPA's website notes that:

> In response to public concerns, EPA created the Office of Environmental Justice in 1992, and implemented a new organisational infrastructure to integrate environmental justice into EPA's policies, programs, and activities. An Executive Steering Committee made up of senior managers represents each headquarters office and region. It provides leadership and direction on strategic planning to ensure that environmental justice is incorporated into agency operations; the most active group is the Environmental Justice Coordinators Council which serves as the frontline staff specifically responsible to ensure policy input, program development, and implementation of environmental justice through the Agency. This new structure has established a clear commitment from EPA's senior management to all personnel that Environmental Justice is a priority.4

A National Environmental Justice Advisory Council (NEJAC) was formed, which serves as a federal advisory committee established to provide independent advice, consultation, and recommendations to the Administrator of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency on matters related to environmental justice. The NEJAC was established on the 30th of September, 1993. The functions of the NEJAC cannot be performed within the Agency. This council is the first time that community, academia, industry, environmental, indigenous, and state/local/tribal government groups have been brought together where a dialogue can define how to "reinvent" solutions to environmental justice problems. It is essential that such a dialogue occur. In addition, NEJAC provides a valuable forum for integrating environmental justice with other EPA priorities and initiatives.

The NEJAC is made up of 26 members, and one Designated Federal Officer (DFO), who serve on a parent council that has seven subcommittees. Along with the NEJAC members who fill subcommittee posts, an additional 27 individuals serve on the various subcommittees. Each subcommittee, formed to deal with a specific topic and to facilitate the conduct of the business of NEJAC, has a DFO and is

4. www.epa.gov. Specific site: http://www.epa.gov/compliance/environmentaljustice/nejac/overview.html.

bound by the requirements of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (FACA) of October the 16th, 1972. Subcommittees of the NEJAC meet independently of the full NEJAC and present their findings to the NEJAC for review. Subcommittees cannot make recommendations independently to EPA. In addition to the seven subcommittees, NEJAC has established a Protocol Committee, the members of which are the chair of NEJAC and the chairs of each subcommittee. There is a NEJAC Indigenous Subcommittee which has been created:

> To provide independent advice to the Executive Council of the NEJAC and, through the Council, to EPA in areas related to indigenous peoples. To achieve its mission, the Subcommittee will, at a minimum, perform the following functions:
>
> 1) Provide a forum for representatives of indigenous communities, including grassroots organisations from within those communities, to bring their environmental justice concerns to the attention of the NEJAC and provide recommendations and advice to the NEJAC to address those concerns.
> 2) Provide recommendations and advice to the NEJAC on the development of EPA-backed legislation, as well as Agency policy, guidance, and protocol, to help achieve environmental justice for indigenous peoples.
> 3) Provide recommendations and advice to the NEJAC to ensure that environmental justice issues of concern to indigenous peoples are addressed by EPA in a manner that fulfills the trust responsibility, respects tribal sovereignty and the government-to-government relationship, upholds treaties, and promotes tribal self-determination.
> 4) Recognise that issues facing indigenous peoples span the spectrum of issues addressed by other NEJAC subcommittees and interface with those subcommittees to ensure that all subcommittees address environmental justice issues of concern to indigenous peoples in an informed manner.5

Among the first recommendations advocated by the NEJAC Indigenous Subcommittee were:

1) that the Agency create an American Indian Environmental Office in EPA, Headquarters; and
2) that the American Indian Office work to enhance government-to-government relations with Indian Nations across the U.S.

To its credit, EPA senior managers took these recommendations very seriously and implemented them both. In February 1994, the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) established a Tribal Operations Committee in order to improve communication and build stronger partnerships with the Indian Nations across the United States. EPA's Tribal Operations Committee (TOC) is comprised of 19 Tribal leaders or their Environmental Program Managers (referred to as the "Tribal Caucus") and EPA's Senior Leadership Team, including the Administrator, the Deputy Administrator and the Agency's Assistant Administrators and Regional Administrators. The Tribal Caucus (TC) meets on a regular basis to discuss implementation of the environmental protection programs for which EPA and the Indian Nations share responsibility as co-regulators.

In 1994, EPA also created the American Indian Environmental Office, at EPA Headquarters in Washington, DC. Mr. Terry Williams, a member of the Tulalip Nation in the State of Washington served as the first Director of the AIEO. Mr. Williams promptly issued an Action Directive to each of EPA's ten regional offices. The Action Directive requires each region to develop, together with the Native people in its Region, a long term indigenous environmental plan, which prioritises the needs and concerns as voiced by the folks who live and work in the affected communities of indigenous territories. We, through the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy, have documented the environmental conditions and impacts in Region 2 Haudenosaunee communities. We have completed the first step.

The United Nations' Summit of the Elders was an important second step. UNEP's Summit of the Elders for the Haudenosaunee redoubled the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's commitment to review

5. www.epa.gov. Specific site: http://www.epa.gov/compliance/environmentaljustice/nejac/indigenous_subcommittee.html.

the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy in an attempt to find sources of funding to restore the environment. Arguably, United States law and policy supports a strong federal presence and commitment to enforce the federal government's trust responsibility pursuant to existing treaties.

A particular way we asked EPA to be responsive, was to review the Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy in light of EPA's own policies, directives and mandates, especially those issued out of the newly created American Indian Environmental Office, at EPA Headquarters in Washington, DC. The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency reviewed the Strategy to see what it could commit to. We breathed life into EPA's Policy on Environmental Programs on Indian Reservations. This EPA Indian Policy was issued during President Reagan's administration, in 1984, together with implementation guidance.

EPA's Indian Policy documents emphasise EPA's commitment to work directly with Native governments on a 'government-to-government' basis:

> The President published a federal Indian policy on January the 24th, 1983, supporting the primary role of tribal governments in matters affecting American Indian reservations. That policy stressed two related themes: (l) that the federal government will pursue the principle of Indian "self-government" and (2) that it will work directly with tribal governments on a "government-to-government" basis.
>
> In carrying out our responsibilities on Indian reservations, the fundamental objective of the Environmental Protection Agency is to protect human health and the environment. The keynote of this effort will be to give special consideration to tribal interests in making agency policy, and to insure the close involvement of Tribal Governments in making decisions and managing environmental programs affecting reservation lands. To meet this objective, the Agency will pursue the following principles:
>
> 1) The Agency stands ready to work directly with Indian tribal governments on a one-to-one basis (the "Government-to-government" relationship), rather than as subdivisions of other governments.
> 2) The Agency will recognise tribal governments as the primary parties for setting standards, making environmental policy decisions and managing programs for reservations, consistent with agency standards and regulations.
> 3) The Agency will take affirmative steps to encourage and assist tribes in assuming regulatory and program management responsibilities for reservation lands.
> 4) The Agency will take appropriate steps to remove existing legal and procedural impediments to working directly and effectively with tribal governments on reservation programs.
> 5) The Agency, in keeping with the federal trust responsibility, will assure that tribal concerns and interests are considered whenever EPA's actions and/or decisions may affect reservation environments.
> 6) The Agency will encourage cooperation between tribal, state and local governments to resolve environmental problems of mutual concern.
> 7) The Agency will work with other federal agencies which have related responsibilities on Indian reservations to enlist their interest and support in cooperative efforts to help tribes assume environmental program responsibilities for reservations.
> 8) The Agency will strive to assure compliance with environmental statutes and regulations on Indian reservations.
> 9) The Agency will incorporate these Indian policy goals into its planning and management activities including its budget, operating guidance, legislative initiatives, management accountability system and ongoing policy and regulation development processes.6

Working together with EPA Region 2 over the last ten years, we have worked to craft a long-term implementation plan, negotiated between the Haudenosaunee people and EPA, with my facilitation. On behalf of the Haudenosaunee, the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (HETF) has been extremely active in designing and developing its own capacity to implement environmental programs

6. EPA Policy for the Administration of Environmental Programs on Indian Reservations, November 8, 1984.

and develop environmentally sustainable processes. The HETF has developed an environmental presence in each community, and some Nations now have an Environmental Department with a Director and staff working in areas of concern (such as air, water, solid waste, pollution prevention, environmental education).

### The Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force Mission

> The mission of the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (HETF) is to help Haudenosaunee Nations in their efforts to conserve, preserve, protect, and restore their environmental, natural, and cultural resources; to promote the health and survival of the sacred web of life for future generations; to support other indigenous nations working on environmental issues; and to fulfill our responsibilities to the natural world as our Creator instructed without jeopardising peace, sovereignty, or treaty obligations. However, as indigenous nations, we realise that all things are interconnected and do not wish to limit our activities to those listed above.[7]

### Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force Goals[8]

> To implement strategies that will restore and strengthen environmental and community health;
> To improve communications within and between Haudenosaunee communities;
> To inform Haudenosaunee people about pollution issues and promote local pollution prevention activities;
> To support and encourage community based environmental education;
> To develop culturally appropriate educational curricula for Haudenosaunee youth;
> To enhance the skills of the Haudenosaunee to conduct scientific research, including sampling and testing for toxic chemicals; and;
> To develop culturally-based environmental protection processes.

The Haudenosaunee remain leaders on initiatives with national and international significance, including the incorporation of indigenous traditional knowledge into environmental problem-solving, development of culturally based environmental protection processes and a Haudenosaunee Whole Health Initiative.

In 1999, the HETF published the book Words That Come Before All Else: Environmental Philosophies of the Haudenosaunee:

> This 160-page book draws from the Thanksgiving Address and Haudenosaunee Creation Story to present a traditional outlook on Haudenosaunee relationship with the natural world. Interwoven in the book are practical examples of how the Haudenosaunee are trying to incorporate traditional knowledge in addressing modern day environmental problems.9

> The Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force is [also] proceeding with a project to develop an environmental protection process based on our indigenous world view and relationship with the natural world. Such an environmental protection process will enable the individual nations and communities of the Haudenosaunee to protect and restore the natural world, while helping to preserve our unique relationship with it, as a sustainable society. We contend this to be the best way to promote our sovereignty in a way most consistent with our culture. At the same time, we propose to bring out the Silver Covenant Chain and polish it so that this project is done cooperatively within the context of the complexities of contemporary society. In other words, we recognise the need for our environmental protection process to incorporate our traditional knowledge and laws to maintain our sovereignty and protect our culture. At the same time, if we ever need the ship (in the guise of the federal government) to help us protect the river, we must demonstrate that our process meets or exceeds the requirements of federal environmental laws.[10]

---

7. HETF website: http://www.hetfonline.org/ ( see Mission).
8. ibid. (see Goals).
9. ibid. (see Publications).
10. ibid. (see Home Page).

> Finally, the Whole Health Initiative: "Some things will always need to remain the same because we still live on the same Mother Earth that our ancestors lived. The basic patterns of nature have not changed. We still live in the same areas as our ancestors, so we understand how nature works in our territories. The Original Instructions that we received still apply to our lives. We are to keep the basic traditions of Thanksgiving alive. Yet, we must recognise that the life in our communities has changed dramatically over the generations. Change is inevitable, but our culture is a mechanism that can be used to make sure that the changes are not detrimental to the social, ceremonial, economic, educational, and political life of our communities, now and the future."[11]

These processes are developing a framework which can be utilised by indigenous peoples around the world. The efforts of the Haudenosaunee have been examined by many other indigenous peoples. Faithkeeper Oren Lyons and I have traveled as far as Sapmiland, at the request of the indigenous peoples there, to assist the Sapmi and the Swedish government in understanding how to develop a working relationship to preserve the environment. I offered technical assistance in developing a process to build a relationship between the Swedish government and the Sapmi to address significant environmental problems, and recommended such a relationship be patterned after the successful relationship established between USEPA and the Haudenosaunee. In fact, the United Nations has stated that the Haudenosaunee project will serve as the United Nations' framework of how it interacts with indigenous peoples around the world. At the UN Summit of the Elders, Chief Oren Lyons, Faithkeeper and a Spiritual Leader of the Haudenosaunee, closed with these words:

> "This is why we come to the United Nations, asking for the support of the United Nation's organisations as well as industry, who we know we must work with, come to terms with and come to peace with. Appreciation and respect must be observed for Native people. It is a dark hour and we turn to the United Nations for help. But we know as a people that we must do this for ourselves and for the Seventh Generation. Our knowledge systems can be used to save the world. Scientists know process, we know the natural law. The key to sustainable development is environmentally-friendly businesses. We have already worked with industry to come up with a sustainable forestry plan for our territories. We can be leaders in developing environmental sustainability.
>
> The United Nations is at a turning point—it is fifty years old this year. The direction that the United Nations takes will determine the fate of the global family. The UN needs to be more open to the Non Governmental Organisations of the world—for the benefit of the world. Unless human beings begin to understand what is occurring, and unless human beings speak, we are in for a very rough future. There is no one speaking for the human beings. We are here to speak for the human beings. The world will benefit by appreciating and respecting Native peoples and their culture. Ours is a common cause for all—because surrounding our territories are the nations of the United States and Canada and they will benefit by clean air and clean water- they will benefit from our example."

In closing, I leave you with the challenge placed at the feet of this generation. It is time for all good minds to gather and raise our voices to speak out and save our Mother, the Earth.

This document was written by Janice Whitney Annunziata in her private capacity. No official support or endorsement by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency or any other agency of the United States Federal Government is intended or should be inferred.

11. ibid.

## Bibliography

Annunziata, J.W. Haudenosaunee Environmental Restoration Strategy: *An Indigenous Strategy for Human Sustainability, Section*(1), Introduction authored by Janice Whitney, under the direction of and including contributions by the Haudenosaunee Environmental Task Force (HETF). Convention Articles 14 and 15, p. 57.

United Nations Resolution, December 23, 1993

www.epa.gov. Specific site: http://www.epa.gov/compliance/environmentaljustice/nejac/overview.html.

www.epa.gov. Specific site: http://www.epa.gov/compliance/environmentaljustice/nejac/indigenous_subcommittee.html.

EPA Policy for the *Administration of Environmental Programs on Indian Reservations*, November 8, 1984. HETF website: http://www.hetfonline.org/ ( see Mission; Goals; Publications - Home Page.

# Partnerships in tobacco control—working with eight Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities in far North Queensland

**Dallas Young**
James Cook University, Cairns

## Background

There is little published data on the effectiveness of smoking modification programs within the Australian indigenous population. Ivers (2001) in her publication, 'indigenous Australians and Tobacco: A literature review,' reveals an almost complete lack of research and evaluation in the area of tobacco control measures. What is obvious from research within the non-indigenous population is the need for multi-strategy interventions that target not just the individual but also the community within which they live. Individuals will be more likely to succeed in modifying their smoking behaviour if their social and physical environments support their attempts. Any intervention therefore needs to address not just individual attitudes and resources but also the knowledge, attitudes and resources available at a community level.

The effect of indigenous peoples' history on their health must be acknowledged (National Health and Medical Research Council, 1996). Sibthorpe (1988) and Flick (1998) have specifically linked high levels of tobacco use with the dispossession and loss resulting from colonisation. Many indigenous people were not paid in wages until 1967, being paid instead in rations in the form of flour, clothes and tobacco. Ivers (2001) maintains that many current smokers in their 50s and 60s may have initially acquired their addiction at a time when they were paid in tobacco.

## Prevalence and patterns of tobacco use in contemporary Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander society

The use of tobacco is a major cause of premature mortality and morbidity among indigenous peoples' of Australia (Ivers, 2001). The National Drug Strategy Household Survey (2001) reported that a higher proportion of indigenous Australians smoked compared with non-indigenous Australians, and the average number of cigarettes smoked per week was also higher (125.4 and 108.3 respectively). The Australian Bureau of Statistics National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey (1994) states that 54% of males and 46% of females aged 13 years or more were smokers. As with the general population, the prevalence of smoking among indigenous women is generally lower than among indigenous men. The prevalence of tobacco use amongst indigenous people in the Top End of the NT is 70–80 per cent (Ivers, 2001), and the life expectancy of indigenous people between 1992 and 1994 was 15–20 years less than that of the general population (McLennan & Madden, 1997).

Patterns of smoking among indigenous people may differ from those among non-indigenous Australians. Watson, Fleming and Alexander (1988) survey of indigenous people in the Northern Territory found that adults shared tobacco and cigarettes with others and also shared individual cigarettes. Tobacco use patterns varied according to the amount of tobacco available, with people consuming tobacco heavily in the first few days after receiving pay and then little towards the end of the pay fortnight. Altman (1987) reported that sharing of tobacco was extensive in Western Arnhem Land and the extent depended on the degree to which goods were in surplus or absent. In Gilchrist's (1998) survey of indigenous women presenting to an Aboriginal Medical Service in Perth, women reported an expectation that a smoker who had no cigarettes would be given cigarettes, and that someone who had cigarettes had an obligation to share them. The high prevalence of tobacco use among indigenous people indicates that there is a need for interventions to reduce the prevalence of tobacco use is this population.

## Development of strategies

Over a four year period Queensland Health in partnership with key organisations has developed a suite of strategies to address tobacco smoking at a number of levels.
These include:

- Event support program: – 'ESP' is a community based program aimed at increasing levels of community awareness with an anti-tobacco message. Community groups can apply for funding and/or merchandise to be incorporated into cultural and sporting events.
- Brief intervention: – 'SmokeCheck' was designed to enable health practitioners to advise and assist clients in techniques to modify smoking behaviour. Modules include information about behaviour change, cessations methods, developing support systems, the health effects of smoking and cigarette components.
- Group intervention: – 'Smoke Rings' is an awareness program that supports individuals contemplating or actively changing their smoking behaviour. It encourages participants to develop support systems and provides information about cessation methods.
- School based smoking awareness program: – 'Smokin' No Way' is a classroom based program delivering education about the effects and health risks associated with smoking. Teachers and Community Education Counsellors undertake a training session that compliments the Health and Physical Education curriculum.
- Work-place smoke-free policy: – provides practical application to develop and implement a smoke-free workplace. A workshop is conducted with a guide for developing policy is provided to assist organisations to achieve smokefree status.
- Monitoring of legislation: – the Tobacco and other Smoking Products Act (2001). Environmental Health Officers visit communities, undertake tobacco compliance audits and ensure that there is adherence to current legislation.

During the development and implementation stage of resource development stakeholders were identified who were most appropriate to provide input into each strategy. Government and non-government organisations that collaborated to produce relevant resources included: Queensland Health, Queensland Education, Catholic Education, Sport and Recreation, community controlled health services, and state and territory health departments.

## Indigenous Tobacco Project

The North Queensland Indigenous Tobacco Project, funded by the National Health and Medical Research Council, is a three year collaborative research project between James Cook University, Queensland Health and eight indigenous communities. The project is a multi-intervention approach that targets individuals as well as their communities and is intended to address knowledge, attitudes and resources related to tobacco use.

The project has three broad aims;

To increase the capacity of health services to implement and deliver anti-tobacco interventions.
To increase community knowledge about the health risks of smoking.
To decrease the level of tobacco consumption within communities.

### *Household Survey Process*

Throughout the project three household surveys will be conducted with the first one completed over the summer of 2004, and the midline survey just completed in the eight communities. Key individuals and organisations within communities were approached to identify relevant community members to undertake survey work and flyers were put onto noticeboards advertising the survey positions. Interested community members were provided with an overview of the project and the role of the survey staff. If people were interested in undertaking the survey work then they received training in the data collection tool and practised the questionnaire with the research team. In the eight communities, 22 local people were employed and they received Research Officer wages for the length of data collection and merchandise from the Event Support Program.

Household surveys will inform a major part of the project evaluation and face-to-face interviews with two adults from every household are required. The survey was adapted from the National Drug Survey in Australia in 1994 and 1998 and minor changes were made to language. The questionnaire took between 5–15 minutes for non-smokers and up to 30 minutes for smokers. Community Councils supplied maps identifying dwellings within their community and each research staff member identified an area that they would survey with household numbers allocated. In some communities due to clan connections research staff would discuss with research team members the household they could not approach or households they felt comfortable to interview. Research staff were encouraged to use local language when asking questions and both Aboriginal English and Torres Strait Islander Creole was applied.

***Discussion—indigenous researchers***

Four members of the seven person project are Aboriginal, one of the three is an Associate Investigator on the project grant, and the other three manage, coordinate and undertake field research. Established networks and relationships in many of the communities facilitated an easier process for project engagement. Two of the researchers had previously worked on projects with most of the involved communities and had reputable 'track records'. Whilst it may be difficult to validate that community engagement and involvement is directly linked to established relationships with individuals from the research team, it would be true to say that personal integrity, previous successful work projects and being acknowledged as being Aboriginal most certainly assists the process.

***Community involvement***

Survey staff was asked if they were interested in undertaking any form of study within either a university or TAFE institution. Information about courses was supplied by research team members and one young indigenous woman proceeded to enrol in a Tertiary Access Course at James Cook University. The research team has supported her through her course by ensuring she received a thorough orientation to the university campus, assisting her with travel to and from university when required, providing tutoring, offering to review assignments, providing the use of computer and printing resources, and offering her casual employment which suits her university workload. The student plans to enrol in a Bachelor of Nursing Degree to commence next year.

Another young woman from a remote western community who worked as a research officer has been employed to provide training and support with three of the tobacco interventions in her community, and she has indicated her interest in ongoing employment in the data collection process.

The sustainability of strategies in communities requires the participation of community members to ensure there is local ownership, understanding and input into the research project. Transparent and regular communication with Aboriginal Community Councils and key organisations is vital to ensure ongoing access to the community, project support and research direction.

## Bibliography


Altman, J. (1987). *Hunter-Gatherers Today.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (1994). *National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Survey 1994: Health of Indigenous Australians.* Government Press: Canberra.

Australian Bureau of Statistics (2003). *The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples.* Government Press: Canberra.

Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (1994). *National Drug Strategy Household Survey: Urban Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples Supplement 1994.* Canberra: Australian Institute of Health and Welfare.

Flick, B. (1998). Drugs of opulence and drugs of dispossession. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal, 22*(4), pp. 4–6

Gilchrist, D. (1998). Smoking prevalence among Aboriginal women. *Aboriginal and Islander Health Worker Journal, 22*(4), pp. 4–6.

Ivers, R. (2001). *Indigenous Australian and Tobacco—a literature review.* Cooperative Research Centre for Aboriginal and Tropical Health: Darwin.

McLennan, W., & Madden, R. (1997). The Health and Welfare of Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples. Australian Bureau of Statistics, Government Press, Canberra.
Sibthorpe, B. (1998). *'All our people are dyin': Diet and stress in an urban Aboriginal community.* Unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Australian National University, Canberra.
Watson, C., Fleming, J., & Alexander, K. (1988). *A survey of drug use patterns in Northern Territory Aboriginal communities 1986–1987.* Northern Territory Department of Health and Community Services: Darwin.

# Ethical and moral issues in the transformation of traditional knowledge through indigenous artistic practice

**Greg Young-Ing**
University of British Columbia

## Introduction

The term "traditional knowledge" is derived from a longer term "traditional knowledge, innovations and practices" used in early international discussions in the Convention on Bio-Diversity forum. The term encompasses a broad range of indigenous knowledge ranging from: ancient stories, songs and dances; traditional architecture and agricultural; biodiversity-related and medicinal, herbal and plant knowledge; ancient motifs, crests and other artistic designs; various artistic mediums, styles, forms and techniques; spiritual and religious institutions and their symbols; and various other forms of indigenous knowledge.

Prior to the 1980s, predominant Western perspectives tended to view traditional knowledge (TK) as relatively insignificant for the industrialised world and commonly referred to it as "folklore." In the 1980s, ownership of knowledge and artistic creations traceable to the world's indigenous societies emerged, seemingly out of nowhere, as a major social (and economic and trade) issue. (1) The market value of plant-based medicines alone (most of which were first used by indigenous peoples) sold in developed countries amounted to $43 billion in 1985 (Principe, 1989). Throughout the 1990s and into the 21st century it has become increasingly apparent that TK not only has immense economic value, but also salient intrinsic value that contains: cures to diseases and ailments; sustainable management of resources and ecosystems; means to spiritual healing, healthy lifestyle alternatives; and aesthetics, forms and techniques that produce some of the worlds greatest artworks.

The primary purposes of this paper are: 1) to outline and establish principles in the use of TK in contemporary artworks (and other tangible commercial objects); 2) to establish theoretical frameworks on indigenous artists' transformation of TK through their practice; and, 3) to develop useful models and concepts to regulate the use of TK in the contemporary artistic context (and other tangible commercial objects). This will be achieved by first outlining the development of systems of regulating creative works in indigenous nations and European nations. Related concepts and principles developed through common law in Canada and Australia will also be discussed with regard to their relevance to the establishment of TK regulation. An analysis of the practices and works of one particular indigenous artist, Bill Reid, will also be analysed to illustrate how concepts from indigenous and European Laws can be fused in concepts regulating the use and transformation of TK through the contemporary arts.

## Development of parallel indigenous and European traditional knowledge systems

Indigenous peoples have numerous internal customary laws associated with the use of TK. These cultural protocols are part of the laws that indigenous nations have been governed by for millennia and are primarily contained in the oral tradition. Although, in lieu of the increased outside interest in TK and problems with interaction between TK and Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) systems, there is a current movement among indigenous nations to document their protocols in written and/or digital format. Cultural protocols around the use of TK vary greatly between indigenous nations, but include such regulations whereby:

- certain songs, dances, stories and dramatic performances can only be performed/recited by certain individuals, families or clan members in certain settings and/or certain seasons and/or for certain indigenous internal cultural reasons;
- crests, motifs, designs and symbols are owned by certain individuals, families or clan members;
- artistic aspects of TK, such as songs, dances, stories dramatic performances can only be shared in certain settings or spiritual ceremonies with individuals who have earned, inherited and/or gone through a cultural and/or educational process

- art forms and techniques can not be practiced, and/or certain motifs can not be used, until the emerging artist has apprenticed under a master artist;
- certain ceremonial art can only be shared for specific internal indigenous cultural and/or spiritual reasons and within specific indigenous cultural contexts.

These are but a few general examples of customary laws that indigenous nations around the world have developed over thousands years to regulate the use of TK. Indigenous protocols are intimately intertwined and connected with TK and form what can be viewed as whole and complete, integrated, complex, indigenous knowledge systems throughout the world. IPR System: The first European notions of protection of created works can be traced back to fifteenth century. In 1545 the Venetian Council of Ten demanded that booksellers secure written proof that publications had received the authors consent (Taylor, Crean and Young-Ing). Notions of copyright, as we know it today, date back to the 1710 in which The Statute of Anne in England required all books to be registered with the Company of Stationers. The Statute also introduced the first concept a time limit on the rights of authors: 21 years for books already on the Stationer's Register and up to 28 years for new books.

In 18th century France, the concept of *droit moral* (moral rights) was introduced which in turn lead to the concept *droit d'auteur* (authors rights). *Droit moral* theory holds that the author/creator is sovereign and therefore his/her work is sovereign and must be respected as such. *Droit d'auteur* holds that the rights of the author/creator are natural and inalienable rights and that the author/creator must be identified with and credited for the work. The Berne Convention of 1886 was the first international agreement on copyright and had a moral rights clause added in 1928 in Article 6 stating, "Independently of the author's economic rights… [t]he author shall have the right to claim ownership of the work and object to any distortion, mutilation or other modification of, or other derogatory action in relation to, the said work which would be prejudicial to his honour or reputation."

European copyright recognition formed the basis of the current concept of IP as it is known today. As European societies became increasingly industrialised, it became apparent that copyright alone was not sufficient to protect all forms of IP. The Statute of Monopolies of 1624 in the UK spoke of granting patents for "any manner of new manufactures." (2). In the 18th century, European countries in the process of industrialisation developed the concept of "trademark" which was later legislated in the form of national Trademark Acts. Patent and trademark, along with copyright, now make up the current IPR System.

## Interaction between traditional knowledge and and intellectual property rights systems

In the process of transporting European institutions into various parts of the world occupied by indigenous peoples, Eurocentric laws (including the IPR system) have now been imposed upon indigenous law (including the TK system). Traditional knowledge raises serious challenges for the current IPR system, which some argue is unable to respond to the concerns of the TK holders. The main reasons TK often does not fit into the IPR system are: 1) that expressions of TK often cannot qualify for protection because they are too old and are, therefore, supposedly in the public domain; 2) that the "author" of the material is often not identifiable and there is thus no "rights holder" in the usual sense of the term; and, 3) that TK is owned "collectively" by indigenous groups for cultural claims and not by individuals or corporations for economic claims.

Another key problem TK systems now experience is that the IPR system is based on the premise that the author/creator deserves recognition and compensation for his/her work because it is the product of his/her genius, but that all of society must eventually be able to benefit from that genius. Therefore, according to IP theory, the work must eventually enter the public domain (Taylor, Crean and Young-Ing). This is the primary reasoning for the time period limitations associated copyright, patents and trademarks. The precept that all IP is intended to eventually enter the public domain is another conflict between the two systems because indigenous protocols dictate that certain aspects of TK are unfit (or, at least, strictly regulated) for external access in any form, including: sacred ceremonial masks, songs and dances, various forms of shamanic art, sacred stories, art objects with strong spiritual significance such as scrolls, petroglyphs, and decorated staffs, rattles, blankets, medicine bundles and clothing adornments, and various sacred symbols, designs, crests and motifs.

## Indigenous cultural paradigm

Indigenous artists have a distinct ethos based on a unique identity that stems from their history, cultures and traditions. Indigenous artists also have several responsibilities placed upon them through internal cultural imperatives that include portraying reality in a truthful and honest manner and with mindfulness of any impact on the community. Through consciousness of indigenous history and heritage comes the ultimate responsibility of being the link between ones ancestors and future generations—a cultural precept that has been referred to by some, such as Native American writer Leanne Howe, as the "time-space continuum."

It is crucial for those attempting to engage with any aspect(s) of indigenous culture to have a clear understanding of how indigenous peoples perceive and contextualise their traditional and contemporary cultural reality. Indigenous societies have undergone attempted genocide, colonisation, and constant technological revolutions, and the imposition of foreign legal regimes, yet have dealt with the imposition of legislation and institutions, and the introduction of new technologies, surviving with the foundations of their unique cultures intact.

Indigenous peoples have adapted into their various unique and distinct contemporary forms by adhering to two important cultural principles: 1) that incorporating new ways of doing things should be carefully considered in consultation with community and elders and according to customary law; and, 2) if it is determined that a new technology or institution goes against fundamental cultural values and/or might lead to negative cultural impact, or breaches customary law, then it should not be adopted. For their part, indigenous artists have adapted their works into various unique and distinct contemporary forms by adhering to two important cultural principles: 1) that incorporating TK with new mediums and technologies should be carefully considered in consultation community and elders, and according to customary law; and, 2) if it is determined that the use of TK goes against fundamental cultural values and/or might lead to negative cultural impact, or constitutes a breech of customary law, then it should not be used.

Indigenous jurisprudence and law should protect indigenous knowledge. In relation to Eurocentric law, indigenous jurisprudence of each heritage should be seen as an issue of conflict of laws and comparative jurisprudence. Indigenous law and protocols should prevail over Eurocentric patent, trademark or copyrights law. In certain cases, consensual conciliation may be reached. (3). It is possible, however, to imagine that a fusion of concepts from customary law and IP law could be developed to regulate the use of TK in contemporary contexts. In Canada, indigenous jurisprudence, knowledge and heritage is uniquely constitutionally protected as Aboriginal or treaty rights in section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and section 25 in the Charter. The Charter also recognises the constitutional and legal rights to Aboriginal heritage (s. 27), languages (s. 22), and education (s. 29). There have also been some significant developments in the area of common law in Canada and Australia that should be examined for their relevance with regard to establishing TK regulations. The following section will examine these cases particularly for their disclosures for potential development of TK regulation in Canada.

## Snow, Teberge and moral rights

In 1931, Canada became the first of the copyright countries to enact a moral rights clause in its domestic legislation. The moral rights clause, Section 12 (5), was adopted by Canadian legislators as a preliminary to this country's ratification of the Berne Convention. In fact, paternity and integrity rights of authors of dramatic and operatic works and musical compositions had been recognised by the Criminal Code, enacted in 1915 (Section 508B). Furthermore, Quebec's Theatrical Performance Act, passed in 1919, provided for the protection of the moral rights of authors along the lines of the Criminal Code's S. 508B, including penal sanctions for the violation of those rights. Two prominent cases have been advanced by non-indigenous Canadian artists to test moral rights application to creative works.

In 1988, the High Court of Ontario ruled in favour of artist Michael Snow, who brought a suit against the Eaton Centre in Toronto, claiming that his moral rights had been infringed when red Christmas ribbons were tied around the necks of the flock of Canada geese that form his distinctive sculpture. In March 2002 the Supreme Court of Canada (SCC) issued a decision in the case of Montreal artist Claude Théberge. The Court was asked to determine the extent to which an artist can control an authorised

reproduction of a work used or displayed by a third party purchaser. The Court ruled against Théberge, saying that "respect must be given to the limitations that are an essential part of the moral rights created by Parliament", accusing him of trying "to assert a moral right in the guise of an economic right" (Taylor, Crean and Young-Ing).

The High Court of Ontario ruling in the Snow Case was a precedent-setting case for the recognition of artists' moral rights in Canada. However, The SCC's more recent ruling in the Théberge case appears to have turned back the trend to recognise artists moral rights in Canadian Law and runs contrary to Canada's obligation under Section 12 (5) of the Berne Convention. moral rights are significant for TK holders as it appears to be one of the key points where IP Laws converge with customary laws.

## Moral rights and traditional knowledge

Other protective mechanisms for IP, besides copyright, patents and trademarks, that have been explored with regard to their potential to protect TK, include: trade secrets, industrial designs, plant breeders rights, geographic indicators and certification marks. However, it is not within the scope of this paper to go into those discussions and issues. Of these various European IP and other concepts and regulations that have been applied to TK, and in lieu of the widespread non-indigenous misappropriation of TK, moral rights draws close parallels with what indigenous peoples are seeking for the regulation of TK. moral rights capacity to protect artistic work against "any distortion, mutilation of, or derogatory action in relation to the said work which would be prejudicial to honour or reputation" is a concept that is also in line with aspects of indigenous customary laws. However, the apparent contradicting messages in the Snow and Théberge decisions leave moral rights in a state of legal limbo in Canada at the present time.

Protection for TK under section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, and section 25 in the Charter appear much clearer; these clauses, however, remain relatively untested for their capacity to protect TK and all test cases are required to begin this process. Cases in Australia will be discussed in the following section that provides some concrete useful concepts and the beginning of a common law framework for TK protection.

## The Carpets Case

Imported carpets containing direct copies of the artworks of three Aboriginal artists were discovered coming into the Australian market in 1993. Banduk Marika, the only remaining living of the three artists, initiated a case against the importer Indofern, who was importing the carpets from a carpet company based in Vietnam (a country which is not a signatory to the Berne Convention). Marika's work *Djanda and the Sacred Waterhole*, one of the images on the carpets, was contained in an educational portfolio produced by the National Australian Gallery. In the ensuing investigation surrounding the M* vs. Indofern Case, a copy of the portfolio was found in the Vietnam carpet factory, thus establishing the portfolio as the source of the appropriation.

Marika argued that the image was under the communal ownership of the Rirratjingu Clan and was of great cultural significance as it forms part of the Rirratjingu creation story. She further explained that the traditional Rirratjingu custodians had granted her permission to paint the image and reproduce the portfolio for the purposes of educating people on Aboriginal culture, but not for any commercial use. Therefore, the carpets constituted an "Unauthorised Reproduction under customary law." In addition, under Section 37 of the Copyright Act, it "is an infringement of copyright to import copies of artistic works without the license of the copyright owner for the purposes of sale." Justice Von Doussa was satisfied that Indofern had constructive knowledge of the infringement in that a "reasonable person, particularly one about to engage in the business of selling carpets in Australia" had to have knowledge of the facts.

Apart from the copyright infringement recognised in the Case, Justice Von Doussa also allotted damages for "Culturally-Based harm"; however, as moral rights were not introduced in the Copyright Act until the Copyright Amendment (Moral Rights) Act 2000, no specific moral rights implications for TK were brought into the case. If moral rights had been in existence at the time the Carpets Case was heard, the artists may have had additional claims for infringement of moral rights including: 1) infringement of the right of attribution of authorship; and, 2) infringement of the rights of integrity of authorship in respect of the work. (4)

## Bulan Bulanbulan vs. Anor R & T Textiles Pty. Ltd.

The Aboriginal artist John Bulan Bulan had launched a previous case in 1989 against a T-shirt manufacturer that was settled out of court: however, his 1996 Case against R & T Textiles ended up to be far more significant. In 1996 fabric was discovered on the market in Australia that was derived from part of Bulan Bulan's painting *Magpie Geese and Water Lilies at the Waterhole*, which depicted part of the Ganalbingu and Yolngu peoples TK. Mr. Bulan Bulan noted that, under Ganalbingu law, ownership of land has a corresponding obligation to create artworks, design, songs and other aspect of ritual and ceremony that go with the land. He argued further that unauthorised reproduction of the artwork threatened the whole system in ways that underpin the stability and continuance of Yolngu society. (Jenke, 2003).

Justice Von Doussa (the same judge as in the Carpet Case) recognised Bulan Bulan as the copyright holder of *Magpie Geese and Water Lilies at the Waterhole,* but did not recognise the claim of joint ownership (i.e. ownership by Bulan Bulan and the Ganalbingu community) on the grounds that it did not constitute a "work of joint authorship" under Section 10(1) of the Copyright Act (i.e. a collaboration between 2 or more authors). Although the Bulan Bulan Case extended copyright protection for TK where a portion of the original work was copied and altered, it still does not extend that protection to TK in a non-material form (Jenke, 2003), nor did it recognise the indigenous group as copyright holders in perpetuity. Again, as with the Carpets Case, no significant moral rights issues entered the case as it was also within Australia's pre-moral rights era.

## The Legacy of Bill Reid

An examination of the legacy of the late Haida Artist, Bill Reid, reveals some useful insights and concepts for TK regulation within the context of the arts. Reid was the grandson of Haida artist Charles Edenshaw and nephew of the Haida artist Charles Galdstone, who had began to push Haida artistic boundaries. Gladstone and Edenshaw were among the first Haida artists to access new mediums and technologies introduced by Europeans, such as various metals and industrialised carving tools. In their traditional artistic practices they were both totem pole carvers and made copper bracelets and hair pendants adorned with traditional Haida designs. With the introduction of European culture and new materials and tools, they also began making objects such as brooches and napkin rings using gold and silver. Edenshaw knew, as every great Native artist before him, how to push the limits of design while adhering to the traditional vocabulary of Native art. (5)

Reid sometimes claimed that his grandfather, Charles Gladstone, had instructed him in the lore, history and tradition of the Haida people when he was in his early teens. (6). Charles Edenshaw trained directly under his uncle Charles Gladstone and started to develop his skills as a young carver and jewellery maker after a long visit with his uncle in 1897. As he was making the career transition from radio broadcaster to artist in the 1950s, Bill Reid visited his uncle Charles Edenshaw to train under him on several occasions. The Haida artistic lineage, therefore, was passed from Gladstone to Edenshaw to Reid in accordance with Haida customary law. From the beginning of his artistic career, Reid set out to continue along the path of Gladstone and Edenshaw in transforming the Haida artistic tradition. After completing a two year jewellery making course at Ryerson Institute of Technology in the early 1950s, Reid told a reporter, Rhodi Lake, that "he wanted to apply the principles of contemporary jewellery-making to Haida art… in order to cultivate a 20$^{th}$ century audience for his work. (7).

Another important of aspect Reid's legacy is that he set out to move indigenous art out the commonly held perception of unevolving folkloric work to be viewed in museums, to the status of high art to be viewed in galleries. In this effort Reid had a part in organising an exhibit of indigenous art called "The Arts and Handicrafts Show" at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1954, and also exhibited jewellery in the show. In the mid 1950s, Reid also undertook many visits to Haida Gwai to salvage many of the ancient totem poles, study them, and carve new poles, masks and sculptures based on his interpretation of the Haida tradition. Reid believed that traditional Haida aesthetics could be improved upon. For example, he stated that he did not like the shapes of some of the faces and noses on the ancient poles, so he was going to shape them differently. In spring of the 1959, Reid resigned from his job at the CBC (8) in order to work full time on a project recreating a Haida village at the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) with the assistance of Nimkish carver Doug Cranmer.

Reid's and Cranmer's work on the project received some attention at the time because of the tools they were using. Reid often spoke with passion about his tools, most of which he made up himself (based on adaptations of traditional tools). At the same time he appreciated the speed of power tools. (9). The MOA UBC project was the time indigenous carvers publicly used chain saws to do the bucking and roughing-out work on totem poles.

Throughout his career as an artist Reid also associated and worked with many Haida and other indigenous artists who informed his work. Throughout the 1960s through to the 1990s he continued his innovations of Haida symbols in jewellery, mask, and totem pole making. Through repousee, casting, soldering and silver overlay, Ried had extended Northwest coast jewellery into three dimensions (whereas) past technology only allowed shallow engraving of designs on metal surfaces. (10) He also made large wood carvings the size of which had not been seen before in the Haida tradition (i.e. *Bear Sculpture* 1962 and *Raven and the First Man* 1980) and bronze cast even larger monumental sculptures (i.e. *Killer Whale* 1985 and *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii* 1989) which represented the first time that medium had been applied to Haida art.

## Indigenous national artistic licence

At the end of his career he had become an icon in the Canadian art world and was regarded an ambassador and hero of the Haida nation. Reid's transformation of Haida art—based on the use of new technologies, the development of new forms, and the use of new mediums—gradually earned him the status of master artist, which in turn allowed him to train younger Haida artists such as Robert Davidson. His status as master artist was granted because he did pay homage to the Haida traditions and began his work in accordance with to Haida customary law—which he also paid homage to throughout his career, while at the same time breaking new ground. These aspects of Reid's work afforded him a type of "license" from the Haida nation to transform their artistic traditions in a respectful manner.

This concept of "license" is a type of "permission to innovate TK" that characterises part of the relationship between the indigenous artist and the indigenous nation to which they belong, and could be termed "indigenous national artistic license." The concept of indigenous national artistic license represents an example of the evolutional nature of customary law's ability to adapt to contemporary contexts.

## Key concepts in developing traditional knowledge regulation in the arts

It is clear that there are pressing issues in the regulation of TK in the arts. It is also clear that there are problems to which the IPR system and other Eurocentric concepts do not offer a solution. Such discrepancies between the TK and the IP system have led certain academics and indigenous peoples to reject the current system in its entirety. Some have argued that the protection of TK requires the establishment of an entirely new system. In the developing literature and discourse, this proposed new system is usually referred to as "Sui Generis." An "intellectual property-like" system could be adopted to suit TK needs. The TK/IP interface forces us to re-evaluate IP fundamentals. The central question in this debate is, can IP be a truly global system recognising various forms of traditional creations and innovations, and grant some protection to collective rights holders?

Based on the discussion of issues outlined in this paper, new regimes of protection and regulation for TK in the Arts could combine aspects of customary law and Eurocentric Law and should incorporate the following key principles:

1. a) Indigenous nations have a collective ownership over their TK, which could be expressed as a form of "collective copyright."
   b) In the development of a "collective copyright" system, a "collective royalty" system could also be considered. Another consideration could be that royalty payments for the use of TK could go into established Indigenous Nations Arts Funds and/or scholarships and/or an established National Indigenous Arts Fund and/or scholarship.
2. Indigenous nations' TK has a natural form of moral rights, which could be expressed as "collective moral rights."
3. New regimes of protection for TK should be based on and/or incorporate customary law.
4. In cases of conflict between regimes, customary law should prevail over eurocentric law.

5. Certain aspects of TK should not enter the public domain (as deemed under customary law) and should remain protected as such into perpetuity, which could be expressed as a form of "indigenous private domain."
6. Indigenous artists have indigenous national artistic license that grants them permission to adapt their particular indigenous nations' TK in their work.
7. Non-indigenous people and indigenous peoples from other indigenous nations do not have indigenous national artistic license that grants them permission to adapt their particular indigenous nations' TK in their work.
8. Non-indigenous people and indigenous peoples from other indigenous nations should attain prior informed consent in use of a particular indigenous nations TK in art (and other tangible commercial objects).
    a) Enforcement of infringements of TK regulation should incorporate the concept of "cultural harm" and damages should reflect the severity of the harm.
    b) Reimbursement payments for profits made from unauthorised use of TK could also be considered. These payments could be made to the same established funds suggested in 1.b above.

## Conclusions

There is clearly a perceived need to legislate a *sui generis* system to match identified needs of TK holders. On the other hand, some would argue that resorting to a *sui generis* system should be a solution of last resort, because it usually indicates that instead of finding out why the system does not work, a "tailored" system is legislatively put in place without necessarily thinking about its impact on the existing system. In order to avoid stretching the current IP canvas beyond what is reasonable; a *sui generis* regime could be established and extended through a new international instrument. This could happen much more easily once the countries most advanced in the consideration of this issue have adopted and tested certain forms of protection of TK and shown that these new forms of protection actually work and meet the needs and expectations of TK holders.

International discussions around TK are ongoing in such international forums as UNESCO, WIPO, The Convention on Bio-Diversity (CBD), and the TRIPs Agreement within the WTO. The most active of these forums on issues of TK has been WIPO's Intergovernmental Committee on Traditional Knowledge, Genetic Resources and Folklore (IGC). The IGC has done more research on TK by far than any other international body through its first mandate which expired in June 2003. At the final meeting of the IGC first mandate, the 179 member states overwhelmingly expressed the view that a *sui generis* international instrument to protect TK must be developed.

The IGC also recognised, for the first time, that indigenous peoples must have a voice and input into the IGC process. The IGC June 2003 meeting also heard presentations from ten member states who have developed sui generis legislation to protect TK including Nigeria, Zambia, Brazil, China, Costa Rica, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Thailand and the U.S. (Sui generis TK legislation has also been implemented in Panama and is in the process of development in South Africa). Now going into its second mandate, indications are that the IGC is moving from a research to a political mandate (Craig, 2003).

At the Sixth Session of the IGC in March 2004 a proposal for an International Instrument (Document 6/12) and a proposal for the IGC to work collaboratively with the Parties to the Convention on Biodiversity (CBD) (Documents 6/13) emerged as the key issues. After long debates over the 6/13 CBD proposal, the Chair concluded that no consensus could be reached; therefore, the matter was referred back to the WIPO General Assembly.

Document 6/12 was a proposal submitted by the African Group containing principles and objectives for the drafting of a binding International Instrumental for the protection of Traditional Knowledge, Folklore and Genetic Resources. Some debate over particular elements of 6/12 ensued, but the member states generally agreed that the document provided a good basis to move forward on the issue. The member states also generally agreed that national frameworks for sui generis legislation for Traditional Knowledge, Folklore and Genetic Resources should continue, complimentary to the work the IGC should undertake to accelerate the process of drafting a binding International Instrument(s). The Secretariat has also initiated research on the application of indigenous customary law in the

international instrument(s). A statement of principles to be incorporated into an International Instrument(s) was also presented by a group of indigenous NGOs who had held caucuses throughout the session.

While international efforts continue to discuss and develop regulations for TK protection, complimentary efforts must be made on domestic fronts at the same time. Countries with wide-spread abuse of TK in the arts and other areas, like Canada and Australia, must move quickly to bring about domestic regimes of protection that will be in line with developing international regimes. The Carpet Case and the Bulan Bulan Case in Australia have begun the process by establishing indigenous copyright (the same protective mechanism that started the European IP system), although the Court stopped short of recognising collective copyright. In Bulan Bulan this was done on what could be seen as an erroneous attempt to apply the concept of indigenous collective ownership to the concept of "joint authorship." Test cases on TK and Australia's relatively new moral rights regime are impending.

In Canada, the contradictory judgements of the Snow and the Berge cases leave all creative works relative to moral rights in question, let alone TK, and further tests are also required. Meanwhile, the SCC has yet to consider the existence of a collective Aboriginal Right to ownership and control of Aboriginal cultural property. (11). Again, test cases are required in Canada. Meanwhile Canada and Australia need to begin the process of working with indigenous groups on the development of new regimes or face the problems of conflicting binding regimes when international standards are set.

The indigenous humanities and visual arts are integral to the renewal and revitalisation of indigenous knowledge (Henderson, 2004), yet they continue to be exploited unabated by appropriators who often can use the IP system to protect themselves. The IP system was conceived and developed independently of the TK system and later imposed upon the TK system through the colonisation process. The IP system never took into account indigenous cultural protocols, or the intrinsic value of TK, yet its economic institutions now exploit TK while indigenous peoples remain the most economically deprived population in the world. National and international sui generis regimes of protection for TK based on TK protocols and current global economic realities are required to resolve the situation and must be created with the participation of indigenous peoples.

## Bibliography


Bell, C., & Paterson, R. (2003). Aboriginal Rights and Repatriation of Cultural Property. In *Box of Treasures or Empty Box: 20 Years of Section 35.* Theytus Books, Penticton.

Brown, M. (2003). *Who Owns Native Culture?*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Duffek, K., & Bill, R. (1986). *Beyond the Essential Form.* UBC Press: Vancouver.

Henderson, S. (2004). Traditional Indigenous Knowledge.

Jenke, T. (2003). *Minding Culture: Case Studies on Intellectual Property and Traditional Cultural Expressions*. World Intellectual Property Organisation: Geneva.

Taylor, C., Crean, S., & Young-Ing, G. (2003). Handbook on Creator's Rights, *Creators' Rights Alliance*, Toronto.

Tippett, M. (2004). *Bill Reid: The Making of an Indian*. Random House: Toronto.