Women's Studies Journal

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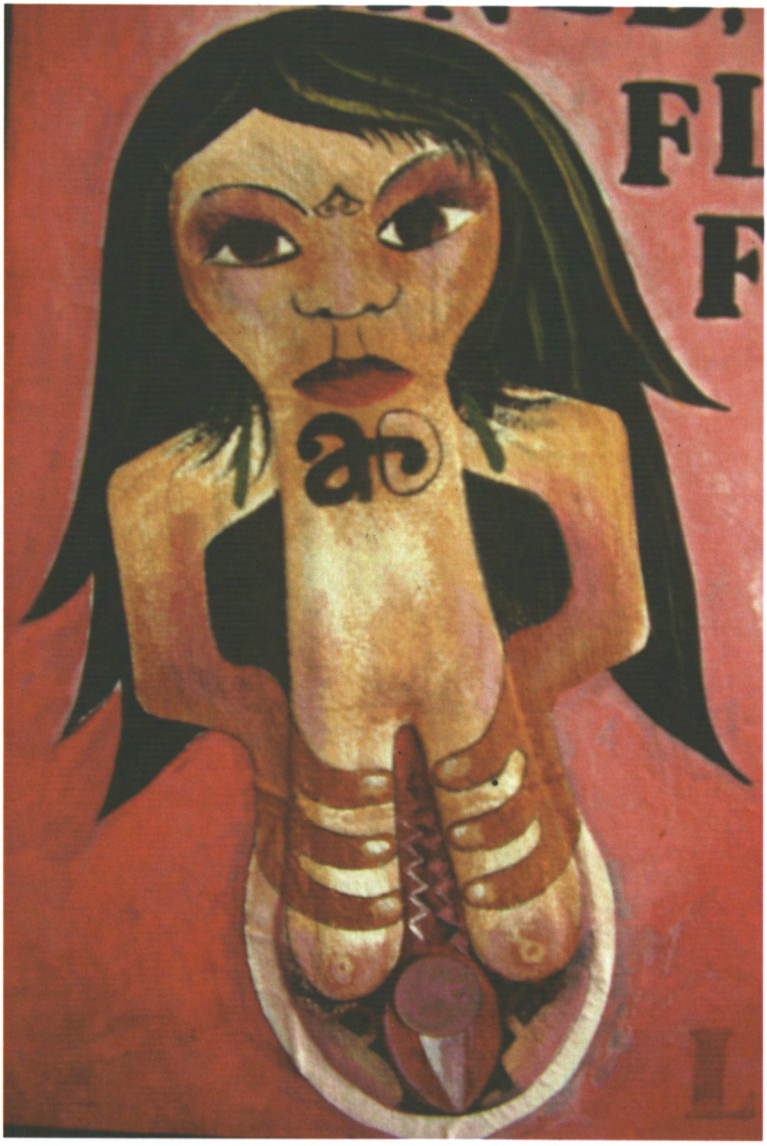

SPECIAL EDITION: MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

Women's Studies Journal

Volume 21, Number 2

2007

Special edition:

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

The Women's Studies Association of New Zealand
with Otago University Press

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Wahine Toa (2006), by Chanz Mikaere, reproduced here with permission.

Special Issue: Pacific Knowledges

The experiences and perspectives of Pasifika women have a unique contribution to make to women's studies. It is almost a decade since the first Pacific-themed *Women's Studies Journal* issue in 1998, subsequently published as the book 'Bitter sweet: indigenous women in the Pacific' (2000) edited by Alison Jones, Phyllis Herda, and Tamasailau Sua'ali'i. The 2008 Pacific Knowledges issue will be a timely contribution, augmenting and assessing the field of women's studies in New Zealand and the Pacific.

We invite submissions of papers which examine and expound the diversity of perspectives on and contexts for Pasifika women's lives. Contributions could include a focus on: New Zealand-born Pasifika women, Pacific Island nation contexts, theoretical discussions, and accounts of Pasifika feminist activity. We particularly encourage 'new voices' (younger women and previously unpublished writers) to make submissions, and co-authorship between established and emerging writers will be warmly welcomed.

The deadline for submissions is 18th April 2008. Papers should be sent electronically to any of the guest editors for this Special Issue of the *Women's Studies Journal* (New Zealand) listed below:

Tracie Mafile'o, Massey University/Pacific Adventist University (tracie-taupo@xtra.co.nz)

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop, Victoria University of Wellington (peggy.fairburn-dunlop@vuw.ac.nz)

Teresia Teaiwa, Victoria University of Wellington (teresia.teaiwa@vuw.ac.nz)

Sailau Sua'ali'i-Sauni, University of Auckland (s.suaalii@auckland.ac.nz)

Contributions should be 5000–8000 words long, including tables, notes and references. APA referencing preferred, but footnotes or endnotes also welcome. All submissions accepted for publication will be blind refereed.

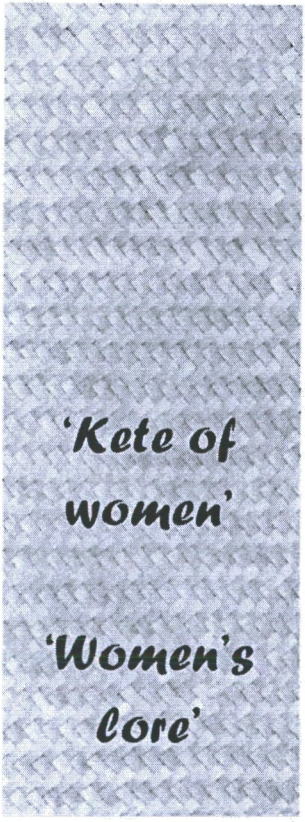
Women's Studies Association Conference 2008

You are invited to contribute with workshops, presentations and papers for the WSA 2008 Conference that explores 'Kete of Women' - baskets which hold different knowledge that resourceful women might use in different ways.

How can we reflect on women's experiences in the development of a critical body of knowledge? How can women acknowledge the role of Tangata Whenua and Mana Wāhine Maori?

Kete of Women – Women's Lore seeks to investigate the ways in which women respond to, reproduce and challenge gendered inequalities locally and globally. The goal is to give voice to women's stories or 'women's lore' in Aotearoa/ New Zealand and other regions. What are women's narratives and how do women 'come together' around these issues?

This could involve narratives about women's diverse and shared experiences and how they intersect with different backgrounds. This could include institutions of the family and the law, sexual identities and negotiations, disabilities, systems that disadvantage women, community perspectives, youth and communication culture.



February 1-3
Hanson Hall
Southern Institute of Technology
Invercargill, Southland

Send us a title and description or an abstract of up to 200 words of your workshop, panel discussion, poster, presentation or paper; with your name, postal address, phone, fax and e-mail. DEADLINE 26 Nov 2007

E-mail it to
womens-studies-association@canterbury.ac.nz

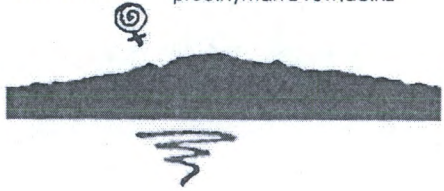
or post it to
Karen Due Theilade, School of Sociology & Anthropology
University of Canterbury
Private Bag 4800,Christchurch

All contributions in line with WSANZ aims will be accepted. Workshops, posters and papers from community-based groups and post graduate students are especially welcome.

Presenters must be women and members of WSANZ. You can (re)join now for 2007/2008 or with your registration.

E-mail queries
About the conference:
Diane Gillespie
digill@xtra.co.nz
About WSANZ:
prue.hyman@vuw.ac.nz

For more information go to
www.wsanz.org.nz/conference.html



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Women's Studies Association (NZ) Inc.

WSA (NZ), PO Box 5382, Wellington
www.wsanz.org.nz

The Women's Studies Association (NZ) is a feminist organisation formed to promote radical social change through the medium of women's studies. We believe that a feminist perspective necessarily acknowledges oppression on the grounds of race, sexuality, class and disability as well as gender. We acknowledge the Māori people as tangata whenua of Aotearoa. This means we have a particular responsibility to address their oppression among our work and activities.

Full membership of the Association is open to all women. Other individuals may become associate members. Annual membership includes three newsletters per year and inclusion on the wsanz e-list.

Organisations and institutions	$35
Individuals, medium-high income	$35
Individuals, low/medium income	$25
Individuals, low income	$10
Secondary school pupils	$5

Women's Studies Journal goes electronic in 2008

The New Zealand *Women's Studies Journal* has been produced in hard copy since 1984 and has become a widely respected peer-reviewed academic journal. That high standard won't change, but it's time to update our format for the 21st Century.

From 2008 the Women's Studies Association is planning to publish the Journal electronically. Making it available free of charge on the Association's website www.wsanz.org.nz will mean our articles reach more students and women in the community, as well as being available to academics at their desktops. Academics will be able to locate references to the *Journal*'s articles via literature databases. Women everywhere will be able to identify and locate full text articles using internet search engines such as Google and become familiar with our website and the Association itself.

The *Women's Studies Journal* is essential reading for academics with an interest in gender issues, focusing on research and debate concerning women's studies in New Zealand and the Pacific. Its two annual issues contain articles from a wide range of feminist positions and disciplinary backgrounds. Some issues focus on a particular theme, while other issues are broad in scope. The *Journal* contains a wealth of resource material, and some issues have been used as texts in several tertiary institutions. It features:

- A New Zealand/Pacific emphasis
- Māori and indigenous women's issues
- The latest in feminist theory and philosophy
- Exciting recent research
- Contemplative, analytical and provocative articles
- Reviews of books, films and performances.

The new electronic Journal will continue to be edited in Palmerston North by the Editorial Collective comprising Jenny Coleman (Coordinating Editor), Leigh Coombes, Mandy Morgan and Michelle Lunn. Information about how to submit an article to general and upcoming special theme issues is available on www.wsa.org.nz.

Acknowledgements

We mihi to our whānau who have continually nurtured and supported us.

This whole edition could not have been compiled without the contributions from our kaituhi [authors], we thank you for allowing us to include your valuable kōrero here.

Thank you to Mandy Morgan and Leigh Coombes who had the vision and faith in our abilities when we were entirely unconvinced.

To the constant and supportive voice of Jenny Coleman who introduced us to the intricacies of editing a journal with patience and understanding.

To Otago University Press, for the dedication and quality of work you have allowed us to publish with, we thank you for this edition and your previous support in producing the *Women's Studies Journal.*

1. Te Timatanga [Inception]

HUKARERE VALENTINE & BRONWYN CAMPBELL

Kia hiwa rā! Kia hiwa rā! Kia hiwa rā ki tēnei tuku, kia hiwa rā ki tēnā tuku! Kia tu! Kia toa! Kia mataara!! He mihi tēnei ki ngā ūkaipo o ngā iwi, ki a koutou ngā wāhine mā!
Kei apurua tonu koe ki te toto, whakapuru tonu, whakapuru tonu.
Haumi e, Hui e! Taiki e! He mihi tēnei ki ngā ūkaipo o ngā iwi, ki a koutou ngā wāhine toa!

Mātauranga Māori has a traditional description more deep and broad than what can possibly be provided here. For us, it has existed mai rā ano [forever]. There are a variety of translations for Mātauranga Māori, many of which are insufficient: education, knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill (Te Aka Māori Dictionary online, 2006). At a broader level mātauranga also encompasses cosmology, epistemology, and ontology. All these iterations of mātauranga speak of a relationship with the world that is negotiated through language and belief. Mātauranga Māori 'comes with the people, with the culture and with the language. Mātauranga Māori is and will be' (Mead, 2003, p. 306). Perhaps the best translation is that Mātauranga Māori gives life meaning.

Our cosmology includes an appreciation of Te Ao Mārama as the manifestation of the potential for understanding that begins in Te Kore and Te Pō[1] (Walker, 1996; Tawhai, 2006). 'Māori cosmogony not only provides the key to an understanding of how our tūpuna viewed the world and their place within it; it also informs our present conceptions of ourselves and therefore continues to shape our practices and beliefs' (Mikaere, 2003, p. 13). Understanding or learning about mātauranga is not exclusively present in learning institutes such as whare wānanga, schools and universities. Mātauranga Māori is not restricted by institutional education; knowledge exists in all aspects of life, from the mundane to the highly specialised. Through our social, political and cultural development the manifestation of Mātauranga Māori has adapted to address the contemporary environment.

For Māori, the relationships between people and mātauranga are not the same as those of our non-Māori counterparts, for knowledge cannot be owned. Mātauranga comes from Tāne-nui-a-rangi ascending to Rangiatea [the heavenly realms] to bring back to earth knowledge for mankind. This quest for mātauranga and the stories that are relayed about it communicate the tapu [need to respect] that is necessary for learning or engaging with mātauranga. Mātauranga does not need tāngata [a human] in order to be relevant or valid. Mātauranga is not finite or contained, its explanation and many manifestations are multiple and dynamic.

Understanding Mātauranga Māori involves dimensions of wairuatanga and ahuatanga that defy articulation. Traditionally this included tikanga, kawa, waiata, mōteatea, whakapapa, kōrero pūrakau, karakia, karanga, whaikōrero, tukutuku, kowhaiwhai, whakairo.[2] We are not creating an official definition of Mātauranga Māori, rather offering a collection of writings from wahine who weave Mātauranga Māori into the mahi [work] they are doing.

The relations between Māori and Pākehā in Aotearoa have influenced the transmission of Mātauranga Māori. Among modern Māori the adaption of a traditional understanding of Mātauranga Māori has necessarily and inevitably been transformed from what originally was. This is not to assume that traditional versions of Mātauranga Māori do not exist. This is merely to create the space necessary for an appreciation of ngā matatini Māori [diverse Māori realities] (Durie, 1997) and also of the multiple cultural practices that give lives meaning.

The revival of Kaupapa Māori methodology and epistemologies has become an increasingly important part of our research and teaching practices. Colonial constructions of Mātauranga Māori as 'an artefact of the past with no relevance to the present' (Stewart, 1997, p. 82) are slowly being replaced with an appreciation of Mātauranga Māori as increasingly relevant, valid and sophisticated. Mātauranga Māori has informed a growing number of researchers, and in the tradition of written publication, Mātauranga Māori enjoys a widening audience.

It is no coincidence that this recognition comes at a time when the first generations who have had the privilege of being schooled in Māori immersion education blossom into our society. Our Māori leaders of the 1970s had a vision and created a pathway and laid

the wero [challenge] that Apirana Ngata had handed down to his mokopuna: to succeed in a Pākehā world without losing sight of their Māori identity. We are now at a point where those dreams are being realised, as the institutional and international recognition of te ao Māori intensifies. Two areas of particular note are te Tiriti o Waitangi [Treaty of Waitangi] and the role of te reo Māori in understanding Mātauranga Māori.

Mātauranga Māori has re-emerged within a political, social and historical context that requires acknowledgement of the foundations upon which contemporary bicultural relations have evolved. For Māori, the Tiriti o Waitangi [Treaty of Waitangi] (see Appendix A) reminds Pākehā and non-Māori citizens of their ancestor's promises to the tangata whenua [people of the land] of Aotearoa and the moral and legal agreement upon which the British Crown (and then Colonial Government) was to be granted legitimate political authority. In the face of adversity, Māori communities maintain that the Tiriti/Treaty represents a covenant between Māori and the British Crown/Settler Government.

Te reo Māori is an important part of Mātauranga Māori; through it mātauranga that is specifically oriented to Māori understandings of the world normalises the cosmology and ontology of te ao Māori.[3] In this particular edition we have used a convention that – as much as possible – treats te reo Māori [the Māori language] as normal: words are *not* italicised and in the first instance an English translation is provided in the main text. In subsequent instances the reader unfamiliar with te reo Māori can be directed to the end of this volume for a complete glossary (see Appendix B).

The practice of translation is problematic in that rather than referencing a universal truth, we always speak and understand in ways that are culturally specific. For example, the Māori concept of whenua is not the same as the Pākehā concept of land, even though these kupu [words] are often offered as equivalents. The same could be argued for the definitions offered here; in response we acknowledge the inaccuracy and appreciate that translation can and does transform meaning (Campbell, 2005). We have offered translations/transformations in the spirit of inclusiveness, to make these experiences of Mātauranga Māori more accessible to those not proficient in te reo Māori. A few Māori words are not translated: Māori, Pākehā, Kiwi and Aotearoa. These words are normalised.

Contributions for this edition have come from all over the motu [land] and indeed te ao [the world]. All have a very clear orientation to a Māori experience and understanding of our world. Much information is taken for granted here, as is the case when through ethnocentrism you orientate to a particular culture.

An important component is the relatedness that exists between the mātauranga and the 'reader'. We urge you to embrace the opportunity to engage with this kōrero. You will not achieve mastery [appropriation] of Mātauranga Māori through digesting this complete volume of work. We humbly hope that through the following works you will increase your appreciation of the complexity, relevance and validity of Mātauranga Māori. Western literary tradition often attacked the integrity of indigenous knowledge by nullifying. Māori 'myth' is relegated to the non-fiction section of the library and offered as 'quaint tradition'. In colonial discourse there is little time or space to consider that indigenous voices have anything to add to 'scientific exploration', 'empirical data', and 'hard evidence'. There are a number of instances in the following works where Māori Cosmology is used as a framework. Not only is Mātauranga Māori relevant in current society, it is entirely necessary.

Māori leaders, practitioners and communities are increasingly acknowledging and engaging in relationships with indigenous peoples worldwide. It is therefore fitting that we open this Special Edition with the collaborative work of ***Rachael Selby*** and ***Lily Rose Nomfundo Mlisa***. These wāhine show how similar the tikanga of naming processes and ceremonies are between the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand and South Afrika. Processes of colonisation remain disturbingly apparent, particularly through historical education practices that subjugated naming practices for indigenous peoples. This legacy was an all too common school experience for Māori. While the sanctioned practice of 'anglo-fying' indigenous names has thankfully passed into obscurity, the mispronunciation of Māori words remains a common practice. Asserting the integrity of (spoken) Māori language acknowledges the significance of te reo Māori as a taonga, and an essential carrier of Mātauranga Māori.

Mātauranga Māori can take many forms. For all of the senses there are different specialities. This edition acknowledges written/spoken forms of mātauranga and also visual elements of understanding and communicating. ***Chanz Mikaere*** has created a name for herself as a

bold and highly skilled artist, communicating contemporary Māori issues through her work, including presenting a series of works at a Waitangi Tribunal case. The kaupapa of mana wahine and political prowess is channelled through Chanz into works with a distinct political edge. This collection clearly speaks for itself; however, a whakamārama from Chanz has been composed. She presents this work as a commentary on social, cultural and political developments of recent times.

Drawing from her research experiences, ***Katarina Gray-Sharp*** weaves together kōrero into a Tāniko to offer a research framework that is built upon understandings of Mana Wāhine, Te Ao Tawhito, Te Ao Hou, and Te Ao Mārama.[4] She understands Māori research in its various forms at the most basic and collective level to be an expression of Māori epistemology and essential for continued Māori development. While her approach acknowledges the racialised and colonised discourses of Māori marginalisation, a positive orientation to the future is maintained with a clear and powerful assertion of Mana Māori.

Helene Conner similarly emphasises the fusion of Māori and Western approaches to research here. She claims hybridity can create spaces for creativity while also articulating difference. Biographical methodology is offered as a means for Māori women to tell stories where their authentic voices are 'invisible' and otherwise silenced. Similiarly, she recognises the potential for kaupapa Māori approaches to 'weave' in and out of Māori and Western ways of knowing. Helene offers ten principles that weave together to provide a foundation for Māori feminism. Whānau, whakapapa, reo and tikanga sit alongside appreciating dimensions of tinana, wairua and hinengaro within the context of power, self-determination and balance. She speaks of 'coming home' as the security achieved by creating relevant and safe places for Māori in feminist research.

Margaret Forster brings our focus to a particular time and place with the oral history project of the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28 (Māori) Battalion. This research project also locates research in Māori institutions, principles and practices, creating important spaces for attaining cultural identity, legitimising Mātauranga Māori, and making a contribution to positive Māori development. In this project the community had ownership of the research, was engaged in the process and this guaranteed the outcomes were sensible and useful for Ngāti Kahungunu.

In the final contribution for this special edition, ***Hukarere Valentine*** presents a Māori understanding of grief and explores the domain of Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama in the context of understanding tangihanga [the process of tangi]. Hukarere provides keen and deep insights into the ancient ceremonies around the farewell of our dead through tangihanga, highlighting the psychological benefits of our ancient processes of tangihanga. Here the framework of Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama [Māori cosmology] contextualises the phases of grief within tangihanga.

These kōrero are offered here as examples of Mātauranga Māori in action. We by no means have achieved a full and final volume, for these understandings and experiences are eternally unfolding. Many of the wāhine speak of the wairua element of mātauranga, yet we have no kōrero on moemoea [dreams, sometimes prophetic]. If we told you that a moemoea spoke of this journal before it was a known idea for us, would you believe it? Or would you dismiss such information as 'impossible'? Mātauranga Māori does not require your acquiescence in order to be valid. Mātauranga Māori has existed long before our time and will continue to thrive in the future. 'Mātauranga Māori is and will be' (Mead, 2003, p. 306).

Ko te manu e kai ana i te miro, nōna te ngahere
Te manu e kai ana i te mātauranga, nōna te ao

Notes

[1] See Walker (1996) for a more detailed discussion of Te Kore, Te Pō and Te Ao Mārama.

[2] These are a limited selection of Mātauranga Māori that are represented through the various practices listed here (by no means an exhaustive list). Translations of these concepts and practices are difficult because for some there are no equivalents in English language. For a more detailed discussion of these concepts we recommend Mead (2003) and Barlow (1991).

[3] *te ao māori:* the māori world

[4] See Ani's contribution for translations of these concepts.

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II. NGĀ WĀHINE MĀ

Mihimihi [*Introductions*] *are a normal part of Māori tikanga* [*process*]. *Here each of the wāhine introduce themselves:*

HUKARERE VALENTINE

Kahuranaki te maunga
Ngaruroro te awa
Takitimu te waka
Ngati Kahungunu te iwi.
Ko Ngati Ngarengare te hapū
Ko Hukarere Valentine tōku ingoa.

I was born in a small village 7.4 km south of Hastings known as Paki Paki. I have been living in Palmerston North for the last seven years with my partner and our children in order to complete my Doctorate in Clinical Psychology. I am the youngest of 11 children in total. I have affiliations with Ngai Tahu through my father, and Kahungunu ki Heretaunga, Kahungunu ki Wairoa, Tuwharetoa, Ngati Awa, Tuhoe, Ngā Puhi and Taranaki through my mother.

BRONWYN CAMPBELL

He uri ahau no te Tairāwhiti, ko Ngāti Porou tāku iwi. I am a descendant of an East Coast iwi: Ngāti Porou. I descend from the union of Tūwhakairiora and Hinemaurea through the Poutu whānau of Hicks Bay. I am currently employed as a Māori health lecturer at Massey University for Te Pūtahi-a-Toi (School of Māori Studies).

RACHAEL SELBY

Rachael Selby, Ngāti Raukawa and Ngāti Pareraukawa, is a kaiawhina at Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa and senior lecturer at Massey University, New Zealand. She is a writer and editor with particular interests in whānau development and women's oral history.

LILY-ROSE NOMFUNDO MLISA

Nomfundo Mlisa is the Director of Student Counselling at the University of Fort Hare, South Africa. She has an M.A. in Clinical Psychology from the University of Port Elizabeth and a B.Theology Hons from the University of Fort Hare. She has worked extensively for the empowerment of women in post-apartheid South Africa. Her research includes the experiences of women in rural and settlement areas of the East Cape Province and work on gender roles and gender sensitive legislation in South Africa.

CHANZ MIKAERE

Ko Ngongotaha me Mauao āku maunga
Ko Rotorua me Tauranga āku Moana
Ko Ngati Whakaue me Ngai Te Rangi āku iwi
Ko Ngati Pukaki me Ngai Tukairangi āku hapu
Ko Te Papaiouru me Hungahungatoroa āku marae
Ko Chanz Mikaere ahau.

Chanz is currently a student in the Master of Māori Visual Arts Programme at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Massey University. Her research interests are an exploration of whare tangata dynamics and the restoration of Mana Tangata as a response to the post-colonial constructs of Mana Wahine and Mana Tane. Chanz is a passionate advocate for the use of art as a means of empowering rangatahi with Mātauranga Māori.

KATARINA GRAY-SHARP

Mai ngā piko taniwha
Ki ngā waiariki
Whaia te ahitapu o ngā tuahine
Ki te onetapu i te maru o te maunga
Mai te wai tapu ā Hau
Ki a rātou i heke mai raro

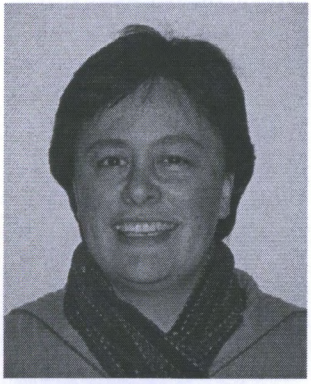
I am an uri of Ngāti Rangi, Ngāti Kauwhata, Ngāti Raukawa, and Ngāti Rangiwāwehi. I was raised on our papakainga north-west of Taihape with my parents, Bob and Trixie, and two brothers, Marc and Mathew. My husband, Giles, and I have two sons aged twelve and three. I work at Massey University as the Kaitautoko Māori (Extramural), assisting Māori, distance students in their first year of study. My current research interests revolve around the State's role as population manager. In the next few years, I aim to begin my PhD and give birth to our third child.

HELENE CONNOR

Ko Taranaki tōku maunga
Ko Waitara tōku awa
Ko Owae Whaitara tōku marae
Ko Tokomaru tōku waka
Ko Te Atiawa me Ngāti Ruanui ōku iwi
Ko Ngāti Rahiri me Ngāti Te Whiti ōku hapu
Ko Helene Connor tōku ingoa

Helene Connor is of Māori, Irish and English descent. She has whakapapa links to Te Atiawa and Ngati Ruanui iwi and Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Te Whiti hapu. She completed her PhD, M.Ed. (1st class hons) and BA at the University of Auckland. She also has a Postgraduate Diploma in Women's Studies from Massey University. Helene is a lecturer on the Master and Bachelor of Social Practice programmes at Unitec New Zealand.

MARGARET FORSTER



Margaret Forster (Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu) is a lecturer at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University. Research interests include oral history and the role of Māori communities, culture, and values in the environmental management of natural resources.

Kia kotahi mātou, kia whakamana wāhine, tātou ki a tātou.

III. WHY LILY-ROSE?
Naming children in Māori & Xhosa families

RACHAEL SELBY & LILY-ROSE NOMFUNDO MLISA

Rachael and Lily-Rose Nomfundo met in Sydney in 1998 at the Winds of Change Conference – Women and the Culture of Universities. They talked about their names and families. They have, since that time, kept in touch, sharing further insights into each other's cultures. They have worked together on this paper which explores practices in naming children and of changing names in Māori and Xhosa cultures. This paper outlines some of the beliefs and practices of Māori in Aotearoa/New Zealand and the Xhosa people of South Africa when naming children, and explores the influence names have on individuals and families.

For many years, when facilitating groups, I [Rachael] have used an introductory exercise which invites participants to share with a partner how they got their names. When Māori students are in my classes I can almost guarantee there will be someone who will have a story to tell about their names: who bestowed the names upon them and the events surrounding the name-giving. Conversely, I have also seen people become quite perplexed at the question. They claim there is no significance to names; that names are given with little fanfare and thought. This is not so for the Māori world, and not so for the Xhosa people of the East Cape Province of South Africa.

Nomfundo began by introducing herself as Lily Rose. Lily Rose was the name given to her when she went to school. It was a requirement to have an English name when enrolling at school in South Africa in the 1950s. Nomfundo's mother loved lilies and roses, hence the name Lily Rose. Rachael's Māori mother gave her seven children Christian and English names. This recognised their English ancestors and it reflects a common practice in the middle of the twentieth century when many Māori parents gave their children English names.

Looking back

After the arrival of Christian missionaries to Aotearoa/New Zealand in 1814, Māori were encouraged to substitute their Māori names for Christian names, the latter being bestowed upon them at baptism into the Christian faith. An early ninteenth-century example of this occurred when Rangi Topeora, a Ngāti Toarangatira 'chieftainess' (Orange 1987, p. 90) who had signed the Treaty of Waitangi on Kapiti Island in 1840, became a Christian and took the name of the Christian Queen of England as her Christian name: 'Kuini Wikitoria' (Ngā Tangata Taumata Rau, 1990, p. 362). This record also notes the missionary, George Selwyn, as Te Herewini: an example of European missionaries adopting Māori names. There are numerous examples of this practice occurring over time, where Māori took European names and where European migrants assumed Māori names (Māori Biographies, 1994). The biographies are sprinkled with tales which recount early events such as 'Tini Pana (Jane Burns) was born at Moeraki, North Otago, probably in 1846 or 1847. Tini Pana was baptised Jane Burns at Moeraki on 27 September, 1850' (Māori Biographies, 1994, p. 115). This practice continued during the period of colonisation in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

Significant events in history are recognised in the giving of Māori names. It is not uncommon to meet Māori children who were born during and after the First and Second World Wars and to find that they were given names of the battlefields of Africa and Europe: Tunisia, Libya, EI Alamein, Gallipoli, Rimini, and Casino. Significant local events resulted in people changing their names as a mark of respect and commemoration of events. Reremoana Koopu's story of the drowning of sixteen children from her school on 5 August 1900 is commemorated not only in a stone monument erected by the people, but also in a detailed description and explanation of the changing of names: 'All the people changed their names. Everybody. My brother Henare, became Hurinui: that means the whole lot of them, all drowned ... his wife Taimana, changed her name to Whakararo. For her little boy, her baby, Wiremu, who was found on Whale Island. It means drifting, on this side, on this coast' (Binney & Chaplin, 1996, p. 59). Reremoana recounts the details of the drowning of the children and the significance of the names the people adopted then as a mark of respect and remembrance of that day in 1900. It is events

such as these which provide an insight into the cultural practices of Māori and the worldviews which influence the choice of names for children, the responsibility of parents and grandparents in naming children and the influences on those with the responsibility of placing the mantel of a name upon a child.

By the early twentieth century, Aotearoa/New Zealand politicians believed that with the decline in the Māori population (Durie, 1994) the role of the settlers was to 'smooth the pillow of the dying race' (King, 1997, p. 38). Many Māori saw a road to survival through absorbing more European ways of doing things and in becoming more European. Through the middle of the twentieth century, children were often given English names and encouraged to adopt the ways of the European. Many of those who arrived at school with Māori names were given English names by their teachers. Waiora Port describes her first day at school when the teacher called her Viola: 'I had never heard this name before so I was taken aback' (Port, 1993, p. 8). More surprising still was that her mother never flinched, so intent was she on pleasing the teacher so that her daughter would receive an education. This scene was replicated in other places and common amongst other indigenous peoples in Canada (Sterling, 1992) where First Nations children who went to the Residential Schools were given Christian names and forbidden to use their birth names.

For many Māori children the names given by teachers simply stuck. By today's standards these names would now be regarded as derogatory; for example, Māori, Boy, Girl, Blackie, Brown, Nigger, Sonny, Chocolate, Nugget, Lass, or adjectives describing a feature such as Curly (hair). Others were simply told they would now be known as John or Joe, Tammy or Lucy as their names were unpronounceable; the teacher did not have to have children with Māori names in class. In the 1970s, I met a young boy named Ahinata. He had made it through the first five years of school with his given name, but when he turned eleven and began the new school year, the new teacher told him and the class that from now on he would be known as John. She also added 'John' to his official record card at school and when he moved on to High School, none of the teachers knew he had been Ahinata. His family felt a smouldering resentment that teachers had the power to change a child's name on a whim.

When a child is born, there is a responsibility on the family as a whole to contribute to the naming of a child. Some are given

their parent's name, their grandparent's name, that of a relative or a well known identity. It may be Nelson, or Mandela, Elizabeth after England's Queen, Diana after the princess, Jonah after an All Black rugby player. More recently, names have reflected events such as the Atlanta Olympic Games so that we have children born in 1996 called Atlanta and Georgia. In Year 2000, with the new millennium, children born in January were named Milli, or in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Te Tuatahi (the first). Māori also regard naming of children as an important task and one which should not necessarily be left to the parents of the newborn; more often naming has been the responsibility of the grandparents. This reflects the important role of grandparents, the belief that a child's name is significant, that the child belongs to a wider circle than the parents, that a name can be a gift to a child, that there may be expectations of the child in the future as a result of the gift of the name.

Similarly for the Xhosa-speaking population, one of the Nguni tribes in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, naming of children is seen as an important issue for parents and wider family. The responsibility for naming also traditionally sits with grandparents. The Xhosa expected the bride and groom to produce the children; naming and bringing them up was the role of the grandparents. This mirrors the strong tradition of this same practice in Aotearoa/New Zealand, one which remains today in many Māori families, particularly where the child's grandparents did not have daily responsibility for their own children. It is their opportunity to raise a child from birth. For mothers who wish to continue their careers or pursue further education or who have larger families, they welcome this commitment from their parents to them and their children. Grandparents will wait with joy and enthusiasm for the birth of their mokopuna [grandchild] in anticipation of becoming parents again to a special child.

In traditional Māori society children are taonga [gifts to be cherished] regardless of the marital status of the parents. It is not uncommon for grandparents to parent the children of single mothers/fathers and for the children to be raised knowing their birth parents and maintaining contact with them, eventually returning to live with them. Within the Xhosa, there was shame associated with pregnancy outside of marriage and a pregnant mother could be sent to a neighbouring village until after the birth of her child. When she returned, her child

could be raised as her sister or brother without the child knowing the truth about her/his birth. Today, to many elders it seems that the shame formerly associated with pregnancy outside of marriage has diminished, if not gone, and many regret this change in their families. They still feel the shame, even when their children do not.

In both these cultures, Xhosa and Māori, there is a tradition of naming children in recognition of the day of birth. No Krismesi, meaning Christmas Day in Xhosa, is an obvious reflection of a significant Christian holy day. May, June, July and August are relatively common names for Māori children. Perhaps less common is Ranfurly, a name given to a child when he was born following the success of his father's provincial rugby team in Aotearoa/New Zealand's premier competition in the 1920s.[1] While the name may be less common, the practice of naming children after significant events *is* very common.

In rugby playing nations such as Aotearoa/New Zealand and South Africa, the names of rugby players and other sports people are given to children in the hope they may emulate the skills of the top players. In the 1960s, Māori children received names like Barry Johns and Gareth Edwards after the British Lions rugby team toured Aotearoa/New Zealand and the two young men impressed crowds with their performance. In the twenty-first century, rugby players continue to be attractive names for children.

Instilling the strengths and positive attributes of particular elders and ancestors in children is done by giving them their names. Many children are given their grandparent's names (see Rogers & Simpson, 1993). If children are given the names of esteemed elders, there is an expectation that they will live up to those names, to honour them and bring positive acclamation to them. In Aotearoa/New Zealand, when we read the newspapers and see crimes have been committed by people with family names, names of respected and honourable people, there is a sense of shame and humiliation that these names are being brought into disrepute. Some elders ponder as to why children who have lost their dignity and pride should also drag their names down with them. There is a sense of relief when their names are not Māori.

For the Xhosa, instilling hopes and dreams in children is assisted by naming. Nomfundo means 'mother of education'. The expectation for Nomfundo when she was born was that she would achieve highly

in education. Of the seven children in her family, she was the only one who achieved a tertiary education, completing five degrees and four diplomas.

Nomaphelo denotes a child's position in the Xhosa family – the last one. When the Xhosa mother then delivers another child, she may use the name Nozenjani [how did you come], or Nozengazi [I do not know how the child came]; An unexpected pregnancy and birth may result in a child being called, Uveleleni [why were you born].

Children may also be given names which reflect the poor treatment received from in-laws or a bad husband. This can be irrespective of the future consequences, for example, Nomasikisi [bad things] can be used following ill treatment from in-laws or a violent husband. The Xhosa name is directed at those offenders rather than at the child but the child lives with the name. For a young married couple, a woman's mother-in-law may give the name to the child, directing the daughter-in-law, the makoti, in some way. The name Nontobeko [to be respectful] gives a clear message to the mother and later to the child. Now that children are, on the whole, born in clinics and hospitals, nurses and Christian ministers are playing a role in discouraging mothers from giving children names which might bear terrible consequences for the child and names perceived as 'bad' are being phased-out for fear that children will follow the meaning of their names.

Where Māori children have been given Māori spelling of names, they have experienced embarrassment and derision from teachers who have insisted that the spelling is incorrect and needs to be changed – from Ema to Emma, from Ria to Leah, or where Māori transliterations are used for children, teachers have chosen to change the names, from Hoani to John, Pateriki to Pat, Harata to Harriet, Wiremu to Bill. In the 1970s when Mr Hohepa arrived at school, a young teacher asked another Māori teacher what Hohepa meant and was told Joseph. To her horror, the young teacher declared he would call his new colleague Mr Joseph. The Māori teacher immediately asked him what *his* name could be changed to for this year and he was equally horrified at such a suggestion.

In the Xhosa tradition, name-giving followed strict guidelines. There were girls' names and boys' names. In most cases the girls' names began with No, literally meaning Mother of, or denoting feminism. In the Zulu tradition this is not the case and with cultural

diffusion Xhosa's borrow from other cultures giving children names formerly reserved for one gender or the other.

Enculturation has also been promoted by inter-cultural marriages. There is plenty of evidence of this in Aotearoa/New Zealand amongst Māori. There was a move away from giving children Māori names in the mid-twentieth century as life became dominated by European ways and cross-cultural marriages abounded. There were also Māori parents whose names had been ridiculed, mis-pronounced and changed by authority figures, so that families no longer wanted to have such embarrassment and derision poured on their precious children's heads and hearts. There was also a move away from grandparents naming children where their child had married a Pākehā bride or groom or they preferred English names and the grandparents felt reluctant to interfere, or accepted that the child may now not hold to Māori tradition, but 'go the Pākehā way' – a common expression at the time. With the government policy of 'assimilation' of Māori over the first sixty years of the twentieth century, retaining Māori names seemed to some people to be holding on to a thread which was a practice of the past. Giving a child a second name as a Māori name served as a gentle reminder for those who wanted it, for others it allowed them to easily drop it and drop their ties to one part of their ancestry.

When the 'renaissance' for Māori came in the 1970s and the last three decades of the twentieth century, others dropped their English names and reclaimed their Māori names with a pride and tenacity that swelled the chests of their Māori grandparents, and brought feelings of confusion and alarm to others who thought that Māori had been successfully assimilated into Pākehā society. Many young Māori who had tentatively admitted to having Māori names as second or third names now insisted that they be called by these names and informed their parents that they wished to use them on an everyday basis. Children who had been educated as Karen or Wayne, now became Wheturangi and Rangi, those who had been Julie and Jenny now became Ema and Heeni. It created confusion and unease amongst some family, friends and neighbours who wondered why people would choose a Māori name over an English one.

Inter-marriage had given Māori children non-Māori grandparents who now found the desire amongst their grandchildren to reclaim Māori names, Māori traditions and Māori language decidedly unsettling. The policy of assimilation until 1960 had been replaced

following the Hunn Report with a policy of 'integration' (Durie, 1994) which accepted that Māori as a race would retain a distinct identity. How that identity would evolve was not clear and many had no inkling that it would take the form of renewed enthusiasm for being Māori, with far less enthusiasm for pursuing their British/Pākehā heritage. When Pākehā grandparents reminded their grandchildren of their dual heritage, they were often met with a strange denial of their Pākehā heritage and a thirst for their Māori heritage. Some Pākehā grandparents shook their heads in sadness, having lived through the twentieth century when being Māori was often a negative experience and something to be denied if at all possible. Now fair-skinned, Pākehā-looking children were denying their links to Britain and emphasising their Māori values in ways which confused many Pākehā. The evidence was in their speech, their use of Māori language, their attendance at marae functions, their choice of friends and their support for issues being emphasised by Māori leaders, such as Treaty of Waitangi claims being made against the Aotearoa/New Zealand government for land and other resources unjustly taken over the previous 160 years.

The pressure on indigenous populations to conform to the pressures imposed by the colonising nations has been profound. In countries such as Canada, the United States, Aotearoa/New Zealand and South Africa, the colonisers often demanded that native children attending schools be given English names once they reach school age: a powerful reminder that English is the language of instruction, an inference that English is clearly superior to other languages, that English language proficiency is necessary to be an educated human being. In Aotearoa/New Zealand in the 1960s, an American researcher asserted that 'knowledge of the Māori language ... confuses word-idea relationships in his mind, and thus detracts from his capacity for learning English as rapidly as the pakeha child' (Ausubel, 1970, p. 56). Learning English was seen as the path to education achievement at the exclusion of other languages, particularly Māori.

In South Africa, many place names were changed during colonisation and today retain those names. For example, Fort Hare's university is located in the town of Alice [eDikeni] in the province of King Williams Town [eQonce] (Fort Hare, 2007).

In South Africa and Aotearoa/New Zealand, the missionaries renamed not only the towns and rivers, mountains and lakes, but

also the children and families as an integral part of the colonisation process. For many children their first day at school was a demeaning and humiliating experience, never to be forgotten and one which left a strong imprint on children's psyche; with messages of inferiority and shame clearly imparted from that day. Many children never regained positive self-esteem and achieved little educational success in the negative school environment.

Others were able to partly manipulate the system, or at least to survive it, to exit with skills and knowledge which enabled them to survive in a world where their own language, culture and traditions were devalued and diminished, if not degraded. The children themselves were taught to question the worth of maintaining the traditions of their ancestors, their parents, their people.

The last decade of the twentieth century has seen a revival and a renewal of pride in many indigenous cultures and with it the return to the use of traditional names for children and less patience with nurses and teachers who stumble over pronunciation of names. In Aotearoa/ New Zealand they have been told that incorrect pronunciation is a mark of disrespect for the individual, their family and their ancestors and children in turn have an underlying disrespect for teachers, social workers, doctors, and service providers who refuse to correctly pronounce Māori. For some time there has been a claim that not everyone can pronounce all languages, yet radio and television announcers and teachers make great effort with visiting students, international sports teams and dignitaries. Māori are unwilling to accept weak attempts any more. They expect an intelligent response and correct pronunciation of Māori names is a mark of respect from professionals working with Māori and others who do not have English names.

Note

1 The Ranfurly Shield has been the trophy fought over on the rugby field for most of the twentieth century.

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IV. NGĀ KĀHUI WĀHINE O TE KAAKAHI

CHANZ MIKAERE

Ko Ngongotaha me Mauao ōku maunga
Ko Rotorua me Tauranga ōku Moana
Ko Ngāti Whakaue me Ngai Te Rangi ōku iwi
Ko Ngāti Pukaki me Ngai Tukairangi ōku hapū
Ko Te Papaiouru me Hungahungatoroa ōku marae
Ko Chanz Mikaere ahau.

He karanga tapu tēnei ki ngā wāhine o te ao,
Ki ngā Uriwhenua,
Ki ngā tāngata ka whawhai tonu ki ngā hara o te karauna.
Kia kaha tātou kia whakamana, kia whakatinanatia i ngā kōrero o te Wharetangata.

First and foremost, I have always believed that to be Wahine and Māori is a privilege. I have been an artist and a tutu for as long as I can remember. My hands are covered in tiny childhood scars from playing with carving tools that I was not allowed to touch. I have distinct memories of paint and the pungent odour of stains that my father used to finish carvings. Our lounge had the bittersweet scent of harakeke from Mum's piupiu making, weaving and tukutuku. My childhood was full. The wonder of pipi collecting with my brothers at Little Waihi and pennydiving at Whakarewarewa with my cousins has never left me. I am seaspray and billowing steam. These experiences are the foundation of my career as an artist and they are the very memories that sustain my passions and conviction.

These introductions are necessary. The cultural practices apparent in my childhood are what have armed me to compete in a world that sees many of these practices as 'quaint', 'charming', 'romantic' and 'naïve'. Some of these practices are adopted as part of the great 'kiwi' experience. Others are discarded. It is precisely these cultural practices that allow me an insight into the effects of colonisation, confiscation and globalisation on my respective whānau and hapu. The paintings

featured in this article are an exploration of the colonisation of three types of Wahine in Aotearoa. They are to be viewed as parody, but also intended to reflect components of the identity of wahine and how those identities are formed and form the political context of society.

An initial impression conveys humour. Each character represents a particular sector of wahine. These images are not about demonising Pākehā and also not about glorifying Māori. Similar cheeky statements are made with regard to specific demographics; for example, 'Māori as Corporate Warriors', and in this respect it is about the assimilation of Māori values into capitalist values: 'Ticking the boxes of success.' Collectively they identify wahine; there is no male or phallic reference to oppress the clear expression of mana wahine. The characters and text express surface issues, but the strength of the work comes from contextualising the themes and considering them all together as a singular art work, rather than three separate pieces.

The characters are each painted on Libra 'Goodnight' sanitary pads. The shape of these pads reflects the human form in much the same way as a tekoteko, for example, straight back, prominent puku, and hands on hips. This is a stance of power. The sanitary pad material is also a direct reference to menstruation. This work blurs the lines of cultural acceptability in terms of mate wahine: despite being a commonly used product, they are rarely portrayed publicly. Within te ao Māori mate wahine is honoured as natural: it is the process of wharetangata. This work affirms and embraces wharetangata knowledge.

As the artist, I view text as a post-colonial convention. In traditional terms whakairo, kowhaiwhai, raranga, taniko, tukutuku, waiata, and moteatea were used to communicate and record mātauranga Māori. I use text here to make the issues accessible, and to demonstrate that as Māori we are not just indigenous, we are *indigital*. Text messaging has become a primary way of communicating our cultural selves, not to mention our spiritual and sexual selves; for example, 'TXT REO' 'TXTS J.C.' and 'TXT SEX'.

Closer analysis reveals the use of coins to acknowledge consumerism. Different coins are used to highlight specific issues. The coins are located in the position of the clitoris. In *'Wahine Toa'* the two dollar coin bearing the kotuku is reference to the beauty and mana of whakapapa. For *'Pihopa's Puhi'* the ten cent coin is used to depict the ten percent tithing practice of religious institutions.

For *'Kwiki Kotiro'* the twenty cent coin (with the kiwi, rather than Pukaki) is about the preciousness of the romantic illusion the Kiwi identity holds.

The appearances of our wahine provide another level of meaning. In traditional times to wear 'LIPPY WITH MOKO' was nonsensical; now, lipstick can be an option for those with moko without the cultural guilt. *Wahine Toa* also alludes to the Māori party through use of part of its logo: "ao." Ao is light and illumination. Does a Western education necessarily illuminate matauranga Māori? *Pihopa's Puhi* represents a 'UNIFORMED', 'STARCHED', religious fervour; remembering the nation recoiling at the striking similarity between Civil Union Bill protestors and the Third Reich. *Kwiki Kotiro* is a natural Kiwi girl, untarnished by the airbrushing of image consciousness: a 'WASH N WEAR BEACH BABE' with 'SPF30' and 'NUDE GLOSS'.

The juxtaposition of symbols within and between the characters gives depth to the individual works, and also the relationships woven between wahine. Each of the wahine has a moko kauwae which communicates their separate mana tangata regardless of the symbol and their ethnicity.

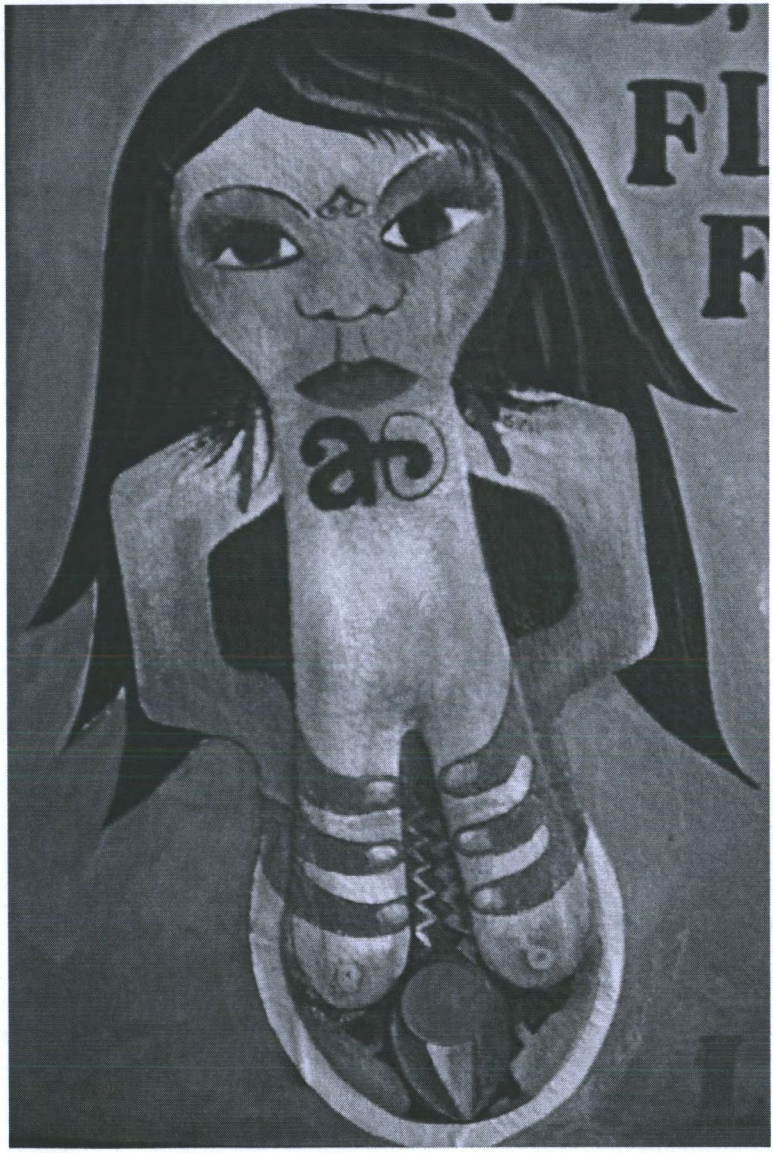
This work is saturated with powerful political positioning. As wahine, our votes are assimilated. There is an element of safety and compromise in our political choices. We may have an ideal we are passionate about, yet we also lack the conviction to realise the potential of the ideal. An example of this is in *Wahine Toa* voting for Te Ururoa Flavell (Māori Party) as a candidate and using the party vote to support Labour; on one hand we support the ideal of Māori political autonomy, and on the other maintain our positions as State Groomed Māori Elite. In the context of *Pihopa's Puhi* the candidate vote went to Hawea Vercoe (Destiny New Zealand) while the party vote went to Labour; demonstrating a keenness to belong to the 'ABSOLUTELY ABSTINANT' crowd while still expressing (repressed) sexuality. In *Kwiki Kotiro* a perceived ideal of a liberal Labour vote for Steve Chadwick (MP for Rotorua) is countered by a conservative party vote for National; an apparent working-class ideal contrasted with the maintenance of an upper-class mainstream control.

The artwork itself is framed by a very active and rich slice of Aotearoa/New Zealand political history and social change. In 2004–05 significant events contributed to radical public reaction. For example the confiscation of the Foreshore and Seabed resulted in the Takutai

Moana Hikoi; the resistance to this legislation formed the Māori Party. The Civil Union Bill was met with the 'Enough is Enough' protest led by Destiny Church. The involvement of the Exclusive Brethren in political campaigning brought to the fore the influences of global entities in/on Aotearoa/New Zealand. The war in Iraq and Afghanistan is about controlling capital and colonising limited natural resources in the guise of liberation and global justice.

Alongside these themes woven together, stand our wahine. Their ahua and their names depict a specific slice of history. In te ao Māori, when you name a person the name is derived from a context of relevant event/s. From a specific slice of Aotearoa/New Zealand history we emphasise language transformations. We have three different examples, of *Wahine Toa*, *Pihopa's Puhi* and *Kwiki Kotiro* as demonstrations of classical reo, transliterated reo and hybrid reo respectively. *Wahine Toa* is about Tariana Turia walking the floor. *Pihopa's Puhi* is a reference to Bishop Brian Tamaki's army of virgins. *Kwiki Kotiro* speaks to this generation's sexual liberation.

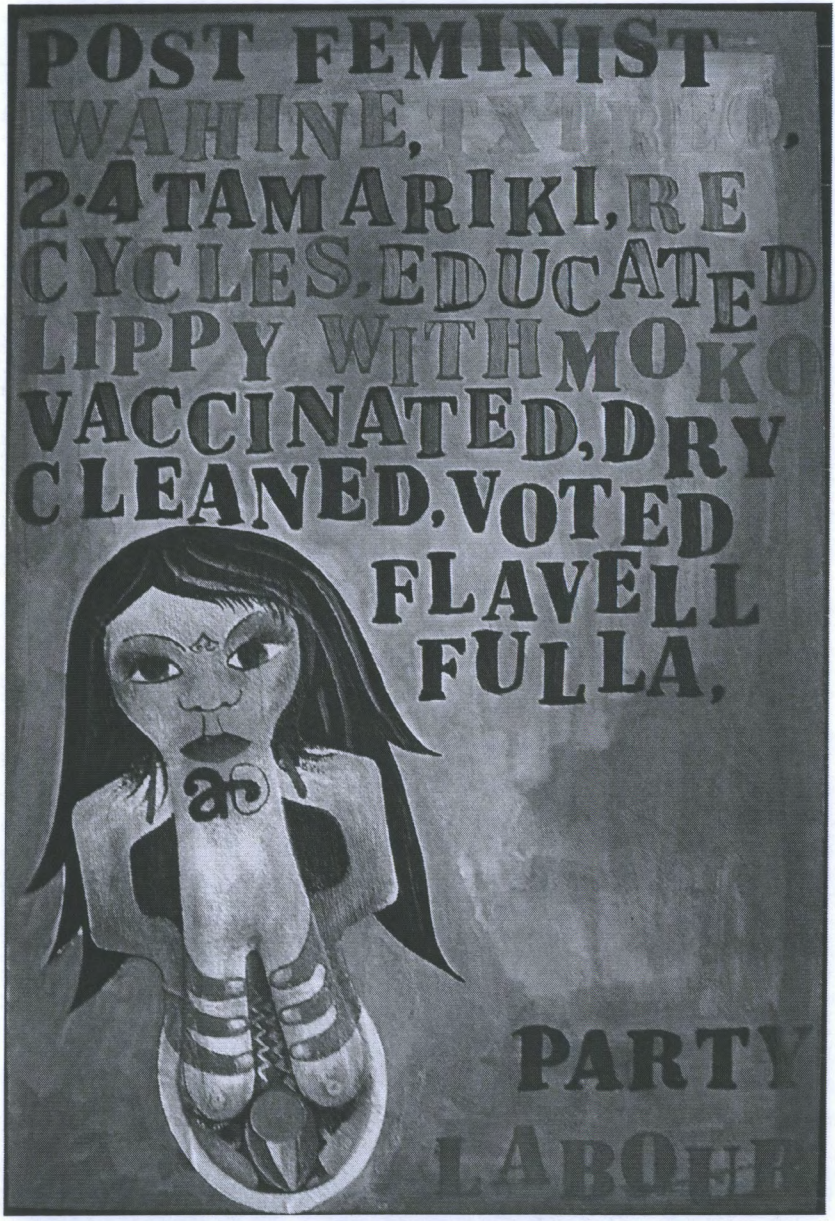
My iwi, Ngati Whakaue, have a whakatauki that, in my opinion, best describes how to take note of the base experiences that mark and enrich our lives. 'Kia ngotea te wai reka o te kaakahi' is to literally 'suckle the sweetness of the kaakahi'. The kaakahi was a staple kai that is now depleted by the algal bloom in the Te Arawa lakes. I am painfully aware that the once normal practice of collecting this kai is becoming memory. I now, more than ever, understand the necessity of critical analysis and having an acute awareness of my context. This awareness is not only vital to being an artist, it is a salutary aspect of being a productive member of my whānau, hapū and iwi. It is crucial to maintain a legacy of nourished, healthy expression and to never have this legacy weakened. My art creates a voice for my generation, it is a way for me to record and understand the contribution of my generation to the human experience: whakapapa. The wāhine in these artworks reflect our commonalities and our diversity, reaffirming that each of us has a voice. Each of us has a whakapapa. As wahine, each of us has the means to make choices that will influence generations to come: Whakapapa is paramount.



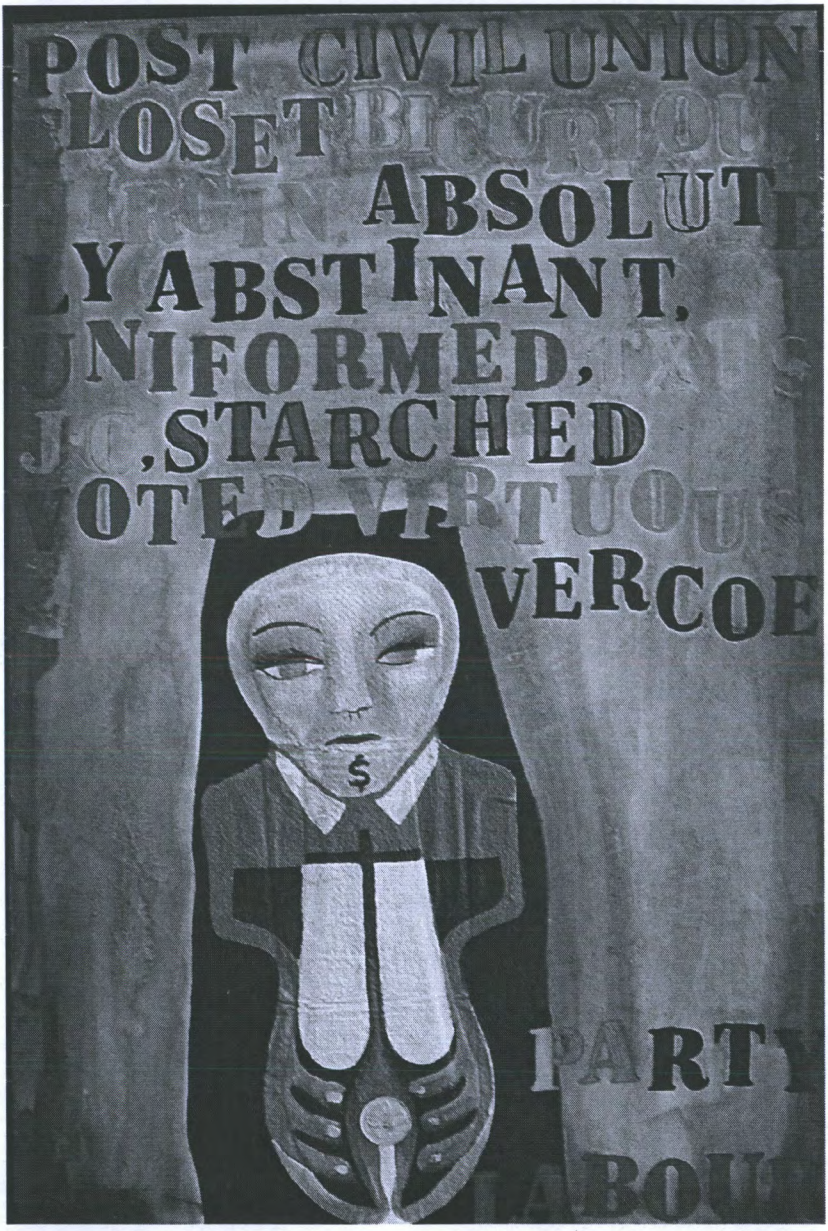
Wahine Toa (2006) Chanz Mikaere. [detail]
Acrylic on canvas, coin, Libra Goodnights™ pad.

Kwiki Kotiro (2006) Chanz Mikaere. [detail]
Acrylic on canvas, coin, Libra Goodnights ™ pad.

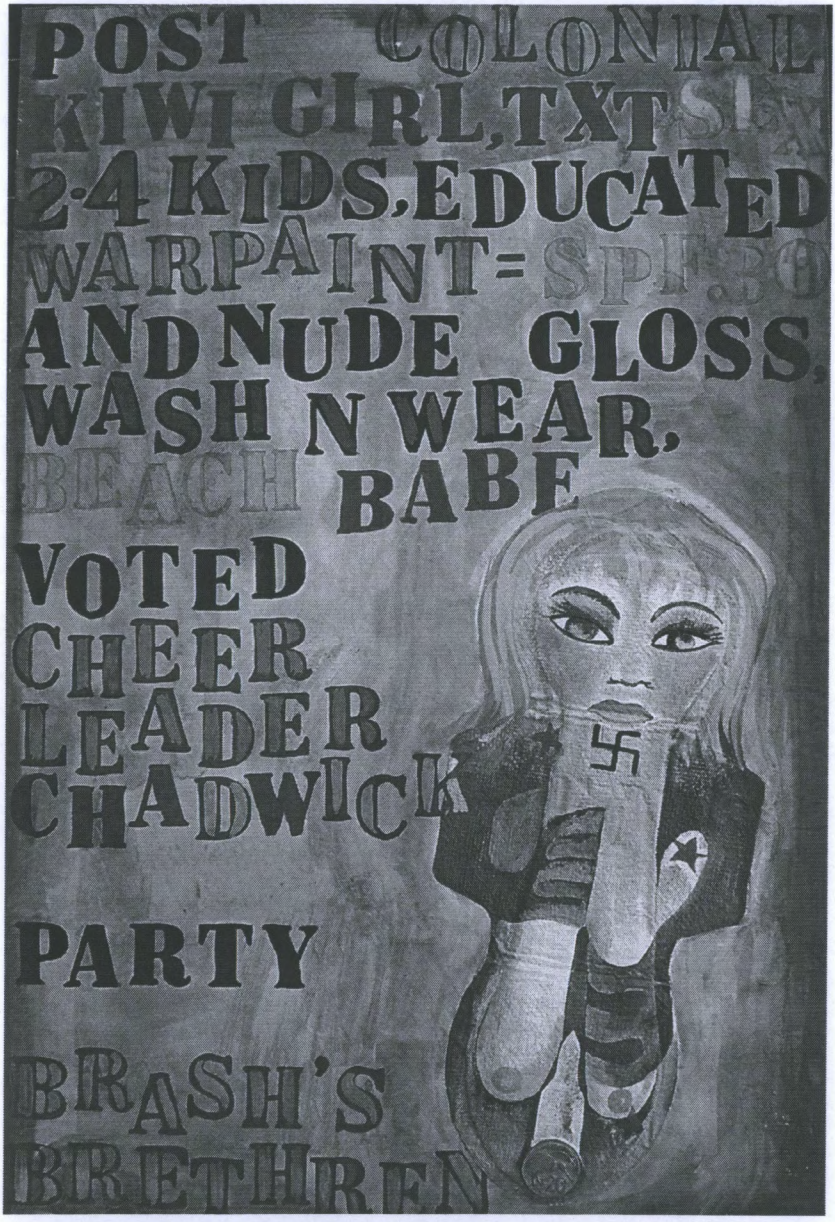
Pihopa's Puhi (2006) Chanz Mikaere. [detail]
Acrylic on canvas, coin, Libra Goodnights ™ pad.



Wahine Toa (2006) Chanz Mikaere.
Acrylic on canvas, coin, Libra Goodnights™ pad.



Pihopa's Puhi (2006) Chanz Mikaere.
Acrylic on canvas, coin, Libra Goodnights ™ pad.



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V. TĀNIKO:
A mana wāhine approach to research

K.A.P. GRAY-SHARP

In 2000, I began my thesis journey to explore how young Māori women can participate in decision-making in Māori, sexual, primary health policy. The research was conducted in accordance with a Mana Wāhine based methodology called 'Tāniko'. Mana Wāhine, Te Ao Tawhito, Te Ao Hou, and Te Ao Mārama defined the research aim and objectives. A qualitative strategy employing semi-structured interviews with three young Māori women was followed by a confirmatory stage of content analysis utilising a deductive public participation evaluation tool: the Tāniko instrument. The instrument analysed four policy-making decisions and two mechanisms: organised peer groups and the wāhine-centred approach. The research concluded that when defining how, by whom, and to whom information is presented, organised peer groups can be utilised at the coordination and evaluation policy-making stages. The wāhine-centred approach can share or manage participation through problem definition, consultation, decision, and implementation. This article outlines the particular methodology used to create this piece of Māori research.

Māori Research

Social research has sparked a number of traditions – from anthropology's participant observation to the gender focus of feminist research. A review of one of these traditions, Māori research, shows that its development has followed a history of colonialism and oppression. Informed by a Māori epistemology, a number of methodologies are included under a Māori research banner. As a tradition with a long and fruitful oral history, Māori research has some contemporary themes sourced cosmologically. These themes provide a binding force across methodologies, but still allow for distinctiveness to be present.

The Māori research tradition has been affected by the colonial history and eurocentricity of imperial, non-indigenous investigators. Indeed, Smith (1999) refers to research as being 'inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism' (p. 1). According

to Trouillot (1991), the order of research provided the 'universal legitimacy of power' (p. 32) for the colonial West. As 'a project, not a place' (Gitlin, 1989, p. 2), the West proclaimed the right to observe, deconstruct, reconstruct, and represent the indigenous 'Other' (Said, 1978; Smith, 1999). Works – including traveller's accounts, colonial surveys, ethnographic reports and 'fictional utopias' – from as early as the sixteenth century were examples of ethnocentric research fed by the Enlightenment of positivism (Trouillot, 1991, p. 23). This research, and the dichotomous relationship it established between non-indigenous researchers (the 'Occident')[1] and the researched (the 'Orient'),[2] continue to support assimilatory practice and hegemony (Said, 1978).

The colonisation process is continually refined through assimilatory practice, which restates the 'correctness' of Western epistemology and the 'incorrectness' of indigeneity (Said, 1978; Smith, 1999). The justification for such acts has been cultivated by Western researchers of the Darwinian and neo-Darwinian traditions (for example, positivism), whose philosophies and funding have been dictated by an assimilatory, paternalistic worldview. Drawn from the Western discourse of classification, representation, comparison, and evaluation (Hall, 1992), such studies are deemed '***Pākehā research*** [sic]' in the New Zealand context (Mead, 1996, p. 147). Mead (1996) defines such research beyond the boundaries of positivism, interpreting it to be:

> research which brings to bear, on any study of ***Māori*** [sic], a cultural orientation, a set of values, a different conceptualisation of such things as time ... different and competing theories of knowledge, highly specialised forms of the English language and structures of power. (p. 147)

Pākehā research, as a tradition, began from 'First Contact' with early ethnographers perpetuating the imperial pathway. Early ethnographies on Māori helped establish the hegemony of colonial power. As early as Cook, written accounts of hierarchical social organisation amongst the 'savage tribes' began to appear (Ballara, 1998, p. 57). That many of these works (as in the case of John Savage in 1807) were based on interviews without aid of a common language and observations of diffuse villages, tillages, and single-family homes suggests deference to the established paradigm of the 'uncivilised' (Ballara, 1998, p. 57). Early colonial officials replayed

this paradigm in reports to superiors. Māori were presented as little better than animals, a collective people only in war (Bigges, 1821 as cited in Ballara, 1998, p. 62) and according to Marquis of Normanby too 'incompetent to act or even deliberate in concert' (Ballara, 1998, p. 62). The 'racialised discourse that stereotyped Māori as savage' (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, p. 68) continues to cloud the view of the Māori research tradition.

The Māori research tradition has not received wide acceptance by the mainstream research community. The 'inherent racism in academia' (Deloria, 1995, p. 49) categorises non-Western research as subjective and, therefore, unreliable. As Deloria (1995) points out: 'the bottom line about the information possessed by non-Western peoples is that the information becomes valid when offered by a white scholar recognized by the academic establishment; in effect, the color of the skin guarantees scientific objectivity' (p. 50).

Thus, the dominant culture provides Western researchers with resources (such as research funding) and a means for disseminating the 'settler hegemony' (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, p. 68). The attempt to create a separate space for Māori approaches to research has contested the universality of Western research discourse and, on a practical level, created competition for research funding (Mead, 1996). Māori approaches to research, therefore, have been viewed as a subversive essay on mainstream research by the politically (in)correct.[3] However, this view has been rejected (see Durie, 1997a). Wayward attempts to apply Western criteria to (and, thus, the invalidation of) Māori research continue. However, these attempts have not hindered the development of a heterogenous Māori tradition.

The Māori research tradition is multi-faceted; from indigenous perspectives of Western methodologies to oral history investigations; from Māori-centred studies to Kaupapa Māori research. Though each comes from a different standpoint, all can be located within a wider Māori epistemological setting, sometimes referred to as 'Mātauranga Māori' (Taiarahia Black, personal communication, 2001) or the 'Kaupapa Māori framework' (Irwin, 1994, p. 25; Mead, 1996, p. 207).[4] A Māori worldview relies on the acceptance of a number of concepts, including: whakapapa (Barlow, 1991; Mitchell, 1972), te ao wairua (Henare, 1988; Marsden, 1992), reo (Karetu, 1993; Nepia, 1993) me ōna tikanga (Henare, 1988), mana whenua, mana tangata (Durie, 1994a; Marsden, 1992), tapu and noa (Barlow, 1991; Shirres,

1997). A recognition of a shared past, present and future is presumed. Together, these epistemological elements have been used to inform 'research design and process' (Irwin, 1994, p. 25).

The Māori research tradition has a long and fruitful oral history, with some contemporary themes being based on cosmological narratives. One of the first Māori research ventures was conducted by the god Tāne (sometimes referred to as Tāne-nui-a-rangi [Mead, 1996] or Tāne-Mahuta [Walker, 1992]). Various authors have outlined the arduous search by Tāne for Ngā Kete Wānanga [the Three Baskets of Knowledge] in the twelfth heaven (Buck, 1949; Mead, 1996; Shirres, 1997; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997). Each basket contained necessary items for collective development, however, the attainment of certain aspects were restricted to those who proved their worth (Mead, 1996, p. 19). A second research project was the conception of humanity through Hine Ahu One ['the maid that emerged out of the dust'].[5] The creation of Hine Ahu One began with a search for appropriate resources, with red earth being sourced from Kurawaka (Alpers, 1964, p. 23). From this, Tāne formed the first human being and, with a breath blown into the nostrils (Alpers, 1964, p. 23) life was proclaimed with *Tihei Mauri Ora!*

Both cosmological tales have themes which can be applied to contemporary Māori research. First, both of Tāne's struggles show evidence of difficulty before triumph. Thus, it could be surmised that Māori research is about hard work. Second, the ultimate success of both ventures reveals that Māori research can be fruitful. As both endeavours resulted in positive measures for the development of humanity (knowledge and life), a third result could be inferred: Māori research should aim for higher goals beyond the immediate level.

Ironically, the employment of adapted versions of Western methodologies has, in many ways, assisted in achieving these higher goals. Though the imperial history of these methodologies, with all their negative effects, has been a source of some concern (see Smith, 1999), the adapted versions have a twofold effect. First, due to the diverse nature of Māori society (see Durie, 1997a), with some members being more comfortable with Western research methodologies than indigenous approaches, the adoption of such processes allows their perspectives to be reflected as researchers and as participants. Second, though their colonial source means adaptation is required to align them with a Māori worldview, these

methodologies have made useful additions to Māori knowledge and to positive Māori development as a whole. For example, Goodwin (1996), in her research on social support and Māori adolescent mothers, triangulated the Western phenomenological, documentary and life history methods. Unlike these methods, Māori oral tradition is always transmitted verbally.

Māori research, like the systems of other indigenous peoples, is based on a history of oral tradition. The oral tradition is 'the teachings that have been passed down from one generation to the next over uncounted centuries' (Deloria, 1995, p. 51) and has been a significant aspect of every culture at some stage. For example, the great sagas of Europe and the Old Testament were all once transmitted as oral tradition (Deloria, 1995, p. 51). This tradition carried the culture of its peoples: from the spiritual (for example, cosmology) to the secular (for example, names of animals); from the expansive (for example, genealogy) to the particular (for example, the place to cut a plant) (Deloria, 1995, p. 51). The wonder of the oral tradition lies in its ability to both contest the powers of the written word and to act as a vessel for 'alternative histories' (Smith, 1999, p. 34), such as those held by Māori.

As Royal (1992) points out, 'Māori consider the oral tradition to be *the* historical tradition' (p. 21). For example, Soutar (1994, p. 67) outlines eleven aspects of the oral history approach for those researching cross-culturally, whilst Royal (1992) provides a clear outline for Māori wanting to research their own backgrounds. A number of Māori researchers have used this method to research tribal histories, the oral resources enhancing both academic works (Hohepa, Hongi, & Sissons, 1987; Taiapa, 1980) and those conducted within whānau. However, there are research approaches other than oral history, which may also be used to achieve similar results.

Māori-centred research can be defined as a research approach, which intentionally locates 'Māori people and Māori experience at the centre of the research activity' (Durie, 1997a, p. 9). Māori-centred research has been defined as research, which utilises 'Māori research design and processes and personnel' (Cunningham, personal communication, March 20, 2001).[6] However, control of the research may be mixed (Cunningham, personal communication, March 20, 2001). Durie (1997a) presents three primary principles for Māori-centred research: whakapiki tangata, whakatuia and Mana

Māori. The *whakapiki tangata* principle refers to the 'enablement ... enhancement or empowerment' (Durie, 1997a, p. 10) of Māori people participating in the research process. This principle highlights the need for research to be useful in the journey towards positive Māori development. The *whakatuia* principle focuses on integrating the 'fragmented pictures' of Māori reality through contextualisation and accenting interrelated parts (Durie, 1997a, p. 10). The third principle, *Mana Māori*, is best defined within its slogan: 'By Māori for Māori' (Durie, 1997a, p. 11). Mana Māori seeks Māori control over Māori destinies, including within the research paradigm. By utilising these three principles, Māori-centred research allows integration and movement towards a collective goal.

Kaupapa Māori research is another Māori research approach, which draws on Māori epistemology. An overriding 'conceptualisation' of Mātauranga Māori (Nepe, 1991, p. 15), and a desire to develop, engage, debate, create, critique and reflect on Māori knowledge and its processes (Mead, 1996), provides a means for shared development in the Kaupapa Māori research community. Mead (1996) believes Kaupapa Māori to be concerned with 'sites of struggle', chosen on the basis of their crisis status and have 'strategic importance for Māori' (p. 208). Therefore, from the 'framework' (or epistemological) perspective, Kaupapa Māori research assists in winning wider battles in the search for Māori emancipation. Glover (1997) and Pihama (1993) continue the emancipatory theme by presenting a relationship between the Kaupapa Māori and critical theories. Both theories critique existing power structures in order to undermine oppression and hegemony. However, G.H. Smith (1992, as cited in L.T. Smith, 1999) views Kaupapa Māori theory as a localisation of critical theory, in deference to the specific needs of Māori and the perceived inadequacies of its progenitor.

Mead (1996) outlines five principles, which are used by Kaupapa Māori researchers when conducting studies among Māori and our communities. All five principles are relationship-based, reflecting the relationships between people and the relationships between people and the world. The first principle of *whakapapa* is integral in positioning relationships and is founded on embedded and established knowledge. The principle of *te reo* defines the struggle for survival – without te reo, a Māori-specific means of interacting would cease and the Māori way of life would wither. The third principle, *tikanga Māori*,

concerns ensuring practices are 'tika' or sound and, in application, should involve the observance of tapu (and noa) and the use of appropriate mentorship. The *rangatiratanga* principle is related to Treaty of Waitangi discourse, 'community control, ethical practices and research reflexivity' (Mead, 1996, p. 217). The fifth principle, *whānau*, is an 'organisational principle' (Mead, 1996, p. 220), which aims to recognise the gender and age difference within whānau, as well as the need for collaborative, supervised efforts. Together, these principles allow Kaupapa Māori research to know (mōhiotanga), learn (wānanga), understand (māramatanga) and internalise (mātauranga) the various pathways of knowledge (Stirling, 1980).

It is possible to critique the different aspects of the Māori research tradition. Apart from the obvious relationship to Māori epistemology, similarities exist between all of the research approaches. First, all the research approaches can be related to the cosmological themes introduced earlier, each showing evidence of hard work, fruitfulness and goals higher than the immediate level. Second, like Māori-centred research, the other approaches can be defined as 'research by Māori, for Māori and with Māori' (Smith, 1992 as cited in Glover, 1997, p. 2). These similarities bind Māori research approaches together. However, the methodologies can also be very distinct and operate differently in a number of ways.

First, apart from method-based differences (for example, documentary versus oral), most researchers[7] define themselves, and their research, as distinct groupings. This is important from a relativist perspective, as it emphasises the need of each group to name, define, and engage with their world in the way most appropriate to them. Second, where Kaupapa Māori research now draws from a growing theoretical pool, the other research types have well-established theoretical foundations. In this way, each Māori research approach – whether Western-sourced, oral, Māori-centred, or Kaupapa Māori – allows expression of Māori epistemology and the development of Māori people.

Indigenous development is a 'process' by which an indigenous people, such as Māori, 'empowers itself to initiate [and] sustain its own betterment' (Wolfe-Keddie, 1996, p. 162). The components, which facilitate development amongst Māori, incorporate indigenous organisations, as well as problem-solving, decision-making, and knowledge systems (Warren, Adedokun, & Omolaoye, 1996). Māori

knowledge systems, such as oral tradition, are used within Māori communities and are often invisible to outsiders. The reclamation of Māori sovereignty over not only resources (see Durie, 1998; Fleras & Spoonley, 1999), but also the research process, is an essential element in development. For development to continue in a positive way, Māori must re-centre the research process and reclaim our right to create, name, and use knowledge in a meaningful way (Smith, 1999).

Māori knowledge has been ignored or appropriated by Eurocentric researchers. From the sixteenth century, indigenous peoples have been subjected to the Orientalism of the West (Said, 1978). Early Pākehā research continued this paradigm with racialised discourse continuing in academia. The recognition and development of the Māori epistemology has found space for a number of Māori research approaches, including Western-sourced methodologies, the oral tradition, Māori-centred studies, and Kaupapa Māori research. The feats of Tāne provide thematic guidance to these methodologies, which are both similar and discrete. The similarities exist in the Māori focus and the commitment to Māori advancement. As discrete methodologies, the research approaches use self-identification, size, and form of theoretical pool as distinguishing agents. Whatever the methodology employed, Māori researchers continue to fight for emancipation from the hegemony of colonial discourse.

Methodology

The methodology for the research is based on a particular form of Mana Wāhine (or a Māori feminist) discourse. Irwin (1992) was one of the first to identify the need 'to develop theories of Māori feminisms' (p. 5), and, thus, offered four 'data bases' as possible sources for Mana Wāhine. In addition, Irwin acknowledged that there would be many theories of Māori feminism, not just one, and, thus, issues of representation must be acknowledged with the presentation of any interpretation (Irwin, 1992, p. 6). It is with this in mind that I offer this discussion and interpretation of Mana Wāhine as one Māori woman's perspective.

Without defining the primary phrase,[8] Mana Wāhine, as a term, can be translated in a number of ways. One possible translation is 'Māori women's mana', suggesting that Māori women, as a group, possess an innate strength. Like the term, Mana Wāhine as discourse has a number of interpretations. Evans (1994), for example, presents

Mana Wāhine as 'the process of self-determination by which we determine our social and cultural future and give effect to our status as tangata whenua – as Māori women' (p. 54). Clea-Hoskins (2000) describes Mana Wāhine as 'a positive and affirming phrase ... sourced within contemporary Māori women's discourse' (p. 45). Smith (1992) conceptualises Mana Wāhine as having four strands of discourse: whānau, spiritual, state and indigenous women. Alongside other self-named Māori feminists (see Johnston & Pihama, 1994; Matahaere-Atariki, 1997), these authors interpret Mana Wāhine holistically. All the authors identify Mana Wāhine as existing within a (post)colonial framework that defines the role of Māori women and our relationship to others, including Māori men and non-Māori[9] (in particular Pākehā) women.

My interpretation of Mana Wāhine as discourse can be conceptualised as *Tāniko*. Tāniko is an 'embroidered braid, border [or] tapestry' (Ryan, 1995, p. 239) made up of multiple thin threads twisted around a thicker cord to form a hand-woven pattern. Like its namesake, this Tāniko is but a border and does not claim to contain all answers. Similarly, this Tāniko can be utilised or left aside by others as they see fit. The four parts of my interpretation are *Mana Wāhine*, *Te Ao Tawhito*, *Te Ao Hou* and *Te Ao Mārama*.

First, as the primary cord, this interpretation of the discourse acknowledges the mana of Māori women or *Mana Wāhine*. As the fibre around which the threads create the pattern, the *Mana Wāhine* cord recognises that all Māori women, including young Māori women, possess an innate power inherited through gender and increased through action (Kupenga, Rata, & Nepe, 1993). This recognition is not of something new, but simply the naming of a sometimes-forgotten principle of Māori society. Like Freire (1992, p. 185), I seek to invoke 'praxis' as emancipatory process. Similarly, I seek experiential knowledge as the basis for social change (Freire, 1992; Young, 2002). Indeed, I view the lived experiences of wāhine as expertise from which 'a theory of action' can be created (Freire, 1992, p. 185). In this research, the cord embodied respectful practice and participant-driven research. As I too am a Māori woman, the *Mana Wāhine* cord was shown in respect for me and my boundaries; ensuring I retain adequate support and guaranteeing I possess space for reflection.

The *Mana Wāhine* cord required wāhine to be viewed as social

agents versus subjects and, thus, directly affected my choice of topic. When this project began in 2000, the existing sexual health research framed young Māori women as problematised (if not problematic), victims of disease and unintended pregnancy (Brander, 1991; Broughton & Rimene, 1997; Lynskey & Fergusson, 1993; McEwan, 1988; Ministry of Health, 1996, 1997; Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994, 1995). The Tāniko methodology was formed in 2001 as an unconscious response. Though an interest in Māori sexual health was developed in 1999, the policy focus was not defined until late 2003, with the public participation aspect appearing in 2006. The two-year gap between methodological formation and topic selection allowed the core values of the methodology to be applied intrinsically. The *Mana Wāhine* cord required a different position, where problems became experience and, thus, expertise. The foundation was taking shape.

However, *Mana Wāhine*, as the primary foundation of the thesis, was almost undermined by the research process' obsession with objectivity. Objectivity, as suggested by its root word and suffix, is the process of making an object. Therefore, it is no wonder that positivist research, which emphasises a position of objectivity, constructs and maintains the researcher as viewer and the participant as object. Through objectification, the research process removes power and ignores mana.

As positivist objectivity is the foundation of university study in New Zealand, it is unsurprising that my research journey involved a seesaw of conflict and compromise. For example, during my first ethics application process, I was strongly advised to have no relatives as possible participants; it was deemed to lack objectivity. Indeed, the ethics process frames researcher/family member relationships as conflicts of interest. As the participant pool was Māori and my whakapapa extends to nearly all waka, I had to employ a Western definition of 'family' in order to fulfil the requirements of my ethics approval. If I had maintained my own definition, I may have had no one to interview. It is ludicrous that, in order to receive ethical approval, I must pretend that I believe the 'family' is nuclear and that I am objective. Like Fanon (1968, p. 61), 'it is not possible for me to be objective'. I do not want anyone, 'family member' or otherwise, to ever be objectified. I, therefore, 'displace' (Bhabha, 2004, p. 63)[10] objectivity and choose to view these wāhine as social agents with power.

Like Irwin (1992), I believe that understanding of both historical and contemporary Māori society can contribute to collective and individual growth of Māori women, as a whole, and young Māori women as a specific group. *Te Ao Tawhito*, as the historical realm, includes non-European times and spaces where non-European practices occur and occurred. For example, this thread includes the social structures (such as whānau and marae) within which traditional practices flourish. As the first thread, it requires us to look forward[11] to the offerings of an ancestral path. This thread warns against romanticising our past, but allows us to utilise those models and principles from which development can occur.

The Māori goddesses Papatūānuku, Hine Moana, Hine Rau Katauri, Hine Te Iwaiwa, Hine Ahu One and Hine Titama (who became Hine Nui i te Pō)[12] all offer powerful role models for Māori women. In later times, Māori women – from Mahuika to Rongomaiwahine to a multitude of others – provide examples of Māori women who possess both strength and leadership skills. All of these women show young Māori women, particularly, that we have mana, that we are effective leaders, and that we are able to act independently from men. *Te Ao Tawhito* also offers examples of balanced relationship practices (for example, complementary gendered roles), a source for cultural identity, and a foundation of linguistic, social, spiritual, and economic growth. In the research, this thread was used to highlight the collective traits of the young Māori women involved. As a group, Māori women share, at the very least, gender, genealogy, and self-identification.[13] The group of young Māori women participants also shared age-associated interests and the adolescent experience, providing added points of commonality.

Like *Mana Wāhine*, *Te Ao Tawhito* affected the research topic and method. It allowed me to define a population (young Māori women) through the acceptance of commonalities. In addition, it required the recognition of existing, shared sources of traditional practice, cultural identity, and growth. As Māori health policy had begun to shift its gaze from iwi to whānau structures, the whānau became the third important axis around which the research was conducted. This whānau emphasis was reaffirmed during data collection and, thus, affected content analysis. *Te Ao Tawhito* affected the choice of method through its emphasis on Māori idiocultural practices. Though a quantitative

approach could have validly expressed Mātauranga Māori, the chosen qualitative method – in-depth interviews – allowed the oral tradition to be fully expressed.

During the conduct of this research, I found my interpretation and application of *Te Ao Tawhito* to be assumptive at times. By interpreting the thread as implicitly collective and failing to recognise Māori individualism, I did not acknowledge that all societies balance social and individual needs. This led me to make some ridiculous assumptions. The greatest of these presumed that participants would share the same opinion on most things. This rejection of the subjective would not have occurred if *Te Ao Hou* had been consistently applied.

The second thread, *Te Ao Hou*, looks at the contemporary realm. In this post-contact sphere, Mana Wāhine recognises colonisation as the principal landscape upon which the research will be conducted, with 'an analysis of colonialism [being] ... a central tenet of indigenous feminism' (Smith, 1999, p. 152). To colonise is to centre the colonist, 'establish control over ... the indigenous people', and 'appropriate (a place or domain) for one's own use' (Pearsall, 1999). This process continues as the state, the media, and the market maintain eurocentricity and move the colonial eye to the global stage. As a nation, we are asked to aim for international markets and, in the process, to colonise someone else. Therefore, colonisation is not interpreted as a process of simple oppression from which we can be freed. Here, colonisation is acknowledged as an ongoing discourse in every person's life. For praxis to be realised, we must acknowledge and name the processes, which benefit and exclude us as individuals and as a society.

In my life, colonisation allows me benefits as an educated individual with a middle-class background;[14] I own my privilege (Matahaere-Atariki, 1998). In addition, colonisation positions me in such a way that self-marginalisation, through resistance, threatens my ability to act as an effective agent of social change. As colonisation will have affected each young Māori woman differently, this addition to the Tāniko seeks to acknowledge each woman's experience as distinctly important. At the micro-level, each individual embodies mana wāhine, is self-determined, and deserves respect. *Te Ao Hou* never presumes that one is able to speak for another. The inaccurate representation of Māori women's voices by the unmandated – particularly, Māori men

and unmandated Māori and non-Māori women – has been detrimental (see Irwin, 1992; Matahaere-Atariki, 1997; Smith, 1999). Thus, the thread promotes processes, which allow the 'silenced' to speak. *Te Ao Hou* does not reject collectivity through clear mandating systems, but acknowledges that each 'voice' has its own 'words' to express.[15]

Te Ao Hou, as a thread, has proved to be the most difficult to manage, as it accepts a position which could be seen as hegemonic (see Gramsci, 1971). By accepting colonisation as the principal landscape, am I not limiting the power to move beyond it? I would answer this question with another: is it not the role of the oppressed to educate ourselves to move beyond the limitations instigated by our oppressors (Freire, 1992)? If we do not, because we cannot name the power which binds us, we lose 'ontological resistance' (Fanon, 1968, p. 78).[16]

A second issue concerns the very topic of this research. The selection of a topic, which seeks to ease the relationship between the State and young Māori women, is easily interpreted as collusive. If, as the oppressed, we engage with the power structure that disempowers us, are we not colluding with it? A simple, pragmatic approach would point to existing engagements within the confines of a social democratic nation-state. Indeed, interaction with other members of our own communities involves using state-funded utilities (for example, roads) and state-defined norms (for example, not killing people randomly). However, I prefer an approach which favours social change from both within and outside of oppressive systems. As collusion remains a constant threat for those within, they must be provided with good supervision by those outside. Thus, the thesis topic and general approach emphasises young Māori women within the whānau unit.

Te Ao Mārama, the third thread, looks to our development as Māori women and the inheritance we will leave for our children. It recognises that the current hegemony, which disempowers Māori women, must be stopped at the macro-level, so as to ensure there is a hope for all of our descendants. This barrier to development is perpetuated in a number of ways, including through the (in)actions of both Māori and non-Māori people. In addition, it recognises that these same people can also be vehicles for emancipation. For progress to be realised, relationships outside the Māori women's collective must be developed and maintained.

Like Evans (1994), I believe that the answer to powerlessness is political empowerment. However, I believe this empowerment will not be realised without the localisation of political power into the relationships experienced everyday. For *Te Ao Mārama*, such localisation requires the provision of education to Māori women generally and young Māori women particularly. This education should be centred into areas which wāhine identify as important. In this research, the first aspect of *Te Ao Mārama* – external relationships – will be answered through reports to practitioners and policy-makers. The second aspect – education – was addressed through the provision of education to participants as required and dictated by them throughout the research process. If I was unable to adequately provide for their needs, external relationships were prepared as means for referral.

Conclusion

The Māori research tradition is multi-faceted. Though ignored or appropriated by Eurocentric researchers, Māori research can be located within a wider Māori epistemological setting, sometimes referred to as Matauranga Māori or the Kaupapa Māori framework. Based on a history of oral tradition, a number of approaches may be used, including Māori-centred and Kaupapa Māori research. The Tāniko methodology provides a Mana Wāhine-based approach to research. Together, the four sections (*Mana Wāhine*, *Te Ao Tawhito*, *Te Ao Hou,* and *Te Ao Mārama)* acknowledge Māori women's expertise, provide a source of commonality, name current situations, and envision new horizons. As Tāniko, this example of Māori research does not claim to contain all answers. Instead, it is hoped that further discussion on Mana Wāhine perspectives are inspired.

Notes

[1] Said, 1978, p. 28

[2] Said, 1978, p. 28

[3] The notion of 'political correctness' is understood as an aspect of the politics of diversity. However, if taken literally, the term defines correctness in accordance with the dominant political power. As Māori have not had dominant political power since the 1800s, Māori approaches to research cannot be seen as 'politically correct'.

[4] The use of a capital letter (in this case, 'K') signifies the naming of a particular

concept or object. Irwin (1994) uses the term kaupapa Māori with a lowercase 'k'. In Irwin's case, the difference may be purely ornamental (existentialist) or may define a significant difference in theoretical engagement.

[5] Marsden, 1992, p. 132. Please note: there are various translations.

[6] Lecture on methodology and methodological issues, at Massey University, Palmerston North.

[7] For example: Kaupapa Māori (Bishop, 1994; Glover, 1997; Mead, 1996) and Māori-centred (Cunningham, personal communication, March 20, 2001).

[8] For further possible definitions of 'mana', please see Durie (1994a) or Marsden (1992).

[9] Non-Māori is used here to refer to all peoples who are not Māori.

[10] Bhabha (2004, p. 63) refers to judgements of stereotypes founded on old norms and engagement with their '*effectivity*' [sic] and 'regime of truth' in order to comprehend the '*productive* [sic] ambivalence of the object' that is otherness. His process seeks to displace versus dismiss, allowing limits to be transgressed. I use his term similarly, with the aim of transgressing the limits from a 'space of ... otherness' (Bhabha, 2004, p. 63).

[11] Or back in European terms.

[12] This is by no means an exhaustive list of Māori goddesses, but is simply a list of those known to me.

[13] This trait requires a Māori woman to identify herself as such and is open to criticism. Some research believes genealogy is more important than self-identification and, therefore, ascribes ethnicity even when a person does not agree. For example, the Census ascribes a statistical New Zealand Māori ethnic identity when a respondent indicates New Zealand Māori ancestry. Furthermore, it weights New Zealand Māori more heavily when ascribing primary ethnicity. This may be in contradiction to the respondent's own belief. I believe that to label another is to whakaiti (or disrespect, humble) and whakanoa (or remove mana and/or tapu). Therefore, the labelling of another's identity is contradictory to my belief in individual mana (see *Te Ao Hou*).

[14] By middle-class, I do not refer to household income, but possession of the necessary cultural capital to negotiate the education system.

[15] This 'voice' may be presented in non-verbal ways, such as laughter or inaction (see Matahaere-Atariki, 1997).

[16] Fanon's (1968, p. 78) words encompass a sense of loss: 'the black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man'. I, too, fear subjugation through objectification and take Fanon's words as both warning and challenge.

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VI. MĀORI FEMINISM & BIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH: The power of self-definition

HELENE CONNOR

This paper[1] examines the appropriateness of the biographical research methodology for research underpinned by a Māori feminist theoretical perspective. It also offers ten principles which could contribute towards developing discursive definitions of what might constitute Māori feminism. The paper has been written with the explicit intention that it contributes to the wider kete (basket) of knowledge being produced by Māori feminist writers and researchers. Such a position can pose a dilemma for Māori academics, grappling with concurrent agendas – how to satisfy the academy and how to satisfy the Māori community. Ultimately however, when writing from a Māori standpoint, the Māori perspective will dominate and will come to represent the 'heart' of the work, as is the case of this paper.

Biographical Research: an Appropriate Methodology for Māori Feminist Research

Biographical research methodology has considerable potential to be cross-fertilised with indigenous feminisms, methodologies and epistemologies. This process of cross-fertilisation ultimately creates a new cultural hybrid. Weedon (1999) suggests the idea of cultural hybridity can challenge existing binary oppositions and hierarchies and can have a profound and empowering effect on the diaspora experience, which is not that dissimilar to experiences of colonisation:

> Cultural hybridity, the fusion of cultures and coming together of difference, the 'border crossing' that marks diasporic survival, signifies change, hope of newness, and space for creativity. But in the search for rootedness – a 'place called home' – these women, in the process of self-identification, dis-identify with an excluding, racist British colonizing culture. They articulate instead a multi-faceted discontinuous black identity that marks their difference (p. 196).

The search for 'rootedness and a place called home' are central themes in the narratives of many Māori. The metaphor of 'home' can also be extended to the context of academic research and Māori scholars are well positioned both to challenge the authority of dominant Western models of research and to engage with the productive potential of hybridity from a position of cultural strength (Hoskins, 2000a; Irwin, 1993; Mohanty, 1991). The struggles with developing research practice for Māori have frequently centred around disrupting Western research models and legitimising Māori research models and epistemologies. Biographical research methodologies draw from multidisciplinary approaches and have the potential to employ a Kaupapa Māori framework. As Mead (1996) points out, Kaupapa Māori research can 'weave' in and out of both Māori and Western ways of knowing, and biographical research methodologies lend themselves well to such a process. At the same time, they have the potential to constitute a challenge to Western positivistic models of research. Writing about the feminist challenge to positivism, Mead (1996) advances the notion of the emancipatory potential of research for women, and discusses the importance of critiquing research methodologies and developing new methodologies and alternative ways of knowing. Central concerns for Māori feminist research have been to locate, develop and initiate appropriate methods, methodologies and epistemologies for research for and about Māori women and to acknowledge the problems of 'voice' and 'visibility' and 'silence' and 'invisibility' (Irwin, 1993; Johnston, 1998; Mead, 1996; Te Awekotuku, 1993). Research methodologies utilising biography and narrative are eminently suited to such endeavours. Biographical research gives a voice to the invisible, provides space for difference and the multiple experiences of what it means to be wahine Māori, and provides an avenue for representing our identity.

Biographical research methodologies when situated in a framework supported by Māori feminism and Kaupapa Māori theory provide vehicles through which our diverse identities as Māori women can be articulated and asserted. Differences in iwi and hapū, socialisation in a variety of whānau contexts and geographic locations, sexuality, political affiliations, religious and spiritual beliefs, educational experiences, knowledge of te reo Māori and ngā tikanga Māori and so on are all part of the experience of what

it means to be wāhine Māori. Biographical research provides the space where these differences can be celebrated, while at the same time affirming our collective visions as Māori women.

Biographical methodology is a powerful research device for Māori women to utilise. Telling our stories and personal narratives constitutes a political act and is potentially transforming at both an individual and collective level (Etter-Lewis, 1991; Passerini, 1989; Watson & Smith, 1992). Biography and the use of personal narratives are empowering methods for telling those 'histories from below', the everyday histories of struggle and resistance.

As with any methodology, biographical and narrative research practices have limitations. The method is best suited to small-scale, qualitative research though large-scale projects, particularly those seeking to tell collective stories, are not inconceivable with adequate funding (Erben, 1998). Nevertheless, embedded within biographical methods are radical potentialities for making our differences as Māori women visible and for allowing us to define our lives and create our own social landscape. Biographical research into the narratives of Māori women has the potential to reclaim and reinterpret both historical and contemporary issues of culture, gender, spirituality and conceptualisations of the self, as articulated by the biographical subject. Biographies produced by self-identified wahine Māori, women of colour and third-world women challenge traditional Eurocentric theories of selfhood and sociality (Etter Lewis, 1991; Mohanty, 1991; Personal Narratives Group, 1989). Keating (1996) suggests the narratives produced in the biographies of women of colour and third-world women do not focus exclusively on the development of a unified, individual self, but instead notions of collective selves are articulated which include socio-political and historical memories and, generally, a spiritual dimension. Notions of a collective self including a spiritual component are also likely to occur in the narratives of Māori women. Potentially, such narratives are transformational for identity politics.

The act of writing, of engaging with language that affirms and revitalises, opens up possibilities for change. Biographical writing has the potential to position its subject, the social actors contained in the text, on that threshold where a pluralised self can evolve. A pluralised self-identity, as Keating (1996) suggests, is capable of interacting with many worlds. Writing a biographical subject as

a flexible, evolving identity assumes complex speaking positions enabling points of similarity and difference among readers of diverse backgrounds. Writing Betty Wark[2] as the biographical subject in section two of my doctoral thesis (Connor, 2006), for example, enabled her to reflect on her evolving identity as a woman of mixed ethnic descent who came to position herself primarily as wahine Māori as she became more immersed in te ao Māori (the Māori world).

One of the tasks of a biographical narrative is to sort out themes and patterns, as opposed to mundane calendar events and dates (Edel, 1981). Such a task results in a struggle between a biographer and the subject to locate the concealed self and the revealed self, the public and the private and to work with these tensions with delicacy and skill. Language and narrative alter biography from a fact-neutral to value-interpretative text (Nadel, 1994). Biography from this perspective not only partakes in, but becomes a form of cultural discourse. Biography can also illustrate ways in which the power of social values can either entrap or free the individual. One reading of Betty Wark's biography is to study the impact of the social values attached to the cultural discourses on the meanings of Māori. For Betty, the disruption of monoculturalistic discourse brought about a re-imagined, reconstructed way of being that affirmed being Māori. In the wider context of New Zealand culture, collective discourses around race relations filtered out monocultural values and established an alternative – biculturalism.

Biographical research also addresses the notion of authenticity and the reclamation of cultural and historic traditions as being an important means to rediscover what may have previously been erased. Keating (1996) argues that an emphasis on authenticity reinforces the belief in self-contained identities and replicates existing divisions. In her view, the rhetoric of authenticity associated with ethnic identity relies on unitary notions of an authentic past where previously erased cultural and historic traditions are claimed to be rediscovered. Such an undertaking can, however, also be problematic. Judith Binney (2001), for example, in her work on the life history of the nineteenth-century Māori leader Te Kooti, found that the narratives that were told about Te Kooti unearthed previously erased cultural and historic traditions and asserted Māori autonomy, but were mostly 'myth-narratives or chronicles of the impossible' (p. 90).

Irwin (1993) also views the notion of authenticity as being contentious. She raises the point that Māori women's stories need to be accepted without making a value judgement as to whether or not they can be read as authentic. In Betty Wark's narrative her ethnic identity straddled the two worlds of being Māori and being Pākehā. Yet she actively sought to create what could be viewed as an authentic Māori identity demonstrating Keating's (1996) assertion that authentic identities are constructed.

> I wanted so much to learn and be with Māori people. I wanted to know what it meant to be Māori and so I spent as much time as I could at the Ponsonby Community Centre learning from these lovely old kuia (B. Wark, personal communication, September 9, 1996).

One of the strengths of biographical research for Māori women is that it provides a context for different voices to dialogue with such issues as authenticity and identity. Despite Keating's (1996) and Irwin's (1993) insights that an emphasis on authenticity can actually have a divisive effect on identity politics, the need for a forum to voice these and other concerns is vital.

Despite the potentially contentious issue of authenticity, biographical and autobiographical writing gives voice to the subject, substantiating and validating the lived experience (Nadel, 1984). For Māori women, biographical writing not only positions us as the subjects of our own inquiry but also provides a space for articulating our multiple lives and identities. Writing about lived experience for Māori feminists has evolved through our history of colonisation and the need to subvert the social relations of dominance and subordination that came with colonisation. Narratives of Māori women articulated in biographical research can demonstrate the complex interconnections between our past and present, illustrating the continuous shifts in our cultural identities. As Keating (1996) argues, cultural identities have histories and undergo continual transformations in complex interactions with other categories of meaning; individual and collective identities are hybrid creations, not organic pre-existing discoveries. By writing about Māori subjects we exert control over the ways our/their lives are represented. In terms of a Kaupapa Māori research practice our methodologies must be informed by a collective kaupapa. For Māori feminists any theoretical underpinnings of our research must be compatible with our kaupapa.

Ten Principles that could constitute Māori Feminism

In Kathie Irwin's seminal work in the early 1990s, 'Towards Theories of Māori Feminism' she argued:

> Theory is a powerful intangible tool which harnesses the powers of the mind, heart and soul: te ngakau, te hinengaro, te wairua. With the right theory as a tool we can take the right to our tino rangatiratanga, our sovereignty as Māori women, to be in control of making sense of our world and our future, ourselves. We can and must design new tools – Māori feminist theories, to ensure that we have control over making sense of our world and future (Irwin, 1993, p. 5).

She suggested theories of Māori feminism could be developed from four central Māori sources of data, outlined as follows:

> Māori society, both te ao hou and te ao tawhito, the present and the past; te reo Māori, the Māori language; Māori women's her-stories, the stories of the lives of our women; and nga tikanga Māori, Māori customary practices (Irwin, 1993, pp. 5–6).

The potentialities of Māori feminist theory, as outlined by Irwin, offered a viable framework in which Māori feminist scholarship could ferment and develop. Māori feminism is dynamic and evolving and hence inherently difficult to define. Nevertheless, there are at least ten principles which are compatible with and can build on Irwin's four central Māori sources of data. These principles do not represent a definitive and authoritative theoretical model. They are offered as additional strands to weave into the collective kete and the discourses of what could constitute Māori feminism.

1. *Maintains a collective vision for all wahine Māori and advocates the right to self-determination for all Māori women.*

A collective vision determining what could exist for Māori women is of paramount concern for Māori feminism. Charlotte Bunch (1983) defines vision as the process by which we establish principles or values and set goals. Her definition has particular relevance to the kōrero [discussion] around a collective vision for Māori women:

> In taking action to bring about change, we operate consciously or unconsciously out of certain assumptions about what is right or what we value (principles), and of our sense of what society ought to be (goals). This aspect of theory involves making a conscious choice about those

principles in order to make our visions and goals concrete (Bunch, 1983, p. 252).

Actions that Māori women can undertake in order to bring about change include: writing our biographical texts, personal narratives and her-stories, empowering ourselves by revitalising te reo Māori and carrying out our research from a Kaupapa Māori perspective, (Irwin, 1993; Johnston, 1998; Smith, 1992). Self-determination for Māori women affirms mana wāhine and is achieved through connection to our land, language and culture. For those women (and men) who lived through assimilationist policies of the early twentieth century the right to self-determination was, for many, fraught with difficulties. As has been well documented, the right to speak our own language, practice our own spiritual beliefs and live our own tikanga was frequently denied (Walker, 1990a). Nevertheless, experiences differed from iwi to iwi and some iwi such as Tuhoe, who tended to live in exclusively Māori communities in often isolated areas, were not as affected by assimilation as those iwi who have had more contact with Pākehā (McIntosh, 2001).

In the biographical research project of which Betty Wark was the dominant subject, her narrative illustrated the need for maintaining a collective vision through such initiatives as the kohanga reo movement and the Māori Women's Welfare League. She also advocated the right to self-determination for all Māori and sought to educate herself and the young people she worked with on such issues as Māori land rights, the Treaty of Waitangi and other examples of political activism.

2. *Acknowledges a finely-tuned balance between the individual and the whānau.*

Traditional Māori society was communal – the whānau and the extended whānau took precedence over the individual. The emphasis on kinship contrasts markedly with the liberal ideology of individualism. Although at an individual level it is important that Māori women achieve their personal goals, it is also important to stress that individual success for Māori reflects on the whole whānau, hapū and iwi. Biographical research, for example, although centred on an individual, has the potential to include the collective identity of Māori women by acknowledging the whānau, hapū and iwi and united mahi [work] of women.

Linda Smith's articulation of what she terms the whānau discourse is also particularly relevant to this principle:

> It requires the seeking of knowledge which is whanau, hapu and iwi-specific. It seeks an understanding of a specific set or foundation of knowledge and practice. It seeks to empower young Māori women by reconnecting them to a genealogy and a geography which is undeniably theirs. And it seeks to protect women by filling in the details of their identity; by providing the genealogical template upon which relationships make sense. This is a discourse which has engaged the energies of younger women. It needs the guidance of older women (Smith, 1992, p. 39).

A whānau discourse encompasses women, men, children, kaumatua [older man of standing] and kuia [older woman of standing] (Smith, 1992). Whānau and whanaungatanga [relationships] are implicit to the framework of whakapapa and are critical to encouraging and sustaining self-sufficient Māori initiatives such as Māori feminism. Whānau is not necessarily connected by blood ties and may be based on the concept of whanaungatanga, where relationships are sustained through Māori initiatives and models and where there is a finely-tuned balance between the individual and his or her responsibilities to the whānau or collective.

The whānau discourse evident in Betty's biographical text also demonstrates that whānau are not necessarily connected by blood ties. Her way of working with youth at risk was essentially based on the concept of whanaungatanga (as defined in the preceding paragraph).

3. *Acknowledges whakapapa as something which connects Māori women to all those past and present despite all of our differences; and accordingly acknowledges both the earthly and cosmological domains – secular and spiritual.*

Māori relationships can be defined through whakapapa. Whakapapa of humankind, or the primal genealogy, can be linked back to the children of Ranginui and Papatūānuku who became ira tangata [mortal beings] once they entered the world of light (Barlow, 1993). The descendants of the first ira tangata became the ancestors of Māori people. Through whakapapa, kinship ties are cemented. Knowledge of one's whakapapa and ancestral links is at the root of Māori identity and heritage. It conveys the complexities of what it means to be a Māori woman, man or child. Whakapapa connects Māori women to

all those past and present – despite all of our differences, it is the one thing that we all have in common. The importance of the principle of whakapapa to Māori feminism is based on this kinship connection and other interrelated issues. Whakapapa is an important channel through which to consider Māori people generally. It is a culturally important concept and provides a portal of understanding about Māori society and is inscribed in virtually every aspect of a Māori worldview (Smith, 2000). In Betty's narrative she was dislocated from her whakapapa yet she undeniably had a whakapapa and in her later life was able to learn more about it. Her situation was not unique. Many Māori have little knowledge of their whakapapa, yet they still have one and it will be working at some level, even though it may not necessarily be apparent.

4. *Incorporates Kaupapa Māori theoretical principles and modes of te reo Māori (Māori language) and ngā tikanga Māori.*

Kaupapa Māori theory stresses that Māori communities must own and actively construct theory (Hoskins, 2001; Irwin, 1993). Such a strategy implies that the incorporation of Kaupapa Māori theory into a Māori feminist perspective will result in a feminist theory that has the potential to be more meaningful and appropriate to Māori who are interested in Māori feminist practice and engaged with research that is of relevance to wāhine Māori. Kaupapa theory also encourages collective theorisation, as opposed to the notion of individual intellectualisation, and as such better meets the cultural needs of whānau groups working together to strengthen Māori communities (Hoskins, 2001; Smith, 1992). Māori feminist practice incorporating Kaupapa Māori would therefore also be well suited to collaborative research projects such as qualitative investigations into a variety of lived experiences of Māori women, for example: experiences of health, education, community development initiatives and the like. Māori feminism incorporating Kaupapa Māori theory validates all things Māori and, therefore remembers, affirms and authenticates the status of wāhine Māori who in traditional society were central to Māori cosmological and historical narratives and participated at all levels of social and political affairs (Jahnke, 2002).

In Betty's narrative, her work at Arohanui Trust can be viewed as Kaupapa Māori theory in action. She felt very strongly that it was important for all Māori youth in her care to learn about Māori

language and culture. She actively sought creative ways to teach Māori youth and to help them become literate and self-actualising, including employing tutors in te reo Māori and Māori weaponry.

5. *Recognises the dimensions of taha tinana, (physical dimension) taha wairua (spiritual dimension) and taha hinengaro (conscious and unconscious parts of the mind).*

Systems of learning which incorporate taha tinana, taha hinengaro and taha wairua are examples of Māori re-claiming our own truths, our own knowledge base and our own methods of scholarship:

> Hine (female) is the conscious part of the mind and ngaro (hidden) is the subconscious. Hinengaro refers to the mental, intuitive and 'feeling' seat of the emotions. Thinking, knowing, perceiving, remembering, recognising feeling, abstracting, generalising, sensing, responding and reacting are all processes of the Hinengaro – the mind (Pere, 1991, p. 32).
>
> Taha tinana – Different forms of recreation and physical exercises are encouraged to help develop agility, dexterity, rhythm, coordination, balance, harmony, poise, stamina and the sheer joy of being human (Pere, 1991, p. 24).
>
> Wairua is an apt description of the spirit – it denotes two waters. There are both positive and negative streams for one to consider. Everything has a wairua, for example, water can give or take life. It is a matter of keeping balance (Pere, 1991, p. 16).

Rangimarie Pere's framework of education and learning incorporates many other aspects and concepts of traditional Māori society, which she presents as a model of interconnections and interrelations. Pere's central concept of education is that nothing stands in isolation; the physical, the mental and the spiritual actually merge into each other. A Māori feminist epistemology could include knowledge bases which incorporate a spiritual dimension, although this could be a problematic and contentious area and a cause for debate (Matahaere-Atariki, 1998).

A collective epistemology which incorporates oral traditions while raising a number of issues, nevertheless symbolises a potential network for connecting Māori women with one another, a common bond, despite all of our differences. However, because of the nebulous and mystical element of spirituality, its inclusion into a collective

epistemology is open to critique, from both Māori and non-Māori: 'Credibility is undermined through appeals to a "tradition" untainted by colonialism that resonate with a self-conscious rectitude indicative of someone privy to "ancient and forgotten mysteries" ' (Matahaere, 1995, as cited in Platt 1998, p. 15).

Platt explores the apprehensions raised by Matahere, a Māori scholar, who is concerned with the uncritical promotion of taha wairua and an identity based on spirituality, illustrating the tensions and conflicts between Māori feminism (and indeed other feminist perspectives) and spirituality.

> She [Matahaere] contends that challenging the dominance of Western epistemologies and ontologies by uncritically promoting taha wairua, prevents non-Māori from understanding or theorising about an identity based on spirituality. Further, she suggests that Pakeha can use 'positive stereotypes' (such as spirituality) of Māori against them, if they are uncritically introduced as a tool against colonialism (Platt, 1998, p. 20).

Flinders (1998), however, argues that such tensions need not be irresolvable. Writing about the reconciliation of a spiritual hunger with a feminist thirst from a Western context, she states:

> Feminism catches fire when it draws upon its inherent spirituality. When it does not, it is just one more form of politics, and politics has never fed our deepest hungers. What a Gandhi knew, a Mother Teresa knew, is that when individuals are drawn to a selfless cause – the relief of human suffering, the dissolution of the barriers that separate us from one another – energy and creativity come into play that simply don't under any other circumstances (Flinders, 1998, p. 325).

Flinders' argument can readily be applied to Māori feminism. Māori feminism catches fire when it draws upon its inherent spirituality. Māori historical figures, such as Te Whiti o Rongomai[3] and Princess Te Puea,[4] knew what Gandhi and Mother Teresa would come to know – when individuals are drawn to a cause there is a dissolution of the barriers that separate us from one another and an energy and creativity manifest, something which does not occur under any other circumstances. Māori women who were/are drawn to causes such as Komiti Wahine[5] the Māori Women's Welfare League and Māori feminism have generally been motivated by a desire to achieve collective self-determination and frequently the concept of Mana Wahine encapsulating the idea that women's strength, power,

influence, beauty and the like have derived from female ancestors and female deities, is an underlying kaupapa [philosophical base] for their mahi (Sinclair, 1998). This was evident in Betty Wark's narrative. She was drawn to causes such as the Māori Women's Welfare League partially in order to contribute to the collective self-determination of Māori but also because of her personal need to embrace the concept of Mana Wahine and to delve into her own inner strength and power.

A biography underpinned by Māori feminist thought would have to acknowledge the spiritual in some way, even if it is as elementary as honouring the subject's tupuna. In Betty's biographical text the spiritual dimension of her life was particularly pertinent to her life's work, as it was her Catholicism and her Māoritanga [Māori culture and perspective] that sustained and motivated her.

6. *Recognises that the subordination of Māori women stems from the existence of inequality based on gender, race and class.*

Within the umbrella of what might constitute Māori feminism, many Māori women activists have been concerned with revealing inequalities based on gender, race and class and have established networks to identify strategies for change where Māori women can create/recreate space to exercise autonomous agency (Hoskins, 2000a).

Various Western feminist theoretical perspectives, such as liberal and Marxist feminisms, have also grappled with gendered and class inequalities. The issue of race remained an uncharted territory until Black women, such as bell hooks in the United States, critiqued white feminist theory and practice for obscuring the experiences of women of colour (hooks, 1984). hooks argues that it is essential that Black women recognise that a position of marginality enables a perspective from which to criticise the dominant racist, classist, sexist hegemony and then to envision and create a counter-hegemony (hooks, 1984). hooks' argument is also applicable to Māori women and, indeed, many Māori women have also been critical of Western feminist thought for locating gender as the primary and universal site of oppression, while largely ignoring factors of class and race. Māori women's status as tangata whenua [people of the land] situates Māori women in a much larger reality than that of 'women's rights' (Hoskins, 2000a; Lummis, 1987; Mohanty, 1991; Swindells, 1989).

An analysis of the subordination of Māori women which identifies the existence of inequality based on gender, race and class must also take into account the impact of the State's structural dimensions on our struggles. Linda Smith (1992) positions such an analysis within what she terms the State discourse:

> This analysis locates political and Pakeha-dominant structures at the core of the struggle. The current material conditions of Māori women need to be seen not only against the background of colonization but also against the construction via various manifestations of the State, of Māori women as an oppressed social and economic group. These manifestations include the State education, social welfare and justice systems, as well as other bureaucracies involved in economic and social planning (p. 44).

In Betty's narrative, struggles with the State are frequently articulated. One of the main reasons for her activism and involvement with local politics was to try to transform social, political and economic realities for all Māori.

7. *Recognises that colonisation has eroded Māori identity and actively promotes the resurgence of mana wāhine Māori.*

Colonisation impacted upon both Māori men and women in different ways. Māori women were subjected to a restructuring process which eroded our mana in far more insidious ways. Prior to European contact, Māori women's status and role in society was determined by the hierarchical structures of the iwi, hapu and whanau. Highborn women, for example, could own land and would not lose it upon marriage. These structures were eroded with colonisation and, consequently, there was also an erosion in mana wahine for those women (Connor, 1994).

Weedon (1999) argues that the narratives of colonialism, particularly the narratives of civilisation and Christianisation, demonstrated an overwhelming lack of respect for difference. She suggests that both Western and so-called third-world feminisms continue to be profoundly affected by the legacy of colonialism and she argues it remains an issue which needs to be confronted and explored. For Māori feminists the colonial history of Aotearoa/New Zealand has served as a force against which an anti-colonial Māori identity has been defined, based on traditional constructions of selfhood and dependent upon 'difference'. Implicit in Māori feminist politics is the confrontation and exploration of colonialism. Māori biographical

subjects' self-conceived constructions of the self will in some way be affected by colonial constructions of Māori. Biographical research can be conceptualised as an agent of decolonisation, confronting negative stereotypes and offering positive constructions of selfhood and collective Māori identities.

One of the most insidious ways colonisation has impacted upon Māori women has been through the notion of embodied oppression where the differential ciphering of the Māori body, through racialising and sexualising discourses, transformed gender roles and relations, eroding and destabilising Māori women's bases of power (Hoskins, 2001). One of the agendas of Māori feminism is to re-inscribe the Māori female body and re-establish bases of power for wahine Māori. Discourses around the body as articulate and transforming are situated within notions of decolonisation (Hoskins, 2001). Biographical and autobiographical texts have the potential to counter negative discourses about the Māori female body and to reinterpret and reconstitute the colonised body which rendered Māori women as being too short, stocky, unattractive and unfeminine (Bell, 1992; Hoskins, 2000a). A vivid example of such a contesting discourse can be seen in the autobiographical text, *My Journey*, authored by former Māori politician Donna Awatere Huata:

> I have warrior thighs. I am descended from women who fought in battle with taiaha (long weapon), patu (short weapon) and mere (club), and I look like it. My legs are solid, with flat feet for gripping the ground. [My body is] a fighting machine (Awatere Huata, 1996, p. 28).

Biographical research into both historical and contemporary Māori figures can demonstrate the impact of colonisation on Māori women's lives, so that the often abhorrent events of our colonial past are not forgotten. It can also promote the resurgence of mana wahine by raising awareness of the accomplishments of Māori women and providing revisionist her-stories which demonstrate the power and status of Māori women prior to colonisation. One example is *The Old Time Māori,* originally written in 1930 by Makere, a rare example of an ethnographic text researched and authored by a Māori woman of that era (Makereti, 1930/1986). Reprinted in 1986 with an introduction by Māori scholar Dr Ngahuia Te Awekotuku, it is now celebrated as a classic reference for information on traditional Māori society, particularly with regard to matters pertaining to women such as menstruation, marriage, childbirth and child rearing.

Discourses of decolonisation have actively promoted the resurgence of mana wāhine Māori and have challenged the ways in which Māori women are positioned in relation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi (Pihama, 2001). The controversial 1993 Māori women's claim to the Waitangi Tribunal, in which prominent Māori women asserted the necessity of women's representation in decision-making relating to Māori economic and cultural development, is one example (Rei, 1998).

Māori women have always had mana. The historical experiences of colonisation, with its tiers of patriarchy, racism and capitalism, resulted in a temporary suppression of mana for many Māori women, but by no means for all. The resurgence of mana wahine Māori evident in contemporary society is indicative of decolonisation and the collective resistance of all indigenous people who are attempting to dismantle power structures that marginalised and eroded our cultural identity. Biographical research offers a method that makes it possible for Māori to reclaim cultural identity and mana. It offers a vehicle through which to represent the thoughts and experiences of people who have been colonised and dominated and characterised as being primitive and inferior. Biographical research provides a space for reclaiming an indigenous voice and vision within the arts, humanities and social sciences and a place for what Battiste (2000) terms 'unfolding the lessons of colonisation' (p. xvi). As Betty's narrative unfolded it became evident that the theme of 'home' could be read as one way she sought to reclaim her cultural identity and mana. The remnants of colonisation had stripped her of her language and culture in her early life but as she matured she reclaimed these taonga [treasures] and consequently felt at 'home'.

8. *Seeks to create its own theories and discourse*

The term 'Māori feminism' is problematic for many Māori women (Pihama, 2001). Nevertheless, it is a term that signals a particular standpoint and expression of feminism. Māori feminism can be grouped under the umbrella of feminist theoretical perspectives of women of colour – a body of scholarship which refers to the rich and vast literature from indigenous women, 'third world' women and women who have experienced a history of colonisation and slavery. Women of colour have challenged white, middle-class, feminist theory as being 'race' blind and have been critical of white feminists

for overlooking the experiences of non-white women:

> Black feminism has provided a space and a framework for the articulation of our diverse identities as black women from different ethnicities, classes and sexualities, even though at times that space had to be fought for and negotiated. To assert an individual and collective identity of black women has been a necessary historical process both empowering and strengthening (Parmar, 1989, p. 58).

Parmar's comments have relevance for Māori feminism which has sought to provide a space and a framework for the her-stories of Māori women, even though at times that space had to be fought for and negotiated. Biographical research complements the goals of Māori feminism in this aspiration and gives space to Māori subjects and biographers.

In order to find relevant ways to explain the nature of Māori women's experiences within contemporary contexts, it is crucial to utilise an analysis that is positioned in te ao Māori (Jahnke, 1997). For many Māori, mana wāhine expresses what counts as feminism. It is a term that is positioned within te ao Māori and incorporates Māori women's identity, philosophy and value system based on whakapapa and the origins of the geographic space of Aotearoa/New Zealand, (Irwin, 1993; Jahnke, 1997; Pihama, 2001).

The concept of mana wāhine contains two key components (Pihama, 2001): 'mana' which, according to Pere (1991), can be conceptualised as meaning control, prestige, power, vested and acquired authority, influence and also psychic influence; and 'wāhine', which means women. Pihama (2001) breaks the term of wāhine into two parts: 'wa' relates to notions of time and space and 'hine' relates to the female essence, across the life cycle from kohine [girl] to whaea [mother] and on to kuia [older woman]. Pihama (2001) asserts that Mana Wāhine theory is a particular form of Kaupapa Māori theory that validates the mana of Māori women:

> The term Mana Wāhine theory serves as an overarching term for a range of Māori women's theoretical approaches, each of which have the fundamental belief that to engage issues from a Māori women's view point is both valid and necessary. Drawing on the notion of mana wāhine as a means of naming Māori women's theories makes explicit the approach and intent. It affirms that Māori women have mana, a belief that early writers have undermined in the insidious ways in which they have described our tupuna wāhine. It affirms also a movement of uplifting the

> position of Māori women in a context where our roles and status have been systematically dismantled (Pihama, 2001, p. 255).

Mana Wāhine theory, as Pihama suggests, affirms Māori women's mana and uplifts the status of Māori women. The biographical narrative of Betty Wark unashamedly set out to embrace this kaupapa. From the outset it was intended as a celebratory work, affirming Betty's life and her mana as a Māori woman. Judith Binney's (1996) book, *Nga Morehu, The Survivors,* in which she tells the life histories of eight Māori women, is another example of biographical narrative affirming Māori women's mana. The stunning photographs by Gillian Chaplin of the women also enhance their dignity and mana, adding a visual discourse to the text. The whakapapa of each woman was also included in order to honour the tupuna of the women and again to enhance their mana and status.

An indigenous women's discourse which is concerned with locating our struggle as Māori women within an international context is compatible with what Julia Emberley (1993) terms 'a feminism of decolonisation': 'A feminism of decolonisation, produced upon the articulation of feminist and decolonial critical practices, may provide a critical theory that enables a reading of Native women's writings' (p. 4).

Māori feminist research and writing also contributes to the discourses of feminist decolonisation and, alongside other indigenous women's work, is particularly compatible with Native American women's writings.[6]

Māori lesbian feminists[7] have also been influenced by the theoretical perspectives and writings of women of colour lesbian feminists. For lesbians of colour, there can be conflicts between integrating identities of lesbianism, womanhood and being a person of colour. Understanding the nexus of racism and heterosexism demands vigorous exploration and analysis (Leslie & MacNeill, 1995).

9. *Acknowledges the need to incorporate both mana wāhine and mana tane into its philosophical base.*

Māori feminist research is concerned with privileging mana wāhine and women's experiences. Mana tane, [Māori men] our relationships with Māori males at both personal and public levels, and issues concerning Māori males are part of our experiences as Māori women.

Working with and alongside Māori men is a key element that sets Māori feminist theorising apart from most other modes of feminism (Pihama, 2001).

Betty Wark worked extensively with Māori males. For her it was essential that Māori men and women worked together for the collective benefit of Māoridom. Yet in her early days as a community worker she was feisty and at times aggressive: 'I used to use a stick. I didn't know any better but I thought I could bash some sense into those boys. But it didn't work – it didn't work' (B. Wark, personal communication, September 2, 1996). Eventually she realised she had to promote the concept of mana tane by encouraging the men she worked with to feel good about themselves through the self-development and education programmes offered at Arohanui Trust.

10. *Actively promotes research methods which complement the kaupapa (underlying belief systems) of Māori feminism.*

The final point offered in the base definition for Māori feminism, advocates that research methods which complement the kaupapa of Māori feminism should be promoted. Biographical research, story-telling and narrative analysis are all examples of research methods which complement the kaupapa of Māori feminism. A strength of biographical research methodology is that it offers possibilities for centralising the experiences of Māori women whose lives have been erased from the social and political landscape. On one level Betty Wark saw the telling of her story as a political act and potentially transformative for its readers. She envisioned that for individuals her story could be inspiring. She also saw her story as having an impact for the collective, demonstrating what can be achieved for the greater good when people work together to create a whānau which is supportive and affirming.

Summary

The ten points identified in the base definition for conceptualising Māori feminism are intended as a foundation from which to theorise. There will be agreement as well as contention around each point. As Irwin (1993) argues, Māori feminist theories must be designed in order that we have control over making sense of our world and future. Developing methodologies which are appropriate and compatible with Māori feminist ideals will ensure we have control of our own

research projects and will enable us to make sense of our own worlds and future. Within the context of my doctoral thesis the principles of Māori feminism were developed in order to create a foundation from which to theorise about biographical research as Māori feminist research and also to apply the theories to a practical project. Each of the principles has some relevance to the biographical text, as does Kaupapa Māori theory.

The biographical method has also been recognised as a research methodology that lends itself to the notion of hybridity and cross-fertilisation, which Weedon (1999) argues can create a space for creativity, the resurgence of cultural survival and notions of 'home'. These themes can also be applied to Māori in general as a colonised people wanting to create a space for creativity and articulating difference. The hybrid approach to the biographical method provides a tool for such aims. It is a Western method which can readily incorporate Māori theoretical perspectives such as Māori feminism and Kaupapa Māori theory. The preceding discussion has examined this hybrid approach while drawing from existing literature and contributing to the discourse regarding Māori feminism.

The biographical method provides a space to kōrero [speak] about individual and collective subject's sense of cultural identity and provides a mode of self-representation that is compatible with a Māori sense of self. Cultural survival and searching for that 'place called home' are themes that resonate throughout many Māori personal narratives. Biographical and autobiographical texts for Māori can also be viewed as literary extensions of whakapapa, as they provide spaces to speak about coming 'home'.

Kōrero kia rongo i tō reo rangatira
Speak so that we may hear the divine essence in
your voice (Tai, 1992, p. 43).

Notes

[1] This paper has been developed from chapter two in my PhD thesis. Connor, D.H. (2006). *Writing ourselves 'home': Biographical texts: a method for contextualizing the lives of wahine Māori. Locating the story of Betty Wark.* Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Auckland, Auckland. Chapter Two provided a general discussion on the appropriateness of the biographical research method for Māori feminist research.

[2] Betty Wark was born in 1924 in the Hokianga region. She was of Māori and Pākehā (European) descent and became involved in community work in the early 1960s. In 1974 she helped set up Arohanui Incorporated, a community-based organisation which aimed to provide guidance and assistance to young persons referred from the courts, prisons, Social Welfare and independent sources. Betty died in 2001 of lung cancer.

[3] Te Whiti o Rongomai of Taranaki was a Māori rangatira (chief) who alongside with Tohu, a fellow rangatira, built the village of Parihaka and began preaching the doctrine of passive resistance during the 1860s. For a detailed and comprehensive history of Te Whiti and Tohu and their resistance to colonial oppression see Scott, D. (1994). *Ask that mountain: The story of Parihaka.* Auckland: Reed. For a concise portrait of Te Whiti's life see Anderton, J. (1999). *Unsung heroes: Portraits of inspiring New Zealanders.* Auckland: Random House.

[4] Princess Te Puea Herangi of Tainui established land development schemes and worked to re-establish the Waikato people economically and culturally Sinclair, M. (1998), endnote 36. Also refer to King, M. (1977). *Te Puea: A biography.* Auckland: Hodder and Stoughton.

[5] Ngā Komiti Wāhine (tribally based Māori Women's Committees) grew out of the Kotahitanga movement (the movement for a Māori Parliament) when, in 1893, wāhine Māori asked for the right for Māori women to be included among the electors of the Māori Parliament and to be eligible to stand as candidates (Sinclair 1998, p. 105).

[6] Many Māori feminists have been influenced by a number of Native American feminist writers, including: Lee Maracle (1996) of the Stoh:lo Nation and Marie Battiste (2000) from Potlo'tek First Nations in Unama'kik, Nova Scotia. Another indigenous feminist writer who has been influential among Māori women is Haunani-Kay Trask (1993, 1991), a Hawaiian scholar.

[7] Ngahuia Te Awekotuku has written extensively on Māori lesbian feminism and passionately proclaims: 'My challenge is this: to reconstruct tradition, reinterpret the oral history of this land, so skilfully manipulated by the crusading heterosexism of the missionary ethic. For we do have one word, takatāpui' (Te Awekotuku, 1993, p. 288). The term, takatāpui, meaning having a lover or special friend of the same sex, has become a marker of self-identity for many Māori lesbians and gay men. The reclaiming of this traditional concept demonstrates one way in which Māori lesbian feminism is seeking to create its own theories and discourse

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VII. MAUMAHARA: Linking the past, the present and the future

MARGARET FORSTER

This paper is a critical reflection of a community research process utilised by the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28 (Māori) Battalion Oral History project. Examples are provided of the relationship between culture and research through the integration of Māori cultural values and philosophies into the research process. This research utilised standard Western research principles and methods to complement the Māori research tradition and enhance Māori knowledge to provide an account of the impact of World War II on the Ngāti Kahungunu community. This project demonstrated that when research is located within the community the institutions, principles and practices of that community are given precedence. Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices underpin the research activity; authenticity and validity is incontestable. The implication for other research projects is that the incorporation of culture into the research process facilitates access to the community and quality of the data while at the same time promoting Māori development aspirations.

The contribution of the men and women who enlisted in the New Zealand World War II effort is acknowledged in annual Australia & New Zealand Army Corps [ANZAC] Day celebrations, reunions and numerous physical reminders such as epitaphs, memorials, gateways and rolls of honour. Throughout the Wairoa rohe [Northern Hawke's Bay region] tributes can also be found on local marae [meeting houses]. For example, at Takitimu marae a stained glass memorial window is erected in the front of the wharekai [dining room]. The waharoa [gateway] at Taihoa marae has a memorial to 'whakamaumaharatanga mō ngā hoia Māori o te Wairoa i mate ki te pae o te pakanga, 1914–1918, 1939–1943'[1] and inside the gate memorial stones dedicated to Privates Matiu Karihuka Ropata and Charlie Kaimoana stand. Another memorial stone dedicated to Private

Tuku Munroe can be found at Iwitea marae. In Nuhaka at Kahungunu marae one of the pou [carved post] in the meeting house is an unknown hoia [soldier] bearing arms. These are memorials, tributes to the fallen and those that returned. However, the role of the community, the whānau [family] and particularly the women during this period is noticeably absent in the local landscape.

New Zealand Archive

New Zealand commemorations of the 50th anniversary of World War II generated a renewed interest in the contribution of New Zealanders to the war effort. Up until that period the history archive focused mainly on specific campaign details of the New Zealand Military Forces (see, for example, *The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945* series). Material produced post-1990s, including film[2] as well as published material, provided a more personal account of the memories and experiences of veterans, women at war, women at home and communities (Bardsley, D., 2000; Fyfe, 1995; Gardiner, B., 1990; Gardiner, W., 1992; McGregor, 2000; McKenna, 1996; Petrie, 1997; Sullivan, 2002).

A history of 28 Māori Battalion[3] was published in *The Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939–1945* series (Cody, 1956). Details are provided of the Battalion formation, departure to war, training, specific campaigns and personal information such as the roll of honour and list of officers. In 1992 Gardiner published *Te mura o te ahi: the story of the Māori battalion*. This publication provided a more comprehensive account from a Māori perspective of the contribution of the 28 Māori Battalion to the World War II effort. In addition, several personal accounts of experiences during and immediately after the war were included.

In recent decades the local Māori Battalion Branches, in association with the local Māori communities, have initiated comprehensive oral history projects that bring together the collective experiences and memories of veterans and those that remained behind. Veteran accounts can be found in Māori Battalion Association reunion books and in oral history research collections, such as that of B Company currently displayed at Rotorua Museum, C Company currently displayed at Tairawhiti Museum and the D Company collection stored at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Massey University. The D Company project is one of the few that extended the focus

to include the experiences of women who not only enlisted but also remained at home. Therefore, the D Company collection provided a more comprehensive community perspective. This work ensured that the contribution of past generations to New Zealand society remained in the collective consciousness by providing accounts of the Māori experience and production of a taonga tuku iho: a resource for future generations.

This paper is a critical reflection of a community research process utilised by the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28 (Māori) Battalion Oral History project. Examples are provided of the relationship between culture and research through the integration of Māori cultural values and philosophies into the research process. This contributed to the generation of new knowledge and the continued exercise in contemporary situations of mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge], ways of knowing and associated practices. Of particular interest is the complementary use of Māori and Western research traditions, the reclamation of local history to provide a community voice and the positive community transformation that occurred as part of the research exercise.

Research and Māori communities

From a Māori perspective the New Zealand research archive at times appears fictitious, insensitive and sometimes meaningless. The rationale around what information was judged to be significant, what details were recorded and how this information was to be analysed were all premised on a research tradition based on the norms and values of a predominantly Euro-centric, Western academic community. What resulted was an absence of a Māori voice and narratives and an entrenched suspicion by Māori communities of research (Bishop, 1994; Cram, 2001; Jahnke & Taiapa, 2003; Te Awekotuku, 1991; Stokes, 1985; Smith, 1999).

For the most part, research on Māori has been located within a positivist tradition that, regardless of claims towards neutrality and objectivity, has been influenced by the cultural orientation of mainly non-indigenous researchers (Smith, 1999, pp. 42–57). It has been quite vigorously argued that it is impossible for researchers, particularly social science investigators, to disconnect themselves from their own worldview and cultural orientation (Dansey, 1975; Marsden, 1975; Smith, 1999; Walker, 1997). Determination of what counts as

legitimate research and legitimate research processes is intrinsically linked to the worldview and cultural orientation of the researcher. Contemporary Māori attitudes towards research promote subjectivity and culture bias: 'Research is culture based, it is subjective, it has political, social and economic motives' (Walker, 1997, p. 8).

Research from the early colonial settlement period was intricately linked to processes of imperialism and colonisation. Early ethnography and anthropological research was preoccupied with categorising Māori people and Māori society (see for example the works of Joseph Banks; Elsdon Best; Colenso, 1865; Gudgeon, 1885; Treagar, 1885, 1904; Wood, 1868). Māori knowledge systems, values and rituals were compared to those of the West and labelled as primitive and inferior. Ethnographers proposed that a natural and inevitable consequence of colonisation and enlightenment would be the abandonment of Māori culture and the adoption of the ways of the West. Māori did embrace many aspects of Western culture such as technology, literacy and Christianity. However, retention of a distinct Māori identity and culture has been a prominent theme both in the past and today (Durie, 2003).

Colonial structures and institutions endorsed and normalised Western epistemology and undermined the epistemology of indigenous peoples (McKinley, 2003; Smith, 1999). In Aotearoa/ New Zealand, Māori structures and institutions were replaced, for example, by Western systems for law and order, land ownership, commerce, education, and health. Colonial legislation and policy privileged certain types of knowledge and ways of knowing. For example, the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 outlawed the use and development of Māori knowledge, the Native Lands Act 1865 provided for the individualisation of Māori land titles, which undermined collective Māori ownership and alienated Māori from their turangawaewae [tribal area], and, the educational practice[4] in the first half of the twentieth century of punishing children for speaking te reo in schools devalued the Māori language and contributed to the decline in use of the language and in the number of speakers.

The emergence of Māori-centred (Durie, 1997a) and kaupapa Māori (Bishop, 1994; Glover, 1997; Irwin, 1994; Smith, G., 1992; Smith, L., 1999) approaches to research is a response to the concern of Māori 'about the recreation and reconstruction of their past by others'

(Walker, 1997, p. 3). Of particular interest is the absence of a Māori voice and the elevation of Western knowledge and ways of knowing established by empiricism and the positivism research tradition (Smith, 1999, pp. 147–168). In this context, Māori approaches to research contest the universality of Western research discourse.

A commonality of these methodologies is the empowerment of Māori communities[5] and a preference for 'by Māori for Māori' methodologies. The assumption is that research undertaken by Māori is more likely to reflect Māori aspirations and developmental goals.[6] In addition, community driven and controlled projects recognise Māori knowledge, values and philosophies to ensure that research is relevant and beneficial for Māori communities.

Māori-centred and kaupapa Māori approaches enable the development of research projects and processes that draw on Māori epistemology and ontology. The creation of contemporary spaces for the continued use and development of Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices is an acknowledgement of the continued importance of our past for the present, and a reflection of the desire to retain a Māori cultural identity now and for the future.

NGĀTI KAHUNGUNU D COMPANY MĀORI BATTALION ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

The Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28 (Māori) Battalion Oral History project explored the impact that World War II had, not just on those who fought in the war abroad but also the communities at home. The project recorded the World War II memories and experiences of veterans and the Māori communities in the Heretaunga, Wairoa and Mahia districts (Hawke's Bay region). D Company veterans shared narratives about their time abroad at war and their return home. Whānau who remained in New Zealand during the war effort described the effect of this event on the community. While in the past returned soldiers had spoken about their wartime experiences to historians there was a general consensus that existing material did not accurately reflect their story.

Initiation

The Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Association initiated this research. The project was driven and controlled from a community basis. Research aims and objectives reflected the interests

and priorities of this community. The project is an extension of the Association's role, that is to ensure maumahara [remembrance and commemoration] of the Māori Battalion contribution to the New Zealand war effort and the promotion of a Māori identity (Craig, 1958).

Methodology

The D Company oral history project replicated and built on the methodology developed by researchers collating oral history data from C Company veterans (Soutar & Spedding, 2000). The memories and experiences of Battalion members and their whānau during the World War II era were collected through semi-structured individual and group interviews. These were recorded on video. Most of these interviews were conducted on the marae although some interviews were conducted in participants' homes when, for example, illness prevented the interviewee from attending the research hui [meeting]. Over a 4-year period, 140 hours of video footage was recorded. The collection included individual and group interviews of veterans and whānau, recordings of research hui, research committee meetings, and material related to local tribal history.

During each research hui whānau and the wider community were encouraged to bring along photographs and memorabilia related to World War II. A pictorial database was developed to catalogue these items. Over 1000 photographs are in the pictorial database. These are mainly single portraits and group photographs of men and/or women in uniform plus military sports teams and cultural groups that performed overseas. The database also included photographs of memorabilia such as postcards and medals.

As part of the project veterans and members of the research team were interviewed on the local iwi [tribe] radio and articles about the research project were written for the local papers. Selective video recordings and parts of the pictorial database were also used in exhibitions at a number of Ngāti Kahungunu marae and the Wairoa Museum.

Included in the collection is coverage of the Ngāti Kahungunu Iwi D Company 2000 Italy Remembrance Tour and the 2001 Hikoi Maumahara [remembrance tour] to Italy and Egypt to Commonwealth cemeteries and battle sites throughout Italy and North Africa.

Research Team

A research committee, primarily comprised of veterans and kaumātua [elders], was established to control the research exercise. The research committee was responsible for the initial project parameters, membership of the research team to undertake the data collection, research methodology, dates and form of collection events, ethical considerations, and protection of individual and collective intellectual property rights. This facilitated community participation, strengthened internal relationships and provided opportunities to develop research capability of hapū [sub tribe] by strengthening cultural information retention, exchange and dissemination processes.

Initially, advice on project design and implementation, training, storage and archiving was provided to the committee by an experienced researcher from Te Pūtahi-a-Toi.[7] This person became the principal researcher on the project and the advisory role developed into three permanent appointments on the research committee.

The research team were all volunteers, comprising a mixture of experienced researchers, members of the local Māori community and students from Massey University and the Eastern Institute of Technology. All were descendents from the tribal area of Ngāti Kahungunu and many had whānau who had been servicemen and women in World War I and/or II. This diversity within the research team ensured a range of cultural competencies critical for formulating appropriate responses to the presence of pouri [grief], mamae [pain], tapu/noa [spiritual and physical protective mechanisms], and for the performance of cultural rituals such as powhiri [welcoming ceremonies], kawe mate [remembrance] and poroporoaki [farewell]. Tribal affiliation and whakapapa [genealogy] were also important for the facilitation of access to the community.

The majority of the researchers on this project were women. In the initial stages of the project it was clear that this dynamic was a source of apprehension for many of the veterans. Initially, veterans took a leading role in the research design and management. However, this role was quickly passed to the lead female researcher when the veterans realised that the research team was highly competent and capable of identifying the research needs and aspirations of the veterans. Furthermore, when discussing their combat memories and experiences there was a preference from veterans to be interviewed

by their peers rather than younger (male and female) or female interviewers.

Recording the voices of the community, in particular the women, was not part of the initial research proposal. This aspect of the project was a reflection of the presence of women on the research team and an equally large number involved in the management and organisation of each research hui. While World War II was fought abroad it had huge social, economic and cultural impacts on the communities in New Zealand. An oral history collection related to this event was considered incomplete without coverage of the community perspective. When it was proposed to record the voices of the community there was unequivocal support from the veterans and the research committee to extend the research objectives of the project to include interviews from whānau.

Staff from Te Pūtahi-a-Toi and researchers from the C Company Oral History project provided initial training in oral history data collection techniques. Training workshops were run at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi and Eastern Institute of Technology and covered the basics such as familiarising researchers with equipment and providing tips for effective interviewing. Ongoing training was an integral part of the research process with daily debriefings to fine tune research methods and address any emerging issues.

Research Activity

The research activity utilised an organic methodology that was fluid and dynamic. This type of methodology was critical to accommodate the changing priorities of the research exercise and to maintain relevance of the project to the community. In practice, this allowed the extension of the initial project brief to also record experiences of the whānau, and in particular the women, and tribal oral history from each of the districts. This connected the narratives to the tribal landscape and community.

The marae was the preferred venue for data collection. As a focal point of the community the marae facilitated involvement and information exchange. It was a place for all to gather, regardless of a direct connection to those who participated in the war effort. The data collection exercises became community events, a celebration, a tribute, and a means for honouring and remembering the contribution of these men, women and communities. The venue promoted the

exercise of practices of importance to the community – making connections to people from the past and the present (whakapapa) and bringing the community together (kotahitanga & whanaungatanga).

The data collection process for this project reflected standard Western academic practices and utilised modern technology such as video, audio and pictorial mediums to collate, store and disseminate local tribal oral history and the memories and experience of community members during World War II. These modes of collection have the ability to reach a wide and diverse audience and are a powerful medium for conveying the significance of the event from the perspective of the community. Successful use of this medium to collect data of this nature was directly related to the mana [prestige, integrity, power] associated with the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Association that controlled the research activity and the skills of the research team. The Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Association had the community's confidence to ensure the safekeeping and protection of the resource. In addition, intellectual property systems and processes were developed to ensure kaitiakitanga [guardianship] and regulate access to protect the integrity and use of the data.

CULTURE AND RESEARCH

Māori values and philosophies shaped all aspects of the research activity. The project utilised research principles and methods from a Māori research tradition and standard Western research methods that enhanced Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices. The focus of this section is the relationship between culture and research. Examples are provided of how cultural values and philosophies were integrated into the research process, thereby contributing to strengthening Māori knowledge and ways of knowing.

Whakamana: Empowering Communities

A key focus of this project was the training of community-based researchers to empower the community and build the capacity to undertake other research projects in the future.

A significant outcome of the data collection process was the mobilisation of the community. The research hui brought people together to celebrate, to grieve and to remember. This communal

nature of the research exercise became an important feature of the remembrance process. It provided a forum for the continued use of cultural practices (that is, powhiri, kawe mate and poroporoaki), cultural principles (that is, kotahitanga and whanaungatanga) and the use of Māori institutions such as the marae. The project raised awareness, particularly amongst the younger generations, of the contribution of the community during World War II. This resulted in an increased participation in ANZAC and Amnesty Day commemorations and the organisation of a series of remembrance tours.

The collection contributed to the collective tribal identity. It provided a vehicle for the retention and transmission of a recent historical event of significance to the community and to other generations. This ensured that in the future the event and the sacrifices would be retained within the tribal consciousness.

Rangatiratanga: Leadership and Control

The success of this project was directly related to the leadership and control of the research process provided by the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Association. Kaumatua and veterans provided leadership and guidance to the research team. This ensured that the dignity and respect due the kaupapa [subject/topic] was an intricate part of the research exercise and that the research process was tika [correct]. The presence of kaumātua and veterans was essential for recruitment of participants and in the facilitation of mamae and pouri that was expressed during the research activity. Cultural experience and practices utilised by kaumatua mitigated what could have been an uncomfortable and even unsafe situation for both interviewees and researchers.

Kotahitanga

In the context of this research project kotahitanga is a reference to the coming together of the community for events associated with the war effort. This occurred during World War II as communities organised concert parties to raise funds for the men fighting abroad and working parties to make goods for and pack Red Cross packages. This tradition has continued since the return of the veterans through the 28 (Māori) Battalion Association Reunions, ANZAC Day commemorations and remembrance tours. Kotahitanga allows the

continued expression of practices associated with whanaungatanga[8] and facilitates maumahara, the act of remembrance.

The regional hui or data collection events promoted kotahitanga. These hui were an open forum to the whole community where research collected from previous events was displayed. These events would not have been possible without the support and hospitality provided by the local community to the research participants, kaumatua, Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Association members and the research team.

Whanaungatanga

Whanaungatanga is derived from the base word whānau that is often translated as extended family. However, this translation is an inadequate definition for the range of whānau found in both traditional and contemporary Māori societies and their associated functions (Metge, 1995). The concept of whanaungatanga is inclusive of whānau relations, connections and responsibilities. Durie (1997b) identifies five key functions of whanaungatanga: whakatakoto [capacity to plan], whakamana [capacity to empower], manaakitanga [capacity to care], tohatohatia [capacity to share], and pupuri taonga [capacity for guardianship].

In the context of whanaungatanga the kaupapa of this research and control of the research process (whakatakoto) facilitated community support and participation and promoted social cohesion by uniting the community (whakamana). The research provided a space for the community to interact, to come together to care (manaakitanga) for each other and to share knowledge (tohatohatia). The act of maumahara provided an opportunity for knowledge retention and maintenance of this information within the collective consciousness. This included the development of the capacity for guardianship and the production of cultural markers to inform personal and collective cultural identity (pupuri taonga).

Marae Kawa, Ceremony and Tikanga

Mamae and pouri were salient themes associated with the memories and experiences of the veterans and their whānau. This necessitated data collection processes that could respect the nature of the kaupapa and create opportunities to grieve and to acknowledge and facilitate mamae.

Marae kawa [protocol], ceremony and tikanga [rules] accorded the research the respect, dignity and protective mechanisms required for matters associated with mamae, pouri and mate [death]. These systems and processes created culturally and spiritually safe environments to facilitate the expression of mamae and pouri.

All data collection exercises began with the kawe mate. The kawe mate is a remembrance ritual. During the powhiri, manuhiri [visitors] were led onto the marae by photographs of men killed in action or who had since passed on. These photographs were placed on the mahau [veranda of the meeting house]. Soldiers with connections to that marae were given prime position. The whaikōrero [speeches] began with the remembrance of people, their connections and contribution to the community.

Increasingly, photographs are playing a prominent role in ceremonies such as tangi [funeral rituals] and kawe mate and in linking people with the past. Where carvings inside meeting houses once depicted ancestors, it is now common for these same meeting houses to be adorned with photographs of the deceased. In the context of the powhiri described above the photographs are more than a symbol. They are a representation of the spirit and the mana of those that have passed. This is demonstrated by the mourning that resulted as a consequence of the presence of the photographs. Both the local people and the visitors become mourners, expressing grief, crying and caressing the photograph just as they would the body of the deceased.

The Interview Process

For many interviewees karakia [prayer] was an integral part of the interview process. Karakia was firstly a means for acknowledging those who had died and their sacrifice and secondly to protect the spiritual, emotional and mental well-being of those participating in the research exercise. Interviewees shared narratives of traumatic events and often the last moments of the dead. In addition there were hundreds of photographs of those killed in action and of those who returned home and have now passed on. Therefore, it was essential that the data collection environment was safe and supportive, to enable people to express their grief, pain and loss. Cultural experience and practices mitigated what could have been an uncomfortable and even unsafe situation for both interviewees and researchers.

Tautoko [support] was another cultural practice of particular importance in the interview process. Due to the intense emotion attached to the experiences and memories, tautoko provided the veterans and the whānau with the strength to share their narratives. For many of the veterans the most preferred interview arrangement was the open session with whānau members at their side to support the interviewee. The whānau was present to share both the joys and the sorrows. For many it was the first time they had heard their fathers, husbands, uncles or grandfathers speak of these times. These sessions were intensely emotive, tears freely flowing from all in attendance; the interviewee, the whānau, the interviewer and the camera operators, no one was unaffected. For many of the returned servicemen the interviews began a healing process, releasing the grief, loss and anger that had been suppressed over the years. It was one mechanism for the intergenerational transmission of knowledge and provided the whānau with a new appreciation of what the men, women and whānau left behind went through.

The women also preferred to be interviewed in groups, supporting and prompting each other when memories faltered. These interviews were rich with accounts of life during the war and of how whānau and the community supported each other to survive those dark times.

Taonga Tuku Iho

The aim of this research project was to create a taonga tuku iho for future generations so that the sacrifices of the men and communities during the World War II effort will never be forgotten.

Taonga Tuku Iho is a generic phrase used to describe treasures from the past. Oral tribal history is one example of a taonga tuku iho. The value of oral history narratives is derived from the capacity to connect the present to the past and the future. The D Company collection recorded a significant event in the lifetime of the contemporary Ngāti Kahungunu community. It established direct links to tupuna [ancestors] and re-established connections between people. Local tribal history was also collected as part of this project connecting the narratives to the local tribal areas. This data was not directly related to the World War II effort abroad and was not part of the initial interview schedule. Despite this, tribal history did become a common feature of many of the interviews, particularly when an interviewee was referring to a person they knew from the past. The interviewee

always acknowledged the turangawaewae of that person. In addition, the collection of data at marae provided an opportunity to record the local history with regard to the hapū, the marae and significant natural features such as mountains and rivers. This collection is a rich source of cultural data that reaffirms cultural identity connecting people with each other and to significant natural taonga.

Conclusion

Many commentators have argued for the development of culturally appropriate methodologies to oppose the marginalisation of Māori knowledge and people (Durie, 1997; Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Stokes, 1985; Smith, L., 1999; Te Awekotuku, 1991). Culturally appropriate methodologies seek to legitimise Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices, particularly within the academy, and, ensure that research will make a positive contribution to Māori development.

The extensive participation of the community in research conception, design and management of this project, and, as both researchers and the researched was a positive community experience. It strengthened internal hapū and whānau relationships and built the capacity of the community to be involved in future research projects. This project demonstrated that it is possible to utilise standard Western research principles and methods to complement the Māori research tradition and enhance Māori knowledge to provide an account of the impact of World War II on the Ngāti Kahungunu community.

Another product of the research was the affirmation of cultural identity through the legitimisation of Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices, and secondly, the creation of contemporary spaces for the continued exercise of Māori principles and practices. The ease in which Māori institutions, principles and practices were integrated into the research process facilitated participation. It also convinced the community of the value that research can provide for Māori, and the contribution that research could make towards achieving Māori aspirations and positive development.

This project demonstrated that when research is located within the community the institutions, principles and practices of that community are given precedence. Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices underpin the research activity; authenticity and

validity is incontestable. The implication for other research projects is that the incorporation of culture into the research process facilitates access to the community and quality of the data while at the same time promoting Māori development aspirations.

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Notes

1 'In memory of the Māori soldiers of this district who lost their lives in the cause of freedom and humanity. 1914–1918, 1939–1945.'

2 See for example *Māori Battalion March To Victory* (1990), produced and directed by Tainui Stephens

3 The 28 (Māori) Battalion was organised on a tribal basis. There were five companies. A Company men were from the North Auckland area and were affiliated to Ngā Puhi. B Company men were from the Rotorua, Bay of Plenty, Taupo, and the Thames-Coromandel areas and were affiliated to Te Arawa and Tuhoe tribes. C Company men were from the area south of Gisborne to the East Cape and were affiliated to Ngāti Porou and Rongowhakaata. D company was recruited from the remaining areas. South of Auckland, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, Wairarapa, Wellington, the South Island, the Chathams and Stewart Island, and some from the Pacific Islands. The Headquarters Company was a composite of men from the other four companies.

4 Numerous accounts of punishment for speaking te reo Māori were provided during the Te Reo Māori claim (Wai11) to the Waitangi Tribunal. The Ministry of Education response indicated that prohibition of the use of te reo Māori was not an official departmental practice or policy. For more information the report can be downloaded from this website http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/generic/

5 'In the context of research, empowerment means that Māori people should regain control of investigations into Māori people's lives' (Bishop 1994:176).

6 Although there is a growing number of researchers who support the claim by Walker (1997:2) that 'It is also becoming less acceptable for a person to claim that by virtue of their being a Māori researcher their research will be more valid than that of a Pākehā.'

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[8] Refer to the next section for a discussion of the meaning of whanaungatanga.

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VIII. KUA NGARO KI TE PŌ: A Māori process of grief

HUKARERE VALENTINE

Within the institutions of tikanga Māori [Māori procedures], whakaaro Māori [Māori cognition] and mātauranga Māori [Māori knowledge] are processes of wellness that exceed the notions and comprehension of Western science. Māori worldviews are bound in a construction of values and belief systems that are contrary in many ways to Western worldviews. Māori ontology reflects processes of wellbeing that are exhibited in the daily experiences of te ao Māori. A particular example of such a process, the tangihanga, is outlined here. Descriptions of grief from a Western perspective are discussed and contrasted with a tangihanga process. The underlying concepts of the tangihanga process are explained in the context of understanding a Māori process of grief.

Traditionally, Māori communities existed with tikanga that ensured survival. Having to leave their homeland of Hawaiki and travel to a new land with very little resources was an enormous feat to undertake. They travelled vast oceans and arrived at this land they called Aotearoa (Walker, 1990). Systems were put in place to ensure the survival of the people. Today, many of those institutions are still a part of Māori society.

From a Māori perspective, constructions of health and wellbeing exceed the visual acuity of the naked eye. It is important to understand that Māori do not exist alone; they exist alongside elements of nature and within physical and spiritual dimensions. Māori constructions of psychological wellbeing obviously apply to such an existence. For Māori, physical, psychological and spiritual constructs of wellbeing are inter-related and inseparable. Additionally, whānau, hapū and iwi systems also provide elements of wellbeing for Māori.

Māori systems of health and wellbeing were, and still are, a product of our reality. There are a multitude of avenues relative to Māori health

and wellbeing that have been in existence since the beginning of time. Māori have begun to articulate this knowledge in contemporary frameworks that are consistent with Māori notions of wellbeing.

However, one must also acknowledge that diversity is an ever present reality for Māori. That is, constructions of reality and wellbeing for Māori may differ from individual to individual, and from people to people. In spite of such diversity, two examples of Māori tikanga are cornerstones of contemporary Māori society: the marae and the tangihanga. For both of these, Māori culture is communicated through a process of exchanges between people and their environment in order to achieve a safe and healthy goal.

The tangihanga, as Oppenheim (1973) described it, was 'spectacular' and a 'crucial ceremony in Māori life'. He went on to say that 'if there is a key to the Māori worldview then this is where it must be sought' (p. 13). The tangihanga is one of the few processes that shows a Māori worldview relative to the holistic perspective of wellbeing.

Western Perspectives of Grief

Grief has been an issue of debate within the confines of psychological wellbeing for a considerable time. This is witnessed by the body of literature that has been published (Dohrenwend, 1998; Bonnano & Kaltman, 1999, Leick & Davidsen-Neilsen, 1991). As with the volume of differences that are evident within these writings pertaining to grief, so are there differences pertaining to what constitutes grief in its different forms and descriptions. Dohrenwend (1998), for example, defines grief, bereavement and mourning in the following ways: grief is 'the emotional and psychological reaction to any loss but not limited to death'; bereavement is conceptualised as 'the reaction to a loss by death', while mourning is 'the social expression of bereavement or grief sometimes formalised by custom or religion' (p. 96).

Other authors have discussed the different processes of grief. Here again there is no real concensus about what constitutes a universal process. Bonanno and Kaltman (1999) explicate 'four primary aspects of the grieving process – the context of the loss, the continuum of subjective meaning associated with the loss, the changing representation of the lost relationship and the role of coping and emotional regulation processes' (p. 760). On another note, Leick

and Davidsen-Neilsen (1991) describe four tasks of grief work. They involve: 'first accepting that the loss is a reality, second entering into the emotions of grief, third acquiring new skills and fourth to reinvest our energies in new ways' (p. 25–26). Clayton (1998; as cited in Dohrenwend, 1998), however, goes on to describe three stages of bereavement based on a model of stress. The first stage he calls numbness, the second stage is termed depression, and the final stage is called recovery and restitution.

Different theoretical perspectives relating to grief are also numerous. Bonanno and Kaltman (1999) discuss the cognitive stress theory, the attachment theory, the social functional accounts of emotion and the trauma perspective to bereavement. Each of these approaches the theoretical perspectives of grief from within a specific psychological context. Bonnano and Kaltman provide an explanation of each of these approaches in relation to grief.

The cognitive stress model 'provides a systematic and theoretically coherent framework from which to consider difficult life events' (p. 763). With this in mind the premise of this model is the 'bereaved survivor's subjective evaluations of the difficulties surrounding the loss' (p. 763). Thus, this model explicates that stress is a subjective matter, and therefore, a person's reaction to the loss of a loved one is only stressful because of their appraisal of the situation.

The attachment perspective was coined by John Bowlby, which was related to the child-parent relationship. In relation to grief, the attachment theory fell in line with the original grief work perspective of Sigmund Freud (Bonnano & Kaltman, 1999). Freud posed that grief became pathological because the surviving person was not able to sever ties with the deceased. Thus, he proposed that when a person died, the outcome of the grief process was to sever any ties with the deceased person (Bonnano & Kaltman, 1998).

Over time, however, Bowlby realised that a continuing bond was an important issue in the process of grief. He 'concluded that the pain of grief leads to a reshaping of internal representational models and a reorganisation of the attachment configuation, both of which include the persistence of the relationship with the deceased' (p. 764). Bonnano and Kaltman (1998) mention that this notion is not new 'outside the bounds of western european cultures' (p. 764). Ambivalence therefore became an issue in relation to pathological grief within the attachment theory. That is, unresolved emotional

attachments between the survivor and the deceased is considered to lead to pathological grief.

'From the social functional perspective, emotions mediate both intrapersonal functioning and interpersonal functioning' (Bonnano & Kaltman, 1998, p. 765). Therefore, emotions serve a particular purpose; however, in the course of bereavement some emotions can be disruptive if not dealt with effectively and efficiently. This is especially noted in relation to negative emotions. While in the short term they can serve to enable the bereaved person to release some intrapersonal grief, they can also lead a pathway to pathological grief if they continue for a long period of time.

What Bonnano and Kaltman (1998) also note is that positive emotions have been relatively ignored in the grief literature. From a social functional perspective, positive emotions are just as important to the grief process as the short-term negative emotions. As they mention, 'positive emotions may ameliorate the stress of bereavement by increasing continued contact with and support from important people in the bereaved person's social environment' (Bonnano & Kaltman, 1998, p. 766).

Finally, Bonnano and Kaltman (1998) discuss the trauma perspective in relation to grief. It is becoming increasingly apparent to those involved in the research surrounding trauma that grief can be a traumatic event which can lead to other disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder. This perspective places crucial emphasis on the *meaning* of the traumatic event. Davis, Nolen-Hoeksema, and Larson (1998; as cited in Bonnano and Kaltman, 1998) noted that participants who reported finding benefit in the traumatic experience of loss had reduced distress. Talking about the loss was also considered of benefit; however, there was growing evidence that too much talking about 'negative states' can drive people away. 'Thus the extent to which verbal disclosure informs adjustment may depend at least in part on whether the social environment is perceived to be receptive' (Bonnano & Kaltman, 1998, p. 768).

The Tangihanga – A Māori view of Death

Death is a universal event; everyone dies. While the process itself is fairly standard, the farewell process attached to the death of a loved one is culture bound. The tangihanga [Māori funeral] has evolved over time, and while many iwi [tribes] have their own kawa

[protocols] related to the tangihanga, the underlying notions behind the tangihanga process are fairly universal.

Rose Pere (1982) describes the tangihanga as a process that deals with the 'lamentation, the mourning, the salutations, and the way in which whanaungatanga handles the trauma of physical death' (p. 29). Pere (1982) goes on to say that 'while the tangihanga and the places of such a ritual are varied and very different from the past, the customs and beliefs relating to the tangihanga are still upheld and practised' (p. 29). Dansey (1992) describes the tangihanga as 'the major Māori ceremonial. Within its orbit is drawn virtually every phase of Māori custom and belief that exists today' (p. 110). The tangihanga has also been described by others as a custom of absolute importance to the Māori culture (Love, 1999; Walker, 1990). These descriptions echo the importance placed on the tangihanga in modern society and how the tangihanga has survived.

An interesting analogy was given by Schmitter (2004) who says the important aspects of a tangihanga are 'solidarity, socialisation, reconnection, cultural displays, and historical continuity'. She goes on to say that 'in essence the sole purpose of this ceremony is to unify a culture that faces outside opposition' (http://www.units.muohio.edu/ath175/student/SCHMITA2/, 2005). In relation to Schmitter's discussions about the important aspects of a tangihanga, the reality of the situation goes much further and much deeper. However, Schmitter's explication of 'the sole purpose of this ceremony' may be greeted with some disagreement.

The following exerpt from the Ngāti Awa (an iwi in the Bay of Plenty region) website (2005) provides a much stronger position relative to the sole purpose of the tangihanga. It states the following: 'ko ngā tino kaupapa o te tangihanga he hiki i te tapu o te mate i runga i te kirimate, i te marae, i te hunga ka haere mai ki te awhina. Ko te tino kaupapa he ārahi haere i te kirimate mai i te pō ki te ao mārama, he whakamāmā i ngā taumahatanga o te pouri kei runga i a rātau. Koia nei te tino kaupapa.' (www.ngatiawa.iwi.nz/id_4/Part6.pdf, 2005). This excerpt explains that 'the importance of the tangihanga is the lifting of the restriction of death from the immediate family, from the marae and from those who have come to support the family and the deceased.' It goes on to say that 'it is important to guide the family back from the world of darkness back to the world of light/living, to free them from the heavy burden of sadness bestowed

upon them.' This explanation captures a much deeper understanding of the tangihanga.

The ritualistic processes that are inherent within the context of the tangihanga are important in achieving the goals as mentioned in the Ngāti Awa exerpt. According to Oppenheim (1973) 'the tangihanga includes three phases: the initiation of the public ceremonial, the ceremonial itself and the disposal of the corpse' (p. 48). Oppenheim is correct in that there are phases; however, from my experience the phases relate to: the time of death (transformation), the process of mourning, the poroporoaki, the burial, and the transformation back into the world of the living. At this stage, it must be noted that the following narration is from a single particular perspective of the tangihanga based on the author's experiences.

The first phase occurs at the time of death. This phase is quick and relates to the survivors immediate reaction to the event as well as the transformation that begins to take place within the context of te ao Māori. During this time there begins a shift in focus. This shift is holistic in nature and innate. The tangihanga takes Māori into a journey that exists within another space and time. The bereaved family, now called the kirimate [kiri meaning skin, and mate meaning sick or death; therefore literally translated as dead skin], occupy a same space known as 'te pō' [Darkness/sadness].

This phase, psychologically, is similar to how Clayton describes the bereavement phase of numbness. However, what is unique to the Māori experience are the elaborate details that are ever present. The acknowledgement of the spiritual dimension becomes just as evident as the physical dimension in this reality and indeed throughout the whole process. The process of 'pouri' [darkness and sadness] begins. That is, shifting into the space of darkness and sadness for the kirimate [bereaved family]. This shift is important as it allows for emotional displays that normally are considered abnormal in everyday life. This process of pouritanga [shifting toward darkness and sadness] remains until the deceased has been buried.

What is also important, that remains throughout the entire process, is what I would label the gatekeepers. These are usually the kuia and kaumatua. These people take their place beside the kirimate. They are the link between te pō [the space of darkness and sadness] and te ao mārama [the world of light]. Their physical availability also provides a supportive presence that is invaluable to the healing

process. They represent a network of generations [whakapapa] and experiences [mātauranga] that can not be found anywhere else or within anyone else.

The social support networks automatically fall into action. The whānau whānui [extended family] will organise the preparations for the duration of the tangihanga. The communication of the deceased is expressed to ngā iwi o te motu [the people of the island]. The visitors prepare to make their journeys, and the kirimate become the bereaved family. Everybody has their job and this is carried out without question. These processes are vital, for they allow the kirimate to complete their tasks of grieving and receiving manuhiri [visitors].

The next phase is the process of mourning. This carries forward from the first phase. During this period, a network of processes and tasks begin which can last from three days to a week. Within the mourning period, time literally stands still: the world continues around them. The processes of mourning are not only physical but also spiritual in nature. All emotional displays are normal no matter how elaborate or 'dysfunctional'. In addition, there is also the opportunity to share in the past and present losses. This usually occurs when manuhiri arrive.

Another important aspect is the institution of the marae. While in these contemporary times the marae is not the only place that tangihanga are held, it is the most common place. Durie (2001) provides an 'analysis of the encounters rehearsed on marae in modern times and the ways in which those encounters capture a distinctive Māori way of thinking, behaving and regarding the world' (p. 70). He goes on to point out, however, that 'seldom is there full appreciation of the potential of marae encounters for shaping thinking and behaviour and providing guidelines for codes of living' (p. 70). The marae provides a method of communication that far exceeds physical communication; it provides a sense of support that emanates from the multiple physical, psychological and spiritual dimensions of Māori reality that come together. The marae setting, therefore, is important for the tangihanga process.

The poroporoaki [the farewell], which is the next phase, begins the night before the final departure. After the dinner everyone will gather in the wharenui and the process will begin. The night begins with karakia [ancient incantation/prayer]. Once the karakia has finished, the rangatira [leader/chief] will stand and talk, after which everyone

is given a chance to speak. The kirimate are the last to speak. A host of different activities will occur during the evening and sometimes continue into the early hours of the next day.

The poroporoaki from a psychological perspective is quite quick and provides the early stages of holistically shifting space; that is, shifting from te pō back to te ao mārama. This is the last chance that people have to say their final farewells before the funeral proceedings the following day.

The next phase is the burial day which starts very early. For many iwi the day begins before sunrise with the closing of the casket.[1] It is a very emotional time: Once the casket is closed, it has become reality that the deceased has died. The funeral service begins at the marae and then is completed at the urupā [cemetery]. After the burial, the people return to the marae for the hākari [feast]. For most processes on the marae, the hākari is the final stage of a tikanga process. It marks a shift from tapu to noa [restriction to freedom]; from pouri to te ao mārama. The family, at the completion of the meal, now become part of te ao mārama completely.

The final phase, which is the transformation back into te ao mārama, can be a slow one. As the people leave the marae, they return to the house where the deceased died. The final deed that needs to be completed is te takahi whare [trampling the house]. This process provides two things: it clears the house of death, and psychologically prepares the family to move forward and go on with their lives. The roles have shifted now, the family now take on the task of getting their house in order and preparing food for those who still remain. In addition to this, other deaths will occur during this time. The kuia and kaumatua, who usually still remain with the family, will go with them to the other tangihanga. This provides an avenue of utu [reciprocity]. The family now have the opportunity to share their grief again with others, and to repay them for the support they received. An important factor is that the grief is now displayed at a different level. They are now sharing their experience of death with others.

There are many accounts of the tangihanga and many have very different kawa [protocols] pertaining to this; however, the kaupapa [theme] behind the tangihanga literally are the same. Every tangihanga is different and every tangihanga is the same. An unwritten silent voice is ever present at every tangihanga; this voice could provide an avenue for healing in the context of Māori pathological grief situations.

Grief Intervention – A Māori Psychological Perspective

Durie (2001) contends that 'a number of cultural occasions that have implications for cultural healing remain outside actual experience for many, or fail to register as significant events' (p. 175). The tangihanga is more than a funeral for a deceased individual. It is a 'period of mourning during which friends, family and neighbours pay their respects to the deceased and the bereaved family' (p. 175). Durie also points out the opportunities to mourn those who have passed on and the opportunity also to 'unite the spirit of the person who has just died with the spirits of those previously departed' (p. 175).

The tangihanga process is commonly described as a period of mourning (Durie, 2001; Pere, 1982; Walker, 1990). Mourning can be understood as the 'the social expression of bereavement or grief sometimes formalised by custom or religion' (Dohrenwend, 1998, p. 96). For Māori, the tikanga that guide the process of the tangihanga provide a uniquely intricate display of emotions and behaviours that can be used as avenues for healing.

Keeping in mind the definition of the tangihanga as noted from the Ngāti Awa website, the following aspects are noted: first, that the whole process works on growth and developmental stages that ultimately lead to health and wellbeing from a holistic perspective. The second process is about guiding the bereaved family back to te ao mārama. The idea being to alleviate the people (and the marae) from the burden of death, from the tapu [restriction] of death and providing an avenue for a healthy outcome. These are achieved by a number of procedures both physical and spiritual in nature.

Within the tangihanga is the belief that all processes are designed to work towards growth, new beginnings and healing, utilising the avenues of physical, spiritual and psychological processes of wellbeing. The Māori perceptions of growth and life stem from the belief that all things pass through different stages, however slight, until reaching the final outcome. The Māori worldview of creation provides an excellent theoretical basis for this explanation. Following is a description of the different stages of 'te pō', according to Marsden (1992):

> Io (supreme being) called into being the night realms and divided them into various planes of the great night (te po nui); the extensive night (te po roa); the enveloping night (po uriuri); the intensive night (po kerekere);

> the night streaked with broad light (po haehaea); the night of unseeing (te po te kitea); the night of hesitant exploration (te po tangotango); the night of groping (te po te whawha); the night inclined towards day (po namunamu ki te wheiao); the night that borders day (po tahuri atu). Then Io illuminated the nights with soft light so that they glowed like twilight (kakarauri). He divided the po tahuri atu from the dawnlight (wheiao) with a veil (te arai) and beyond the dawn light he placed te ao marama (the broad daylight) (p. 131).

Marsden (1992) stated that 'in essence [he] suspected that Māori had a three world view; (the world of potential being) te korekore, (the world of becoming) te pō and (the world of being) te ao mārama' (p. 134). Each of these represent the different stages of creation within Māori existence. As mentioned, using Māori creation as an analogy could provide the theoretical basis from which to discuss the utilisation of the tangihanga as a process of grief intervention.

In discussing the tangihanga as a process of intervention, there are five phases. Transformation (at the time of death), mourning, poroporoaki, burial and transformation (back into society). Each phase represents a specific element of growth and healing within the intervention process. The theoretical basis of creation says that there is a transition of stages (te pō) between the potential to be who you want to be (te kore) and all that you can be (te ao mārama). In this context this alludes to the fact that grief provides a process of transition (te pō) between the point of pathological grief and pain (te kore) and the ability to accept change (te ao mārama).

The first phase is the transformation phase that occurs at the time of death. The most important aspect in this phase is the movement from te ao mārama to te pō. This level exists between physical and spiritual world realities. It also highlights a state of confusion, or numbness (Clayton, 1998 as cited in Dohrenwend, 1998). This marks the beginning of change and provides the avenue to be able to connect with the experience. This is relative to the beginning stages of the night realms in the process of creation.

As Marsden (1985) stated it: 'Io brought into being the night realms and divided them into various planes' (p. 131). Utilising this concept brings the process of grief into being and divides it into various planes of existence; progressing through these planes is a process for healing. Mourning highlights that the relationship between the deceased and the client has changed. Within this state,

therefore, the process would involve guiding the client into the space of 'te pō'. In this space the total expression of grief is encouraged and supported.

The second phase is the mourning phase. Time stands still during this stage, which allows ample time psychologically for the process of mourning to occur within the space of te pō with the ultimate end goal to emerge in te ao mārama.

Within a clinical setting this stage would involve different tasks and homework to facilitate the different stages of movement through 'the night realms'. Within the tangihanga different aspects occur: manuhiri come to pay their respects, stories are shared, reflection occurs, and of course grief is visible throughout the process. The presence of kuia and kaumatua provide a support system that in many cases initiates a sense of comfort, an avenue to those who have passed on as well as a network of knowledge. Clinically, this phase would be where the bulk of the treatment would occur. This could be achieved via writing letters, providing avenues of reflective activities, providing opportunities for emotional expression, and other tasks. Each stage in the tangihanga process provides an opportunity for healing. The challenge for the clinician lies in being able to understand that process as a clinical intervention.

The third phase is the poroporoaki. Again, in the creation analogy 'te pō tahuri atu' was the final stage of te pō: this is the darkness that bordered day. The process then began to make some marked shifts quite quickly towards te ao mārama. Marsden (1992) goes on to say that the nights were then 'illuminated with soft light which glowed like twilight' (p. 131). Translated into the tangihanga process, there is now a glimmer of hope starting to occur. The poroporoaki begins a shift back to te ao mārama. Time no longer stands still; movement is now inevitable. The process provides the opportunity to clear any unfinished psychological, spiritual, physical and emotional issues and give closure for all those concerned.

Clinically, the creation analogy constructs a network of activity that becomes swift in moving towards te ao mārama. Phases of light now begin to dominate the picture, and the realms of the night are beginning to fade. Treatment would now work towards completion of any unfinished business, finalising the process of mourning and shifting the focus towards future oriented activities.

The fourth stage is the burial. Two things occur during this

stage: the coffin is closed and the deceased is buried. In the creation analogy these stages are synonymous to the division of 'te pō tahuri atu' [night that borders day] from 'te wheiao' [dawnlight] by 'te arai' [the veil]. This technically states that the stages of te pō have been completed and we have now shifted into the beginning stages of te ao mārama. The dawnlight is important for another reason also: the creation of mankind was formed in this place. The division provides the space where there is no night and there is no day, just existence. Psychologically, this provides the beginning stages of moving forward for the person: saying the absolute final farewells to that stage of their life and looking to create new life.

Clinically, this phase could involve a ceremony of finality about the client accepting that their relationship and life as they knew it has now changed. For Māori, some comfort comes in knowing that the deceased has gone to the spiritual realm with their ancestors. In other forms of grief situations, this emotional comfort is about initiating a positive element to the loss.

The final stage is the transformation back in to society. In relation to the creation analogy we are now firmly rooted in te ao mārama and new growth begins. The family now work towards reshaping and reorganising their lives. Taking time to allow this to happen is important. The gradual emergence back to society ensures a positive outcome and alleviates much stress associated with the situation. Sharing their experience, as in the tangihanga process, is an important feature in this stage of the healing process. Within the clinical setting this stage is synonymous to the termination phase of treatment.

This whole process is based on some underlying notions. First, that emotional expression is important to a healthy outcome. This is slightly different to that of the Western concept in that emotional expression is both physical and spiritual in nature. For example, simply crying as opposed to wailing has a very different and profound effect on the outcome for individuals and the wider group in general. Second, whakapapa and whanaungatanga are imperative to the process. These provide unity, a sense of belonging, and a sense of identity. The gatekeepers are important because they provide a foundation for the bereaved family. These marae encounters provide a way of thinking and behaving that is uniquely Māori. The essence of shifting into a space of te pō provides a place for healing and also the expression of abnormal behaviours in a safe environment.

Finally, acknowledging that healing is holistic in nature and so too, therefore, are many tools necessary to negotiate a process of healing.

Conclusion

Death is inevitable. How we choose to deal with death is firmly rooted in our cultural values and belief systems. Dansey (1992) described the tangihanga as 'a way of farewelling the dead and comforting the living. It is proper, satisfying and comforting, leaving me when all is over with no more tears to shed and fit to take up the business of life once again. In a strange way I feel emotionally drained and at the same time emotionally refreshed' (p. 108). Dansey provides a description of the essence of the tangihanga and the healing properties that are inherently involved in the process.

The tangihanga is a unique institution and provides an indepth process of mourning. The tools that are inherently displayed during the process of a tangihanga are constructed within the theoretical underpinnings of Māori realities and existence. Each process helps to guide a process of healing for all those concerned. The challenge lies in conceptualising these inherent abilities from within Māori existence and utilising them to create a pathway for healing.

Notes

[1] Other iwi will close the casket at a designated time in the funeral ceremony.

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Appendix A
Tiriti o Waitangi 1840

Ko Wikitōria te Kuini o Ingarani i tana mahara atawai ki ngā Rangatira me ngā Hapū o Nu Tirani i tana hiahia hoki kia tohungia ki a rātou ō rātou rangatiratanga me tō rātou wenua, ā kia mau tonu hoki te Rongo ki a rātou me te Ātanoho hoki kua wakaaro ia he mea tika kia tukua mai tētahi Rangatira – hei kai wakarite ki ngā Tāngata Māori o Nu Tirani – kia wakaaetia e ngā Rangatira Māori te Kāwanatanga o te Kuini ki ngā wāhi katoa o te Wenua nei me ngā Motu – nā te mea hoki he tokomaha kē ngā tāngata o tōnaIwi Kua noho ki tēnei wenua, ā e haere mai nei.

Nā ko te Kuini e hiahia ana kia wakaritea te Kāwanatanga kia kaua ai ngā kino e puta mai ki te tangata Māori ki te Pākehā e noho ture kore ana. Nā, kua pai te Kuini kia tukua a hau a Wiremu Hopihona he Kapitana i te Roiara Nawi hei Kāwana mō ngā wāhi katoa o Nu Tirani e tukua āianei, amua atu ki te Kuini, e mea atu ana ia ki ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani me ērā Rangatira atu ēnei ture ka kōrerotia nei.

Ko te Tuatahi

Ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa hoki kī hai i uru ki taua wakaminenga ka tuku rawa atu ki te Kuini o Ingarani ake tonu atu – te Kāwanatanga katoa ō rātou wenua.

Ko te Tuarua

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki ngā Rangatira ki ngā hapū – ki ngā tāngata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ō rātou wenua ō rātou kāinga me ō rātou taonga katoa. Otiia ko ngā Rangatira o te wakaminenga me ngā Rangatira katoa atu ka tuku ki te Kuini te hokonga o era wāhi wenua e pai ai te tangata nōna te Wenua – ki te ritenga o te utu e wakaritea ai e rātou ko te kai hoko e meatia nei e te Kuini hei kai hoko mōna.

Ko te Tuatoru

Hei wakaritenga mai hoki tēnei mō te wakaaetanga ki te Kāwanatanga o te Kuini – Ka tiakina e te Kuini o Ingarani ngā tāngata Māori katoa o Nu Tirani ka tukua ki a rātou ngā tikanga katoa rite tahi ki ana mea ki ngā tāngata o Ingarani.

(signed) W. Hobson Consul & Lieutenant Governor

Nā ko mātou ko ngā Rangatira o te Wakaminenga o ngā hapū o Nu Tirani ka huihui nei ki Waitangi ko mātou hoki ko ngā Rangatira o Nu Tirani ka kite nei i te ritenga o ēnei kupu, ka tangohia ka wakaaetia katoatia e mātou, koia ka tohungia ai ō mātou ingoa ō mātou tohu. Ka meatia tenei ki Waitangi i te ono o ngā rā o Pēpueri i te tau kotahi mano, e waru rau e wā te kau o tō tātou Ariki.

Treaty of Waitangi 1840

Her Majesty Victoria Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland regarding with Her Royal Favour the Native Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and anxious to protect their just Rights and Property and to secure to them the enjoyment of Peace and Good Order has deemed it necessary in consequence of the great number of Her Majesty's Subjects who have already settled in New Zealand and the rapid extension of Emigration both from Europe and Australia which is still in progress to constitute and appoint a functionary properly authorised to treat with the Aborigines of New Zealand for the recognition of Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands – Her Majesty therefore being desirous to establish a settled form of Civil Government with a view to avert the evil consequences which must result from the absence of the necessary Laws and Institutions alike to

the native population and to Her subjects has been graciously pleased to empower and to authorise me William Hobson a Captain in Her Majesty's Royal Navy Consul and Lieutenant Governor of such parts of New Zealand as may be or hereafter shall be ceded to Her Majesty to invite the confederated and independent Chiefs of New Zealand to concur in the following Articles and Conditions.

Article the first

The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the separate and independent Chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England absolutely and without reservation all the rights and powers of Sovereignty which the said Confederation or Individual Chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or to possess over their respective Territories as the sole sovereigns thereof.

Article the second

Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the Chiefs and Tribes of New Zealand and to the respective families and individuals thereof the full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the Chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual Chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of Preemption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective Proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

Article the third

In consideration thereof Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the Natives of New Zealand Her royal protection and imparts to them all the Rights and Privileges of British Subjects.

(signed) W. Hobson Lieutenant Governor

Now therefore We the Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand being assembled in Congress at Victoria in Waitangi and We the Separate and Independent Chiefs of New Zealand claiming authority over the Tribes and Territories which are specified after our respective names, having been made fully to understand the Provisions of the foregoing Treaty, accept and enter into the same in the full spirit and meaning thereof in witness of which we have attached our signatures or marks at the places and the dates respectively specified.

Done at Waitangi this Sixth day of February in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty.

Appendix B
Nga Kupu Maori/Glossary

Aroha: feelings, love, support
Hapū: subtribe; pregnant
Harakeke: flax
Hikoi Maumahara: Remembrance Tour
Hui: meeting
Iwi: tribe; bones
Kai: food/eat
Kaitiaki: guardianship
Karakia: prayer
Kaupapa: subject/topic
Kawe mate: remembrance
Kirimate: bereaved family
Kōrero: speak, discussion
Kotahitanga: togetherness
Kotiro: girl
Kuia, Kaumatua: elders
Mahau: veranda of the meeting house
Mamae: pain
Mana: prestige, integrity, power
Mana Whenua: Acknowledging the authority of the local iwi
Mana Tangata: Authority from leadership, also acknowledges rights as human
Manaakitanga: capacity to care
Manuhiri: visitors
Māori: tangata whenua/indigenous peoples of Aotearoa/New Zealand
Marae kawa: protocol
Marae: meeting houses
Mātauranga Māori: Māori knowledge/epistemologies
Mate: death
Maumahara: remembrance
Moemoea: dreams, sometimes prophetic
Mokopuna: grandchild
Ngā Matatini Māori: Diverse Māori realities (Durie, 1997)
Pākehā: New Zealanders of a European background, whose cultural values

and behaviours have been primarily formed from the experiences of being a member of the dominant group of New Zealand.[2]

Papatūānuku: Earth Mother
Pipi: Shellfish; kai moana [food of the sea]
Piupiu: traditional skirt made of harakeke
Poroporoaki: farewell
Pou: carved post
Pouri: grief
Pōwhiri: welcoming ceremonies
Pupuri taonga: capacity for guardianship
Rangatiratanga: control and ownership, included as a principle from the Tiriti/Treaty
Ranginui: Sky Father
Reo me ona tikanga: Language and culture
Rohe: area
Tangi: funeral rituals
Taonga tuku iho: treasure passed down; gifts to be cherished
Tapu/noa: spiritual and physical protective mechanisms; restriction/freedom
Tautoko: support
Te Ao Mārama: The World of Light, part of Māori cosmology (see Walker, 1996 or Mead, 2003 for a more detailed account).
Te Ao Tawhito: The ancient world
Te Ao Wairua: The world of wairua [spiritual energy]
Te Kore: the void
Te Pō: The World of Darkness, part of Māori cosmology, see also Te Ao Mārama
Tīhei Mauirora: Sneeze of life
Tika: correct
Tikanga: rules; correct procedures; processes
Tiriti: specifically refers to the Māori version of the Treaty of Waitangi
Tohatohatia: capacity to share
Tukutuku: woven panels in the whare nui
Tūpuna: ancestors
Tūrangwaewae: tribal area
Waharoa: gateway
Wahine: woman
Wāhine: women
Wairua: spiritual energy

Whaikorero: speeches
Whakamana: capacity to empower
Whakapapa: genealogy
Whakatakoto: capacity to plan
Whare nui: meeting house; also whare tūpuna
Whānau: Family, especially extended family
Whanaungatanga: whānau relations, connections and responsibilities
Wharekai: dinning room
Whenua: land; placenta

Whakataka te hau ki te uru
Whakataka te hau ki te tonga
Kia mākinakina ki uta
Kia mātaratara ki tai
E hī ake ana te atakura
He tio, he huka he hau hu
Tīhei Mauriora

Notes

[1] Spoonley, P. (1995). *Racism and Ethnicity* (2nd ed.). Auckland: Oxford University Press, p. 57.

Contents

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