Repositioning Māori Forms of Control within Pākehā Spaces – Lessons from Te Māori

By

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He Mihi

Toi Tu Te Rangi

Toi Tu Te Whenua

Toi Tu ki Te Atua

Toi Tu ki ona manaakitanga katoa

Mauriora ki te Ariki

Te Matua, te Tama me te Wairua Tapu!

Haumi e Hui e Taiki e!

Ko Ruapehu te maunga

Ko Whanganui te awa

Ko Ngati Ruaka te hapū

Ko Te Atihaunui a Paparangi te iwi!

Ko Pura Manihera taku tipuna kuia

Ko Doris Kaua taku ingoa.

No reira me ki, ko au te awa

Ko te awa ko au!

Abstract

This thesis is about Maori control in Pakeha spaces. Using the story of the Te Maori Exhibition, it discusses mainstream environments where critical decisions are often made for, about, and without Maori people. It focuses on the public and private stories of the Te Maori Exhibition, and the transformative potential buried within Te Maori.

Through in-depth interviews, literature reviews and the analysis of documents including previously unavailable material, such as reports, private letters, lecture notes, photo albums and videotapes, this study sought to investigate the private stories about the strategic Māori management of Te Maori as well as the idealised public discourse that most people read about in the media.

A conceptual framework based on Kaupapa Maori ideology was developed and used to reflect and provide a Māori-centric analysis based on the whakapapa that linked the data, knowledge and information collected for this study. The use of a whakapapa as an episteme is a core tenet of a Maori worldview and this study confirms whakapapa as a valid and powerful methodological tool for explaining a Maori worldview.

There were two important findings that came from the data. First, Te Maori had three distinct stages and it was through these stages that control shifted from Pakeha to Maori control. Stage one saw the collation of artefacts from out of the dusty museum basements and into the light. Stage two was about the exhibition itself. Stage three saw a shift in appreciation and acceptance of Maori artefacts which went away as primitive pieces and returned home as objects of art. Second, was the subtle change in control where Maori knowledge traditions and practices were being merged with western museum and art gallery traditional etiquette to a point where Maori control became firmly embedded and eventually, became the dominant force.

For a moment in time, Te Maori was the symbol of Aotearoa New Zealand identity. Maori Art provided a platform where the ‘Maori voice’ didn’t have to struggle and

instead could be heard with much volume, control and dignity. This study shows that Te Maori was a success on Maori terms and on international terms. Pakeha only thought it was successful because of the international acclaim it attracted.

The most important contribution this study makes is to show that the lessons learnt from the success of Te Maori, in terms of subtle yet definitive Maori control in Pakeha spaces can potentially be applied to other Pakeha spaces where better Maori control is needed.

Acknowledgements

Without the support of many people, this research project would have been extremely difficult to complete. Now that it is completed, I am extremely grateful and wish to acknowledge some significant people for the role they played during this very rewarding journey.

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To my tipuna kuia nanny Te Pura Manihera McGregor whose spiritual guidance nurtured me and reminded me of the untiring work she achieved throughout her lifetime. She was one of six women chosen by her uncle Te Rangihiwinui Kepa (Major Kemp) to accompany him on various fighting campaigns where she rode in the waka 'Teremoe' and vigorously led the haka. Her fearlessness as a wahine toa serves as a reminder to strive forward no matter the adversity. On a memorial erected in her honor is the inscription *"E whakaturia tenei tiki hei whakamahara Pura Makarika".*

Finally, to my husband Bill, I am eternally grateful for your support, encouragement, enduring belief in me, and absolute unconditional love. Thank you so much for listening to my reasoning, for reading chapter after chapter, for allowing me to cry on your shoulder when I needed to and for celebrating with me as each milestone was accomplished. Most of all I appreciate and thank you for always being there and for giving me the freedom to embark on this journey.

Preface

E rere te awa Tupua
Mai te Kahui Maunga ki Tangaroa
Kia whakapiria mai ko nga piringa
Hinengakau! Tamaupoko!
Tupoho, Potiki e
Ko au te awa, te awa ko au.

I am the river, the river is me! This waiata locates me very firmly within my whakapapa links from Te Kahui Maunga, the great mountain range of Ruapehu on the central plateau of Aotearoa New Zealand to the sea. Along the sacred waters of the Whanganui river which flows by the areas of Hinengakau and Tamaupoko, the area where I belong, and on to Tupoho where the river meets the ocean.

Although I have never resided in the area of Tamaupoko I have always known that that is where I am from. It is where my parents grew up. It is where my grandparents and great grandparents lay. It is my ancestral home that provides my whakapapa links to place, to people and to taonga. It is the place that defines me and the place to which I return repeatedly where my great grandparent's home still stands and is nurtured and loved by our hapū.

This preface provides some background information about me and the motivation that drove me towards undertaking this study. In the last five years, my research has taken me on an evolving embryonic journey. I've always known that I've wanted to write about the frustrations I've felt over rejection, not being accepted, being marginalised and patronised by Pākehā, I just didn't know how to articulate it or where to begin. Self-reflection is a good place to start.

I grew up during a time when socio-political issues of historical injustices or racial concerns were never discussed at home, neither were they at school. I attended Pākehā schools because my parents could not afford to send me to St Josephs Māori

Girls College. My achievements at school were always questioned because I did not fit the mould of what an achiever looked like. I was different. I was Māori. When I began working in the public service for the Department of Māori Affairs, the then departmental Secretary, Mr Kara Puketapu introduced the Tu Tangata programme encouraging Māori to 'stand tall' and to 'strive forward' (Puketapu, 1982).

It was at a time during the 1970's when the Bastion Point occupation and the 1975 Māori Land March came about, due to the growing awareness in the 1960s of the impact of colonisation on Māori. The greatest protests were aimed at breaches of the Treaty of Waitangi. Issues about the loss of land and the lack of acknowledgement of Māori and the associated culture, language, traditions and knowledge were hotly debated.

I was aware of the events that led to the oppressive nature of the treatment of Māori; the socio-economic and political gaps that developed creating dominant/subordinate power relationships between Māori and Pākehā. After much contemplation about the marginalisation of Māori; the need and desire for Māori to claim space, be acknowledged, seen and heard, I developed a plan in the formation of a series of diagrams. These have been included in chapter one as the rationale for the development of the topic for this thesis.

Essentially the diagrams are the whakapapa that connected and informed my thinking, personal growth and reflections and my experiences and relationships to different things on various levels. From the diagrams, I have established for myself a clearer understanding of the theory around conscientisation, resistance and transformation. My life's experience and learning's have allowed me to link all those things that I already knew, such as the lack of Māori representation at decision making levels, the frustration that created, and an ingrained need to somehow influence change.

Well over four decades of working in the public service, experience in policy and programme development and management, has instilled in me the belief that those who control the power at the interface between different knowledge traditions and

viewpoints generally control the power over the intended outcomes and results. My interest in questioning power relationships and the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge within a Pākehā mainstream framework stemmed from a number of sources. In the first instance, it grew from a place of pride about the success of the Te Māori Exhibition and the positive impact it had on simply being Māori during the 1980's.

However, my conscious state of disillusionment over the lost opportunity for the tourism industry and for Māori to utilise the international marketing opportunities created by the international hype of Te Māori was profound. The lack of foresight by the tourism industry to further investigate the lessons that could have been learnt from the international success of Te Māori and the obvious disregard of the single most important point of difference that this country has to offer ie: Māori, was overwhelming and disappointing.

In the year 2000, I was a tourism operator co-managing a hospitality, hotel services and tourism business in the Tolaga Bay, East Coast region. At the same time, I was also involved in establishing, with other like-minded businesses, an association of Māori businesses providing hospitality and tourism products within the greater Tairawhiti region. Several events and encounters during that time ignited my interest to probe deeper into why the growing network of Māori tourism businesses throughout the country, including our business, were struggling for a space on the tourism value and supply chain and for a share of control of Māori cultural expression.

In recent years, employment has involved advocacy and management roles to ensure Māori participation and achievement in the services industry, through workforce development and skills training strategies. The Industry Training Organisation that I worked in, called ServiceIQ included the wider tourism sector. In my various roles within the tourism industry, I have observed some small to medium (SMEs) Māori businesses struggling within the tourism industry for the very same reasons we struggled in past years. Some of the struggles included marketing and networking issues where Māori SME businesses had to negotiate with local information centers to

be recognised and included in business networking activities designed to promote the region. Māori tourism businesses should have been automatically invited to such events. Struggles also included funding issues from local banks in particular when first time Māori SMEs had to go that extra mile after submitting their financial proposal, to convince the local bank manager that their business proposition was a worthwhile "going concern".

In some regional parts of the country such as Rotorua and Queenstown where the majority of the tourism attractions are owned by Ngai Tahu and other local Māori groups, Māori participation and representation in tourism is flourishing. However, at a national level where decisions are made and control prospers in the hands of Pākehā, Māori representation around the board table is low and in most instances non-existent.

An immediate concern for me was the lack of Māori representation at the decision-making and management levels in the Tourism Industry. More specifically this included Tourism New Zealand and the Tourism Industry Association. Another concern was the level of awareness that these two organisations had on valuing the difference Māori could bring to the industry. How can a Pākehā view of tourism, appreciate and accept a Māori view of tourism when Pākehā are oblivious to it. If that is in fact the case, then what can be done about it and how can Māori claim space at the interface? How can Māori influence control in a Pākehā environment? All these questions and many more began to surface for me.

At the beginning of 2011, while preparing my PhD proposal the concept of transformational change, conscientisation and resistance caught my attention. Professor Graham Smith insisted that research had to be transforming, we had to shift our mindset and think of ourselves as transformers. As a Māori manager in several mainstream organisations, my experience of trying to make a difference through the transformation of systems and processes, so that a Māori voice could be heard has been challenging and frustrating. Attempts at influencing different forms of dominant

control for the benefit of Māori were often curtailed by the requirements of the funding body rather than for the needs of the Māori client. I believe that the Te Māori Exhibition was a critical point in New Zealand's history where Māori pushed back against Pākehā dominance. Te Māori provided a forum for Māori to speak and a platform for Māori to be seen and heard. I believe there are numerous lessons that can be gained by the success of Te Māori and used as a platform to create transformative change in today's contemporary society.

The work of Paulo Freire (1970) and other theorists such as Gramsci (1978), Fanon (1965), Bourdieu (1979), E.W. Said (1979), Young (2010), hooks (1992) and many others will inform this study. More recent contributors such as G.H. Smith (1997), L.T. Smith (1999), C.W. Smith (2002), Pihama (2001), Nepe (1991), Mead (2003), King (1985), Belich (1986), Walker (1990), Cunningham (2000) and Durie (1998) will also provide substantial context to this study. There is renewed excitement now, when listening to significant events being reported through the media such as the inequalities in health, education and justice between Māori and Pākehā where the disparate statistics for Māori are higher. Such understanding and engagement with increased understanding of the theoretical intent and focus was not always that obvious before. A more holistic connection to everyday issues and events has emerged because of a shift in thinking and the new learnings gained through the readings I have done.

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Chapter 1
Setting the Scene

1.1. Introduction

This thesis is about Māori control in Pākehā[1] spaces[2]. Using the story of the Te Māori Exhibition[3], it discusses mainstream environments where critical decisions are often made for, about and without Māori people. It focuses on the public and private stories of the Te Māori Exhibition, and explores its transformative potential. Approaches by Māori to be heard, to have control over decisions that affect them, and to have their knowledge, history, culture and traditions validated, has been a struggle for them since colonisation. An idealistic view, is for Māori to exercise a fundamental right to be heard, and to be able to represent themselves, or at least have a say in the decision making process over issues that affect them.

As Māori participate in the ever-changing New Zealand and global societies, the contribution they make is important to the continuing and future development and sustainability of Māori culture, knowledge and traditions. However, despite legal efforts, protests and numerous petitions about land loss, land occupation, language revival, the Treaty of Waitangi and customary rights to the Foreshore and Seabed, government measures and action throughout the years have adversely affected Māori rights. Within a colonial societal context, this thesis attempts to counter the dominant image of Pākehā over Māori, by drawing on an event that provided international acclaim to Māori.

[1] Throughout this thesis the term Pākehā has been used to locate Pākehā within the geographical reality of Aotearoa New Zealand rather than the historical, philosophical and geographical space and conversations of Western European or British contextual understandings.

[2] 'Pākehā spaces' refers to a conceptual environment in which Pākehā ideology governs.

[3] An exhibition of Māori art drawn from New Zealand's collection of pre-European treasures that were fashioned and created by Māori experts from many different tribes throughout the country. It was a collection of 174 Māori artefacts that travelled to four venues in the United States of America. Moreover, in accordance with ancient Māori customs and traditions, the exhibitions were opened at each of the venues with the rituals and chants handed down from ancestors long departed, by the Māori people who travelled to the USA with the treasures.

The event was the Te Māori Exhibition, a collection of Māori Art, which after much negotiation about how it was to be managed, opened at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984. For a moment in time Te Māori was the symbol of Aotearoa New Zealand identity for Māori and Pākehā alike (H. M. Mead, 1996). Māori Art provided a platform where the 'Māori voice' didn't have to struggle and instead could be heard with much volume, control and dignity.

The following quote was written by the Director of the Auckland City Art Gallery, about the Te Māori Exhibition. He was Rodney Wilson, a Pākehā, who deemed it to be a considerable honour to have been invited to participate in the management of the Te Māori Exhibition.

> In the beginning Te Māori was little more than an exhibition….bit by bit as the complexities of this unique show were addressed and dealt with, as new methods and protocols were understood and put into place, the mana of Te Māori, the place of Te Māori as an emblem of Māori pride and of Māori heredity and continuance became apparent. It is at that point as the links between the exhibition and the people were forged, that the dominant spirit of Te Māori was awakened and it ceased to be merely an exhibition. At that point it became an historic and all embracing focus for contemporary Māoritanga, as well as for the development of a separate and unique New Zealand consciousness (Wilson, 1986, p. 7).

Wilson was also invited to write the foreword for the book *Magnificent Te Māori Te Māori Whakahirahira* by Hirini Moko Mead (1986). The book captures essays, photographs, reflections and reports on the exhibition. He noted that Te Māori was "a milestone statement in the assertion of a race's right to stand tall in its whenua" (1986, p. 7). Other Pākehā museum and art gallery directors and curators were more sceptical. They were used to dealing with exhibits simply as objects. When it came to dealing with and handling the collection of taonga that made up the Te Māori

collection, museum practices were challenged and stretched by Māori values, methods, protocols and practices (Crighton 2014). Kaumatua and kuia from different parts of the country were involved with the management of Te Māori. Their task was to ensure that Māori protocols and ceremony were explained in a way that was understood, acknowledged and accepted by everyone so that the cultural rituals that were required could be put into practice and were correctly enacted.

Māori knowledge, history and stories that relate to events like Te Māori are powerful in terms of claiming space for Māori to share such knowledge and to be heard and seen by others. By reclaiming what is uniquely Māori through the genealogical links that whakapapa provides, the binding of people to events and taonga, can serve to not only empower the people but also to validate their ways of knowing, being and doing.

The struggle for Māori voice is well defined by Leonie Pihama (1994) in her review of 'The Piano' when she said that

> Māori people struggle to gain a voice, struggle to be heard from the margins, to have our stories heard, to have our descriptions of ourselves validated, to have access to the domain within which we can control and define those images which are held up as reflections of our reality (1994, p. 241).

The ongoing struggle against the way that Māori are continually represented and the treatment of Māori knowledge is expressed well by Māori author Patricia Grace who outlines four things that make many books, especially school texts and journals dangerous to indigenous readers:

> 1) they do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; 2) when they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; 3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and 4) they are writing about us but saying

> negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good (Patricia Grace as cited in L.T. Smith, 1999, p.35).

It can be argued that the tourism industry who could have capitalised on the Te Māori Exhibition failed to do so. As Patricia Grace contends in the quote above, the tourism industry did not reinforce Māori values, customs, culture or identity. There was an ideal chance for the New Zealand Tourism industry to utilise the international marketing opportunities created by the international hype that Te Māori attracted, but they chose not to maximise the opportunity. The lack of foresight by some in the tourism industry to further investigate the lessons that could have been learnt from the international success of Te Māori, and the obvious disregard of the single most important point of difference that this country has to offer, ie., Māori and all that is associated with Māori, was overwhelming and disappointing. This thesis argues that the Te Māori Exhibition was a critical point in New Zealand's history where Māori pushed back against the way Māori taonga were to be managed and represented. New understandings are explored on how the lessons from success stories about the management of Te Māori, may be used as a tool, for Māori to influence control in other Pākehā spaces, where better Māori is needed and can be achieved.

1.2. Thesis Outline

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter One provides the context and rationale for the study and identifies the central research questions. Approaches by Māori to reclaim space, to gain voice, to be heard, to have control over decisions that affect them and to have their knowledge, history, culture and traditions validated has been a struggle for them since colonisation. As Māori participate in the ever-changing New Zealand and global societies, the contribution they make is important to the continuing and future development and sustainability of Māori culture, knowledge and traditions. However, despite legal efforts, protests and numerous petitions about land loss, land occupation, language revival, the Treaty of Waitangi and customary rights to the Foreshore and Seabed, government measures and action throughout the centuries have adversely affected Māori rights. Understanding historical patterns and

contemporary circumstances that place Māori in subordinate positions within Pākehā spaces provides a backdrop to this study.

Chapter Two reviews a range of literature and provides a context for the subordinate / dominant relationship that has developed between Māori and Pākehā since colonisation. It focuses in particular on the way colonisers set about establishing control over a colony, leaving the colonised often displaced, segregated and marginalised. Development trends that came through in the literature reviewed demonstrated patterns of resilience by Māori in the face of adversity. These trends have provided a useful whariki or platform that embellishes the backdrop provided in chapter one. However, although literature about the Te Māori Exhibition is limited, various themes have still been identified in the literature covered which has helped to explore and shape new understandings of how the lessons from Te Māori can make a contribution to Māori reclaiming space.

Chapter Three discusses the emergence of a range of post-colonial concepts, theoretical considerations and key perspectives relevant to this study. The dominant/subordinate dichotomy will be examined in terms of the hierarchical nature of Pākehā structures, organisations and knowledge bases. In particular it will critique the instruments of power and the domains of tension used by Pākehā to subvert and destabilise Māori. Through the organisational and managerial procedures of the Te Māori Exhibition, a culturalist model of management based on Kaupapa Māori whakaaro, allowed for an inclusive environment to develop, where Māori knowledge traditions and practices merged with western museum and art gallery traditional etiquette. This was a critical point for Māori, where Māori leadership excelled and empowered all those who were involved in the many successes that transpired from Te Māori.

Chapter Four describes and discusses the methodology used and the philosophical assumptions that shaped the direction of this study. A conceptual framework is introduced in this chapter – He Tapatoru Hurihuringa which, as a qualitative method of analysis provides space to reflect on the knowledge, data and information collected

for this study. Chapter Five explores the research findings gathered from interviews with 20 research participants and relevant documentation. He Tapatoru Hurihuringa (a visual expression of both thematic analysis and the technique of triangulation) has been used to show the themes extrapolated from the various research findings.

The three main themes that feature in this study are Māori Epistemology, Te Māori and the concept of whakapapa which, in line with Foucault's theory on genealogical links, focuses on the process by which the ideas and thoughts are linked rather than the cause (Foucault as cited in Gordon, 1980). All these themes make a contribution to how Māori can influence different forms of control that would benefit them within Pākehā spaces.

Chapter Six presents a synthesis of the various strands that came from the research findings. By doing this the intention is to assess how Māori influence can have an impact on repositioning different forms of control that would benefit Māori. Further discussion extends the argument that if the sharing of Māori knowledge within Pākehā spaces is to be equitable for Māori then it is the responsibility of Māori to confront the patronising and paternalistic challenges they face from Pākehā and to take control by advocating for change.

Chapter Seven is a culmination of the ideas and concepts introduced in earlier chapters, research participant's views and experience, literature reviews, interpretations from the interrogation of documentation and the experiences of the researcher. It presents four overarching themes which form the backbone of this thesis highlighting the strengths, limitations and the contributions this study makes to the growing pool of Kaupapa Māori literature. Finally, the concluding chapter presents an interesting idea for further research.

1.3. Rationale

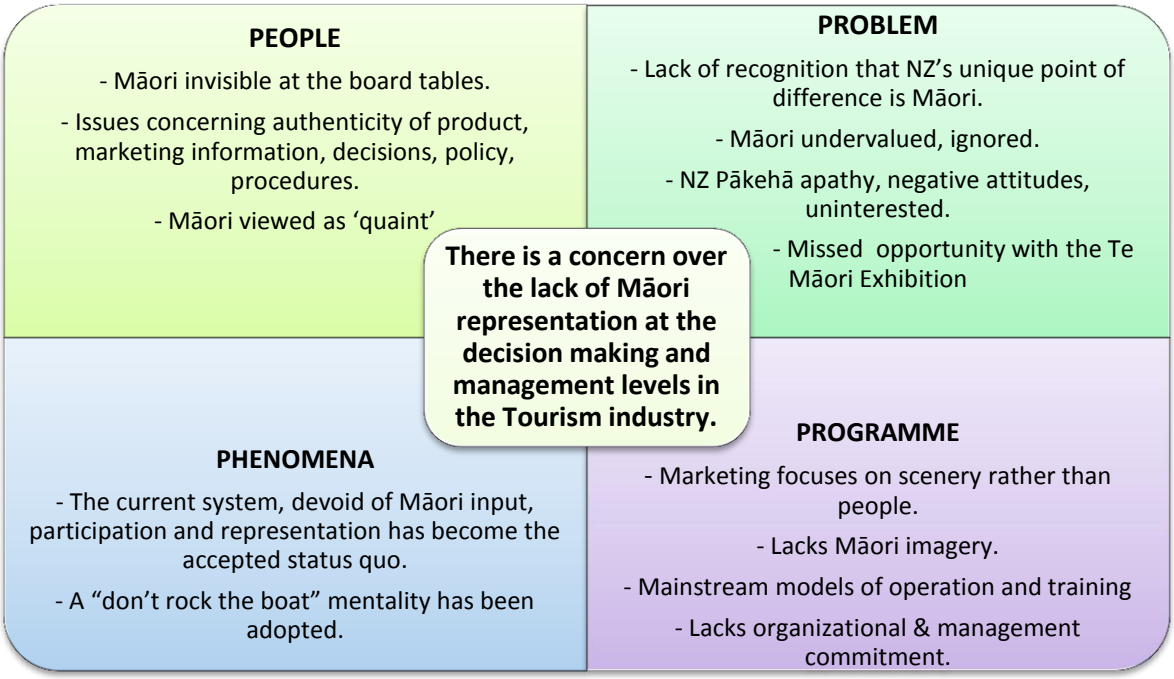
This study is unique because, to my knowledge, no other research has examined the success indicators, from Te Māori, to ascertain how Māori can influence control within

Pākehā spaces. In selecting this topic I was drawn to Ranjit Kumar's (1999, p. 58) work about research methodologies and the process he used to help sort out huge volumes of thoughts and ideas around a specific topic. His work was useful to help bring about some order to my own thoughts and ideas. He makes reference to four Ps – people, problem, programme and phenomena, and discusses how they all relate and interact in a research setting. For example, you may select a group of people to examine the existence of a problem relating to their lives, brought about by a particular initiative or programme, which over time has led to certain negative behaviors, patterns or phenomena. His philosophy inspired the development and illustration of the following diagrams to show the inter-relationship, the association or the causation between each group of 'P's. The set of diagrams show an evolving research planning journey whereupon each diagram has a central point of reference. Key themes are recorded under the four groupings of people, problem, programme and phenomena.

1.3.1 Māori Representation

The first diagram illustrates an issue with the lack of Māori representation at decision-making and management levels in the tourism industry. In relation to Te Māori this key concern became clear through a missed marketing opportunity for the industry. The international media coverage that could have provided strategic ongoing economic opportunities for this country could have been beneficial to Māori as well as Pākehā. When considering the points made in each quadrant the causation element is clearly evident. For example the inter-relationship of the concepts in each grouping, supports the many barriers experienced during my time as a tourism operator co-managing a hospitality, hotel service and tourism business in Tolaga Bay.

Figure 1 Māori Representation



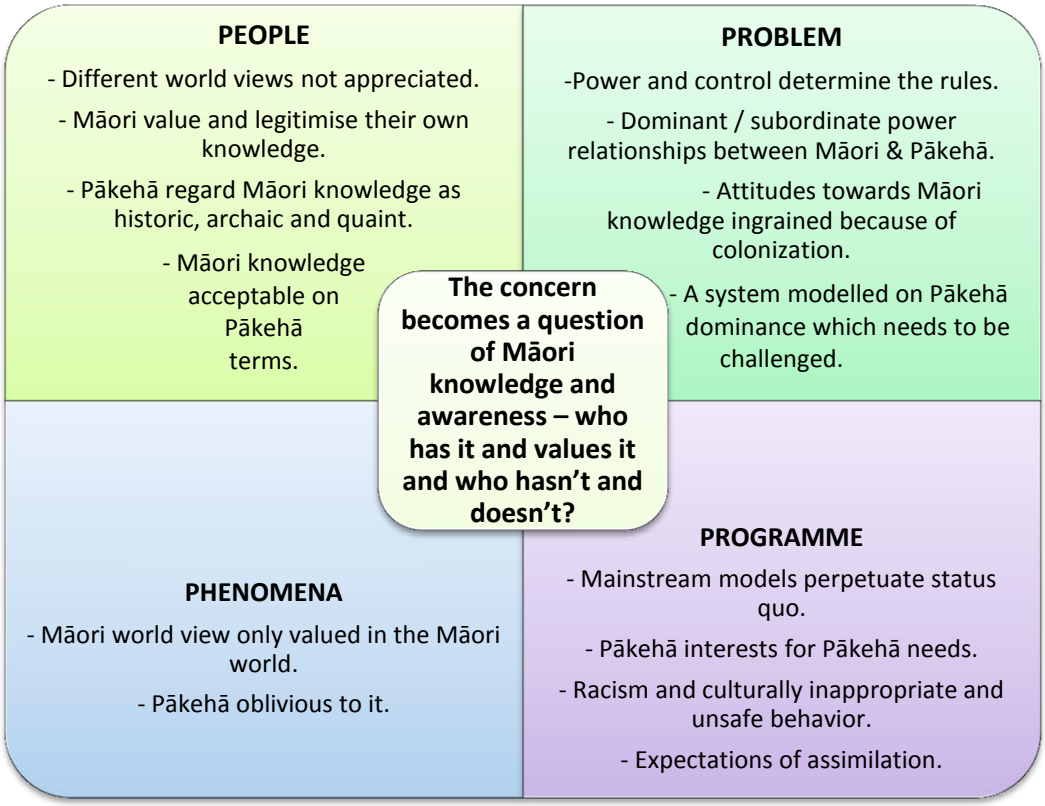
Although there has recently been a significant focus on advocacy and building management capability in the tourism services industry, through workforce development and skills training strategies, the participation of Māori in this space is still low. While Māori Tourism operators have a significant contribution to make to the wider tourism industry, they are still receiving minimal recognition by those who control the power in the industry. Māori representation around many tourism board tables, to ensure a Māori perspective is given, is low and in most instances non-existent. Although Tourism New Zealand has recently appointed a Māori board member, at the time of writing this thesis, there was no Māori representation at senior executive management level. The Tourism Industry Association, which is a membership organisation, has no Māori at board or senior executive management levels. L.T. Smith (1997) refers to this idea by stating that within the New Zealand context of contested power relations between dominant Pākehā and subordinate Māori interests, the state is not neutral. The state is essentially Pākehā and it works to reproduce the interests of Pākehā.

1.3.2 Māori Knowledge – A Contribution

The concern around the lack of Māori knowledge awareness, particularly with Pākehā, was a critical point during Te Māori, and created various domains of tension. This concern leans towards Smith's argument about dominant / subordinate relationships as explained above. It provokes an enquiry into 'who does and who doesn't have an awareness of Māori knowledge'. Again, the notes recorded in the 'people' and 'programme' quadrants support the problems noted in the diagram. The phenomenon, as noted then becomes the norm.

In a country with two different worldviews, how can we expect Pākehā to value Māori knowledge when they may be oblivious to it? We have systems throughout the country and across the spectrum modeled on dominant Pākehā systems of conformity, standardisation and individualism for example, that perpetuates the status quo. In order for change to occur the status quo needs to be continually challenged by Māori.

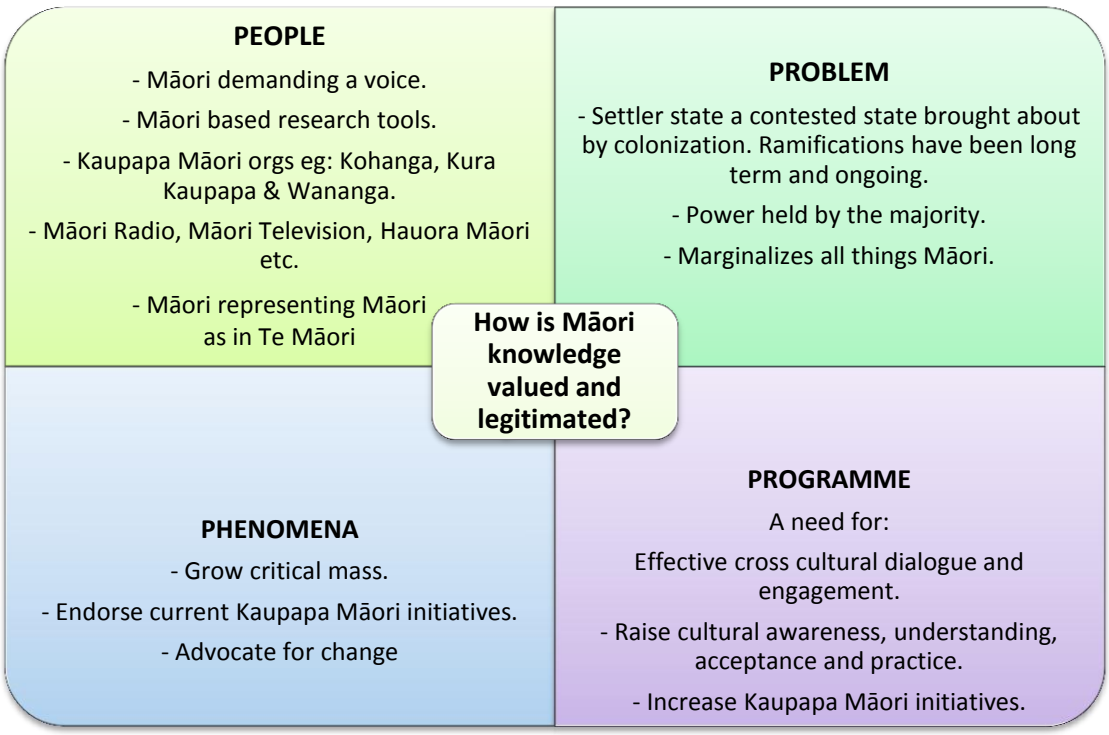
Figure 2 Māori Knowledge - A Contribution



1.3.3 How is Māori Knowledge Valued?

Since the 1980's there has been a growing perception and acceptance of the need for Māori to claim and name their space within the area of research. What has emerged from this period of time to the present is a growing cohort of internationally recognised scholars such – Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), Graham Smith (1997), Leonie Pihama (2001), Russell Bishop (1999) and many others. The focus of their research has been on the validation of Māori research and in particular Kaupapa Māori research. As suggested by Smith (1997) the struggle for Māori has been the manifestation of their self-determination to bring Māori knowledge to the table against a dominant society who strives to maintain the status quo and who only pays lip service to the aspirations of Maori. A programme of transformational change to grow a critical mass of informed and credentialed Māori was a challenge that Māori academics took up. The result of such research and development now ensures a space for Māori knowledge and traditions, to be valued and respected within the Aotearoa New Zealand and international communities.

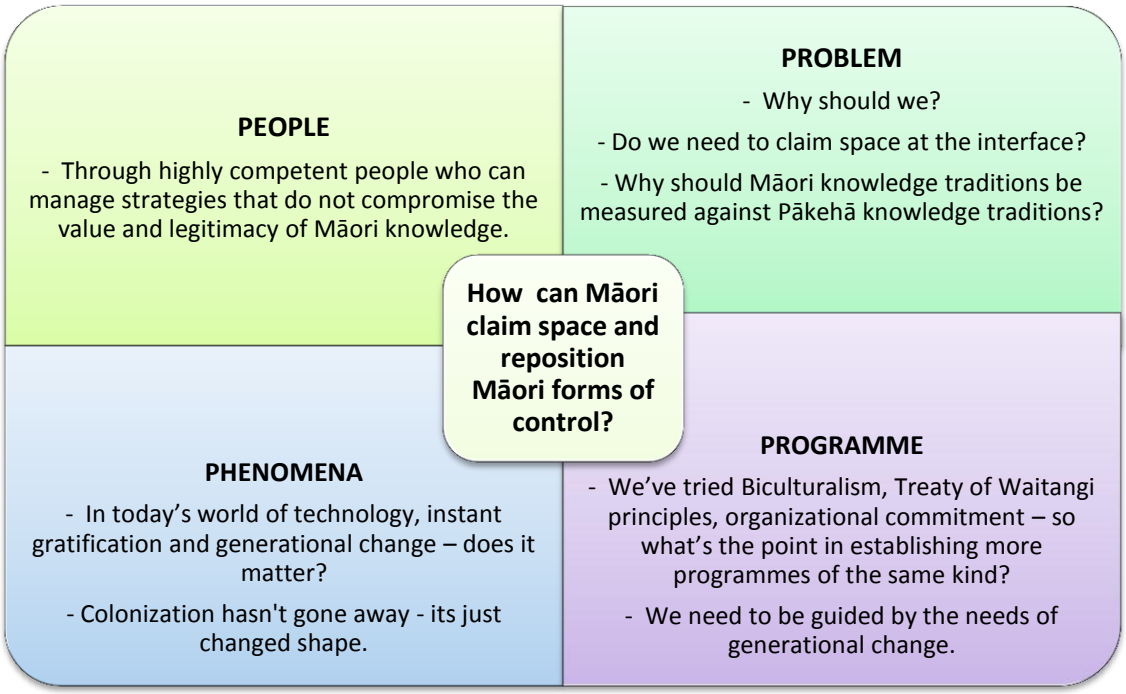
Figure 3 How is Māori Knowledge Valued



1.3.4 Claiming Space

The concept of 'claiming space' allows opportunities to consider a type of enquiry about whether Māori knowledge traditions count at the interface of Pākehā knowledge traditions. In considering how Māori can claim space at the interface between two knowledge traditions and reposition Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces – why should we? As indicated in the 'problem' quadrant why should Māori have to be measured up against Pākehā appraisals? Why should Māori have to reposition Māori forms of control to 'fit' Pākehā spaces? Māori have tried to compromise, but again why should they have to? Consideration ought to be given instead, to the interface between Māori generational changes and question whether future needs can be meet by doing what was done in the past.

Figure 4 How Can Māori Claim Space?



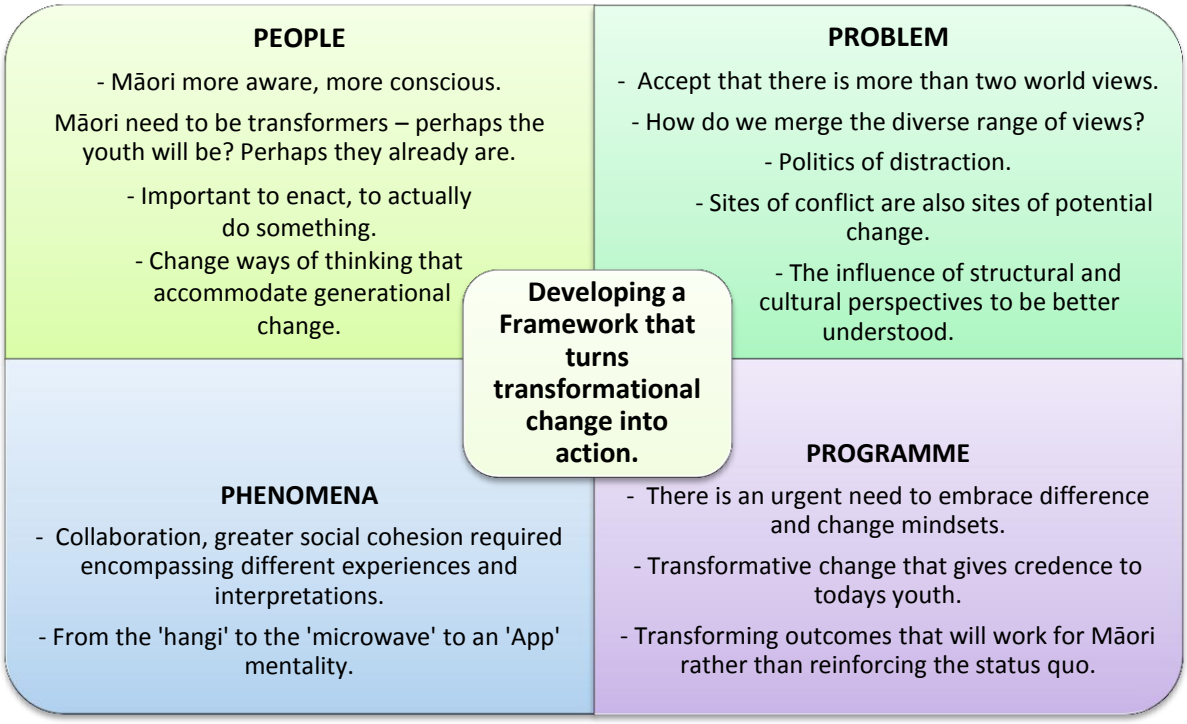
There is a growing Māori youth population with blended heritage and blended ideas that are contributing to blended worldviews. It appears that the younger generation wants to make a quick impact. From the observations of the researchers, own whānau members many mokopuna are attracted to 'instant gratification' and become easily

bored, while the older generations have more patience with a diverse range of interests. The influence and impact of globalisation provides the younger generation of Māori with choices to either accept the value and legitimacy of Māori knowledge traditions or not.

1.3.5 A Transformational Change Framework of Action

In a report *He Mangopare Amohia Strategies for Māori Economic Development,* G.H. Smith (2015) stated that the emerging Māori economy must move from an over emphasis on description and theory to a more even balance that also accentuates enactment and practice. Influencing change through transformative action that embraces difference and shifts mindsets is the underlying rationale of this thesis. The final diagram provides a pathway upon which guidance has been sought throughout the process of this study.

Figure 5 A Transformational Change Framework of Action



These diagrams are the whakapapa that firstly established the link to my interest and concern about Māori not being able to participate due to systemic failure and Pākehā dominance. Secondly to questions about Māori not 'fitting the mould' because of

cultural difference. Thirdly to Pākehā ignorance to the value and legitimacy of Māori, and finally to the barriers and struggles Māori have gone through for their share of space on the socio-economic, health, education, welfare, justice and political platform in Aotearoa New Zealand. These diagrams are also a reflection of my life's experience to date from which I will draw on throughout this study.

1.4 Research Questions

This thesis seeks to examine ways in which Māori can influence control within Pākehā spaces. It considers how Māori forms of control have been marginalised and how subordinate/dominant relationships might be minimised. It also focuses on examining how the lessons from the success of Te Māori might provide a platform where Māori can embrace and influence more control over decisions that affect them in other situations.

The primary question that this thesis sets out to address is:

1. How can Māori influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces?

Other important supplementary questions include:

2. How have Māori forms of control been marginalised?
3. From the success of the Te Māori Exhibition what are the lessons that can be used to influence Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces?
4. In what way have the lessons from Te Māori benefited Māori forms of control?

This study identifies a range of events that made Te Māori the success it was. From the research findings it analyzes how the lessons from the events can be usefully applied today in decision-making situations that affect Māori. From the investigation of the research questions, a practical framework or a model of transformative change for considering Māori-specific provisions and Kaupapa Māori ideology in decision-making procedures is posited.

1.5 A Contextual Scan

In order to understand the context in which this study has been shaped this section will discuss a range of contextual features that will provide a basic understanding of life for Māori in Aotearoa. The significance of these features will be revisited throughout this thesis and aligned to the impact they had on Te Māori. The contextual scan begins with a very brief historical snapshot of the position of Māori before colonisation and of particular interest to this topic, how everyday implements became collectable artefacts to the colonisers. It then discusses the importance of the role of the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications to issues relating to the relationship between two peoples, Māori and Pākehā. The concept of Māori representation and the assumptions and challenges Māori have faced in attempts to represent themselves in their own unique way will also be discussed. This section will also touch on the policies that came from neoliberalism and the effect they had on Māori.

In the 1980s there was an identified need for a 'level playing field' within the public service so that Māori interests could be taken into consideration. The implications of this will also be discussed. So too, will the 1981 Springbok tour be discussed. The tour was an event that shook the racial bias within this country to its core, and, interestingly, was instrumental in bringing groups of people together that would not normally engage in debates about the place for Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Finally, this section will discuss the development of a range of Māori initiatives where Māori began exercising their own self-determination and sustainability within the education space, in particular. It is within this milieu of events that a study of the lessons learnt from the organisational and management successes of the Te Māori Exhibition will be presented.

1.5.1 An Historical Snapshot

Aotearoa New Zealand has been home to Māori for many generations. Before colonisation Māori carved out a productive, rich, sustainable culture for themselves based on experience, skills, observation and their own Māori ways of knowing, being and doing. Formed into autonomous hapū, they operated their own systems of health, education, justice, welfare and spirituality (Network Waitangi, 2015). It was during

this time of pre-European occupation, that the artefacts which made up the collection of treasures that became known as the Te Māori Exhibition were designed and made by Māori. These implements were a mix of everyday practical utensils made by hand mainly from wood, bone and stone. Rather than being artefacts they were tools used for hunting, gathering and feeding; decorations used as pendants, ornaments and ceremonial adornments; carvings used as Tekoteko and adornment for wharenui, waharoa for the gateway to palisade villages and stern posts for sailing vessels and waka.

Amiria Henare (2005, p. 90) states that in the 1800s engagement between Māori and Pākehā was characterised by a more intimate knowledge of each other's worlds and a corresponding escalation in all forms of exchange. Such transactions involved the handing over of tools, implements, decorations and carvings in exchange for Pākehā product. Henare points out that "utilitarian concerns inspired missionaries to acquire Māori artefacts for display in museums in Britain" (2005, p. 104). During that time many Māori implements, which were now labelled artefacts were sent off shore. Māori economic development expanded rapidly from the 1820s, including commercial gardening, farming and a ship building industry (Network Waitangi, 2015). Māori travelled overseas taking with them highly prized decorations and carvings to be used as a means for trading and for gifting purposes. Just as the early settlers were keen to trade with Māori, so too were Māori interested in trading with them and learning about new technologies and crops.

The first four major museums for Aotearoa New Zealand were founded in Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin in the 1850s and 1860s. They all focused on natural history collections, particularly geology. As more museums were established in the regions some became interested in Māori artefacts and among the vast collections held by the larger museums, were wharenui and waka. However, not all of the artefacts were 'handed over'. Some were acquired without the permission of the owners.

Aotearoa New Zealand's oldest wharenui, Te Hau ki Turanga, currently housed by The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, is a prime example of this type of acquisition. The totara whare was built in Manutuke, Gisborne, in 1842 under the direction of Raharuhi Rukupo, a carver and chief of the Rongowhakaata tribe. The whare was carved in remembrance of his elder brother, Tamati Waka Mangere, who had passed on the mantle of chieftainship to Rukupo at his death. Te Hau ki Turanga contains the whakapapa of the Rongowhakaata tribe and within the fabric of the artwork that has been articulately carved, painted and woven are the stories that link whānau and hapū to the tribe.

In 1865, the government made an offer to purchase Te Hau ki Turanga but Rukupo refused to sell it. The then Minister of Native Affairs James Richmond returned to Manutuke in 1867 with orders for confiscation. Te Hau ki Turanga was dismantled and removed despite local protest, although £100 was distributed as payment. Rukupo petitioned to have the whare returned later that year, but his request was rebuffed. As a result of Rongowhakaata claims made to the Waitangi Tribunal, Te Hau ki Turanga will be returned to its rightful owners by 2017.

Even though Māori followed principles of manaakitanga with the new settlers and expected that they would respect Māori law and authority some of the colonists did not accept Māori control. Network Waitangi wrote that “Māori had noted the European notions of justice from the reported experiences of people who had travelled overseas, and were dismayed at the harshness and rigidity of some of these practices” (2015 p. 10). This study will look at some of the rigidity of Pākehā practices and the inflexible nature they have to accepting difference. It will explore the challenges Māori face around the ownership of their own taonga and the preservation and transfer of their own Māori knowledge. It will also consider the perpetual toil for Māori to exercise the fundamental right of self-determination, the right to tell their own stories and histories and to be able to represent themselves or to at least have a say in the decision making process on issues which may have an impact on them (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 150).

1.5.2 Te Tiriti o Waitangi / The Treaty of Waitangi

The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between Governor Hobson on behalf of the British Crown, and a number of Māori Rangatira on behalf of their hapū, signaled a compact between these two peoples. It was deemed officially to be a measure of justice that acknowledged the rights held by Māori (Belich, 1986, 2001; Kawharu, 1989; Orange, 1987). But, was it a declaration of good intent on the part of the British Crown, or did it signify the beginning of the establishment by the British Crown of colonial rule in New Zealand? From the time James Busby first hinted at the negotiation of a Treaty in 1837 between the Māori and the early settlers, the idea of a Treaty caused a great deal of debate. Even while it was being drafted some of the Māori chiefs viewed the Treaty with extreme caution, because they were unsure of its true meaning and were anxious about what it would actually mean to them in practical terms (Walker, 1990).

The Treaty text signed at Waitangi on 6 February 1840 was in Māori. This copy became known as Te Tiriti o Waitangi. In essence, there are two versions of the Treaty. There was one in English and the other one was translated by the missionaries into Māori. The preparatory drafts were all written in English, but it was the translated one that was explained to Māori, debated at Waitangi and signed by some the Māori Rangatira. While Māori in the northern and some coastal regions quickly adapted to Christianity and learned from the missionaries to read and write the exposure of the majority of Māori, to the Pākehā written word was totally alien. It meant that most Māori were at a disadvantage from the outset.

The process used to promote the value of the document was through the missionaries that the Treaty was a covenant in the religious sense between Māori and Queen Victoria herself. At that time the advice of the missionaries was highly regarded and many chiefs subsequently signed the document on the strength of their word (Orange, 1987). Eventually more than 500 Māori Rangatira signed the Treaty, but not all did, for reasons to be explained further on in this section. Te Tiriti o Waitangi was suppose to recognise the authority and rights of Māori.

> It allowed for the peaceful acquisition of land that Māori wished to make available, and was directed towards ensuring peace and good order as more immigrants came to settle. Through Te Tiriti, Māori agreed to the appointment of a governor in order to control British settlers' behaviour and regulate their settlement. In Te Tiriti, the Queen agreed to arrange governorship over Pākehā who were living here outside British law (Network Waitangi, 2015 p. 14).

Māori were not looking to the Crown to exercise governorship over themselves as they already had their own long-established systems of government and law. For that reason, not all Māori Rangatira thought it necessary to sign the Treaty. It was through Te Tiriti that Māori were able to exercise their own tino Rangatiratanga[4] over their lands, villages, and everything else they treasured (Network Waitangi, 2015).

In 1840 Māori were dominant in terms of numbers; the Māori population was between 150,000 and 200,000 compared to 2000 Pākehā. By the end of the 1860s land wars the Pākehā settlers had gained dominance in numbers and the shift of huge tracts of land into their control was well underway. In this dominant position the settlers established the colony in ways that were familiar to them and ignored the cultural ways of Māori (Black, 2010).

Although the Treaty[5] signified for the settlers the justification for claiming sovereignty over Aotearoa New Zealand, the clauses designed to protect the interests of Māori carried little weight in practice for Māori[6]. The policies and practices that developed after the 1840s were quite different to what Māori expected. Based on the advice they were given they assumed that the Treaty would signify the start of a new relationship with Britain; one in which they would play an equal role. They expected protection especially against aggressive land buyers and they expected to share in the

[4] Article Two of Te Tiriti o Waitangi gave Māori chiefs 'te tino rangatiratanga' – the exercise of chieftainship.

[5] Article One of Te Tiriti o Waitangi gave the queen ' te Kawanatanga katoa' the governance over the land. In Article One of the Treaty of Waitangi the chiefs gave the queen 'all the rights of sovereignty'.

[6] Article Three of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Treaty of Waitangi the Crown gave assurance that Māori would have the queens protection and all rights accorded to British subjects.

good things that the settlers would bring. They did not expect to have the rights and power of sovereignty over their land taken away.

Shortly after the Treaty was signed and, interestingly, while some iwi were still considering it, the Crown issued a unilateral proclamation announcing Britain sovereignty over the whole country. This act effectively rendered the Treaty meaningless in Pākehā eyes since the Crown now asserted authority without it anyway (M. H. Durie, 1998; Orange, 1987; Temm, 1990; Walker, 1987, 1990).

In addition to the changes in attitudes and conditions about the Treaty a further key element in understanding the continual debate is the outstanding issue regarding its interpretation by the two parties who signed it. The key point to bear in mind is that the Māori text did not convey the full meaning of the English text. In his book *The Treaty Now*, Renwick (1990) has identified a Sicilian saying around translators: he claims that all translators are traitors. The ideas and understandings of one language he suggests cannot always be translated satisfactorily into another. Sometimes the concepts themselves do not exist in the language into which they are to be translated and often the understanding that a Māori word conveys can be quite different to the meaning that a translator sets out to convey.

Based on personal experience it was always frustrating when Pākehā often requested a direct translation of a Pākehā phrase into Māori. The lack of awareness and understanding that this cannot always be done shows the same level of ignorance towards the Māori language as it did in the 1840s. That was certainly the case between the two Treaties for instance the use of the words Kawanatanga, Rangatiratanga and Mana did not convey to Māori the British interpretation of these words.

In her book *The Treaty of Waitangi,* Claudia Orange (1987) makes an interesting suggestion that it could have been possible that Williams, on the part of the missionary translators, deliberately choose obscure and ambiguous wording in order to secure Māori agreement, believing that the Māori people would be best served

under British sovereignty. In their book *Treaty of Waitangi Questions and Answers,* Network Waitangi presents a pragmatic answer to the question, are Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the Crown's English language version the same? Their answer is:

> No, Te Tiriti o Waitangi confirms Māori authority and sovereignty while the Crown's English language version states that Māori gave their sovereignty to the Queen – this is a direct contradiction. The different texts also reflect different worldviews, and therefore different economic, cultural and political understandings and priorities (Network Waitangi, 2015, p. 15).

Even though Māori have struggled for years to secure public recognition of rights based on their understanding of their version of the Treaty, Pākehā continued to dominate the country. They made the assumption that Māori and Pākehā were all one people, New Zealanders enjoying equal knowledge, resources and bargaining power. But in fact the Treaty had evolved into a document which served only to highlight a series of broken promises, particularly in respect to land and also unmet expectations for Māori control and governance (M. H. Durie, 1998). These concerns were complicated further by a general reluctance by the Crown to recognise the Treaty as anything other than an historical curiosity. In less than 40 years after its signing, Judge Prendergast notably described the Treaty as a "simple nullity" – and since "Treaties entered into with primitive barbarians lacked legal validity" this served as the prevailing legal position on the Treaty for nearly 100 years. It also reinforced the position of successive governments, and judges alike, and that the Treaty of Waitangi was of little importance and certainly irrelevant to legal issues (M. H. Durie, 1998). Māori call for 'Tino Rangatiratanga' is a form of resistance suggesting that equality does not exist, certainly not in a way that is acceptable to Māori.

The differences in the Māori and English text of the Treaty of Waitangi led to different understandings of the meaning of the Treaty. In applying the Treaty to contemporary circumstances principles of the Treaty were established and have been expressed by the courts and the Waitangi Tribunal rather than using the Treaty text (Kokiri, 2001).

The principles that will be used in Chapter Six as a potential model of engagement which have been based on the principles are:

1. The Principle of Partnership that requires each partner the duty to act reasonably, honorably and in good faith.

2. The Principle of Protection that requires that positive steps be taken to ensure that Māori interests are protected.

3. The Principle of Participation that requires equity of access to resources and services.

Since the establishment of the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal in 1975, there have been moves by the state to address the injustices that have been done to Māori since 1840 but before that Pākehā have not had to face the implications of the Treaty. Most did not know about the Treaty until resistance from groups like Nga Tamatoa was televised. It has been said of the Treaty that while Māori never forgot, Pākehā never knew.

1.5.3 Māori Representation

Māori representing their own issues are primarily about validating Māori knowledge traditions and culturally grounded pedagogies, epistemology and ontology. Smith (1999) contends that it is also about countering the dominant society's image of Māori, their culture and belief systems. For example in a tourism sense the 'Poi-girl/haka-warrior' image of Māori in the 1930's left overseas tourists disappointed when they discovered that Māori did not routinely wear flax piupiu, woven headbands or feather cloaks. "They had been enticed to New Zealand's premier tourism regions with images of wistful wahine posed alluringly among the geysers, invariably dressed in costumes that Māori had abandoned for everyday wear in the previous century" (Derby, 2011, p. 74).

Another more recent example of the assumed imagery that overseas people had of Māori occurred during the 1980's Te Māori Exhibition. A class of Cuban school children who showed a lot of interest in the ceremonial aspects of the exhibition and were able to relate them to their own cultural burial ceremonies were intrigued to see Māori adorned in western style dress[7].

An even more recent example of Māori endeavouring to represent themselves occurred when in 2011 a controversial media storm erupted about Māori positioning themselves at the forefront of the biggest sporting event in Aotearoa New Zealand for the decade. The storm, fueled by mainstream media was about an innovative, new and very smart idea of providing a waka-shaped pavilion that would showcase Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori during the 2011 Rugby World Cup competition. Jointly funded by both the local Ngati Whatua iwi and government, it was a platform to showcase the best of Māori arts, culture, business and enterprise. It was to be an opportunity for Māori to provide a supportive framework that would position them on the global scene as significantly as the Te Māori Exhibition did almost 30 years ago. But as the Rugby World Cup 2011 kick-off approached and the preparations for the tournament heightened in pace, debate about the value and relevance of the pavilion continued among the public, driven by Pākehā journalists and among certain politicians.

Notwithstanding that the haka is inextricably identified with All Black rugby and Māori culture and is a uniquely recognisable characteristic of Aotearoa New Zealand it seems that the waka shaped pavilion was yet another struggle for Māori presence and representation in their own country. However, in spite of the controversy, the construction of the pavilion was completed and opened ten days before the Rugby World Cup tournament ended. At the opening gala evening the then Minister of Māori Affairs, Dr Pita Sharples [8] said that in support of hosting Rugby World Cup 2011 – Māori culture would provide the 'wow factor' he also said that the 'Waka Māori'

[7] Captured from a personal discussion with Lady June Mead 16 December 2012.
[8] Sharples, Pita. (2011) http://www.beehive.govt.nz/minister/pita-sharples Speech "WOW Waka Officially Open"

pavilion would take the Māori cultural contribution to the tournament to another exciting level. He predicted that 250,000 people would visit the pavilion over the ten day period but it was reported that more than 400,000 visited (TVOne, 2011).

During that time, although our own mainstream media was slow to recognise the impact of the Waka Māori pavilion and the Māori cultural contribution to the Rugby World Cup tournament, the UK-based Telegraph did. They said the opening ceremony for the Rugby World Cup tournament was an incredible statement to the world of who Māori are, as a people, and as a nation. They further claimed that what we have is something of huge worth: a defining cultural pivot around which a whole event could spin (Sharples, 2011). This was a significant mark of success but similar to the Te Māori experience, recognition of the value of Māori culture was acknowledged with great ease by those who lived off-shore rather than the local society.

1.5.4 Neoliberalism

The 1980s has been labeled by many commentators as a decade of profound political and social change. In 1984, the Fourth Labour Government lead by David Lange introduced a form of neoliberalism which transformed the country's economic landscape and began the process of dismantling the welfare state and the massive state sector structure it had generated. It is ironic that it was a Labour government that established the welfare state in the first place (Mason Durie, 2005, p. 170). The major upheaval and radical change that took place during the restructuring had a devastating and long term effect on the unemployment rates for Māori. This in turn subsequently affected their ability to participate and contribute to the economy. Māori interests were subsumed by Pākehā dominant capitalist interests.

The introduction of neoliberalism through Rogernomics saw a commitment to a free-market economy and the heavily regulated economy of the Muldoon era swept away. With the deregulation of the finance market and the removal of controls on foreign exchange, New Zealand opened itself up to greater import competition resulting in the loss of manufacturing and labor intense jobs. While Rogernomics suited most investors and business owners, the rising inflation and unemployment hit the Māori

community the hardest. Māori unemployment soared to 25% by 1992 compared to the overall rate of 10%. This was due mainly to the fact that Māori were disproportionately employed in a number of previously government-managed industries like the Railways and the Ministry of Works as well as industries like the freezing works. Neoliberalism ideology had a major long-lasting effect on Māori. It threatened Māori everyday lives, Māori world-views and the diverse and holistic understanding Māori had to natural resources. The market-based approach that supports neoliberal ideology was seen as a close alignment and reminder of the dominant practices of colonisation. In some areas the impact of this approach resulted in active resistance by many Māori. In other areas such as the education sector the resistance by Māori has been aggressively pursued. Kaupapa Māori initiatives in the form of the development of separate entities like Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Wānanga where Kaupapa Māori ideology has been the model, has set in place foundations for the success of these initiatives.

It is within this wider political and socio-economic context that this research explores the possibility of whether Māori can influence control within Pākehā spaces. It also explores whether Māori knowledge traditions based on Kaupapa Māori theory count at the interface with Pākehā knowledge traditions based on western ideology. On the one hand, in the tourism sector in particular there are domains of tension where the representation of authentic Māori products is an issue with Māori. For example those souvenirs that are mass-produced in Asia are mostly understatedly resisted by Māori and the resistance they feel remains below the radar and therefore management at the interface over this issue of unauthentic souvenirs continues to be ignored. On the other hand, several domains of tension arose during the Te Māori Exhibition and were carefully managed through a process of negotiated consensus and compromise to become an acceptable model of management at the interface between Māori and Pākehā interests.

1.5.5 Māori and the Public Service

In the public service throughout the 1980's, institutional racism was identified in many government agencies through processes such as policy formation, service delivery,

communication, staff appointments and promotions and training practices. The 1988 report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on the investigation of a Māori perspective for the Department of Social Welfare (Puao Te Ata Tu) (Puao Te Ata Tu, DSW, 1988) recognised a need for change within that department. Changes were recommended to eliminate problems associated with Māori deprivation, misrepresentation and alienation. Findings from that report also stated that because of the holistic negative impact of social policy on Māori, organisational change was also required across other government departments, such as housing, justice, education and health.

Although attempts were made over the years to reflect a more inclusive approach for Māori in the government departments the 'level playing field' phenomenon remained unbalanced and inequitable for Māori. This affected internal Māori staff employees and external Māori clients, communities, hapū and iwi. At the very heart of this dilemma has been a profound misunderstanding, lack of acknowledgement, acceptance and ignorance by Pākehā of the rightful place and value of Māori in the policy domain, in management and in society. It is with great misfortune that the misunderstanding and inequity remains the case in some if not most sectors of the government bureaucracy today and continues to have damaging results and outcomes for Māori.

From a position of experience in developing, managing and implementing policy, designed from processes and methods based on western ideology and paradigms, the absence of Māori input and participation has been challenging. More recent experience in various designated Māori positions within mainstream organisations remains a challenge. It is peculiar that in some cases these positions that have been created by mainstream hierarchy have had varying degrees of organisational commitment and support for the position they have actually created. Based on experience, when introducing a Kaupapa Māori perspective based on Māori epistemology, the process used has often been frowned upon. The preparation of a sound 'business case' was often requested to justify the need for an alternative Māori method of engagement.

This was particularly prevalent when attempting to build relationships with Māori groups, for instance. While a Māori designated position may be seen as an advantageous opportunity to actually shape and build a Māori manager's role at senior executive and senior management levels, the challenges and subsequent frustrations in doing so have been numerous. An analysis across the public service spectrum shows that most Māori targeted positions are governed by the key performance indicator requirements of the funding body. It is often these indicators that take precedence over the requirements, needs and reality of the Māori client to which the manager's position has been created to provide services to. While the dominant interests of Pākehā prevail, the dismissive attitude towards Māori values, beliefs, practices and customs will always guarantee an imbalance of knowledge and truths throughout mainstream organisations.

Based on current doctoral research findings and experience it was found that those research participants who were Māori senior managers actually have a greater advantage over Pākehā colleagues because of the broader intellectual understanding and experience they have. Interview discussions show a greater capacity to interpret the Māori and Pākehā worldviews and an ability to adapt and apply different responses appropriately to issues as and when needed.

As L.T. Smith has identified, Māori researchers, academics and senior managers are responsible for sharing their experiences and wider knowledge intelligence with Pākehā colleagues rather than simply providing them with information (1999, p. 16). The purpose of this is to ensure the theories and analyses which inform the way Māori knowledge and information is constructed and represented is critically understood by Pākehā. The sharing of knowledge to further raise conscientisation to those who are unaware and the presentation of models to enable positive transformation is essential so that the debate around eliminating barriers and disparity for future generations may continue.

1.5.6 The 1981 Springbok Tour

The 1981 Springbok tour's greatest impact on New Zealand society was that it stimulated debate about racism and the place for Māori in New Zealand among groups that would not usually bother about the issue. It shook the country to its core, bringing together many different groups that would not normally engage. Nevertheless at the end of a police batten the blue rinse brigade from Remuera, gang members, school teachers, Pākehā and Māori civil servants and union members all came together under the one alliance to protest against what the Springbok tour represented. The forceful tactics of the police hardened up the solidarity of these groups. Māori who had previously seen themselves as struggling alone on cultural issues and on attempts to be heard and to claim space for themselves now had a whole lot of other alliances that assisted with this struggle. For generations Aotearoa New Zealand prided itself on having the finest race relations in the world but events during the Springbok tour challenged that assertion. The protesters specifically attacked the whole notion of racism and apartheid and Māori increasingly joined the cries and voices of the protesters. As they did so they confronted non-Māori New Zealanders with the question "If you campaign about race in South Africa what about at home?"

1.5.7 Māori Renaissance

Over recent decades the term 'Māori renaissance' has been used to describe the development of a wide range of Māori initiatives (C. W. Smith, 2002). The 1970s and 1980s was a time of increased Māori conscientisation, resistance and transformation over issues such as the revival of te reo Māori and the establishment of the Te Kohanga Reo movement in 1982 because Māori could no longer wait and were taking the initiative themselves to move towards self-development and sustainability.

The land-focused Māori protest movement with the Bastion Point occupation from 1977 – 1978 was a blatant cry to be heard. In 1984 it took Māori taonga to go off shore with the Te Māori Exhibition to gain validity and legitimacy in their own right. However regardless of the wide range of Māori initiatives and the benefits they had on Māori lives, a patronising Pākehā perspective on the Māori renaissance years of the 1970s and 1980s was still told. An article on Te Ara website spoke of the important

changes in the way Aotearoa New Zealand saw itself and the way the public sector delivered services to New Zealanders. The article said that the public sector began to talk about bicultural New Zealand. Government departments began to adopt the idea that the language, cultures and traditions of both Pākehā and Māori should be officially recognised by the state (Te Ara, n.d.).

The article goes on to say that:

> One effect of the state sector reforms of the 1980s was to change the outward appearance of the sector and the way it responded to Māori in a more bicultural way. As a result by 2011 most New Zealand government departments had a Māori name (Te Ara, n.d.).

While acknowledging the attempts made by mainstream public service organisation to allow for a Māori voice to be heard, the reality about whether Māori input made a difference or in fact actually counted as important is debatable. In almost every socioeconomic sector there are disparities between Māori and Pākehā. Questions continue to be raised as to why this is the case. This study in part seeks to challenge colonial thought and the assumptions made by Pākehā of how it should be for Māori. It also challenges the institutional arrangements that have been employed mainly by mainstream public service organisations. In many respects the policies, systems and processes that organisations have used to legislate, plan and manage their activities have been done so in a way that has overtly excluded Māori participation and input and have consequently perpetuated inequality, inequity, injustice and subsequent disparity for Māori.

1.6 Conclusion

This thesis has evolved out of my frustration with rejection, marginalisation, patronisation and the domination of Pākehā over things that impact on Māori. At the beginning of my PhD journey I was unclear where to begin. However there were events throughout my life that have had a profound effect on the continual

confirmation of the subordination I felt as a Māori, particularly in career related situations.

There were also many events that have had a positive impact on ‘simply being Māori’. One worth mentioning is the hype that came from the success of the Te Māori Exhibition at a time in the 1980’s when the era of Māori cultural revival needed a boost. My curiosity about how to merge the two schools of thought by utilising the positivity of one to counteract the other began my investigation. I believe Chapter One has provided some useful background information that justifies the rationale for asking how Māori can influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces. It also establishes the ethos for launching into this study.

Chapter 2
A Literature Review

It galls us that western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that is possible to know of us, on the basis of brief encounters.

It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, things we create and produce and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities.

It angers us when practices linked to the last century, and the centuries before that, are still employed to deny the validity of indigenous peoples claim to existence and the right of self-determination, to the survival of our languages and the forms of cultural knowledge, to our natural resources and systems for living within our environments (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 1).

2.1 Introduction

This quote is a powerful statement about control. Within a Māori/Pākehā context it can almost be interpreted to imply that Māori are non-existent to Pākehā. As a scene setter for this chapter, the complex layers of background knowledge and information pertaining to the dominant/subordinate relationship between Māori and Pākehā and the impact this has had will be discussed and analysed.

The key components of this chapter include a discussion on the dominant/subordinate relationship between the colonisers and the colonised people. In particular it focuses on the way the colonisers set about establishing control over a colony leaving the colonised often displaced, segregated and marginalised. Kaupapa Māori as a body of knowledge with theoretical implications, and as a methodology for research as well as a form of application (praxis) are considered. The defining nature of Whakapapa as the genealogical link that connects people to their turangawaewae, as well as to taonga, to knowledge and traditions is another key component of this study and will be discussed during this review.

Similar to the discussion on dominant/subordinate relationships between those who have the power and those who don't, are the importance of understanding whose

knowledge interest's count and under what circumstances do they count. The idea that Māori knowledge is viewed as being quaint and historically stagnant is challenged. Examples of how the knowledge traditions of Pākehā, Indigenous Peoples and Māori are developed, supported and practiced are reviewed. The role of Matauranga Māori and its multiple meanings and layers is discussed in terms of its association to Māori knowledge.

The Te Māori Exhibition achieved many things for Māori during a time in the 1980s when the era of Māori Renaissance was occurring. Te Māori's success in rediscovering Māori artistic heritage, reviving cultural form and ceremonies, of strengthening Māori culturally, raising Māori self-esteem and reconnecting with cultural roots (H. M. Mead, 1996) are discussed at length. Historically the importance of how Māori were viewed in the tourism industry provides a useful insight into the perceived value that the Māori contribution made. Tourism in New Zealand as a domain for tension to Māori will be discussed and analysed. Finally, the role Māori play in the New Zealand economy will also be considered.

The concluding section of this literature review will provide an overarching narrative and illustration that demonstrates how each of the components reviewed, fit together to provide a whariki or platform for the rest of this study.

2.2 Colonisation

In this section, I draw on the literature of many writers whose work is relevant to the dominant/subordinate relationships between the colonisers and the colonised peoples. In particular I have focused on literature that is informed by the works of Antonio Gramsci (1978), Frantz Fanon (1965), Paulo Freire (1970), Edward Said (1979), bell hooks (1992), Jurgen Osterhammel (1997), Homi Bhabha (1994), Mason Durie (2005), Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) and others. At the conclusion of this section a pictorial summary of this literature review shows the characteristics of colonisation and the various stages of evolution that the colonisers imposed on the colonised.

The move by British and European explorers into the unknown colonies of the world has been well documented from a number of different perspectives. Comments from various socialist and philosophical thinkers have been recorded in this section to show a common theme of racism and dominance around colonisation. Put simply, colonisation is the establishment and maintenance of a colony in a specific region. The colonisation process involved a colony and its people being taken over by a more dominant colonial power, who usually secured some form of domination as a hegemonic strategy to rule.

Antonio Gramsci (1971) makes a useful distinction between subordinate or civil society and dominant or political society. Generally, the former is made up of voluntary affiliates like families and communities where the notion of consent prevails. The latter is made up of state institutions like the army, police and the central bureaucracy where rules, regulations and control prevail. This example points out, in particular, that dominant concepts of truth, control and authority inform and influence policy, systems and processes. In Aotearoa New Zealand, sometimes these dominant processes which were supposedly designed to break down the barrier of disparity for the subordinate Māori, often disregarded Māori opinion and undervalued the unique knowledge Māori have.

The most influential socialist thinker to emerge in the 19th century was Karl Marx, the German born philosopher, social scientist, historian and revolutionist claimed that colonisation was a major moment in the historical process of primitive accumulation (Milios, 1997) and in the case of Britain the accumulation of colonies was to strengthen their global position both politically and economically. It is not surprising then that Marx described England as the “despot of the world market” (Marx 1985:18 as cited in Engelbrecht, 2010, p. 1).

Robert Young, a British post-colonial theorist, cultural critic, and historian suggested that colonies were established for the purpose of economic exploitation. This idea of exploitation re-emerges across many other writers’ interpretations such as Fanon (1965), Smith (1999) and Said (1979).

Frantz Fanon (1965) one of the first writers to critically examine the issues of colonisation from the perspective of a colonised person, explored the ways in which the dominant colonisers influenced the ways of the colonised. He believed that colonisation had a devastating effect on the colonised people. As a Martinique-born Afro-French psychiatrist, philosopher, revolutionary and writer, Fanon had psychopathological concerns about colonisation and gives a candid account of the psychological impact of the colonising experience by claiming that colonisation alone can have detrimental effects on the identity and psyche of indigenous people (Fanon, 1965). He contends that in some instances colonisation brought about oppression (Fanon, 1965, p. 201). Fanon was labelled a political radical and in his book '*The Wretched of the Earth'* he defends the right for colonised people to use violence in their struggle for independence and freedom. He believed it was a contradiction that the colonised people, usually the indigenous people had to fight for the colonies during the world wars to liberate the colonies when in fact they should have been fighting for their own liberation, validity and freedom against the colonising troops (Fanon, 1965).

Paulo Freire was an educator who believed that he could initiate change by motivating the oppressed to find new ways to liberate themselves. Freire had a very optimistic view of human beings. He believed in the capacity of every human being to think, to reflect, to look critically at their world through dialogical engagement with others and to discover the contradictions inherent in reality (Freire as cited in Nuryatno, 2011). In the same vain as Gramsci he recognises that oppressed groups of people need to become conscious of their world and their place in that world. Through the process of humanisation Freire believed the oppressed needed to be made aware of their rights to freedom, justice and humanity so that they can overcome feelings of alienation and rejection. It was only after Māori had become conscious of their place in Aotearoa New Zealand and had already conducted resistance and struggle that Freire's writings strengthened their resolve and gave them direction, affirming and lending validity to their action (Freire as cited in Nuryatno, 2011).

Another colonised person Edward Said (1979), was born a Palestinian Arab with American ancestry and grew up in two extreme worlds. To him the Middle East was home and his childhood memories of what the place was like as a child, resembles nothing of what it is today. As a post-colonial theorist, he is best known for his book *Orientalism,* a body of his ideas that have been derived from Said's awareness of being an Oriental. This consciousness of how he identified himself influenced his writings and interpretations about culture, history and power. In his book he raises numerous questions about why preconceived ideas about the Middle East have been allowed to be developed by people, some of whom may not have even been there or experienced the Orient.

He believed that the way the West looked at the people of the East was through a lens that distorts reality and presented an inaccurate representation of the people and their culture (E. W. Said, 1979). Since the writing of *'Orientalism'*, and through the many military events that have since occurred, it is unfortunate that the West continues to build a foundation of thought towards the Middle East on their perceptions of how it is. In much of Said's subsequent writings, he extends the arguments about representation of the Orient and describes other patterns of encounter in their descriptions of the mysterious East. He contends that "stereotyping has intensified the hold of the nineteenth-century academic and imaginative demonology of the mysterious Orient" (E. W. Said, 1979, p. 26).

He writes of reoccurring themes about

> bringing civilisation to primitive or barbaric peoples, the disturbingly familiar ideas about flogging or death or extended punishment being required when "they" misbehave or become rebellious because "they" mainly understood force or violence best, "they" were not like "us" and for that reason deserved to be ruled (E. Said, 1993, p. xi).

These themes were no different to the colonisation practices of other non-European countries. Said's writing has revolutionised the study of the Middle East and his contribution to stereotyping has been immense. Stereotyping is a form of classification that many non-Western groups have been subjected to. The prejudice, discriminatory, racist commentary based on fabrication and untruths is often their only means of justification.

I would argue that the worse type of stereotyping is when it's carried out by an individual or group without conscious awareness. Something that is done automatically without thinking about the ramifications it may cause. So, how do we come to understand people who look different to us by virtue of the colour of skin? For the Middle East, Western thinking is already set in place, fuelled by imagery and stories reflected in the media and through film. Said contends that there is no genuine investigatory reporting about issues in the Middle East. Instead it is reporting that is led by motivations which are controlled by interests around commercial and political intent.[9] These perceptions are both racist and biased towards dominant control.

While Said recognises that terrorism exists in the Middle East, he argues that there is much more going on that is misunderstood and not seen by people from the West. The focus instead is on negative aspects, and the people from the Middle East are stereotyped in to various categories of hostility and violence. This kind of thinking is no different to the inferences many Pākehā people make when analysing statistical data about Māori, and then stereotype Māori into categories of obesity and/or laziness.

From an analysis of Said's writings, the challenge for all of us, not only for the people of the Middle East, therefore is – how do we co-exist on this planet with an acceptance of difference and diversity? In consideration of how Māori re-claim and create space in Aotearoa New Zealand this thesis attempts to provide solutions to these questions.

[9] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogjm0DC-xAQ&list=PLB4657BF74185F7F1

Furthermore, in linking colonialism with imperialism, Said (1979) declares that for him and the Middle East, Imperialism means the practice, the theory and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan centre ruling a distant territory; Colonialism which is almost always a consequence of imperialism is the implanting of settlements and culture on distant territory.

Another post-colonial theorist bell hooks, a renowned feminist with strong radical views about the way working-class poor black people have been represented through stereotypes, imagery, film, entertainment and the media. She believes that instead of allowing individuals to shape and determine their own "authentic" experience through film or the media, oppressive practices and behavior encourage the subordinate group to conform to the superior group's notion of what their experience is or should be (b. hooks, 1992).

Hugely influenced by Paulo Freire, she expresses her opinions openly and believes that black people don't want to be oppressed, and suggests that they are because it's much easier to be so. She calls for a need for the decolonisation of minds and a cry for freedom but knows that resistance of the white supremacist status quo and the corresponding systemic obstacles is difficult for some to do (b. hooks, 1992). hooks comes from a working-class family, grew up during a time of great civil disruption, change and racially segregated public schools and lived through a period of black separatism. She is the author of many books all of them based on her own life's experience, perceptions and opinions that stem from the assumptions that others make of the intentional representation of black working class poor people. In her book *where we stand: Class Matters,* she makes the following observations: "Even if we had been dressed alike she would have looked past attire to see the face of the underprivileged she had been taught to recognise" (bell hooks, 2000, p. 4). With regard to 'class' she claims that,

> At times I felt class shame. Often, the same arose around food – when I did not know what certain foods were that everyone else was

> familiar with. That shame came and went. But in its wake I was left with the realisation that my fellow students had no desire to understand anything about the lives of working class poor. And they were above all not interested in solidarity with the poor (bell hooks, 2000, p. 42).

Also known as Gloria Jean Watkins, she adopted her grandmother's name as her pen name because her grandmother was known for her snappy and bold tongue, traits that were greatly admired by bell hooks. She put the name in lowercase letters to distinguish herself from her grandmother. Her name's unconventional lowercasing signifies what she believes to be the most important aspect of her work, which is what she writes about rather than the focus being on who she is. From her *Cultural Criticism & Transformation* series hooks (2010) is highly critical of the film and media industry saying that they consciously manipulate representation. She says that they focus on the 'image' that will create the biggest impact.

Over the years her writing has attracted much debate and criticism because of her views and opinions which others claim to be radical, but these controversies have not stopped her from continuing the conversation about race, class and gender inequalities and advocating for the black woman's voice. She coined the phrase 'White Supremacist Capitalist Patriarchy' and has used it often as a term to remind people of the system of domination that defines reality and that functions simultaneously in the lives of many (Why "White supremacist captialist patriarchy?". n.d.). The importance of Said and hooks perspectives and experiences show the various multifaceted touch points of dominant power in action.

Jurgen Osterhammel (1997) a German historian and theorist acknowledged that colonialism is multifaceted, uneven and a phenomenon of colossal vagueness. He goes on further to say that "colonialism is a relationship of domination between an indigenous majority and a minority of foreign invaders" (Osterhammel, 1997, p. 21). The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonised people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a

distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonised population, the colonisers are convinced of their own superiority and their ordained mandate to rule.

Within a bicultural context in Aotearoa New Zealand, Mason Durie (2005), a Professor of Māori studies and a research academic describes the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand as a five stage process of indigenous encounter between the British colonisers and the colonised Māori. The following table provides a useful diagrammatical account which outlines the five stages showing the goals of the colonisers and the impact they had on the colonised. Elements of the process can also be aligned to the concept of "in-betweenness" that Bhabha (1994) refers to particularly during the annexation process with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi (Mason Durie, 2005, p. 13).

Table 1 The Five Stages of Encounter (Mason Durie, 2005)

	Explorers	***Entrepreneurs***	***Missionaries***	***Annexation***	***New Migrants***
Goals	Discovery of new lands for the empire.	Commercial gain from Māori resources.	Conversion of Māori to Christianity.	Political and legal control. Relationships formalised in the form of The Treaty of Waitangi	Consolidation of political, social and economic power strengthened the position for emigration.
Indigenous Impact	Exposed to global gaze and ambitions.	Introduction to new technologies and a cash economy	Demise of many indigenous traditional religious traditions and practices.	Loss of power and resources. Imposition of new laws and policies often inconsistent with tikanga.	Loss of political power. Subjugation of language, culture and customs.

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), an author and Professor in indigenous research, makes a connection between colonisation and imperialism. To understand colonialism is to also understand imperialism. While imperialism was an integral part of Europe's economic expansion, colonisation was the means that allowed that to happen, and was viewed as an expression of imperialism. This she expresses as "Imperialism was

the system of control which secured the markets and capital investment. Colonialism facilitated this expansion by ensuring that there was European control, which necessarily meant securing and subjugating the indigenous populations" (1999, p. 21). She goes on further to say that "colonialism became imperialism's outpost, the fort and the port of imperial outreach" (1999, p. 23).

While it is tempting to over stipulate views and definitions on colonisation, identifying characteristics which have emerged throughout the literature review have assisted in creating a foundation for any discourse on further post-colonial research. An article 'Colonialism and Postcolonialism' written by Daniel Butt (2013) describes the key characteristics of colonialism as a system of domination and subjugation. The characteristics are:

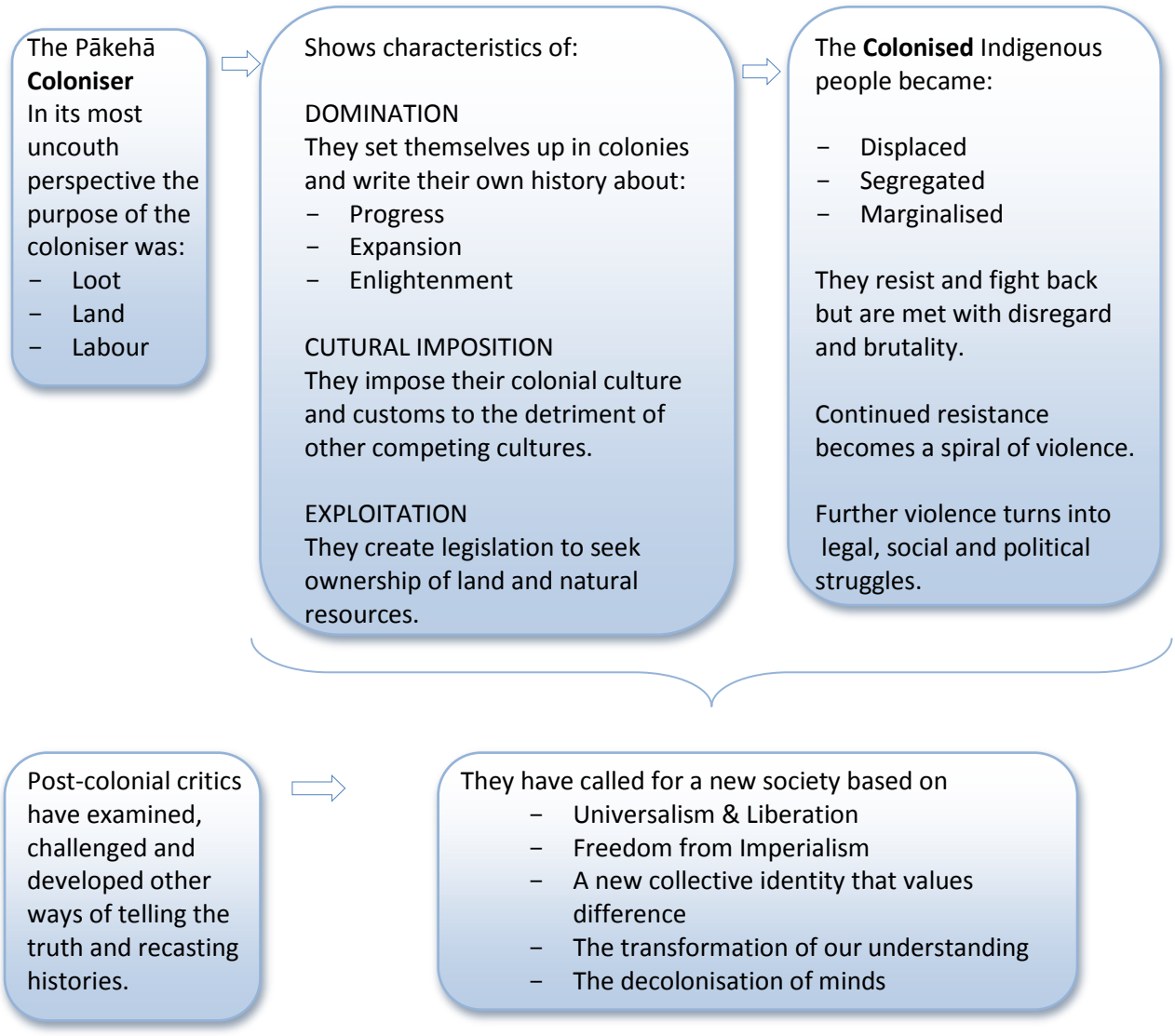
- Domination – which involved the subjugation of one group of people by another for example writers have described imperialism and colonisation as a form of subjugation and as a form of domination (Horvath, 1972), (L. T. Smith, 1999). While the expression of domination has taken various institutional forms the most blurred approach has been the denial to Māori of self-development and self determination.

- Cultural Imposition – involves the enforcement of a dominant power's culture and customs onto the colonised, whether as a result of a belief in the racial and/or cultural superiority of the colonising power; an evangelical desire to spread particular religions or cultural practices; or as a mechanism for establishing and consolidating political power (Butt, 2013).

- Exploitation – has taken many forms such as slave trading, the misappropriation of cultural property and natural resources, and the establishment of exploitative trade relations and the forcible introduction of capitalist forms of production (Butt, 2013).

The following diagram is a brief pictorial summary of the literature reviewed from the many writers whose work I have drawn from. It shows in its most uncouth way the purpose of colonisation and how the colonisers set about establishing control over the colony. Through the characteristics of colonisation they displaced, segregated and marginalised the colonised (Butt, 2013).

Figure 6 Characteristics of Colonisation



Within an Aotearoa New Zealand context, even though there was a Treaty, Māori were subjected to policies of colonisation. From a radical perspective, the colonisers set out to take what Māori owned, to destroy Māori cultural systems and to ensure that Māori were unable to challenge the legitimacy of their actions and their

dominance of the colony (H. M. Mead, 2016). In a recent address given by Mead (2016) he refers to the period since colonisation as “Surviving Colonisation”. He claims that while Māori are still recovering from the aftermath of surviving colonisation, that they are confronted with the current period of, what he terms “Surviving Mainstream” which he claims is a continuation of the first period.

2.3 Kaupapa Māori

Kaupapa Māori has been defined by Tuku Nepe (1991) as a body of knowledge accumulated by Māori about their experiences through life. She goes on further to say that “Kaupapa Māori knowledge is the systematic organisation of beliefs, experiences, understandings and interpretations of the interactions of Māori people upon Māori people, and Māori people upon their world” (1991, p. 187). Kaupapa Māori has also been defined as a tool that intersects at different points of Māori epistemology. Writers such as Linda and Graham Smith, Irwin, Bishop, Pihama, Nepe and others have described features of Kaupapa Māori that relate to activities such as Matauranga Māori; Kaupapa Māori theory; Kaupapa Māori principles and practice; Kaupapa Māori research; Kaupapa Māori as a ‘discourse’ and a ‘praxis’; Kaupapa Māori as a means to challenge, question and critique Pākehā hegemony; and as a tool for analysis and validation. One of the significant features from the various writings is the profound understanding of the writers for the need to create an alternative theoretical environment that values and legitimises Māori epistemology, knowledge and Māori ways of being.

For this study Kaupapa Māori and all that it encompasses is the key element that underpins the development of this thesis. This section of the literature review will draw on work from writers who have discussed Kaupapa Māori as a body of research knowledge, a theory, a research methodology and praxis. Establishing a position for Kaupapa Māori within a realm that is distinctly Māori has provided a pathway for Māori researchers to be heard. It allows opportunities to research contentious issues like the value and legitimacy of Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge. It allows the opportunity to explore whether they count at the interface of other knowledge

traditions. It raises questions from a Māori perspective on how the lessons from the success of Te Māori might be of benefit to Māori. More importantly it provides Māori with a research style that is uniquely Māori.

Throughout the growing pool of literature about Kaupapa Māori, the various definitions, interpretations and perspectives will be explored. Over the last 25 years many Māori academic writers, who were also the protagonists that argued to secure a space for Kaupapa Māori theory declared that Kaupapa Māori theory provided the ideal culturally defined theoretical space to claim legitimacy for their real life experiences. In 1998 Leonie Pihema stated that Kaupapa Māori theory could no longer be denied or ignored within academia. Neither could it be denied within the bureaucratic discourse of ministerial and government documents (Pihama, 2001).

Although the term 'Kaupapa Māori' has been entrenched in some ministerial documents, particularly in the Health, Social Welfare, Employment and Education sectors, the theoretical guidelines underpinning Kaupapa Māori have not always been defined (L. Smith, 2000, p. 6). The danger in not having clearly defined guidelines leaves the path open to ill-informed interpretations, perceptions and understandings. Based on experience this oversight leads to ill-prepared policy, systems and processes which can be misleading and are often biased, based on Pākehā interests.

Kaupapa Māori is a theory, a research methodology and praxis. As a theory it:

> ….builds on the 'Kaupapa Māori' foundation of taking for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori language, knowledge and culture. Kaupapa Māori theory emphasises the critical theory intervention potential within the logic of 'organic' Kaupapa Māori practice; it is also important to distinguish the theory and practice components in order to reveal the 'praxis' elements which are embedded in this concept as well, that is, the dialectic relationship of 'theory and practice' which evolves through critical refection and subsequent adjustment (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 96).

As a form of research methodology, the most commonly used definition for Kaupapa Māori by Smith is that it related to being Māori, is connected to Māori philosophy and principles, takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori and the importance of Māori language and culture, and is concerned with the struggle for autonomy over Māori cultural wellbeing (G. Smith, 1990). Kaupapa Māori principles have had a vast impact on the evolution of this study and in particular have influenced the development and application of the mixed methodological approach used. Arguably, as Mahuika confers:

> ….the ultimate goal of Kaupapa Māori research, like much of the scholarship from indigenous and minority peoples, is to challenge and disrupt the commonly accepted forms of research in order to privilege our own unique approaches and perspectives, our own ways of knowing and being (2008, p. 4).

Kaupapa Māori as a transformative praxis is the interventions through which transformative action and change is based. The other two strands that make up the trio necessary for Kaupapa Māori praxis to occur are the concepts of conscientisation and resistance. Change cannot happen without being consciously aware of what is happening. Conscientisation is a form of freedom from the mind-set of indoctrinated ideology that has created a condition which those in control view as normal. Raised awareness often provokes resistance and the will to bring about change. Resistance involves a conscious 'collective will' to bring about change of existing circumstance. Following Māori experiences, resistance initiatives have adopted a range of strategies which not only reacted to, and resisted cultural oppression and economic exploitation, but have also initiated a range of proactive strategies which set out the aspirations and vision of the 'new world' such as the Kohanga Reo movement (G. H. Smith, 1997). For Paulo Freire (1970), conscientisation is a prerequisite to people transforming the world. In his book 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' he writes that:

> It is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in organised struggle for their liberation that they begin to believe in themselves. This discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection; only then will it be a praxis (Freire, 1970, p. 65) .

While discussing the practical application of Kaupapa Māori transformative praxis and how each concept has been applied to this research, it is useful to consider some of the definitions of Kaupapa Māori. Central to the position on whether Māori knowledge traditions have lost value and legitimacy, is another quote from Nepe that endorses the argument around the validity of Māori knowledge. She states that Kaupapa Māori is:

> The conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that has been developed through oral tradition. It is the process by which Māori mind receives, internalises, differentiates, and formulates ideas and knowledge exclusively through te reo Māori…It is knowledge that validates a Māori world view and is not only Māori owned but also Māori controlled (Nepe, 1991, pp. 15-16).

In seeking to validate a Māori worldview which is both owned and controlled by Māori, means ensuring a Māori world of reality and truth rather than portraying a distorted view or a Māori view of the world that has been interpreted by Pākehā. Insofar as the theoretical considerations go, challenges against injustices of mis-representation provides Leonie Pihama with the impetus to declare that Kaupapa Māori theory provides us with a theoretical process that challenges injustice, reveals inequalities and seeks transformation (Pihama, 2001). From a colonised perspective she goes on to say that it means “we must engage all forms of colonial oppression and those structures that maintain and perpetuate those oppressions” (Pihama, 2001, p.138).

Mereana Taki, (1996) refers to Kaupapa Māori as a theory and as a body of knowledge. As a theory she claims that it is not a new phenomenon and that it continues to inform the reproduction and transformation of iwi laws today. As a body of knowledge she makes reference to a three dimensional framework encompassing the spiritual, land and people, upon which human existence is based. Taki also argues that Kaupapa Māori, similar to Doherty's (2014) claim under matauranga-a-iwi, derives from a network of iwi knowledge identifying and ensuring the recognition of whānau, hapū and iwi diversity (Taki, 1996).

From a level of Kaupapa Māori praxis, both Irwin (1994) and Bishop (1994) argue for the importance of the concept of whānau and state that whānau provides the intersection where research meets Māori on equal terms. Irwin provides an aspect of Kaupapa Māori research which resonates with culturally safe experiences. She characterises Kaupapa Māori as research which is 'culturally safe', which involves the 'mentorship' of elders, which is culturally relevant and appropriate and which is undertaken by a Māori researcher, not a researcher who happens to be Māori (Irwin as cited in L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 185).

In locating Kaupapa Māori research within a wider field of Māori struggles for self-determination it is gratifying to see Graham Smith's list of elements that summarise what Kaupapa Māori research is all about. He states that Kaupapa Māori research:

> Is related to 'being Māori'; is connected to Māori philosophy and principles; takes for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori, the importance of Māori language and culture; and is concerned with 'the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well-being' (G. Smith as cited in L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 185).

Smith also contends that Kaupapa Māori is an intervention strategy and in the western theoretical sense critiques and reconstitutes the resistance notions of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations to bring about transformative change (G. H. Smith, 1997).

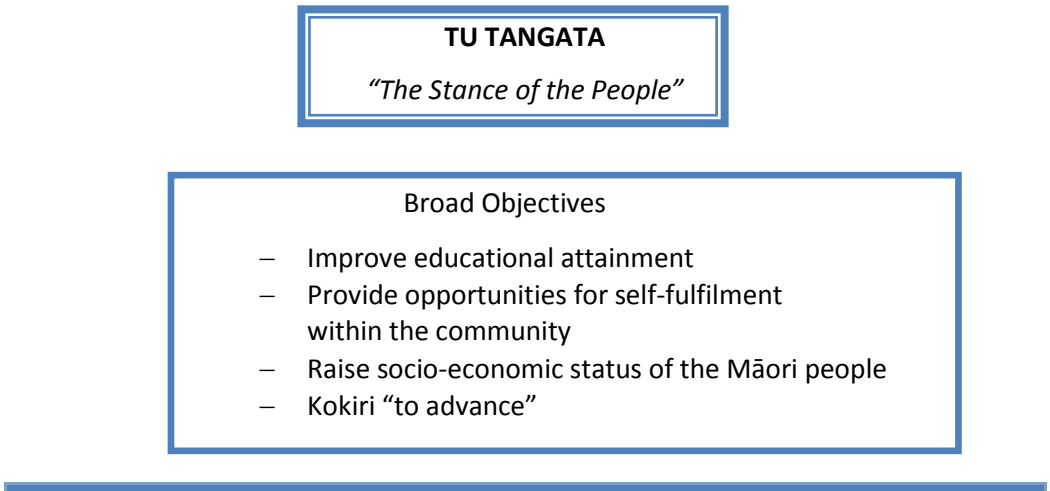
From a practical perspective, in the 1980's many policy initiatives based on Kaupapa Māori were developed and designed to achieve better economic and social outcomes for Māori such as, Puao-te-ata-tu *(The 1988 Report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee on a Māori Perspective for the Department of Social Welfare),* Tu Tangata *(A policy directive that advocated retention of Māori cultural values as being intrinsic to Māori advancement),* He Tirohanga Rangapu/Partner Perspectives *(A 1988 policy aimed at giving iwi organisations a strong and meaningful role in the machinery of government),* Te Urupare Rangapu/Partnership Response *(This 1988 Report was the government's policy response to restructure the Māori Affairs Department)* and Ka Awatea *(A 1990 policy that sets out a blue print for Māori development).* These policies were a valiant attempt to initiate change for Māori and to preserve the value and legitimacy of the Māori knowledge traditions upon which they were structured. In many respects, although attempts to embed Matauranga Māori philosophy into these initiatives with some success being achieved, all of these well informed reports eventually faded into obscurity and were replaced with other policy initiatives such as 'closing the gaps.' The philosophy of Tu Tangata remains an interesting one because it still lives on today. The Māori values system upon which it was established is firmly entrenched in Te Kohanga Reo and more recently the Whānau Ora programmes.

The characteristics and objectives of the Tu Tangata philosophy are not new they have probably been in the minds of Māori for centuries. However, the profound nature of the idea and the very thought of introducing it to the New Zealand public service by the Secretary of the Department of Māori Affairs – Dr Kara Puketapu in 1979 was a new, refreshing, timely and ground-breaking move. Dr Puketapu was the ideal person to lead this initiative because of his deep understandings of Te Ao Māori, its culture and language and also his thorough understanding of Te Ao Pākehā. While the motivation behind the Tu Tangata philosophy was based on a need to improve Māori self-determination and the socio-economic outcomes for Māori, it was also based on a need to vehemently repudiate the notion that the Department of Māori Affairs was a social welfare agency giving handouts to Māori people (Butterworth, 1990, p. 112).

Tu Tangata was about recognising the stance of the people, identifying their strengths and harnessing and empowering them so they could advance forward as a people to reclaim their own power and control for economic, educational and social justice advancement. From personal observations and experience of having worked in the Department of Māori Affairs at that time, the nature of the Tu Tangata philosophy embodied the elements of theory, policy and praxis. It was a theory by virtue of the fact that it is surrounded by Kaupapa Māori theoretical considerations. It was a key policy driver that spearheaded the development of the Kohanga Reo movement, the regional Kokiri Centers, the Matua Whangai programme and the Te Māori Exhibition. It was also a praxis by virtue of the procedural and methodological approaches that encompassed Te reo me ona tikanga Māori in its operational, management and delivery style. It was and still is an opportunity to adopt the approach 'for Māori by Māori with Māori' in almost any field of research enquiry or project management initiatives. The influence Tu Tangata had on the genesis of many significant Kaupapa Māori milestones such as Te Kohanga Reo has been profound and long lasting through the generations.

In his paper *'Reform from Within'* Kara Puketapu (1982) describes the philosophy of Tu Tangata and explains the rationale behind the moves he took to ensure that Tu Tangata was firmly embedded into the fabric of the Department of Māori Affairs development strategies for Māori economic capacity, growth and social wellbeing. In the late 1970's when Tu Tangata was launched it was a radical but timely move for the government bureaucracy because it was a shift away from the mode of dependency and all the associated negative connotations to a mode of Māori self-development and Māori control (Puketapu, 1982). The following diagram provides an illustration of the Tu Tangata framework.

Figure 7 Tu Tangata



If Tu Tangata was a cry out to the Māori people to 'stand tall' then the successes from the Te Māori Exhibition were the physical expressions of that cry. It sought to bring about the re-emergence of Māori as a proud people capable of ensuring the validity and legitimacy of their ancient and contemporary knowledge traditions. As the diagram shows, the promotion of socioeconomic equality through the development of local initiatives lay at the heart of Tu Tangata. By focusing on the positive virtues of Māoritanga (Māori culture), the Tu Tangata framework established the administrative foundations for the attainment of Māori self-determination along all points of the social, economic and cultural continuum (Fleras, 1987).

Tu Tangata advocated for the retention of Māori cultural values and traditions. From a culturalist theoretical perspective this approach was crucial to Māori advancement, self-definition and determination as well as the sustainability and prosperity of Māori. The most outstanding initiative that captured the ethos of Tu Tangata was the

introduction in 1982 of Te Kohanga Reo (Māori Language Nests). Based entirely on Māori principles and values of care and learning these centres which catered for pre-school children together with their whānau are conducted entirely in the Māori language. Developed as a resistance initiative outside the 'mainstream' system, Te Kohanga Reo has been able to remain unhinged from the 'gate-keeping' reproductive elements of the dominant controlled system (G.H. Smith, 2003) to develop a sound model that ensures the value and legitimacy of Māori knowledge, language, culture and Māori ways of being.

2.4 The Defining Nature of Whakapapa

Traditional definitions of whakapapa have been documented by a number of authorities such as Mead (2003), Royal (1998), Barlow (1991). The application of 'whakapapa' as a metaphor to this research is mainly contextual.

> Whakapapa is the genealogical descent of all living things from the gods to the present time; whakapapa is a basis for the organisation of knowledge in respect of the creation and development of all things; it is through genealogy that kinship and economic ties are cemented. Whakapapa is one of the most prized forms of knowledge and great efforts are made to preserve it (Barlow, 1991).

Being defined by whakapapa expressed through personal pepeha is a reminder of the connections to the past and to a place of belonging or to ones turangawaewae. Similar to the taonga that made up the Te Māori Exhibition collection, the spiritual connection that binds the artefacts to the places from where they came also binds people to their own turangawaewae.

At a recent exhibition of my tipuna kuia's collection of personal taonga the idea for the role that whakapapa played within the conceptual discourse of this thesis came to fruition. In particular the connection between people, taonga and the unique and very special knowledge and messages that binds people and taonga was a reminder of the living nature of the taonga that made up the Te Māori Exhibition collection.

Pura Te Manihera McGregor married to a Pākehā was a prominent figure in the Whanganui region at the turn of the twentieth century. She was active in both the Māori and the Pākehā communities. Arguably she could have been the 'interface' where the two vastly different communities at that time, met. The exhibition 'Whenua ki te Whenua' speaks to the spiritual and the physical realms and the connection to place (Neal, 2015). It spoke of my direct link to kuia Pura. The recall of the past through her personal taonga to the present and to future generations of whānau was both emotional and profound.

A reading at the exhibition is kuia Pura's message of Kotahitanga and a reminder of the rich whakapapa and the connection I have to her. The display of her treasured personal taonga together with a collection of contemporary art works are both reflections of the reality of her life and the contemporary interpretations of her existence at the interface between the Māori and Pākehā societies of Whanganui. As a pioneering Māori woman her achievements in Te Ao Pākehā were acknowledged in the award to her of the OBE. She was the first Māori woman to receive such an award. As a strong Māori woman in Te Ao Māori her achievements were endorsed by her uncle Te Rangihiwinui Kepa, better known as Major Kemp, when he invited her along with six other young Māori women to join his regiment and to fight in various campaigns alongside him. She rode in waka with him and she lead the haka for him. This reading was moving both emotionally and spiritually as I thought about the fearless strength of a woman who had endured so much and when given permission to use it in this thesis, after much thought was told by the writer that kuia Pura was very pleased. The message of Kotahitanga included the following:

> The most intimate relationship we experience in our physical human existence is that time we spend in the womb of our mothers. Te Whare Tangata. Te Whenua tuatahi. We share our heartbeats, synchronised to ensure that the rhythm of life is engrained within every pore of our existence. We are totally ONE, united for nine months of our lives.

I am a tiny seed implanted in the Whenua of Humanness. The Realm of Potential

The sustenance that flows through our collective veins, the blood lines, nurture, strengthen and prepare us both to fulfil our roles in life. Both mother and child are imbued with all the attributes, qualities, characteristics, traits and powers that are necessary to ensure the continued existence of our totality. We are talked to, we are sung to, oriori are composed to lull me to sleep and infuse me with the knowledge of our tupuna, our ancestral roots. Whakapapa surrounds me. I am constantly reminded of who I am and my unique place in Te Ao Hou this new world. We are mirimiri'ed - the wonder of touch. We are embraced in aroha and we are content.

I am a tiny seed developing in the Whenua of Humanness. The Realm of Possibilities

The pain of separation is intense for both mother and child. The ultimate relief comes in the plaintive yet joyous karanga uttered at birth to remind us of our beginnings in the realm of our Heavenly Father. The karanga too that ensures that our tupuna will be able to find us in this new world and the karanga that opens the way for my existence upon Papatuānuku. Karanga Matua, Karanga Matua, Karanga Whenua.

I am born in to the Whenua of Humanness. The Realm of Physicality

We play, we fight, we learn, we teach, we cry, we laugh, we fail, we succeed, we live, we die. And ultimately we return to the Whenua that is Papatuānuku our Earth mother. "Whenua ki te Whenua."

> But before some of us leave this Whenua of Humanness and if they are fortunate they will experience a profound connection to a portion of themselves that yearns to be heard. They will develop an even more intimate relationship that is far beyond the physical existence. A relationship that is little understood and can't be explained. A relationship that is so intimate that your hands become the hands of the unseen teacher, your heart beats the same rhythm as the unseen teacher, your thoughts become one with the unseen teacher and your voice becomes their messenger. You transcend the Realm of Humanness and for a moment you enter the Whenua of Wairua. You become ONE with all that IS (Vreede, 2015).

At about the same time the motivation to use 'whakapapa' as a framework came after reading about Cherryl Smith's (2002) use of the metaphor 'pou' in her thesis and Margaret Willkie's (2010) use of poutama in her work. Smith's doctoral thesis examines the relationship of Māori knowledge to the University of Auckland and uses the metaphor 'pou' to frame ways of claiming space in the University. Wilkie's doctoral thesis uses the metaphor 'poutama' as a heuristic to illuminate core values and foundations of a Māori worldview and philosophy. The intention is to utilise the concept of whakapapa as a framework to recall past histories of knowledge and to present new pathways of opportunities that validate and legitimise Māori knowledge. Whakapapa will also be used in this study as a Kaupapa Māori research methodology and will be discussed in Chapter 4 – Methodology.

2.5 The Colonising of Knowledge: Whose knowledge counts?

This literature review begun with a quote from Decolonising Methodologies – Research and Indigenous Peoples, a collective memory of imperialism that has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have colonised (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Furthermore, knowledge has also been represented back to those groups who have been colonised and referred to by the West as the 'Other'. A stereotypical term located within colonial and postcolonial discourse which makes reference to the ways in which the indigenous communities were perceived and dealt with by the colonisers (L. T. Smith, 1999). In addition to this the expression 'Othering' is a term advocated by Edward Said (1979) and refers to the act of emphasising the perceived weakness of marginalised groups as a way of stressing the alleged strength of those in positions of power – usually the colonisers.

This section of the literature review is vital to understanding whose knowledge actually counts. The work of various writers such as Smith (1999), Mead (2003), Young (2010), Belich (1986) and others have been drawn on to highlight whose knowledge interests have been favored.

In an ideal Māori world of traditions the means of passing on knowledge, maintaining tribal histories and sharing stories that ensured the durability of community identity was done through the art of oratory. Nothing was written down – information was passed on from one generation to another orally. Māori was an oral culture. The acquired skill was not in the written word like it is today, but in the heard word through vigilant listening and the ability of those chosen few to recite prose correctly, within the right context and at the right time. Individuals were chosen as kaikorero, kaikaranga and tohunga and assigned responsibilities for holding and sharing knowledge. Matua, kaumatua and kuia were responsible for sharing tales of the past to the tamariki (H. M. Mead, 2003) (McKenzie, 1985).

While this aspect of Māori knowledge tradition is acknowledged and the use of the Māori language accepted as an ideal form of Māori knowledge transition, this thesis does not go into the depths of these traditional practices. It is unfortunate that the impact of colonisation, particularly the loss of language and culture and the encroaching effects of Eurocentric way of thinking and doing, has meant that traditional Māori responsibility for the intergenerational transfer of knowledge through oratory has fallen away.

Despite the promises of the Treaty of Waitangi and since its signing in 1840, the history of Māori and Pākehā relations in Aotearoa New Zealand has not been one of equality. The debates that have arisen and the decisions made on issues of a political, social or economic nature have been dominated by Pākehā knowledge traditions, the results of which have had a profound consequence for Māori and for the place of Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge. Māori knowledge is often marginalised by Pākehā due to an innate lack of understanding and its value and legitimacy overlooked by them. The approach this research takes aims to dispel tendencies by Pākehā to view Māori knowledge as "quaint" and historically stagnant. As Māori continue to struggle for space, voice, credibility and a level playing field, legislation, initiatives and policies tend to continue to promote Pākehā interests and wellbeing.

In her paper on *'Transforming Science: How our structures limit innovation'* and during a discussion on Māori knowledge and research, Helen Barnes claims that there is a tendency to view indigenous knowledge as historically 'quaint' or 'ethnic' (Barnes, 2002, p. 6) implying that Māori knowledge is stagnant and passed its 'used by' date. Research findings in Chapter Five will illustrate that this is certainly not the case. It will show that throughout the Te Māori Exhibition, Māori knowledge did count.

Michael Young (2010) takes up the critical line of questioning which interrogates 'knowledge' as being a socially constructed phenomenon that is able to be manipulated by and for the benefit of dominant interest groups. In his book *'Knowledge and Control'* he argues that any serious study of education must begin with a question about knowledge for example how it is defined, transmitted, to whom and how? He argues that education and knowledge are inseparable and that knowledge is not a given but a social construct that makes up societies like families, communities and work places. He identifies unnecessary obstacles such as challenging and questioning the knowledge of teachers or other experts which seem extremely radical and even subversive. Raising sociological questions about knowledge and the curriculum meant that you were inevitably drawn into wider debates about the distribution and exercise of power in society (Young, 2010).

Following up on the link between power and knowledge Young (2010) develops two arguments which clearly align to the fundamental questions that this thesis is based on. For example, one of the supplementary questions is about whether there are drivers or casual factors that explain the lost value of Māori knowledge. Young's two arguments focus on the structure of knowledge and the structuring of knowledge as shown in the following table.

Table 2 Structure and Structuring of Knowledge

Structure of Knowledge	**Structuring of Knowledge**
In relation to the education curriculum the focus is on its: ○ boundaries ○ exclusions ○ inclusions	In relation to the education system the focus is on how educational opportunities are: ○ distributed ○ to whom
Both arguments are seen as an expression of the distribution of power in society not only in the educational space but in other societal areas as well.	

In the case of Te Māori, the structure of knowledge versus the structuring of knowledge may have caused a derailment in the use of Māori protocol during the opening ceremonies. The structuring on how things should proceed was a constant strive for Pākehā control on how procedures should have been according to their perspective. This derailment however, did not occur, as the structure of knowledge around the procedures to include Māori protocol remained within the management of Māori experts.

Knowledge traditions take on many forms of identification. It is normally reflected in the culture of people, groups and societies, the relationship they have to certain geographic locations, the celebration of events as well as historic influences that form habitual behavior. Although there may be commonalities between cultures there is also significant difference. Preconceptions and bias interpretations of knowledge from and about one culture by another culture is a common occurrence. For instance Western scholars viewing indigenous knowledge through intellectual lenses often come up with superficial interpretations of the actual content and meaning. A

particularly pertinent comment during a discussion on 'dominant interpretation' made by James Belich (1986) in his book 'The *New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict'* sums this argument up in a very pithy way, a comment which I particularly resonate with. He claims that terms such as 'intellectual context', 'cultural factors' and 'total ideology' have "different shades of meaning but they also have common ground " (Belich, 1986, p. 14).

In analyzing what counts as knowledge traditions it is argued that all knowledge traditions count because the source from which knowledge comes is the driver that influences group and individual behavior, attitudes and action. The actual word 'tradition' derives from the Latin word 'tradere' which literally means to transmit, to hand over or to give for safekeeping. A 'tradition' as we know it is a belief or behavior adopted by an individual, group or society which may or may not have a symbolic meaning or is of special significance to them. Symbolic traditions may include events such as the birth of Christ for Christians and all the associated stories that have evolved throughout the centuries that have given rise to the traditional rituals that are celebrated at Christmas time. For Māori a symbolic tradition may include the festivity of Matariki[10] a time that signals the Māori New Year. Traditionally Matariki was the time to plant trees, prepare the land for planting crops and renew associations with whānau and friends. Today Matariki is a good time to reflect on your place in the world, to reawaken old skills or try out new ones and set new goals. It is a time of remembrance and the celebration of new life. Special traditions of significance may include events such as a birthday celebration to honor the individual attaining an important milestone or a Hura Kohatu, the unveiling of a headstone and the associated rituals that accompany such an event.

An ancient tradition that is global and has been around for centuries is the practice of storytelling. It is a fundamental part of human nature that touches all peoples and as a

[10] Matariki is a small star cluster whose appearance in the north eastern pre-dawn sky in late May, early June marks the start of a new phase of life. Celebrations most often begin at the next new moon after Matariki has risen. The exact timing varies from year to year but usually occurs during the month of June.

consequence of the many stories told, habits are formed which influence and are reflective in the behavior that is developed. Through the tradition of telling stories information about visions, dreams, values, feelings and memories are shared, trust is built and connections through the shared communal experience of storytelling are forged. Stories about the creation of the world, people and the natural environment, historical events and particular incidents similar to those symbolic and significant traditions mentioned earlier, are passed on from generation to generation. This practice is global and forms bodies of knowledge throughout the world that still shapes the thinking of ideas, the development of perspectives, the diversity of life and the evolution of relationships people have with each other.

As indicated earlier knowledge traditions take on many forms. The next part of this chapter examines the literature relating to the boundaries of three different groups and the knowledge traditions they have been exposed to which have informed and influenced their realities. It discusses three stages that have been created to define, describe and then later compare to ascertain the differences of each group's perceptions and interpretations of knowledge traditions. It also explores the potential to break down the barriers that have been created by the preconceptions instilled and allowed to continue by dominant interests over subordinate interests. This exercise aims to show that while all knowledge traditions count and have a legitimate place within certain boundaries, the imbalance brought about by misinterpretations, misunderstandings, misinformation and preconceptions create grave inequality, inequity and vast disparity for some groups.

The three stages are:

1. Knowledge Development – the influences that cause responses to the development of traditions.

2. Innovation – the material support that leads to the application and justification of a knowledge tradition.

3. Practice – the habits and behavior that express and enact knowledge traditions.

2.5.1 Knowledge Traditions and Pākehā

Throughout this thesis the term Pākehā rather than European or British has been used to locate Pākehā within the geographical reality of Aotearoa New Zealand rather than the historical, philosophical and geographical space and conversations of Western European or British contextual understandings. But according to Michael King (1985) in the 1940's and 1950's Britain was home, the centre of an empire of which Aotearoa New Zealand was the most far flung Dominion (King, 1985, p. 11).

Interestingly, Frantz Fanon has this to say:

> The settler makes history and is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother-country. Thus the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all that she skims off, all that she violates and starves (Fanon, 1965, p. 40).

In addition to Fanon's views, Linda Smith contends that under colonialism indigenous peoples have struggled against a Western view of history and yet been complicit with that view. We have often allowed our 'histories' to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold (L. T. Smith, 1999).

Imposing colonial beliefs was a frequent mechanism for establishing and consolidating power and control by the colonisers. However, for the colonised indigenous people this created a grave risk to some of losing their traditional knowledge gained over generations of oral traditions.

The period before the sixteenth century can be viewed as a social evolution from classical slavery to feudalism to capitalism. In parallel to this view is the evolution of

scientific and other forms of knowledge as developing respectively from the Greeks through the European Middle Ages to the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, and the present (Goonatilake, 1982, p. 417). In her analysis of Lucille Brockway's work on *'Science and Colonial Expansion'* where Brockway explores some of the relationships between colonial expansion and science, Susantha Goonatilake considers this relationship in terms of the creation and development of knowledge. She claims that there are assumptions about both the scientific and the colonial world which rest on a perhaps unavoidable Western ethnocentric view of the world (Goonatilake, 1982, p. 413).

In the early part of the industrial era, botanical knowledge played the role that academic-industrial knowledge did later on. The key role of botanical knowledge in the expansion of colonial enterprise was the transfer of plants and knowledge about them around the world. Essential to the process was the principal role of Kew Gardens[11] the institute that generated, documented and controlled the flow of information out to the colonies that took on the role of satellite disseminators of Pākehā knowledge. The underlying assumption of this general perspective was the 'world order of knowledge' (Goonatilake, 1982) where the authoritative institute at the centre created and legitimised the essential (in this case) botanical knowledge without any consideration of local newly colonised environmental conditions or local indigenous advice. For example – the *Ulex Europaeus* plant commonly known in Aotearoa New Zealand as the gorse bush is a major invasive plant species that was introduced from the United Kingdom in the early stages of colonial settlement. Its spread and development as a weed in Aotearoa New Zealand's temperate climate has been rapid. Unlike the picturesque flowering green shrub that grows to 2 – 3 meters in the United Kingdom and is generally arranged in neat hedge-like borders along the roadside, gorse is one of the most widely recognised agricultural obnoxious weeds in this country, introduced by the colonists.

[11] Founded in 1840 and situated in London as a top tourist destination, Kew Gardens is the world's largest collection of living plants.

The key point is about the creation and development of a Pākehā structure of knowledge that has been the emergence of the European and United Kingdom dominated colonial world (Goonatilake, 1982). Together they set themselves up as the centre of the world and developed exploitative systems in which other areas such as Aotearoa New Zealand are peripheral.

The significance of the ethnocentric 'world order of knowledge' tradition needing to gain approval from a British institution first, and the relevance of it to this thesis is the domination of Western cultural perceptions and beliefs about civilisation that are accepted, claimed and passed on as legitimate forms of knowledge. Furthermore, the globalisation of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the "West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilised' knowledge" (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 63).

In consideration of the 'practice' and habitual behaviour that expresses the enactment of knowledge traditions two examples that reflect this to the point of outright rejection of other forms of knowledge and/or opinion are drawn upon. One other example provides a stimulating account of an American Pākehā woman from New York whose supportive view of Māori culture was, as she claims, a life changing experience.

The first example is about the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the massacre of Sharpeville and Langa that happened in South Africa in March 1960 where police mowed down 69 unarmed people and injured 180 others who refused to carry the hated *dompas* identity document that was meant only for indigenous Africans.[12] During their time of remembrance Sam Richards and Paul Saba highlight the experience in 1960 of being treated as strangers in their own land as though it naturally belonged to the colonisers (Saba, 1985). The struggle for liberation and the claim by the Azanion people that this event, which saw a turning point in South

[12] Read more: http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/sharpeville.htm#.VX-VdT8w_IU#ixzz3dBwmRn7H

African history, was of enormous historical importance to them but had been distorted, marginalised and hushed up by the colonisers.

> If we look at today's world we can see that this same pattern is expressed a hundred times more sharply and on an infinitely greater scale, in the vampire-like systems which bear down upon the labouring masses in the oppressed nations of the Third World (Saba, 1985).

The second example is located in Aotearoa New Zealand when it became apparent to James Belich while writing his book about the New Zealand Wars that the British beliefs in their own culture and racial superiority dominated their Victorian interpretations on how they saw the wars. As critiqued by Belich (1986) much of their interpretations were biased and frequently exaggerated painting a fundamentally false picture of the reality of the Wars. The British expected victory because they believed in their superior quality of military ability and that it was by law of nature, inevitable that they win. It was their belief that:

> Most non-European peoples, including the Māori, lacked the intellectual qualities known as 'the higher mental faculties'. Military Excellence was seen, not as an acquired attribute of the British regular solider, but as a characteristic innate in all Britons. ….a defining feature of the Britons (Belich, 1986, p. 322).

Interestingly though was the reaction of the British to defeat. Rather than credit the Māori with strategic finesse and the ability to co-ordinate military precision British defeat was played down, ignored or forgotten. For example after inspecting the scene of his defeat at Ohaeawai Pa in 1845, Colonel Despard wrote "The strength of the place has struck me with surprise, and I cannot help feeling convinced that the Natives could not have constructed it without some European assistance" (Belich, 1986, pp. 315-316).

The final example occurs during the time of the Te Māori Exhibition. Carol O'Biso an American whose career in museum work brought her to Aotearoa New Zealand as Chief Registrar of the American Federation of Arts. Charged with taking the Te Māori Exhibition to America this task was not only foreign to her but it was also a new venture for the Federation and a new venture for Māori. Unlike the colonising experiences of past centuries between Aotearoa New Zealand and Europe, America was not involved. This meant that its people were more open to the intrigue of Māori culture and its art forms (Mead, 1986).

> Te Māori brought a dimension of spirituality to the exhibitions, a religious element which emphasised connections with the gods, with ancestors long since gone, with the pain of the past and with present generations who regarded the art as their rightful heritage (Mead, 1986).

The spiritual dimension was carried to all four cities that the exhibition was shown through the tikanga Māori processes that were manifest and those who were closely linked to Te Māori reportedly felt the depth of the spiritual essence. Carol O'Biso was one of them. "Carol who cared for them, mothered them, scolded them – I guess she will never be quite the same again" (Tilly Reedy, 1986, p. 27).

In her book about her Te Māori journey 'First Light', O'Biso (1988) captures the emotional moments that she felt through the cross-cultural connections she made with Māori people and with the taonga that she promised to return home safely. With the safe return of the taonga O'Biso eventually returned to Aotearoa New Zealand and settled in Auckland.

2.5.2 Knowledge Traditions and Indigenous Peoples

> *'Indigenous Peoples' is a relatively recent term which emerged in the 1970s out of the struggles primarily of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and the Canadian Indian Brotherhood. It is a term that internalises the experiences, the issues and the struggles of some of the world's colonised peoples* (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 7).

While being aware that similar to the Māori experience in Aotearoa New Zealand where traditional knowledge and its subsequent development, practices or traditions play an important role in the lives of Māori people, so too does it for indigenous peoples worldwide. Although a body of literature exists about Indigenous experiences written and developed by Indigenous authors and scholars, engagement in this literature has not been sought in any great depth. Acknowledgement has been made, however, of the many similarities among the vast network of indigenous peoples with Māori. For instance, the shared experiences of those people who have been subjected to the colonisation of their lands and cultures, and the denial of their sovereignty, by a colonising society who have come to dominate and determine the shape and quality of their lives, has been noted (L. T. Smith, 1999). For the first nations Indigenous peoples of America, the imposition of economic and colonial regimes that have mined, bombed, stripped, deforested and polluted native lands have created struggles for justice by native resistance to the toxic colonialism of indigenous lands and people (Nelson, 2008).

In terms of Indigenous knowledge development with identity and culture I draw on Jeanette Armstrong's (2010) perspective from her own lived experiences of 'Indigeneity' as a Syilx Okanagan[13] person. Similar to how Māori associate with the environment, she links the definition of indigenous knowledge to their environment, based on centuries of living close to nature. Further to that the land is "not the ever-present 'Other' which supplies us with a sense of 'I'. It is a part of our being….it is

[13] The Okanagan people, are a First Nations and Native American people whose traditional territory spans the U.S.-Canada boundary in Washington state and British Columbia in the Okanagan Country region. They call themselves the *Syilx,* a term now widely used.

ourselves" (Henderson, 2000, p. 409). Melissa Nelson, in the introduction to her book 'Original Instructions: Indigenous Teachings for a Sustainable Future' states that

> In this sense, our biological and psychological space is a communal ground, a commons….a part of an undivided wholeness….we cannot be separated from these places. The bones and blood of our ancestors have become the soil, the soil grows our food, the food nourishes our bodies, and we become one, literally and metaphorically, with our homelands and territories (Nelson, 2008, p. 10).

Indigenous systems of knowledge throughout the world have been developed and influenced by events that are profoundly significant and meaningful to them. Through ancient habitual practices, knowledge traditions have been preserved and handed down through the generations so that their importance can be maintained. For example the concept of 'Matariki' a Māori term, is known as 'Makahiki' to the indigenous people of Hawaii. The similarities between the indigenous Hawaiian people and Māori signifies the shared beliefs of Matariki and Makahiki as a season of new beginnings where the history associated to the sustenance of our planet and ourselves as people of the land is shared and celebrated. As Kanaka Maoli philosopher Manulani Aluli Meyer asserts "specificity leads to universality. Understanding distinctiveness leads us to appreciate how – we are all the same, differently" (Meyer as cited in Duarte, 2015).

Interestingly the term indigenous has been raised by descendants of early settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand as a means to claim identity. Through the occupation and settlement of land over several generations and through the virtue of simply being born in Aotearoa New Zealand, Pākehā are claiming that they are the second indigenous culture of this country (King, 1985). This claim has the potential to raise much doubt because being Indigenous is not about where you are born or about occupation, the concept of being indigenous goes far beyond the narrow interpretation of Pākehā justifications as has been highlighted previously.

2.5.3 Knowledge Traditions and Māori

> *Matauranga Māori is a knowledge tradition that grew out of ancient Polynesia. It was transported here to Aotearoa by ancestors of present day Māori, where it flourished for some 1000 years until the arrival of Pākehā in 1769. Matauranga Māori continued to be the most influential knowledge tradition in 19th century Aotearoa New Zealand but this status changed considerably under the weight of colonisation* (Royal, 1998, p. 1).

The ancient model Royal refers to takes its founding principles between the relationship of humankind, to the cosmos and the associated genealogical links. Everything is connected and interwoven into a pattern of evolution from the metaphoric void at the beginning of time, to the world of light. From Māori ancestral and cosmological heritage, flow energy and consciousness that guides quests for innovation and contributions to the betterment of Māori society today.

In looking at Māori knowledge traditions and philosophy from a different perspective, Ella Henry (2012), in her thesis on *'Te Wairua Auaha: Emancipatory Māori Entrepreneurship in Screen Production'*, cites Elsdon Best (1924) as one of the most assiduous collectors of information and ethnographies about and by Māori in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The contribution his writings add to this study highlights a Pākehā perception of how Māori were viewed and considered. This patronising viewpoint evolved throughout the years. It also paints a hegemonic picture of how things were for Māori. Best wrote that "In studying the religion and myths of barbaric folk such as the Māori people of these isles, it is by no means an easy task to do so in a sympathetic manner. Our own point of view differs so widely" (Best as cited in Henry, 2012, p. 34).

However he did go on to acknowledge that:

> Though most natives often seem to lack application and incentive nowadays with regard to acquiring either European teachings or knowledge of their own history, it would appear that such a condition is at least partially due to the great change wrought by the advent of the white man (Henry, 2012, p. 34).

Best (1924) goes on to highlight other commentators such as Thomas Kendall who accompanied Hongi Hika to Cambridge University, England in the 1820s; Walter Buller who in 1857 published the newspaper *'Te Karere o Poneke'* intended for the information and improvement of its Māori readers; William Colenso noted for many printing achievements the most notable being the Treaty of Waitangi in Māori in 1840; and Bracken Thomas a journalist who worked for the Otago Guardian in 1875. Collectively their comments contributed to the negative Eurocentric view of Māori. Given the paternalistic and patronising views, it is indeed a testimony to the enduring nature of traditional Māori philosophy and knowledge traditions that it has survived and continues to shape, inform and serve Māori in contemporary society today.

From a different perspective, Māori knowledge is not to be confused with Pākehā knowledge or general knowledge that has been translated into Māori. The Treaty of Waitangi is a prime example of the mayhem caused by such confusion. In 1840 the signing by Crown representatives and Māori leaders amounted to 'two peoples' agreeing to two very different treaties. The English language 'Treaty of Waitangi' implied that Māori ceded sovereignty to the Queen and the Māori language 'Tiriti o Waitangi' implied that Māori retained their Rangatiratanga. It's no wonder that the two different understandings created so much debate and turbulence throughout the years.

Māori knowledge is distinct and has been defined in many ways; the most common definitions have been customary knowledge, cultural knowledge, indigenous knowledge, traditional knowledge, matauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori. Many

writers such as Mead (2012) and Durie (2005; 2011) suggest that Māori knowledge in some shape or form constitutes all these terms. Māori knowledge also relates to a multiplicity of distinctive Māori ways of knowing, being, seeing, capturing, practicing and sharing. Rather than western criteria being the sole benchmark by which other knowledge systems are measured and determined, Māori have their own systems of measurement.

Purakau is a term commonly used to refer to Māori 'myths and legends' but according to Jenny Lee who has written at length about Purakau and has used Purakau as a research methodology claims that far from it being considered as mere tales or 'myths and legends', Purakau preserved ancestral knowledge, reflected our worldviews and portrayed the lives of our tupuna (ancestors) in creative, diverse and engaging ways (Lee, 2009). A traditional form of Māori narrative that Lee further claims Purakau to contain is the philosophical thought, epistemological constructs cultural codes and worldviews that are fundamental to our identity as Māori (Lee, 2009). Purakau along with other narrative forms such as moteatea, whakapapa, whaikorero, whakatauaki and whakatauki are highly valued, carefully constructed and skillfully delivered in ways that brought significant legitimacy and meaning to events.

As generations tell the same story about a particular event or place the richness around the occasion is further embellished usually by those involved and it becomes a point of identity for the wider community. New connections are often forged through the recognition of familiarity to the event, place or people. The most prominent tradition formed around such occasions is the sharing of information through the maintenance and the continual recital of the story.

2.6 Māori Knowledge and Matauranga Māori: Naming Ourselves

Matauranga Māori is a term that refers uniquely to Māori education and knowledge. It is an integral part of traditional Māori society. Over the last two decades the term 'Matauranga Māori' has become increasingly important as more and more people are engaged in efforts to understand what it means (H. M. Mead, 2012). Interestingly, the

term Matauranga Māori as Charles Royal (2009) points out is a term elders of today did not hear in their childhood. Its absence in the Williams Dictionary of Māori Language suggests that the term is modern and used as a way of framing traditional knowledge and historic world views with contemporary Māori world views. Royal offers two themes regarding the usage of the term Matauranga Māori and they are:

- Matauranga Māori used in an encompassing, global way to refer to all knowledge created by Māori in history according to their experiences, worldview and life

- Matauranga Māori used in a more restrictive fashion to refer to knowledge created under the inspiration of an atua Māori (non-Christian god) that was the preserve of a tohunga Māori (Royal, 2009, p. 2).

Pere (1982) says that Matauranga was the word chosen by the New Zealand Department (now Ministry) of Education to depict and interpret the English term, "education". It can mean, she says, any of the following: "to know something, to learn or acquire skills, to be acquainted with, to have some understanding, or to be certain of. But whatever the context", Pere adds, "Matauranga is not seen as something that is static or isolated." Thus, multiple meanings and layers of meaning are very common in te reo Māori (Pere, 1982).

Some scholars such as Mead (2012), Winiata and Winiata (1995), Durie (2005) and Doherty (2014) perceive Matauranga Māori to be much more than a simple adjective or descriptor that describes the content and places importance on Māori histories, knowledge and language. Matauranga Māori is also an expression, a process, a way of life that refers to a Māori way of thinking, doing and acting. In 2012 Mead referred to Matauranga Māori as being Māori knowledge complete with its values and attitudes (H. M. Mead, 2012, p. 9). His reference endorses the Māori way of thinking through the inclusivity of values and attitudes.

Matauranga Māori or Māori knowledge is unique to Māori people. The way in which things are done and understood within the social structure of the various iwi and hapū groupings throughout Aotearoa is very distinct to each grouping. The tribal variation and ways of knowing have given rise to a set of beliefs associated with different practices and protocol, which are commonly known as Tikanga. According to Mead these procedures are established by precedents through time, are held to be ritually correct, are validated by usually more than one generation and are always subject to what a group or individual is able to do. Probably the best example of the complexity of a unique concept that involves several tikanga and which are interrelated and underpinned by a body of Matauranga Māori is the tangihanga (H. M. Mead, 2003, p. 12).

Also according to Mead (2012) it wasn't so long ago that the term 'Matauranga' was rarely mentioned. Previously the term most commonly used was 'taha Māori' a term that came into vogue around the time of the Te Māori Exhibition and a term that was conveniently translated by most Pākehā institutes as a 'Māori perspective' on things. Personal experience and observations during employment in the public service showed that while knowledgeable Māori experts formed many of the working party groups and provided a rich Matauranga Māori perspective on issues, the final version of the policy was edited to suit the Pākehā institute and corresponding minister in charge.

Whatarangi Winiata defines Matauranga Māori as the explanation of human behaviour that is based upon traditional concepts handed down through the generations (Winiata as cited in Royal, 1998).

Winiata's view as Royal contends is focused upon the reality of this phenomenon, the experience of the phenomenon and then the response to the experience which gives rise to matauranga. In line with Professor Winiata's thinking Royal offers the following definition that Matauranga Māori, or Māori knowledge, is created by Māori humans according to a set of key ideas and by the employment of certain methodologies to explain the Māori experience of the world (Royal, 1998).

In an article about the development of the Whare Wānanga o Raukawa, Professor Winiata and Pakeke Winiata further describe Matauranga Māori as

- Tikanga whakaaro which has been passed down through generations of Māori;
- Explanations of human behaviour which draw on, are predictable from and are consistent with those tikanga whakaaro (Winiata, 1995, p. 145).

They continue the discussion by claiming that the Māori language, which by definition is a collection of linguistic concepts handed down through generations of Māori is the medium through which those concepts and other concepts are explained and expressed. They argue, rightfully so about the uniqueness of the Māori language and that the translation of Māori into Pākehā can never depict the true intent or the real thing. Translations are instead only approximations which are open to misinterpretations and misunderstandings.

From Mason Durie's perspective on Māori knowledge he contends that the relationship between people and the environment forms an important foundation for the organisation of indigenous knowledge. By making that link between people and place it draws on observations from the natural environment and imbues land and people with a life force (mauri) and spirituality (tapu) (M Durie, 2011).

Wiremu Doherty takes the idea of people and place further by locating Matauranga within iwi (tribes). He uses the term Matauranga-a-iwi to define the relationship between the tribe and its land base and tribal knowledge. He claims that in modern educational discourse, the term Matauranga-a-iwi, Matauranga Māori and Kaupapa Māori theory are used to define Māori identity and Māori knowledge (Doherty, 2012).

2.7 The Te Māori Exhibition Experience

In 1984 a photograph was taken of the front of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It showed two huge banners suspended above the entrance of the museum. One advertised an exhibition of drawings by Dutch master Vincent Van Gogh. The other bore the words: 'Te Māori; Māori Art from New Zealand Collections.' For Māori there could be no more resounding affirmation of the talents of their forebears than to have it displayed in one of the world's great art galleries alongside the work of one of history's greatest artists (Post, 2009).

In the years that followed, many critics and writers commented about the exhibition. Among everything that was written, the most thoughtful description that locates Te Māori within the discourse of this thesis was made in 1987 by Sir Hirini Moko Mead. He said that the most distinguishing factor which made the Te Māori Exhibition a success was the tremendous involvement of Māori people in its organisation (Mead as cited in Davidson, 1987).

The 1984 Te Māori Exhibition was an exhibition that, for a moment in time, was the symbol of our identity as New Zealand citisens, Māori and Pākehā alike (H. M. Mead, 1996). It supposedly heralded the end of old museum practices and marked the beginning of a new era of culturally appropriate procedures, protocols and methodologie (Butler, 1996). To replicate the exhibition in 2015 would be a challenge, because of the many intergenerational changes that have occurred over the last thirty years since its opening at the New York Metropolitan museum of Art. For Māori the decade of the eighties was a phase of rediscovering Māori artistic heritage, reviving cultural form and ceremonies, of strengthening Māori culturally, raising Māori self esteem and reconnecting with cultural roots (H. M. Mead, 1996).

> For Māori people carvings of wood, pounamu and bone are more than objects of art. They are TAONGA. They bristle with spiritual energy. They move people with their presence. They have IHI – power and they have MANA – prestige.

> They are greeted with mihi, praised and sung about. A taonga wears a cloak of words. So when 174 important taonga travelled from Aotearoa to New York for exhibition, people had to go too.
>
> The Marae of the Metropolitan Museum had to be warmed, the tapu of the place had to be dealt with and the cloak of words had to dress the taonga – even in America (Koha, 1988).

For Pākehā the eighties was a decade of neoliberalism, rogernomics, privatisation, devolution and competition. The view of Māori art by some Pākehā before Te Māori was one of repudiation, rejection and neglect. There were some whose only interest was to exploit the tourism dollar when it came to using the symbols of carvings as souvenirs (Davidson, 1987).

The resurgence of the Māori Renaissance period of the 1980's, especially the Te Māori Exhibition, brought about many significant changes to the art and museums world as well as the tourism world. Mead (1986) notes that it was the Te Māori Exhibition at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art that brought about the transformation. He contends that the status of Māori art was changed overnight; it altered the perception of people in New Zealand and abroad. Mead further notes that

> Our art to our own New Zealand people was below or beyond the level of awareness; it was invisible, little art of no great consequence and certainly not to be compared with the western art traditions of our Pākehā people (1986, p. 11).

Mead (1986) further states that it took our taonga to go off shore before it was valued and recognised by some New Zealanders. Te Māori brought Māori art out of the closet, out from obscurity, out from anonymity and out of the cupboard of primitive contextualisation. In fact, it was rescued and freed from the limiting intellectual climate of New Zealand.

The Te Māori Exhibition was a unique example of Māori art and its living culture and people coming together in the one exhibition. It was a hugely successful event that opened in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984. In the midst of an unprecedented blaze of publicity Te Māori was about Māori people representing and nurturing the mauri of the 174 examples of traditional Māori art that made up the exhibition.

Since the opening of Te Māori in New York at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on 10th September 1984 there have been many stories written about Te Māori. While each story provides a different perspective of the same event each story is still valid in its own right. When considering the stories separately they each provide only one layer of what occurred, collectively they provide a sense of the power and majesty of the event (Butler, 1996). Stories are the mechanisms that add value to an event that gives it meaning and locates it along the continuum of history. Like the taonga exhibited during Te Māori each becomes clothed in talk (Davidson, 1987). The stories that are told are enriched by the different perspectives and it is through the telling of these stories that a richer understanding of the event is gained.

Reflections from a mix of people and taken from a mix of publications are a poignant and useful reminder of the lifelong effect Te Māori had on people. It is interesting in a way, that it took an exhibition like Te Māori to remove the blinkers of so many Māori who were blinded by the beauty and value of the treasures they have always had. Hirini Moko Mead claimed that before Te Māori some Māori sadly were not interested in Māori culture or in the old traditional ways. Through Te Māori their interest was reawakened and a renaissance began. To other Māori the interest and intrigue was always there – here are some of their reflections.

> We have a great heritage going back centuries……Māori people who frequent Marae more than museums and art galleries suddenly became aware of our wealth Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikaahu (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 2).

> Te Māori measured itself triumphantly against world renowned exhibitions such as Tutankhamen and the terra-cotta pieces of China. Te Māori showed the world of art and museum presentation that treasures like these are still a part of our present and living culture. To the unknowing, the pieces by themselves are merely made of wood, bone and stone, but when the elders…..chant the rituals….and sing the songs that recount the history, the hopes, the hurts, and the aspirations of the people – then the exhibition……becomes a living and new experience Hon. Koro Wetere Minister of Māori Affairs (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 6).

> Te Māori has been a milestone in our cultural development. It has shown us that our traditional Māori taonga should be viewed as a unique art form and that they are a heritage of all New Zealanders…..an art form deserving of international recognition. Te Māori has proved to us that a museum's interpretation of the 'culture' of a country needs to be something more than a lifeless collection of dusty artefacts….the presentation should encourage an understanding of how the many cultures have served to enrich our lives Hon Peter Tapsell. Minister for Internal Affairs (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 4).

Te Māori began as a dream in New York some twelve years ago before the opening in 1984. Douglas Newton along with others was one of the main protagonists. The dawn service opening of Te Māori was never seen before in New York. What Newton had tried to create through the collection of taonga was a "voice" for the people "for which we supplied the theatre" (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 15).

In one of his many speeches during the exhibition Dr Tamati Reedy (1986) reflected on the power of these taonga to spiritually and emotionally move the Māori people.

What was startling was to witness Americans caught up in the seriousness of the occasions and against all expectations were often moved to tears.

> As John Russell, the eminent art critic of the New York Times said – there was no doubt that Te Māori won the hearts and minds of the three quarters of a million Americans who saw it – the spiritual togetherness experienced defies explanation" Dr Tamati Reedy, Secretary, Department of Māori Affairs (Tamati Reedy, 1986).

The Americans who worked with Te Māori were curators, conservators, directors, Board presidents, technicians and truck drivers. Some began with a sense of excitement, to others it was a job, in the end nearly all were left with a feeling of exhilaration and then one of loss. Responsible for all the behind-the-scenes aspects of Te Māori's care and handling from 1982 until its return to New Zealand in 1986, Carol O'Biso (1988) is probably the most prominent American whose life was changed by all that she experienced. To her the taonga spoke.

> Go, they said, there's a job to be done. So I went. I haven't been the same since, but then New Zealand hasn't been the same either…..subtle and not so subtle, the events intrigued and amused, infuriated and finally they got inside Carol O'Biso, Chief Registrar for the American Federation of Arts in New York (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 16).

While Chicago indicated the end of Te Māori for the Americans, for New Zealand it was the beginning. The beginning of a new exhibition called 'Te Māori – Te Hokinga Mai, the Return Home' which signalled the beginning of a new interpretation of Māori art and the end of a century-old museum practice.

> Te Māori started out as an exhibition – and an off-shore concept at that – but it has become a fulcrum moment in New Zealand history, a focus for issues more profound than those of a simple exhibition

> Rodney Wilson Director Auckland City Art Gallery (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 12).

While the exhibition took precedence, behind the scenes was an army of workers taking care of all the administrative tasks necessary for a project of this scale. As part of the Te Māori education programme a generous schedule of auxiliary shows and activities that accompanied Te Māori were also on offer. These included:

- Activities for children such as taniko, poi making, stick games, weaving, string games, haka, waiata and stories.
- Carving demonstrations.
- A programme of lectures on Māori art and culture.
- Discussion series on Māori art and culture with question and answer opportunities.
- Teacher workshops on Māori art and culture

The education programme was an ideal opportunity to involve the community. Such renowned people like Richard Attenborough took a very keen interest in Te Māori as did Caroline Kennedy who was responsible for organising children's visits to the Metropolitan Museum in New York. [14] Feedback from an appreciative recipient who was impressed with the Te Māori resource material noted that:

> The show is terrific. The catalogue is full of insight, interesting, thought-provoking, and beautifully done; but really more than all that, the value with which you hold your artistic and cultural heritage and the future of your people is inspiring Thomas K Seligman Deputy Director, Education and Exhibitions, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.[15]

[14] Information shared with me by Lady June Mead December 2012.
[15] Personal correspondence from Hirini Moko and June Mead's private collection.

As a major sponsor the chairman and managing director of Mobil Oil New Zealand Limited, Robin Marrett said that Te Māori would undoubtedly attract large numbers in New Zealand after its sensational tour of the U.S. He said that both Māori and Pākehā will leave the exhibition with a sense of discovery, a feeling of awe, and a fresh perspective of Māori art and culture – a new feeling of pride in their national identity (Marrett, 1986).

In her thesis *'Te Māori Past and Present: Stories of Te Māori'* Philippa Butler (1996) contended that people currently were no longer concerned with the reality of the exhibition, instead she cynically writes that it has become a ritual of success (mention it and your argument too will be a success), a pivotal point in New Zealand's history. From a Māori perspective, evidence from this study shows that Te Māori was in fact a huge success in ways more than simply the presentation of taonga. As Butler (1996) rightly points out further on in her thesis, boundaries between Māori and Pākehā were lowered by Te Māori and movement between Māori and museum did occur. However, although that may have been the case, ten years on from the exhibition, boundaries between Māori and Pākehā have lifted again. While movement between Māori and the museums sector continues to flourish, other sectors such as the public service sector and the tourism sector for instance, could benefit with improved relationships and engagement with Māori.

2.8 The New Zealand Tourism Industry

Earlier on in this thesis the disillusionment over the lost opportunity for the New Zealand Tourism industry to utilise the international marketing opportunities created by the international hype that the Te Māori Exhibition attracted was discussed. As highlighted above, Te Māori was a groundbreaking expose about the pride and dignity of a culture, its treasures and its people. It was about the involvement and representation of Māori art, Māori culture and Māori people in a way that up until then had never been seen before. It acknowledged and respected tribal difference and although Māori artefacts had travelled abroad before, this was the first time Māori consent had been sought from the many iwi the taonga belonged to.

In a global sense it provided Māori with the validity to claim a space in the world and to define an identity as Māori in the art world. The transformation brought about by the opening of the exhibition at the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art generated tremendous pride that touched more New Zealanders living abroad than it did those living at home. But it failed to reach the imagination of those in the tourism industry who could have leveraged off the international interest through a range of smart marketing and promotional strategies for Māori and for this country. In 1986 Dr Sir Tamati Reedy said that when the Māori people departed they left the venue cities in America alive with interest in Māori art and in the descendants of the people who crafted the beautiful treasures (Tamati Reedy, 1986). It was a lost tourism opportunity for this country.

In consideration of the lessons that could have been learnt and still can be learnt from the success of Te Māori, the tourism industry has a significant role to play. For instance, from a research exercise that resulted in a Māori Cultural Training Programme for i-Site staff, it was found that, a Kaupapa Māori approach to marketing Aotearoa New Zealand as a travel destination could serve as an enabler to ensure a number of fundamental things such as:

- The correct pronunciation and understanding of Māori place names
- An increased awareness of the purakau about culturally significant places, natural historic landmarks and events
- An increased awareness among staff at i-Site Information centres of the existence of Māori involvement in the tourism industry
- An increased awareness of the provision of local Māori tourism product.

A briefing paper that was prepared by me in 2009 to the Minister of Māori Affairs for the purpose of seeking further funding opportunities provided the following background information.

> The i-SITE Cultural Training Programme is a collaboration between Tourism New Zealand, the Visitor Information Network Inc (VIN), the New Zealand Māori Tourism Council (NZMTC) and ATTTO, and forges a critical link between local Māori people and front line staff of visitor centre's.
>
> The i-SITE Visitor Centres are at the forefront of our tourism industry. They are often the first point of contact for visitors looking to experience our country. It is important that i-SITE staff engage more with local Māori to understand their stories and to be able to pass on that knowledge confidently to our visitors or refer them on to those who can. "Māori live in a storied landscape, where the land is alive … the living landscape is a daily reality, the very foundation of Māori culture and traditions."[16] It is also important that i-SITE staff are aware of the Māori tourism businesses that operate in their area and are able to promote their activities and attractions.
>
> Eighteen months ago the main advocates for this programme realised its collaborative potential and through the delivery of four workshops last year it has proved to be an excellent partnership delivery model of training facilitated by industry for industry with local tangata whenua and Māori tourism operators (D.Kaua as cited in Valentine, 2009).

Over a period of two years a total of nine two day workshops were delivered to 98 i-Site staff, however due to funding restrictions the programme did not continue. Although this programme was recognised as a worthwhile initiative by Tourism New Zealand, the funding for its continuation did not eventuate.

2.8.1 The Image of Māori

Historically the importance of how Māori were viewed in the tourism industry provides a useful insight into the perceived value the contribution made. Whereas the Pākehā culture was defined as civilised or 'modern' Māori culture was attributed with essential features associated with nature. As noted by Taylor (1998) Māori were

[16] New Zealand Māori Tourism Council website – www.Māoritourism.co.nz

stamped with a romanticised identity based on pacified sensuality and harmony with nature, bound to traditions. Imagery of Māori was taken to "fetishistic extremes by the tourism-related industries in a proliferation of photographic prints depicting Māori "Maids", "Belles", "Chiefs" and "Warriors", objects of fantasy defined with specifically western gender stereotypes" (Taylor, 1998, p. 21). Taylor also makes reference to the famous Māori women guides of Te Arawa. Seizing upon the commodity situation of tourism and identity, these women became a considerable economic and political force in Rotorua (1998, p. 2). Frances Kahu Martin (2010, p. 134) supports this by noting that Māori involvement was restricted to images used by the tourism marketing boards for promotional material. She notes that Māori were exploited for their exotic allure.

2.8.2 Tourism as a Domain for Tension

The New Zealand Tourism Industry is presented as a domain of tension because of the continuing avoidance by them to recognise Māori as the single most important point of difference this country has to offer, when marketing Aotearoa New Zealand as a unique destination not only globally but locally as well. The blatant lack of encouragement and opportunities for Māori at decision making levels in key tourism institutions remains an area of controversy. With institutions such as Tourism New Zealand, although a Māori board member has recently been appointed, the lack of a Māori manager at management level is obvious. The Tourism Industry Association has no Māori in management or at governance level and the Industry Training Organisation, responsible for setting the qualifications standards for tourism training, including Māori tourism training, has no Māori at governance level, and the recently departed Māori Manager was replaced with a lower level advisor. Interestingly, the Pākehā advisor who is responsible to the Industry Skills and Research Manager is also responsible for assigned Māori targets which are both specified in the organisations Investment and Business Plan and a Māori strategy. It is concerning that the measurement of such a critical role is based on the funding requirements of the organisation rather than the real and practical needs of the potential Māori trainees who may wish to seek career opportunities in the tourism sector.

Unlike the Education sector where a lot of active resistance and tension has resulted in the establishment of uniquely Māori initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa Māori and Whare Wānanga institutions, the resistance and tension in the tourism sector has been muted and largely understated. Although recent changes have been made, in regard to incorporating a much more improved Māori image for this country, it has been done within a Pākehā paradigm of authority.

2.8.3 Defining Māori Tourism – (re) claiming Māori space

Although terms such as 'Māori tourism', 'Māori tourism businesses, 'Māori cultural tourism' and 'Māori tourism product' are widely used, various researchers have raised the issue and expressed concern over the apparent lack of an agreed or recognised working definition for any of them (Zygadlo, McIntosh, Matunga, Fairweather, & Simmons, 2003). As Poharama, Henley, Smith, Fairweather and Simmons (1998, p. 1) have noted "The tourism industry does not appear to have a standard definition or frame of reference for what actually constitutes or qualifies as a Māori cultural tourist attraction." McIntosh, Zygadlo and Matunga (2004) further note that the lack of an appropriate recognised definition has resulted in a lack of information. This is particularly pertinent on the level of Māori participation in the New Zealand tourism industry. As such there is a scarcity of research data on Māori tourism and Māori tourism businesses to guide Māori tourism development.

Further to that Zygadlo et al., (2003) highlights that Statistics NZ does not currently specifically collect information on Māori businesses partly due to the lack of a suitable 'Māori identifier' on the enterprise and industry surveys. The absence of this kind of information makes it is difficult to measure, track trends and to plan for increased participation by Māori in the tourism industry. McIntosh et al, (2004) provides an interesting theory and suggests that three main themes emerge around Māori involvement and participation in tourism. They are:

1. A focus on the control of the business and ownership as a prerequisite in the achievement of sustainable Māori tourism.

2. A focus on the nature of the tourism product and the extent to what the tourism attraction is based on and who delivers the service.
3. A focus on unique cultural values which encompasses Kaupapa Māori ideology and tikanga Māori practices.

They contend that the first two themes provide a quantitative dimension of Māori involvement in the tourism industry. The latter capturing a more qualitative cultural dimension of Māori involvement enabling Māori to define tourism in terms of their own value-based approach (McIntosh et al, 2004).

It could be argued that all three areas have elements of qualitative analysis properties. Some of the earliest accounts of 'Māori controlled tourism' emerged more than 120 years ago when Māori began to guide visitors to the Pink and White Terraces near Rotorua. Local Māori controlled the process and access to the terraces, and while visitors desire to view the wonders of the natural environment increased, so too did the economic benefits for the local Māori.

The impact of Tourism has been positive for places like Rotorua in particular (Te Awe Kotuku, 1981). It has provided employment, income, opportunities to travel abroad and most importantly the opportunity to meet and get to know people from other cultures. In 2015 Māori who own and run tourism businesses are thriving, especially with the increase of manuhiri coming from the Asian market. The 'haka, hangi, hongi' experience which use to be considered the epitome of what Māori tourism represented has been replaced by a genuine interest for manuhiri to engage with Māori. They are keen to learn about the culture in an authentic way and to hear the associated purakau which accompany the places they are guided to by local Māori tour operators. To a certain extent Tourism has provided a platform to contextualise Māori culture within a global stage similar to what Te Māori did in the 1980's.

The recent re-launch of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust will make a significant contribution to the scholarship of potential recipients in ensuring authenticity to the

sharing of knowledge and information about Māori taonga housed within Museums and Art Galleries. These are places that manuhiri often frequent.

2.9 The Māori Economic Contribution

The role Māori play in the New Zealand economy is an important aspect of this thesis because it provides a broader context and an economic base in which tourism and in particular Māori involvement in tourism is placed. There is a perception that increased participation of Māori in the tourism industry is beneficial to the sustainability of the Māori economy and the New Zealand economy in general. Given the growing nature of the Māori economy the participation of Māori in the tourism industry in terms of adding value to the Māori economy is debatable as they are already thriving in their own Māori tourism businesses and making a significant contribution to the Māori economy. Up until recently, although Māori have always been a significant contributor, the New Zealand economy had never measured the Māori economy separately or recorded the level of contribution made.

A report commissioned by the Māori Economic Taskforce in 2011 and prepared by the Business and Economic Research Ltd (BERL) has shown that the asset base of the Māori economy was $36.9 billion (Berl, 2011, p. 7). Now placed at around $42 billion and growing, the Māori economy has a huge potential to contribute to New Zealand's future prosperity. There is an assumption that the Treaty of Waitangi settlements have made a significant contribution to the growing Māori economy. Compared to the asset base of $42 billion the Treaty of Waitangi settlement contribution is relatively small at just over $952 million up to September 2008.[17] This reinforces that the Māori economy is not a new phenomenon, that it does have history and that it has been building up slowly over many years. While some iwi have benefited hugely from the settlement process and are investing in major tourism operations not only in their own regions but in other major tourism regions as well,[18] there are other Māori groups who are profiting significantly in other industries.[19]

[17] This amount has since grown but not to the extent of the total asset base of $36.9 billion.
[18] Ngai Tahu in particular around the Queenstown region and now in Rotorua.
[19] The collective of central North Island Iwi in forestry

Recent trends show that impacts from economic global events are changing the markets in New Zealand's tourism yield. While indicators are pointing to an increase in the growing affluent Asian market such as India and China, there is a strong sense that many tourism operators in New Zealand are clinging to the hope that the old western markets such as the United Kingdom, Europe and the USA, will still be around. Both the market mix and the market demands are changing therefore our responses to meet the market must change.

At a Tourism Industry Summit held in Wellington in 2011, Finance Minister Bill English warned that:

> Two of New Zealand's largest tourism markets are stuffed and the industry must prepare to change to tap into new markets….the situation contrasted with the rising wealth in Asia, especially China, from which tourist numbers have been climbing, but which provided challenges to tourism operators because of cultural differences. [20]

For Māori, cultural differences is no challenge for them because the values that underpin the virtues of Whanaungatanga and Manaakitanga often govern the way Māori respond to the needs of manuhiri from different cultures. It's inherent in our nature to value and acknowledge difference. At the conclusion of a visit to China in 2010 of a delegation of Māori business leaders, one of them said of the engagement of the two peoples that "beneath the veneer of government and politics there is a deep cultural vein, and it is this vein that is the unexplored route to being a successful business and business partner with China" (Report, 2010).

The delegation made it a priority to visit ethnic minority communities in southwest China. And it was this rural entry point that proved to be the key to potentially unlocking Māori-Chinese commercial partnerships and towards building effective

[20] www.stuff.co.nz/business/industries *"Kiwi tourism must change: English"* 14.07.2011

relationships. Prior to leaving for China, the then Minister of Māori Affairs Hon. Dr Pita Sharples had said “It was critical for the delegation to emphasise its point of difference – We are Māori, first and foremost. This mission is unique because it is built on a strong cultural foundation. We should use our Māori cultural strengths to build strong cultural and business ties between New Zealand and China” (Report, 2010). He went on further to point out the similarities between Māori and Chinese practices and culture noting in particular the “reliance on strong networks within our communities and ‘grassroots’ discussion, taking time to build relationships – taking the time to get to know each other first before ‘doing business’, the practice of gifting and waiata, and a culture built on trust and friendships” (Report, 2010).

Since 2010 relationships between China and the $42 billion plus Māori Taniwha economy has continued to strengthen. In 2015 the Minister of Māori Development Hon. Te Ururoa Flavell said that “our strong tradition of kaitiakitanga, whakapapa and whānau combined with our advanced technologies for processing and exporting gives our companies their competitive advantage” (Flavell, 2015).

2.10 Conclusion

The components that have featured in this literature review all contribute to Māori attempting to gain control and re-claim space over issues and decisions that impact on them. Developmental trends throughout this chapter have demonstrated patterns of resilience in the face of adversity. Despite the gains made during the Te Māori Exhibition, where Māori became the dominant force, disparities over who has the last say in a mainstream environment between Māori and Pākehā, remains. Understanding the relationship and relevance each component of this review has to the other, and the opportunities presented for Māori to make a contribution to the mainstream environment have been culminated in the following table.

Table 3 Literature Review Summary

Pākehā Control	Colonisation – the establishment of control. Knowledge – a platform to understanding whose knowledge counts.	Whakapapa
Māori Resistance	Kaupapa Māori – a vehicle for change. Matauranga Māori – a concept that anchors Māori history, knowledge and language.	
Māori Control	The Te Māori Exhibition – an expression of the above components.	
Māori Opportunities	Tourism and the New Zealand Economy – an opportunity for Māori to contribute.	

The concept of whakapapa as a framework to recall past histories and to present new pathways of opportunities attempts to provide a coherent platform to inform this study.

Chapter 3
Theoretical Considerations

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter a range of post colonial concepts and theories are explored to help understand why Māori are placed in positions of subordination. While western literature has distorted indigenous and Māori perspectives on issues and have excluded the rich and diverse worldviews of indigenous and Māori peoples, critics like Belich (1986), Fanon (1965), bell hooks (2010), Said (1993) and Smith (1997) have expressed much disdain about the exclusion and have challenged this omission. Their writings about western capitalism and concerns about who controls and wields the power over others puts Māori researchers in ideal positions to interrogate literature, to challenge western ideologies and to build new theoretical concepts suitable for Māori issues based on Kaupapa Māori ideology.

In analysing key historical concepts and theories that have contributed to post-colonial literature, ideas located in Chapter Two by writers such as Gramsci (1978), Fanon (1965), Freire (1970), hooks (1992), Bhabha (1994) and others will be drawn on in this chapter. The dominant/subordinate dichotomy will be examined in terms of the hierarchical nature of Pākehā structures, organisations and knowledge bases. In particular it will critique the instruments of power and the domains of tension used by Pākehā to subvert and destabilise Māori.

Graham Smith contends that Kaupapa Māori ideology is an intervention strategy in the western theoretical sense, that critiques and re-constitutes the resistance notions of conscientisation, resistance and transformative praxis in different configurations (G. H. Smith, 1997, p. 65). His model of transformative change has been a response to what Antonio Gramsci labelled as hegemony, the way and means of maintaining and legitimising the dominant position. In the context of a structuralist or a 'top-down' model, and a culturalist or a 'bottom-up' perspective Gramsci's ideology and its relationship to Māori, is pertinent to this study. So too is Smiths' model of

transformative change. This study aims to show through the organisational and managerial procedures of the Te Māori Exhibition, that a culturalist model of management based on Kaupapa Māori whakaaro, allowed for an inclusive environment to develop, where Māori knowledge traditions and practices merged with western museum and art gallery traditional etiquette. This was a critical point for Māori, where Māori leadership excelled and empowered all those who were involved in the many successes that transpired from Te Māori.

3.2 Kaupapa Māori Theory

Kaupapa Māori as a body of knowledge was discussed in Chapter Two at great length. This chapter discusses Kaupapa Māori as a theory and emphasises the theoretical potential within the logic of Kaupapa Māori practice. Kaupapa Māori theory emerged from a space of resistance and struggle (Pihama, 1993; Smith 1997) and has largely been developed by Graham Smith (1997) as an analytical discourse in the 1980's through his writings, lectures and seminars within the education and schooling arena. Many other Māori academics, writers such as Johnson (1998), Jenkins (2000), Pihama (2001), C. Smith (2002) and others have also used Smith's theory to inform their own research work. Furthermore other writers such as L. Smith (1997) and Pohatu (1996) have added to it arguing that Kaupapa Māori approaches and praxis have the potential to be extended beyond the classroom and into many other disciplines.

Kaupapa Māori theory is an analytical tool based on principles of Māori ways of knowing, being and doing. While Smith (1997) has identified six principles of Kaupapa Māori theory within the context of educational intervention and research that are also relevant to this research. The principles are:

- "Tino Rangatiratanga – The Principle of Self-determination which asserts and reinforces the goal of Kaupapa Māori initiatives allowing Māori to control their own culture, aspirations and destiny in their own way.

- Taonga Tuku Iho – The Principle of Cultural Aspiration which asserts the centrality and legitimacy of te reo Māori, Tikanga and Matauranga Māori. Within a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, these Māori ways of knowing, doing and understanding the world are considered valid in their own right. In acknowledging their validity and relevance it also allows spiritual and cultural awareness and other considerations to be taken into account.

- Ako Māori – The Principle of Culturally Preferred Pedagogy which acknowledges teaching and learning practices that are inherent and unique to Māori, as well as practices that may not be traditionally derived but are preferred by Māori.

- Kia piki ake I nga raruraru o te kainga – The Principle of Socio-Economic Mediation which asserts the need to mediate and assist in the alleviation of negative pressures and disadvantages experienced by Māori communities. This principle asserts a need for Kaupapa Māori research to be of positive benefit to Māori communities. It also acknowledges the relevance and success that Māori derived initiatives have as intervention systems for addressing socio-economic issues that currently exist.

- Whānau – The Principle of Extended Family Structure which sits at the core of Kaupapa Māori. It acknowledges the relationships that Māori have to one another and to the world around them. Whānau and the process of whakawhanaungatanga are key elements of Māori society and culture. This principle acknowledges the responsibility and obligations of the researcher to nurture and care for these relationships and also the intrinsic connection between the researcher, the researched and the research.

- Kaupapa – The Principle of Collective Philosophy which refers to the collective vision, aspiration and purpose of Māori communities. Larger than the topic of the research alone, the Kaupapa refers to the aspirations of the community. The research topic or intervention systems therefore are considered to be an incremental and vital contribution to the overall 'Kaupapa'.

- Te Tiriti o Waitangi – The Principle of the Treaty of Waitangi which defines the relationship between Māori and the Crown in New Zealand. It affirms both the tangata whenua status of whānau, hapū and iwi in New Zealand, and their rights of citisenship. The Tiriti therefore provides a basis through which Māori may critically analyse relationships, challenge the status-quo, and affirm the Māori rights.

- Ata – The Principle of Growing Respectful Relationships which relates specifically to the building and nurturing of relationships. It acts as a guide to the understanding of relationships and wellbeing when engaging with Māori. [21]

To a large extent these principles are not new. Brought together under the guise of Kaupapa Māori theory they create a new way of thinking, writing and validating theory conducive to Māori philosophy, language and praxis. An endeavour to use Kaupapa Māori theory to inform new thinking and writing is an effort to support the work that has already been done by many Māori academic writers and experts in the Kaupapa Māori space.

Any research that centres on Māori attempting to assume some control over their lives, resisting both structural and cultural determining influences, cannot be

[21] http://www.rangahau.co.nz/research-idea/27/

complete without a discussion on the works of resistance theorists such as Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony and Freire's writings on the pedagogy of the oppressed. Essentially the insights to be gained from these works are useful in terms of understanding how Māori become predisposed in their own oppression and domination (Gramsci and Freire as cited in G. H. Smith, 1997).

3.3 Cultural Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci was an Italian Marxist theorist renowned for his concept on cultural hegemony. Interestingly the translations from the political writings Gramsci recorded in his prison note-books while he was imprisoned by Mussolini's fascist dictatorship in 1926 contain no precise definition of cultural hegemony. The added complication in retrieving a comprehensive understanding of his work is the fact that his works were originally written in the Italian language. What does come close however, is his characterisation of hegemony which was:

> ….the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is historically caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoyed because of its position and function in the world of production (Gramsci as cited in Lears, 1985, p. 568).

Gramsci remains today one of the most influential theorists of Marxist social theory and his work has been drawn on by many academic writers to inform their own work. For the purpose of this research, defining cultural hegemony in this way provides a reference point for unravelling its significance to the oppression and dominance by Pākehā over Māori. Although Gramsci was concerned with how power worked and how it was wielded by those in power he believed that economic determinism and/or physical force alone was not enough to ensure control by those in power. He realised that in order to create and maintain a new society you also needed to create and maintain a new consciousness. In his youth Gramsci observed that:

> You may be able to seize a factory or storm a palace, but unless this material power is backed up by a culture that reinforces the notion that what you are doing is good and beautiful and just and possible, then any gains on the economic, military and political fronts are likely to be short-lived (Cultural hegemony, n.d.) .

Gramsci knew that in order to dominate you had to have the loyalty, consent and the support of the people. He states that cultural hegemony lies in its invisibility and that:

> Unlike a soldier with a gun or a political system backed up by a written constitution, culture resides within us. It doesn't seem "political," it's just what we like, or what we think is beautiful, or what feels comfortable. Wrapped in stories and images and figures of speech, culture is a politics that doesn't look like politics and is therefore a lot harder to notice, much less resist. When a culture becomes hegemonic, it becomes "common sense" for the majority of the population (Cultural hegemony, n.d.).

Such an applied theoretical approach based on the two distinctive theoretical considerations about structuralism and culturalism resonates with the contested politics that occurred between Pākehā and Māori interests driven by the destructive nature of colonialism. However, in spite of colonisation, Māori resistance towards the ongoing assimilation policies encouraged Māori educators in particular, to partner with members of their community to advance Kaupapa Māori theory. "A Māori organic theory of change or transformation" said Smith (Smith, 2002 as cited in J. E. King, 2005). The management of Te Māori by Māori people was the answer to the challenges and frustrations of the inflexible museum systems facing those Māori who were involved in organising the exhibition on both a structuralist and culturalist front. In a structuralist sense Māori expertise, kaumatua and kuia chose to move outside the museum established events management option. In a conscious effort Māori resisted the inhibiting structural elements embedded within the museum system. In a

culturalist sense Māori became more involved in the decision making with greater influence over the processes required during the opening ceremonies of the exhibition, the management, administration and the overall outcomes.

A reflection of Gramsci's philosophy about hegemony leans towards the attempts of this thesis to combine Kaupapa Māori whakaaro with Pākehā forms of thought. Through the development of a conceptual model of engagement (discussed in Chapter Six), that works towards an understanding of the characteristics that allow Māori to re-claim space in a Pākehā environment, when decisions are being made for and about them (the primary research question of this thesis), this model works to generate positive outcomes for both Pākehā and Māori. In doing so it breaks down the power control dichotomy between subordinate/dominant relationships and encourages a greater awareness and understanding of both cultures.

3.4 Pedagogy of the Oppressed

The literature that surrounds Paulo Freire's educational philosophy has evolved over the last two decades by many scholars and critics. He is regarded as one of the most important liberation thinkers of the twentieth century (Nuryatno, 2011). In the 1970s when Māori scholars in particular, started to become aware of their multiple oppressions and exploitations, and began to question the politics of domination, Freire's influence through his writings on oppression had a profound effect on them. It was as if Freire gave Māori a language to articulate their voices and provided ideas and strategies to problematise their lives as a colonised people in their own land (Nuryatno, 2011).

In his book *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* Freire's (1970) ideas around the struggles for equity and justice are both enduring and as already indicated in the preface, familiar. He wrote the book for those who believed that exploitation of the poor and oppressed in all societies should be eliminated. He offers his concept of conscientisation as an opportunity for the oppressed to philosophically and pedagogically analyse and transform their oppressive reality. It is a key principle in motivating people to resist

and to ultimately undertake change. Graham Smith (1997) articulates it well by saying that:

> Conscientisation is seen as beginning a process by which people come to know their true reality and become more aware of the constraints on their lives; resistance is seen as the resolve to take action to transform these circumstances; praxis involves people in taking the necessary critical and reflective actions to transform a set of oppressive or exploitative circumstances (1997, p. 82).

According to Freire, the recognition of humanity should be the central focus of human existence. With freedom being a precondition for achieving humanisation Freire believed in the capacity of the oppressed to become 'new human beings,' who do not imitate their oppressors' personality when they are liberated. Liberation thus aims to produce new human beings who have certain qualifications such as being just, lenient and democratic as opposed to authoritarian and oppressive (Nuryatno, 2011).

Further to this Freire states that:

> It is only when the oppressed find the oppressor out and become involved in organised struggle for liberation that they begin to believe in themselves. This discovery cannot be purely intellectual but must involve action; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include serious reflection; only then will it be a praxis (1970, p. 41).

Through the process of colonisation in Aotearoa New Zealand, the recognition and acknowledgement of Māori has been greatly compromised and denied. Negative colonial attitudes towards Māori and their insistent approach to what they refer to as the "civilising of Māori" implied a desire, or longing by the colonials, for the discontinuation or death, of Māori practices and the Māori language (Binney, 2005).

Policies and legislation that oppressed Māori, by negating Māori culture were put in place that alienated Māori and rejected their knowledge traditions.

Legislation such as the 1847 Education Amendment Act and the 1907 Tohunga Suppression Act had a long term impact on the importance of understanding the holistic nature of health to Māori, their kinship relationships, where the whole whānau is affected by an illness and the various tikanga involved such as the concepts of tapu and noa. The former was a guise for assimilation to teach educational curricula only in the English language had a long term devastating impact on the survival of the Māori language for instance; and the latter outlawed various Māori experts from practicing and imparting their specialist knowledge, particularly traditional Māori healers and producers of Māori rongoa (Anaru, 2012, p. 47).

With regard to Freire's philosophical thinking around the pedagogy of the oppressed these practices were the means to dehumanise and oppress Māori. They were also the means for Māori to recognise that their everyday thinking and reality had been re-conditioned and repressed by the oppressors. Therefore, conscientisation, as the process to see the truth is also the process to bring about freedom from the oppressive conditioning imposed by the oppressors. It is in speaking their word and by naming their world, that people change it (Freire, 1970).

Similar to Gramsci's philosophy on hegemony the key theoretical ideas espoused by Freire, who advocates that marginalised peoples must remove themselves from their own oppressive consciousness (Bidois, 2012) will be critically analysed. Freire's theory encourages the importance of education and literacy to the oppressed in the form of conscientisation so that transformation can occur. However, in a situation where Pākehā control is governed only on the knowledge, history, experience, processes and procedures that they know, surely the oppressors also need to be conscious of diversity and alternative methods so that real equitable transformation can occur. In consideration of the research questions that this thesis attempts to answer, the success stories from the Te Māori Exhibition, which contribute to the repositioning of Māori forms of control, created a range of lessons. Such lessons provided a genuine

attempt to allow Māori to re-claim space, to be heard and to present Māori knowledge, history, traditions and culture in a valid and legitimate way. These lessons were also an attempt to raise awareness among Pākehā of how Māori representation is best achieved by Māori.

3.5 The Theory of Hybridity

Homi K. Bhabha (1994) has been noted as a key contributor to contemporary post-colonial studies. In many respects although his views are based on the readings of colonial and post-colonial texts which he believes provide for an element of negotiation and change, his distinct but complex views are also contradictory. He states that we should see colonialism as straightforward oppression and domination. In his writings he introduces the theory of 'hybridity' or the concept of 'in-betweenness'[22] (Bhabha as cited in Bidois, 2012, p. 113).

Instead of seeing colonialism as something locked in the past, Bhabha shows how its histories and cultures constantly intrude on the present, demanding that we transform our understanding of cross-cultural relations and build new societies. However, while the fundamental task of hybridity is to breakdown certain binary oppositions, which include such pairing as centre and margin, civilised and savage, enlightened and ignorant and Pākehā and Māori, I agree with Bidois (2012) when he says that hybridity also has the potential to marginalise the ontological understanding of cultural and social norms.

Further to that it fails to recognise the postcolonial realities of settler societies. For example in Aotearoa New Zealand, postcolonialism does not mean that 'they' have gone home. Meredith (1998), contends, instead that 'they' are here to stay, indeed some of 'us' are them and therefore the consequential imperative of 'relationship negotiation'. My criticism of Bhabha's view lies in the legitimacy of assumptions about the altering of colonial reality and the search for answers to the following two

[22] A space where the hybrid nature of two opposing groups who clash articulate their differences from each other and then negotiate to create new signs of identity and culture from the perspective of the in-between spaces.

questions ‘on whose grounds would we destabilise the binary oppositions?’ and ‘on whose grounds would we interact, transgress and transform?’. Is the expectation that Māori assume the role of subordination and are therefore required to make the most compromises? Or will the reinventing of Aotearoa New Zealand centre on the adaptation and transformation of culture and identity within a new inclusive post colonial community that seeks to reconcile the embeddedness of past antagonism (Meredith, 1998).

Bhabha also raises the question of cultural identity. For this he uses the term ‘mimicry’ to indicate the westernisation of colonised cultures where western culture is blindly demolishing the culture of the colonised peoples. This can have both positive and negative ramifications as there may be some colonised communities that have willingly adapted to a western way in order to assimilate into the wider dominant culture of the coloniser. There may also be some communities who have struggled to maintain their own independence, space and voice, such as is the case for Māori. The policy of assimilation propagated by the 1960 Hunn Report suggested that the New Zealand society was shifting from integration to assimilation where New Zealand was becoming one people through the mixing of two cultures. However, the reality of today is somewhat different to that forecasted by the Hunn Report. As Bidois has articulated “the failure of assimilationist polices to achieve integration may in part be explained by the self-reproducing (mimicry) and self-destructive nature of colonial discourse” (2012, p. 139).

3.6 Representation

At first we have to know that:

Representation is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things. But this is far from a simple or straightforward process (Stuart Hall, 1997).

The concept of representation is an important consideration for this research because of its implications with the meaning of knowledge. Post colonial theorist Stuart Hall (1997) speaks of the concept of representation as not being a simple or straightforward process, because of the many interlinking connectors that can easily shift focus from one related issue to another. Hall's statement about producing "meaning," needs to be probed deeper than the use of language, signs and images. In an attempt to critically analyse Hall's understanding of "meaning" this thesis presents a set of characteristics that provide depth to the meaning of certain aspects of Māori knowledge and terms. For example, understanding Māori concepts needs to be taken further than simply providing a 'meaning'. Based on personal experience, the concept needs to be clearly defined, acknowledged, understood, and accepted, before it is able to be practiced. In my view this set of five characteristics of definition, acknowledgement, understanding, acceptance and practice, provide a concrete foundation for the legitimacy of the meaning of Māori knowledge and terms. Chapter Six discusses these characteristics in more detail. However, from a potential theoretical perspective the concept of 'taonga' has been used to illustrate the point that, producing meaning is, as Hall (1997) contends, far from a simple or straightforward process.

To Māori the concept of 'taonga' is hugely significant, diverse and important. Māori define taonga to mean something special like a treasure, a gift or to be gifted, for example a person with many talents or unique specialised skills may be referred to as a taonga. Māori acknowledge that some taonga have mana[23] and may carry an important lineage of history or whakapapa. Because of this respect and high regard are placed upon the taonga. Māori understand the tapu[24] nature and spiritual element of some taonga. Māori accept that some taonga have a mauri.[25] And where necessary Māori practice the traditional rituals associated with each of these characteristics. By doing this, tikanga is established and "locked-in" around the taonga giving it its

[23] Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status, spiritual power, charisma - *mana* is a supernatural force in a person, place or object.
[24] An ancient Māori spiritual and social code that was central to traditional society and remains so today is about sanctity and respect for people, natural resources and the environment.
[25] The life force in which all objects contain.

validation and legitimacy. An attempt to illustrate the depth of meaning for the term – taonga, and to briefly highlight the characteristics associated with taonga has been made. It can be argued that any representation of taonga which is conducted outside the boundaries of these characteristics run the risk of being a distorted or a partial representation of taonga.

Hall (1997) was also one of the leading experts in the discipline of media studies. According to one of his students, he was also an inspiration and like many Māori protagonists had a passion around thinking that ideas relating to cultural or indigenous representation matter, that they were worth struggling over, that they have something to tell us and can influence the world beyond the academy.[26] Hall was an advocate for the role of intellectual thought and believed that it could help to regain control of an image dominated world that had drifted beyond the democratic reach of ordinary people.

According to Hall the usual meaning of the term representation is connected with whether the depiction of something is an accurate or distorted reflection. In contrast to this Hall argued for a new view that gives the concept of representation a much more active and creative role in the way people think about the world and their place in it. This new view was central to thinking about communication in much more complex ways. In his studies Hall showed that an image could have many different meanings and that there was no guarantee that images would work in the way we thought they would when they were create. One of Halls main concerns was that messages which often worked in complex ways were usually connected to those in power. I would extend this concern by suggesting that in spite of the fact that knowledge and power intersect frequently it is those people who are in power who often distort the messages and create a representation of their own interpretation and determination on how they want it to be. This approach is crucial to the mis-representation of Māori knowledge traditions and understanding why it occurs so frequently. Based on experience examples of "watered down versions of our

[26] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6sbYyw1mPdQ

tikanga"[27] when having to conduct a Māori welcome are numerous. The Māori word for a Māori welcome is 'powhiri'. A powhiri is always conducted on a Marae. When a Māori welcome is conducted anywhere else it is known as a 'mihi whakatau'. Powhiri is a term that is so often mis-represented and misused by Pākehā.

Hall (1997) expands on his definition of representation by saying that it means using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people. Therefore within any social interaction between individuals, groups or communities there is a risk of allowing too much room for open interpretation. Ascribed meaning may or may not be the truth and constructing or created meaning may or may not be distorted. Through his work concerning the media's role in society, Hall made reference to the concept of representation through two fundamental activities. He talked at length about the 'Practice' of Representation and the 'Process' of Representation. To illustrate this in a very simplistic way the following flow chart shows how the two concepts are linked using the topic of Visual Representation as the tool to convey this. Hall (1997) encourages critical examination of what we have before us rather than simply accepting a message or an image or visual representation at face value.

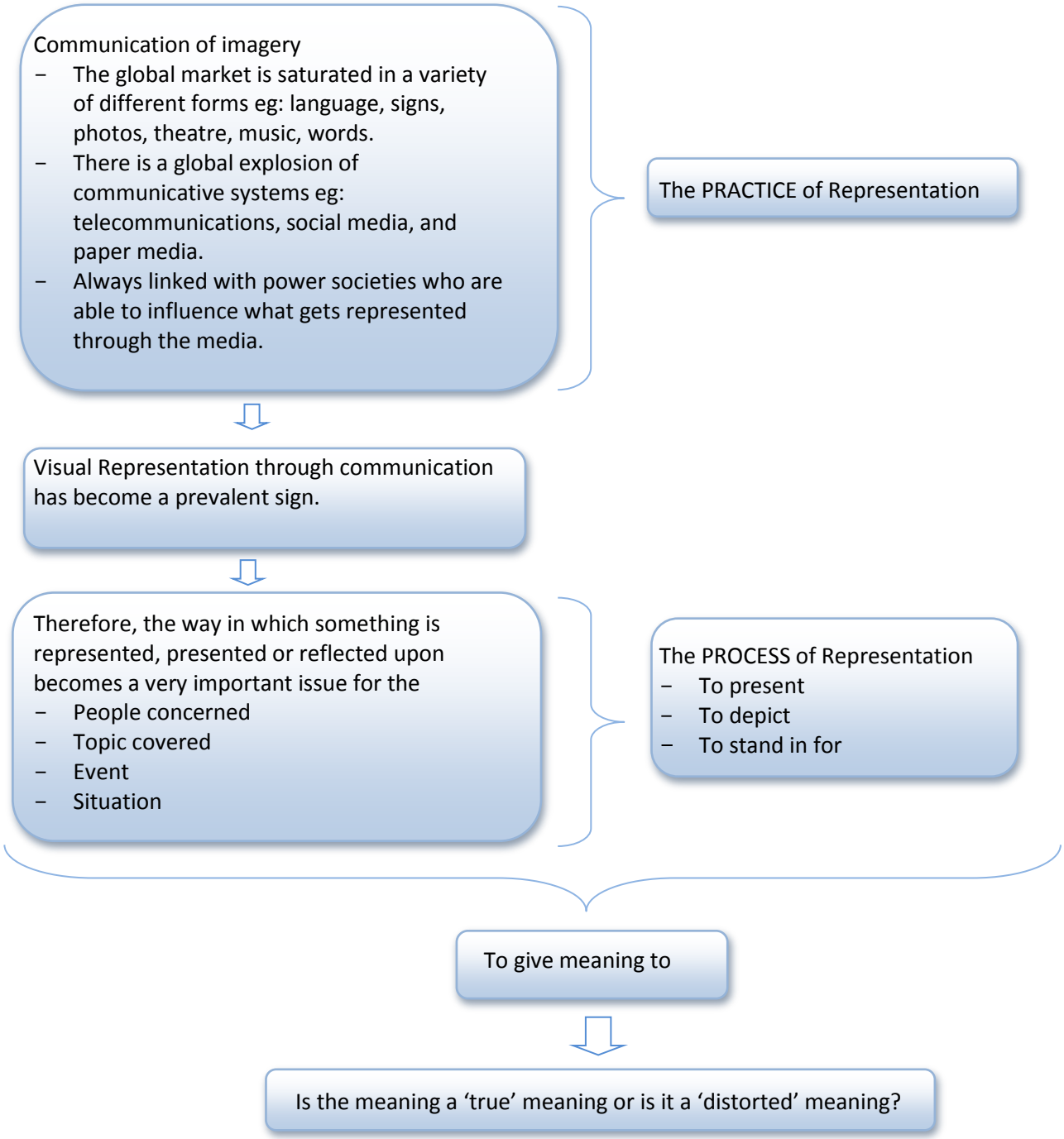
While the characteristics of each of the activities featured in the flow chart are important in terms of what is done through the 'Practice' of Representation and how they are done through the 'Process' of Representation, the more important element is the meaning of what is being represented. Whatever the true meaning is, will depend on what people make of it and the meaning that they make will depend on how it is represented and by whom.

As an example of visual representation, the Te Māori Exhibition was both a 'Practice' of Representation and a 'Process' of Representation. As a 'Practice' the international media hype that exposed the exhibition to the world was very influential in ensuring global coverage. As a 'Process' the involvement of key Māori leaders and experts who

[27] A term used during an informal discussion with Sir Hirini Moko Mead.

ensured the authentic representation of the collection of taonga in a uniquely Māori way also ensured the cultural integrity of the process. In that sense Māori and the associated Māori ancient customs, traditions and rituals were the true and correct people to be a significant part of the representation of Māori taonga during the Te Māori Exhibition.

Figure 8 Visual Representation



Another very different example of visual representation is drawn from an Air New Zealand interview that happen in 2013. For instance it's no accident that our national airline Air New Zealand uses the koru pattern in their brand to depict, as Dobbs Wiggins (1970) argued in his advertising bid for a new promotional image, that the koru represented an emerging nationalist feeling and pride in the rich Māori part of our history. The koru pattern is big, bold and a distinct visual representation of this country. It is distinctly Māori and is an icon that every New Zealander can relate to especially when they are overseas.

A corporate organisation like Air New Zealand knows all about ensuring that both the 'Practice' (knowing that the koru is a prevalent sign) and the 'Process' (knowing the emotional attachment it has to New Zealanders) of representation are covered albeit from a capitalist perspective rather than a deep and meaningful cultural studies point of view. But, they short-changed themselves forty three year later when they made a contradiction to the statement made during the advertising bid *("emerging nationalist feeling and pride in the rich Māori part of our history.")* by giving no credence to the value of ta moko during an interview in 2013.[28] Both the koru and ta moko are a visual expression of Māori and Māori culture and a significant form of representation of Māori.

While it might seem ironic that Air New Zealand took this stance on ta moko, it is not overly surprising given their supposedly mis-informed view on the difference between the two art forms of ta moko (traditional Māori art form) and tattoo (contemporary art form). Clearly, the meaning they give to the koru and the interpretation they assign is a distorted one and so is their understanding and perception of ta moko. However,

[28] In May 2013 a young woman, whose dream job to become a flight attendant had her interview terminated by Air New Zealand when she declared she had traditional Māori motifs (ta moko) on her lower arm. Thinking that the airline would be proud to have someone with a ta moko working and representing New Zealand proved to not be the case. Air New Zealand viewed the ta moko as tattoos rather than a depiction of the proud young Māori woman's heritage. They said that tattoos were seen as "frightening or intimidating" in many cultures and that their grooming standards did not allow tattoos.

This situation is a very big case of double standards from an airline that uses the koru pattern as a logo.

those dominant groups who hold power in a society influence what gets represented through a marketing strategy, a brand and the media. I agree with Hall's analysis that messages work in complex ways and that they are always connected with the way power operates in any particular society (S Hall, 1997). In Chapter Five, discussion will focus on the various struggles for Māori position during the development and presentation of the collection of Māori artefacts that became the Te Māori Exhibition.

3.7 Representation and Maori Leadership

E hara taku toa I te toa takitahi engari he toa takitini

My strength is not that of the individual but of many

As expressed in the whakatauki above, a Māori viewpoint of leadership is based on a collective culture where groups are the basic unit of society. A Pākehā viewpoint of leadership sways more towards an individualistic culture where the individuals are the basic unit of society.

The significance of Māori leadership to the success of Te Māori was a critical feature in ensuring its success. Traditionally, Māori society is characterised by communal living and organised into extended families. Whānau, hapū and iwi commonly descend from the one mutual ancestor. Leadership was traditionally exercised by the first-born male of the most senior family. Whanaungatanga was an essential ingredient to the cohesion and the survival of iwi, hapū and whānau, and still is. While whakapapa is the traditional means of governing who the leader or rangatira[29] will be, in today's changing environment the term 'leaders are made not just born' is often heard, implying that the development of a set of leadership competencies are imperative when dealing with today's diverse range of issues. That does not mean that the values essential in traditional Māori society are no longer relevant. No one leader can be expected to harness all the necessary knowledge and expertise required all at once.

[29] Rangatira means leader. On closer analysis the term 'ranga' means to weave and the term 'tira' means a group. Together they provide for us one of the characteristics or duties of a rangatira and that is to weave a group together into one or to provide a sense of unity and group cohesion.

Māori leadership roles continue to change in response to new situations. For example, Māori business leadership and Māori cultural leadership can be defined differently in terms of the roles, skills and the knowledge domains in which they function and are employed (Reihana, 2004). For Te Māori, there were many Māori leaders and experts in the various areas of karakia, whaikorero, karanga, waiata and taonga Māori for instance, who accompanied the taonga to the United States of America.

In his review on *'Modelling Māori leadership: What makes for good leadership?'* Selwyn Katene has already identified that throughout history, leadership has attracted the attention of many writers. He writes that there is extensive literature on generic leadership but the literature on Māori leadership is sparse (Katene, 2010). In spite of this paltry situation there is other relative literature that can be used as a means to analyse Māori leadership and its correlation to the concept of representation. Up to the nineteenth century and during the time of colonisation the traditional Māori concept of leadership was challenged. Katene claims that

> rather than the well-tried and proven transactional leadership approach honed by rangatira and tohunga up to the 19th century, a new leadership model was required to deal with the impact of the European and to meet the needs of Māori in the future (Katene, 2010, p. 6).

In an ever changing environment, previous research indicates that leadership now requires new expertise and old wisdom (Reihana, 2004). Katene continues his discussion about transitioning to transformational leadership by claiming that Māori people looked to a leader that would lead them forward through difficult times. They looked for leaders who could present an identifiable vision or future state that they could aspire to, someone who could clearly map out a way forward and who had a plan which was mutually beneficial (Katene, 2010).

Among those Māori who fought tirelessly for equality with Pākehā during the 20th century were:

- Sir Apirana Ngata of Ngati Porou descent who campaigned for land reform and promoted the Māori language and culture.
- Sir Maui Pomare of Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Toa Rangatira descent who was the first Māori doctor and Minister of Health. He worked tirelessly for Māori health and the return of confiscated Māori land.
- Sir Rangi Hiroa also of Ngati Mutanga descent and also a doctor worked with Pomare in Māori Health.
- Tahupotiki Wiremu Ratana of Ngati Apa and Nga Rauru descent established the Ratana religion and political movement. He formed an alliance with Labour Prime Minister Michael Savage to address inequalities facing Māori.
- Te Kirihaehae Te Puea Herangi of Waikato descent formed a community at Turangawaewae in Ngaruawahia and was a leading figure in the Kingitanga (Māori King Movement).

Their leadership and representation on issues have left a last effect throughout the decades many of which are still felt today.

In his book *'A Fire in Your Belly'* Paul Diamond recognised the "steely resolve and stamina" of six contemporary Māori leaders (2003, p. 6). He writes about how most of them had something that sustained them over the long term as leaders. He says that they each had the ability to judge when things needed to change, to do something about it and to bring others with them. As John Rangihau, a Ngai Tuhoe leader once said about the mana of a leader – it's about "knowing when things need to change and having the courage to do something about it" (Rangihau as cited in Diamond, 2003, p. 7).

Some comments on leadership offered by three contemporary leaders are:

- Dame Iritana Tawhiwhirangi – "In a leadership role there are times when you have to make some hard decisions, I don't shirk them, but I don't see that as taking away from other people their potential" (Diamond, 2003, p. 75).
- Sir Tipene O'Regan – "If you were to ask me about the nature of leadership, in terms of what I've learnt, I'd say you've got to have a fire in your belly for an outcome" (Diamond, 2003, p. 1).
- Hon. Dr Pita Sharples – "My interpretation of leading is being a servant to the people, just getting out there and doing things – recognising that something needs to be done and, therefore, making yourself the catalyst to do it" (Diamond, 2003, p. 179).

In 1979, Hirini Moko Mead said that

> We need a Maui-like plan to help guide us into the 21st century…..it is worth pointing out however that many of our present leaders are not at all like Maui and would prefer more of the same rather than change. This is an easy way out…a way of avoiding unpleasant decisions, a way of not becoming responsible for our future (Mead as cited in Katene, 2010, p. 211).

In her speech to the Hui Whakapumau Māori Development Conference on Māori Leadership in 1994 Aroha Mead raises a number of pertinent points endorsing the Maui-like concept about present leaders not at all being Maui-like. She uses the analogy of captains, navigators and crew and talks about the sea-faring nature of Māori ancestors who showed remarkable leadership when they decided to lead the fleet of waka across the Pacific Ocean during the great migration. The outstanding trait of leadership was that they convinced others to set their sights on a better quality of life, to take the risk of the long journey and to endure great hardship throughout its duration without any guarantee of safety along the way or upon reaching their destination. Mead (1994, p. 1) claims that leadership cannot achieve these things

without the will and the determination of the people. Therefore leaders are not leaders without the navigators and the crew that help pave the way.

In his address to a Young Māori Leadership Conference Turoa Royal introduces the term 'follower-ship' implying that there is no leadership if there is no follower-ship (Katene, 2010). Mead (1994) goes on to claim that many Māori leaders of today tend to forget about who they are suppose to be leading. "One gets the impression sometimes that the current leadership is leading the mainstream crew of the Endeavour, not the Māori families rowing the humble fleet of waka" (Mead, 1994, p. 2).

Although her presentation was delivered over 20 years ago in 1994, arguably some individuals, who claim to be leaders, do so in isolation without the critical mass needed to validate their leadership. Drawing from the personal learning's and knowledge gained from my own kaumatua the implication was made one day that – it may be a man's role to sit on the paepae but it is the follower-ship of the women who run the marae. Personal experience suggests to me that it is the women who are the actual leaders, the decision makers, the influences, organisers and the representee in today's modern environment.

3.8 Instruments of Power

Probably the most significant instrument of power that hit this country occurred after the 1984 snap-election when David Lange's fourth Labour government came to power, bringing with it a strategic determination for neoliberal reforms. The irony about this was the idea that neoliberal ideology was the antithesis of the Keynesian model which the Labour government introduced in the first place. Nevertheless, the dominant way in which the Labour government dismantled the state that they assembled was a brutal imposition on Aotearoa New Zealand, the long-term effects of which hit Māori the hardest. This section provides a useful socio-political context for the Te Māori Exhibition and shows how the progressive evolution of neoliberalism policies and practices into most aspects of everyday life has been a cunning way of ensuring Pākehā dominance. It is a philosophy that plays into the hands of hegemony

and one that supports the ideology of the pedagogy of the oppressed. Today there is a vast amount of economic jargon that relates in some way to the policies and practices of neoliberal ideology. In spite of the range of terms like 'Rogernomics', 'The New Right', restructuring, privatisation, corporatisation, devolution, labour market flexibility, product competitiveness and user-pays for instance, they all basically mean the same thing. Fundamentally to many ordinary people the neoliberal reforms have meant working harder for less pay, longer hours, worse conditions, unemployment, falling living standards, the rich getting richer and increasing poverty among some groups.

David Harvey (2005) a well known Marxist theorist provides a useful definition upon which the institutional arrangements for a neoliberal state are based. He claims that:

> Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. The state has to guarantee, for example, the quality and integrity of money. It must also set up those military, defence, police and legal structures and functions required to secure private property rights and to guarantee, by force if need be, the proper functioning of markets. Furthermore, if markets do not exist (in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks the state should not venture. State interventions in markets (once created) must be kept to a bare minimum because, according to the theory, the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals (prices) and because powerful interest groups will inevitably distort and bias

> state interventions (particularly in democracies) for their own benefit (2005, p. 2).

He also claimed that how neoliberalism worked in different places and at different times and the amount of struggle that occurred in different countries, was determined by the level of imposition applied to the economy. Interestingly, Aotearoa New Zealand is one of the world leaders of neoliberalism where successive governments since 1984 have continued to pursue and promote neoliberal policies and practices. For a more workable definition of neoliberalism the following five key points about neoliberal reforms as they applied to Aotearoa New Zealand were concerns about:

1. Liberating the market by creating greater openness to international trade and investment and limiting government interference in the operation of the free market.

2. Cutting public expenditure for social services.

3. Reducing government regulations.

4. Selling state-owned enterprises, goods and services to private investors.

5. Eliminating the concept of 'The Public Good' of 'Community' and replacing it with 'Individual Responsibility'.

An analysis of some of the neoliberal policies, show a contradiction in the idea of doing away with the concept of 'community' and replacing it with individualism. For example, neoliberal practices such as devolution and decentralisation were about dismantling the central bureaucratic head office structures of the old Departments of Māori Affairs, Education and Health to name a few, and replacing them with smaller streamlined Ministries whose main focus was on developing policy and maintaining oversight of it. The programme service delivery function of many of the departments

was shifted to the regions where community groups and iwi Rūnanga, (for the case of the Department of Māori Affairs) were expected to assume responsibility for the service delivery of programmes. While this approach suited the Māori aspiration of self-determination, self-management and tino Rangatiratanga, and the offer of service delivery was taken up with enthusiasm by Māori, the instruments of power were still controlled by the dominant interests of the Pākehā. Partnerships were entered into where the policy, procedure and decision making processes that made up the partnership were still constructed and controlled by Pākehā interests.

3.9 Domains of Tension

The tensions that have evolved between knowledge traditions are related to a comprehensive range of differences between each system. The methods used to distinguish the features of a Māori way of viewing the world and a Pākehā way are also just as comprehensive. In the 1850's, the strategy of amalgamation was a key part of the relationship between Māori and Pākehā, that would allow Māori to share the rights and privileges of the British subjects under a common system as indicated (supposedly) in the Treaty of Waitangi. However, that did not happen due mainly to the vast differences of understanding of the intent of the Treaty between the Māori and Pākehā interest groups. Later a strategy of assimilation which assumed the absorption of Māori into the Pākehā settler world was attempted, but that did not work because of the vast levels of paternalism and prejudice that took place. Driven mainly by successive Pākehā governments in the period up to the 1960's, policies and practices that involved both monolingualism and monoculturalism did not favour Māori. The long-term effect resulted in much tension, resistance and marginalisation.

The most demeaning and racist strategy of all, clearly derived from ethnocentric views held by dominant Pākehā, was the policy of integration. A report published in 1962 by the Department of Māori Affairs (Booth, & Hunn) described the new policy of integration and some of the values and assumptions underlying it implying that the process by which Māori and Pākehā are being drawn closer together, in the physical sense as well as in the mental and cultural senses, saw a gradual diminishing of the differences (Booth & Hunn as cited in Thomas & Nikora, 1992). The differences

referred to were never diminished. At that time, the assumptions that Pākehā made about the benefits of integrating Māori ways of life into Pākehā ways of life, meant that Māori people were expected to make most or all of the changing.

> Like the individual, each Māori or mixed community is faced with conflict stemming from the differences between the Māori and the Pākehā way of doing things. The community has to arrive at a solution by adapting Māori to Pākehā ways and vice versa so that the optimum conditions may be provided for the people to live satisfying and successful lives. Most of the activities of the Department of Māori Affairs in housing, land settlement, and welfare are directed towards helping Māori, both individually and in their local groups, to make the necessary adjustments to their changed and changing environments (Booth & Hunn as cited in Thomas & Nikora, 1992, p. 3).

The contribution of Pākehā to the processes of change expected under the new policy was minimal. It's not surprising that these types of racist strategies created much tension and gave rise to Māori resistance as Māori struggled for space on their own land.

Māori knowledge, values and culture had been undermined by the imposition of the 'New Right' economy. In an attempt to unsettle the legitimacy of Māori knowledge frameworks, Pākehā placed their own knowledge, values and culture in a more superior position. Notions of individualism and competition and the superiority of western ideology directly threatened Māori notions of community, collaboration and consensus (G. H. Smith, 1997).

The implementation of neoliberal strategies has consistently created domains of tension which have been challenged and resisted by Māori. The most interesting point to note with the Te Māori Exhibition is that while there was a lot of tension during the seven years of its development, with both Māori and Pākehā groups, it was the

international hype, interest and support received in the United States of America, that assigned Māori taonga the value and legitimation it deserved. This thesis argues that in spite of the initial turmoil, the Te Māori Exhibition experience was an ideal example of 'Māori, representing Māori' at its best. But not all Māori are good at representing Māori. Smith (1997) has identified in some instances that practices of hegemony have been justified by Māori themselves. It is important to note that the development of bureaucracies within Māori communities has the potential to become hierarchies and to create domains of tension by dominating those Māori who are less interested or active in community affairs. In *'Pedagogy of the Oppressed'* Paulo Freire (1970) talks about the concept of 'sub-oppressors' in relation to the 'fear of freedom' and explains it as:

> The oppressed who have adapted to the structure of domination in which they are immersed, have become resigned to it…. When they discover within themselves the yearning to be free, they perceive that this yearning can be transformed into reality only when the same yearning is aroused in their comrades. But while dominated by the fear of freedom they refuse to appeal to others or to listen to the appeals of others, or even to the appeals of their own conscience. They prefer gregariousness to authentic comradeship (Freire, 1970, pp. 47,48).

Smith (1997) identifies a very good example relating to the 1980s restructuring strategy of 'devolution' which implied the shifting of power and control from the central bureaucratic structures to local communities. In the Māori Affairs Department a new programme termed 'Iwi Development' was initiated, with the principle aim of down-sizing the central bureaucratic structure and shifting the power and control to the newly established 'Iwi Rūnanga' regional offices. What had happened before the Treaty of Waitangi claim settlement process was that tribes restructured themselves into small bureaucracies, (as required by the state) that subsequently formed a dependency relationship through the local bureaucratic structures to the central government agency – the Ministry of Māori Development. In effect the restructuring

exercise aided by many Māori, who were influenced by the concepts of hegemony ended up produced new domains of tension and frustration.

In analysing the New Zealand Tourism industry as a domain of tension, an attempt is made to uncover the processes by which the tourism industry contributes to the maintenance of unequal power relations. Even though some minor changes have been made in the last 12 months to accommodate a hint of Māori knowledge traditions through the following statement, its language, rhetoric, vagueness and intent has been prepared within the realms of a Pākehā framework and controlled by a Pākehā organisation. In its Statement of Intent for 2015 – 2018, Tourism New Zealand has stated that as part of strategic priority two they will integrate Māori culture and messages within the global marketing and PR activity in a way that will demonstrate to visitors the diversity and availability of contemporary Māori tourism experiences in New Zealand.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter, on the one hand has attempted to illustrate the continual use of Western ideology within postcolonial theoretical considerations. While its continual use is supported by many writers who make reference to the accepted facts of hegemony, conscientisation and hybridity, it is frustrating that Western traditions have a tendency to assert plausible or rational explanation on the justification of dominant power. Within an Aotearoa New Zealand context, the various policies that emerged from the most significant instrument of power – neoliberalism, brought with it equal amounts of various domains of tension which have challenged Māori.

On the other hand, this chapter presents Kaupapa Māori theory as a way of seeing the world through a critical lens and as an analytical tool. A combination of these create for Māori researchers, new ways of thinking, writing and accepting Western ideology, or not accepting Western assumptions, propositions and facts as plausible explanations for cause and effect.

Combining western ideology with Kaupapa Māori theory will always be a problem because of the different concepts, beliefs and worldviews between Māori and Pākehā. However, this chapter attempts to lay the foundations for building a bridge of understanding based on a set of five characteristics that provide depth to meaning.

The following diagram provides a useful visual of the comprehensive range of overarching theoretical considerations and critical reflections that will guide the direction of this research. Clustered into three main areas the diagram shows the evolving relationship each consideration has to the other, which attempts to provide a rational explanation of the importance of each to this study. The next chapter expands on these theoretical considerations and describes the process followed for gathering research data.

Table 4 The Evolution of Theoretical Considerations

Gramsci, Freire, Bhabha
– Cultural Hegemony – domination/subordination – Pedagogy of the Oppressed – conscientisation, freedom, transformation. Read the word read the world…..it is in speaking their word that people, by naming their world, transform it. – Hybridity – in betweenness, destabilise binary oppositions to create something new ↕
Smith, Mead, Pihama, hooks, Hall, Belich
– Kaupapa Māori Theory and Praxis – Representation – Māori Leadership – Equality – Instruments of Power – Domains of Tension ↕
Kaua
– New knowledge gained from research questions – Transformative potential found buried within Te Maori – Building bridges of understanding through the five characteristics of meaning – Potential new engagement model

Chapter 4
Methodology

It is not my design to teach the method that everyone must follow in order to use his reason properly, but only to show the way in which I have tried to use my own. – Rene Descartes

4.1 Introduction

In the last chapter a selective collection of theoretical considerations that informed the thinking behind this research were discussed. This chapter takes the research journey to the next stage by discussing the qualitative research methodology. The chapter begins with an explanation of the features of qualitative research and outlines what the qualitative methodological goals are. Analysing participants narratives to find meaning through the origins of their experience in relation to the reclamation of space, the applicability of Māori knowledge and the potential weight it has for generating transformative change for future generations, is part of the narrative approach taken in this study.

The underlying philosophical assumptions that will shape the direction of this study are drawn from John Creswell's (2007) and Ian Carnaghan's (2013) work. In his book *'Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design'* Creswell describes the philosophical assumptions of ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology. When these assumptions are applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm, the shape and direction of this study becomes evident, in terms of the relatedness and reality of Māori ways of knowing, doing and being. Previous chapters have discussed Kaupapa Māori as a body of knowledge and as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical consideration. In this chapter, Kaupapa Māori is discussed as a research methodology that analyses the world from a Māori perspective.

A thematic analysis identifies common themes from participant's narratives and a technique called triangulation that facilitates the data collection where key concepts intersect is used. Also included in this chapter are insights into insider/outsider perspectives. The relevance of personal experience as both an insider and an outsider to the key ideas included in this study brought with it a pragmatic approach to the analysis of findings.

4.2 Qualitative Research Methodology

Not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted

This is a quote from Albert Einstein which conveys a subtle difference between quantitative and qualitative research analysis. It is useful to understand that a quantitative approach is where numbers count and a qualitative approach is where meaning, understanding, explanation and interpretation counts. It is also useful to understand the difference between research method and research methodology. In its simplest form research methods are the tools, techniques and processes used in research. These might include storytelling, interviews, surveys and observations for example. Research methodology is more comprehensive, it explains the overarching theoretical and philosophical frameworks which guide the research. Research methodology works as a framework within which the researcher works (Difference between Research Methods and Research Methodology, 2011).

The three most common qualitative research methods are the use of participant observation, in-depth interviews and focus groups. This research has used all three methods where open-ended questions have been asked in order to gain an understanding of specific experiences of research participants about specific issues. The use of this subjective human experience approach belongs to the school of thought around constructivism and intepretivism. Constructivism brings personal values into a study and recognises reality as a product of human intelligence

interacting with experiences in the real world. Intepretivism is reliant on the ability of the researcher to interpret and provide meaning to elements of data. Christina Hughes (2002) says that the interpretivist approach looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social world. Furthermore, she says that Intepretivism is often linked to the thought of Max Weber (1864-1920) who suggests that in the human sciences we are concerned with understanding, in comparison to explaining ie: process rather than facts.

Story telling is an age-old tradition that conjures up notions of myth, superstition, creativity and imagination. Storytellers and narratives enable cultures to have an insight into the way the world is represented and interpreted. Stories are powerful methods to describe and explain the world (Bidois, 2012). They are also a powerful tool for linking the present to the past, the past to the future and for maintaining the whakapapa links from one generation to the other where interpretations of the same story is changed depending on the individual, the situation and the location.

Throughout this thesis, merging abstract theory to the reality of experiences is attempted. By using diagrams, flowcharts and tables a visual expression of material will endeavor to articulate layers of abstraction and comprehensive concepts. Based on years of project management, teaching and presentations, different versions of the following diagram (Berinato, 2016) which has been used before, will be used as a tool throughout this study. A description of each quadrant is as follows:

1. Idea illustration – between a conceptual thought and reality demands clear and simple designs that are able to communicate the logic of an idea.

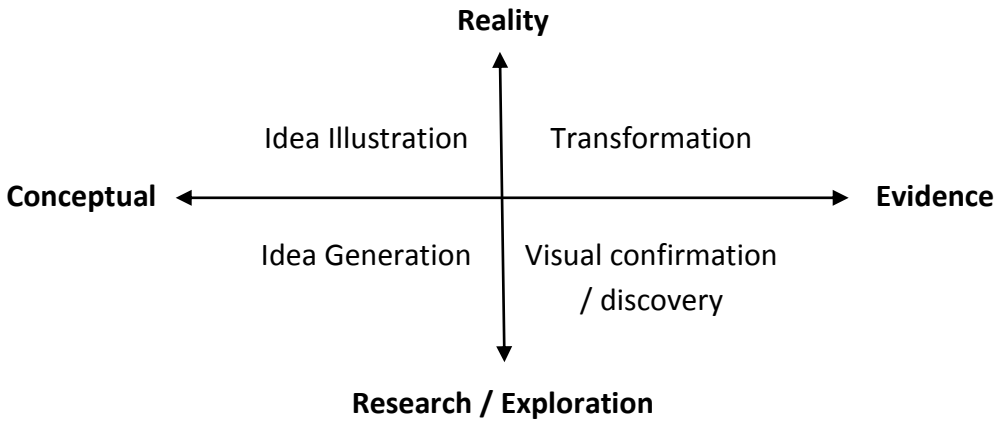
2. Idea generation – between a conceptual thought and research/exploration supports creative thinking and brainstorm exercises to find new ways of seeking answers to complex questions.

3. Visual confirmation and discovery – between research/exploration and evidence supports the discovery of trends and patterns in the evidence

provided. It may also provide new insights on how material might be presented.

4. Transformation – between evidence and reality affirms and sets the context and provides the justification for change.

Figure 9 Visual Expression



4.3 Philosophical Assumptions

Creswell (2007) offers ontology as a perspective that relates to the nature of reality and its characteristics. Researchers consider it appropriate to embrace the idea of multiple realities and report on these multiple realities by exploring multiple forms of evidence from different individuals' perspectives and experience. When applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm the ontological nature of 'reality' helps to shape and extended the thinking of the researchers' philosophical reasoning around Māori ways of 'reality' and 'being'. For example when considering the concepts of 'whakapapa' and 'purakau' the nature, relationship and subsequent responses in terms of their connection to events, people and place forms an ontological model of relatedness. Furthermore, Māori ontology of which whakapapa and purakau are is an affirmation of what an aspect of Kaupapa Māori is.

Epistemology relates to what researchers know. Subjective evidence is assembled based on individual views from research conducted in a field of knowledge being

studied. When this is applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm the epistemological nature of knowledge is related to the comprehensive Māori knowledge base that has evolved and been shared and protected by Māori over the years. The basic concept of Māori ways of 'knowing' is highly influential between the relationship of the researcher and the research participant. The responsibility of the researcher as a repository of information and material is connected to a fundamental Māori tikanga known as kaitiaki. There are some inherent conflicts in attitudes to knowledge between Māori and Pākehā where Pākehā fail to see or understand that there are other dimensions to the value of knowledge. The role of kaitiaki is therefore crucial in terms of the ethical nature of sharing, analysis and presenting Māori knowledge in differing forms.

Axiology relates to the role of values in research. Researchers report such values and biases as well as the value-laden nature of information gathered from the field. Applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm the axiological nature of such activity is influenced by Māori values, experience and world views of the researcher as well as those of the participants.

Methodology relates to wider theoretical assumptions used in the process of the research undertaken. It relates to the way data is collected and analysed. When applied to Kaupapa Māori research the assumptions are that the research is:

- Conducted by Māori with and for Māori;
- Culturally safe, relevant and appropriate which involves the mentorship and/or oversight of a kaumatua or kuia to ensure that the cultural rigor is maintained;
- Connected to Māori philosophy and principles as they are articulated throughout the study; and
- Concerned with the struggle for autonomy and self sufficiency and that provides equitable outcomes for Māori.

Linda Smith's (1999) discussion on indigenous principles highlights how research practice can play a role in the assertion of Indigenous people's rights and sovereignty. Through the assertion of Māori rights and sovereignty, Māori researchers have a dual responsibility to ensure the credibility of their research. While Māori forms of expression through whakapapa, whaikorero, karanga, whakatauaki, waiata and others establish Māori frames of reference for Māori. An understanding of academic disciplines within which Māori have been trained also frame approaches towards what Māori write and how Māori write it (L. T. Smith, 1999, p. 50). This can be seen as the interface between two worldviews, that of Māori and that of non-Māori worldviews.

Throughout this study, the philosophical assumptions outlined above have provided an ongoing touch-point that has guided the underlying thinking and direction for this research.

4.4 Perspectives: Insider/Outsider

Further to the discussion on philosophical assumptions, insider and outsider epistemology and the contribution they make to qualitative research are another important concept to understand. Insider research, according to Dwyer and Buckle (2009) refers to when researchers conduct research with populations of which they are also members so that the researcher shares an identity, language, and experiential base with the study participants. The complete membership role gives researchers a certain amount of legitimacy and/or stigma. This insider role status frequently allows researchers more rapid and more complete acceptance by their participants. Therefore, participants are typically more open with researchers so that there may be a greater depth to the data gathered. In Rabe's Report (2003) 'Revisiting insiders and outsiders as social researchers', advocates for the outsider perspective generally argue that access to authentic knowledge is more obtainable because of the objectivity and scientific detachment with which one can approach ones investigation as a nonmember of the group. However, neither perspective has monopolistic or privileged access to knowledge, what they do have is fluidity, similarity and difference. Within the context of this thesis, both an insider and an outsider perspective will be given. Although some may argue that there is no neutrality and that this research could be

based on one's own biases, this dual position brings with it many complexities and raises questions around the benefit of personal experience and the value personal contributions make to the research. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) have described this duality as "poised between familiarity and strangeness" and as "living simultaneously in two world."

Being a participant as well as an observer has the potential to create ambiguity. Sometimes when you are a participant and a member of a particular group you can claim to have inclusive knowledge and information pertinent to that group, for example the policy division of a mainstream organisation. However as a Māori policy analyst and an observer, it may mean that your beliefs and values are outside the organisation's philosophy. This situation could have implications to ones drive, vision and motivation. Varying degrees of power, access to knowledge and understanding, or in some cases no power, knowledge or understanding at all, are part of the position where familiarity and strangeness collide.

The following matrix illustrates positions of being both an insider and an outsider. The multilayered complexity of experience, where moving between the two roles required a high level of discipline, self-understanding and the ability to compartmentalise issues, can be a challenge and at other times a revelation. Reflecting on those different roles and perspectives is a reminder of the relative familiarity and ease of obtaining information and knowledge and the relative strangeness of being made to feel like an outsider, when being part of the group, and being an insider but made to feel like an outsider.

Table 5 Outsider / Insider View

	Outsider	Insider
Mainstream organisation	Being in a Māori focused role with targeted key result areas for Māori and located within a Pākehā mainstream environment that had the characteristics of a western based bureaucratic institute eg: western ideology, knowledge, thinking, policies, practices, processes, frameworks and methodologies. Although the corporate culture ensured the inclusivity of all employees the researchers own ideology, knowledge, thinking, practices, processes, frameworks and methods meant constant compromise and adaptation.	Being Māori in a Māori focused role and having a clear understanding of Māori knowledge, truths, history, practices, culture and how a Māori dimension might be incorporated into the business culture of mainstream institutes but being restricted to the funding requirements set down by the funder.
Tourism	Being a Māori business owner and member of the East Coast Māori Tourism Operators Association and observing all the bureaucratic barriers and compliance regulations that made it difficult for some business owners to operate. Struggling to have our voice heard in the wider tourism industry.	Being in a Māori focused role and working with various key stakeholders within the tourism industry and at the same time observing the power relations and the barriers that create the gaps for Māori. More importantly as an insider being a part of an institute creating the barriers for the outsider Māori groups. Very grave situation to be in.
Te Māori	Being a Māori public servant working in the Department of Māori Affairs and having an acute awareness of the development and management processes of Te Māori. My outsider position in this respect is because I was not part of the Te Māori team.	Being a Māori public servant working in the Department of Māori Affairs and observing and participating in the accomplishments of Te Māori. The familiarity with Te Māori and the management group provides the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the experiences directly from the people who had the experience.

The outsider position claimed follows the path of various employment positions in mainstream institutes and the mainstream business environment in which our hospitality and tourism business was located. Both environments were heavily

immersed and drew on the production of western knowledge and practices that privileged western ways of knowing over those of Māori knowledge systems (Amoamo, 2007). An association within these settings, provided opportunities to observe, question and challenge the gaps and barriers in institutional policies and practices the results not always being beneficial to Māori, but designed instead to meet the requirements of the funding body. From a colonised position Māori have struggled at times, against a western view, however to be in a position where compliance is the only option, has the tendency to place one firmly in the locality of an outsider position.

The insider position claimed brings to this discussion a mix of personal subjectivities, knowledge, truths and experience. While having an acute passion and interest in this research topic the researcher has much to contribute in providing linkages and building bridges of understanding between Māori and Pākehā pedagogy and to creating new journeys and opportunities for new growth and development through transformative change initiatives that benefit both interest groups. On the other hand Pākehā evaluations and interpretations of Māori knowledge create distortions of Māori society; entrapment within a cultural definition that bears no resemblance to oral traditions or lived realities; and misrepresents notions of what it means to be Māori. Smith also contends that "Much of what was written about Māori people in the last century has become part of a body of common knowledge that is taken for granted" (1999, p. 170). This creates an uphill struggle for Māori researchers seeking to tell the truth about how it is for Māori but who are instead confronted with 'knowledge' which is "primarily ideological or false."

4.5 Kaupapa Māori Research

Previous chapters have discussed Kaupapa Māori as a body of knowledge and as a Kaupapa Māori theoretical consideration. In this chapter Kaupapa Māori is discussed as a research methodology that analyses the world from a Māori perspective. In doing so it will incorporate personal Māori beliefs, values and experiences to enrich and place a unique flavor on the analysis of data. Kaupapa Māori according to Nepe (1991)

is the conceptualisation of Māori knowledge that has been developed through oral traditions. It is knowledge that validates a Māori world view and is both owned and controlled by Māori through te reo Māori. It is a means of analysing the world from a Māori perspective. To apply Kaupapa Māori within the context of research is to take the current western ideologies from which the notion of research was derived and supplement them with Māori epistemologies, ideologies and knowledge. But according to some Māori academics such as Bishop (1999) and Smith (1997), research into Māori has traditionally been simplified and adapted for use by the colonisers, resulting in the misinterpretation of traditional Māori knowledge and understanding. Colonisation, as Smith notes played an assumptive role in defining and validating this knowledge. Further to this Walker (1990) claimed that colonial societies had a propensity to believe their solutions were the only valid methods which defined the situation of the people that they inherently displaced. The dissatisfaction of these research practices led to the development of a uniquely Māori approach known as Kaupapa Māori research.

In adopting this kind of approach the Kaupapa Māori ethics and values which have guided this study include:

> Whanaungatanga – Depending on the situation whanaungatanga has many meanings. It is one of those profound Māori concepts that is deeply embedded in tikanga Māori and interrelates with a lot of the other Māori concepts such as manaakitanga, kotahitanga, rangatiratanga, whānau, hapū and whakapapa. Within this interrelated grid of concepts Māori people usually know when they are immersed in the practice of whanaungatanga. It is an important component of identity and is sometimes seen as a process for getting to know each other; as a foundation for particular processes such as whānau interviews; as a descriptor for the camaraderie between people; or the glue that connects people to each other. Whanaungatanga carries expectations of positive interaction within the whānau or group in order to build and maintain strength and sustenance. It is within this context that applying the concept of whanaungatanga to this study has been done. Building effective relationships among the participants of this

study has been essential to the successful completion of this thesis. So too will the maintenance of the huge support receive from supervisors, whānau and friends. To ensure that the safe nurturing environment persists throughout the duration of this study is very important.

Manaakitanga – Manaakitanga is another interrelated Māori concept and depending on the situation can mean many things. Within the context of this study it will refer to taking care of each other as well as taking care of myself; respecting and valuing other people's opinions, choices and timeframes; supporting and encouraging other students; sharing information, time and effort; and remaining humble.

Kanohi ki te kanohi – The kanohi ki te kanohi or face to face form of communication is the preferred option used by most Māori. It provides an opportunity to draw out a depth of information that is unable to be achieved electronically or in writing. It also allows for a more open discussion regarding issues that may be of a sensitive nature. For this study a group of participants have been selected for interviews. The intention of the interviews is to provide an opportunity for the participants to draw on their own experiences, to share the challenges, constraints and successes that have confronted them and to offer some unique perspectives on the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge traditions and how they might claim and expand space for Māori at the interface.

In situations where Kaupapa Māori research is used it is critical to focus on areas of importance and concern to Māori. It requires having a theoretical and common sense understanding, either explicitly or implicitly of the world, the issues that create problems and the reasons and methods used to mitigate the problems. It also requires surrounding yourself with the right people throughout the research process and sharing with them and discussing the research findings. Linda Smith concurs that "researchers must go further than simply recognising personal beliefs and assumptions, and the effect they have when interacting with people" (1999, p. 173).

Smith also contends that within the context of the research topic, researchers need to be objective and mindful and ask questions such as:

> Who defines the research problem?
> For whom is this study worthy and relevant? Who says so?
> What knowledge will the community gain from this study?
> What knowledge will the researcher gain from this study?
> What are some of the likely positive outcomes from this study?
> What are some possible negative outcomes?
> How can the negative outcomes be eliminated?
> To whom is this research accountable?

The set of questions raised by Smith (1999) have been broadly grouped into the three following areas:

1. Definition – the research problem has been defined from an ongoing need by a group of Māori managers working in mainstream institutes, who regularly confront the difficulty Pākehā colleagues and managers have in accepting Māori knowledge as legitimate. By placing this broad concern within the context of a successful initiative where Māori and Pākehā knowledge traditions came together at the interface of the Te Māori Exhibition, the lessons learnt from this experience may usefully inform strategies that can be used to overcome the problem in question.

2. Benefits – throughout this PhD journey a number of 'so-what' type questions have been raised such as what difference is this research going to make? Who is the audience? And are you telling us what we already know? These questions serve as a good reminder and self-check to maintain focus, to think critically about the research being

undertaken and to ensure meaningful transformative interventions based on new evidence based knowledge are considered.

3. Accountability – In a way similar to the various Māori positions held in mainstream organisations, dual accountability is required for this research. When undertaking Kaupapa Māori research the accountability is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that Kaupapa Māori protocol and principles are maintained. The researcher is also responsible for striving for the highest academic standards and requirements of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi so that this body of work can withstand both Māori and academic scrutiny.

In challenging Pākehā hegemony and attempting to reclaim space for Māori to be heard, the interviews organised for this research were conducted in a manner that respected culturally specific aspects of Kaupapa Māori practice. These aspects identified by Ngahuia Te Awekotuku (1981) and based on the American Anthropological Associations guidelines include:

- Aroha ki te tangata which is about showing compassion towards and respect for participants.
- Kanohi kitea which involves all discussions with participants being conducted in person.
- Titiro, whakapono, korero is being respectful to all the participants and providing them with the opportunity to be seen, listened to and the freedom to voice their own opinion on issues.
- Manaaki ki te tangata means all participants in the interview process are shown the finest of hospitality in the form of the provision of food and a comfortable environment.
- Kia tupato which is about being cautious and careful in all dealings with participants.

- Kaua e takahia to mana o te tangata which is about not trampling on the mana of participants. In a practical sense it means being respectful towards the participants and behaving in a courteous and appropriate manner.
- Kaua e mahaki which means avoiding offense in all that you do.

4.5.1 Purakau as a Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology

According to Jenny Lee (2009) purakau is a term not normally associated with academic writing or research methodology. However, within the confines of a Kaupapa Māori research paradigm and through its association with historical, social and political content relative to Māori pedagogy, the potential of purakau as a methodology was integral to her research. This study places a lot of value on the oral histories and the perspectives of the elder participants interviewed. For many Māori, purakau is a traditional method of passing down the stories from one generation to another. The underlying intention is an attempt to preserve Māori knowledge traditions and stories that relate to them. In doing so the storyteller is then able to retain the control of the diversity of truths and interpretations of the story being told. For the researcher, the realisation that her tipuna kuia was at the interface of two quite different cultures during the early twentieth century was sufficient justification to assemble the eclectic threads of methodologies in conducting this research. Purakau is one of those methodologies, which is a very practical way of valuing and legitimising Māori knowledge traditions.

4.5.2 Whakapapa as a Kaupapa Māori Research Methodology

Whakapapa is another term not normally associated with academic writing or research methodology. For the purpose of this study, the concept of whakapapa has been used in several critical ways. Essentially whakapapa is a valid and powerful methodological tool that allows space for Māori research to occur away from the confinements of western research imperatives. Within the confines of a whakapapa paradigm this research interweaves contextual mechanisms that show the significance of Māori knowledge traditions. Chapter Five talks about the genealogically links of the characteristics of defining, understanding, accepting, acknowledging and practicing

Māori knowledge traditions. A potential engagement model attempts to illuminate the importance of each characteristic when engaging with Māori. Critical reflection of each characteristic within various domains of knowledge such as an historical, traditional, contemporary and policy domains for instance should allow for a more authentic praxis of Kaupapa Māori to occur within a Pākehā framework.

An understanding of whakapapa is critical to the comprehension of the framework. The intention is twofold; firstly a Whakapapa approach will show the genealogical links that bind the various threads of information together. At various points throughout this process information may be the same but interpreted differently depending on any given situation. Secondly, a Whakapapa approach as a learning tool is a way of protecting and guarding the Tikanga Māori concepts that may be used during the process. The importance of ensuring the correct use of tikanga Māori protocol and a correct understanding of the cultural implications is paramount. A potential model of engagement, based on research findings is posited in Chapter Six.

In thinking about the theoretical considerations and the relationship of ideas to reality, Foucault's (1980) genealogical philosophy about the importance of the process, rather than the cause, resonates with the Kaupapa Māori approach taken in this study. An attempt has been made to ensure that the correlation between Kaupapa Māori research praxis, the success stories that have unfolded about the Te Māori experience, the significance of Māori knowledge and the conceptual role of whakapapa have been maintained. Having said that, the researcher is also mindful of ensuring the central and privileged focus of Māori values, perspectives and practices rather than disguising them within the western labels of definition, understanding and others mentioned above. As Linda Smith (1999, p. 183) states, Kaupapa Māori approaches to research allow Māori to "engage in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by and with Māori".

4.6 Research Participants

When conducting research the opinions and perspectives of different groups of generations are an important aspect to consider. Each generation has been born into a different era and have faced different worlds. Things taken for granted by the older generation may no longer exist, while things taken for granted by the younger generation may be alien and foreign to others. Each contribution that has been made by the research participants is an accumulation of observations, trials, experiences, practices, wisdom and reflections of their generational period. The intentional selection of a diverse range of participants provides a level of challenge, stimulation and interest to an already challenging, stimulating and interesting topic.

The research participants were all of Māori descent and were selected through established networks for their experience and expertise in management, community involvement and leadership, knowledge of tikanga and te reo Māori. The group reflects a diverse and interesting array of opinions and wisdom, with the ages ranging from between 30 – 80 years of age. A range of questions (attached at Appendix 1) were designed and used as a guide to initiate discussion. The questions were sent to research participants before the interviews took place. Although interviews were recorded and notes were taken, continual dialogue occurred afterwards. This was necessary to ensure accuracy of the narrations used and an opportunity to explain to the participants the flow of collective themes that were emerging. A thematic analysis of the interviews was undertaken and at the point of saturation when new knowledge was being captured and theme repetition was occurring there was no further need to extend beyond the twenty participants that were interviewed.

A demographic table of the research participants is provided to show gender split, age range and their specific roles in society.

Table 6 Demography of Participants

Gender	Age Range		Role
Female – 10 **Male – 10**	Pre/Post-war: 1901 – 1945 Baby Boomers: 1946 – 1964 Generation X: 1965 – 1975 Generation Y: 1976 – 1990	7 8 4 1	Business owner/manager – 6 Chief Executive Officer – 1 Board chair/community leader – 3 Community leader – 3 Kaumatua – 1 Mainstream organisations manager – 6

4.7 Thematic Analysis and Triangulation

Thematic analysis is a common form of analysis for qualitative research. Its purpose is to identify patterns of meaning across data that provide an answer to the research question being addressed. According to an explanation about thematic analysis prepared by the University of Auckland it suits open-ended questions that relate to people's experiences, or people's views and perceptions such as 'What are the lessons from the Te Māori Exhibition that made it a success?' (About thematic analysis - The University of Auckland, n.d.). It suits questions related to understanding and representation, such as 'How did the lessons from the Te Māori Exhibition benefit Māori? It also suits questions relating to the construction of meaning, such as 'If Māori forms of control have been marginalised, are there a set of drivers or causal factors that explain why this is the case?' or 'If the lessons from the Te Māori Exhibition have benefited Māori, what are the characteristics that have created this?' The application of a thematic analysis to this research took a 'realist' (focusing on assumed reality evident in the data) and a 'constructionist' (focusing on how a certain reality is created by the data) approach to the way data and evidence was interpreted. A high level of familiarisation with the data and the topic allowed for the identification of three very broad themes – illustrated in the following diagram.

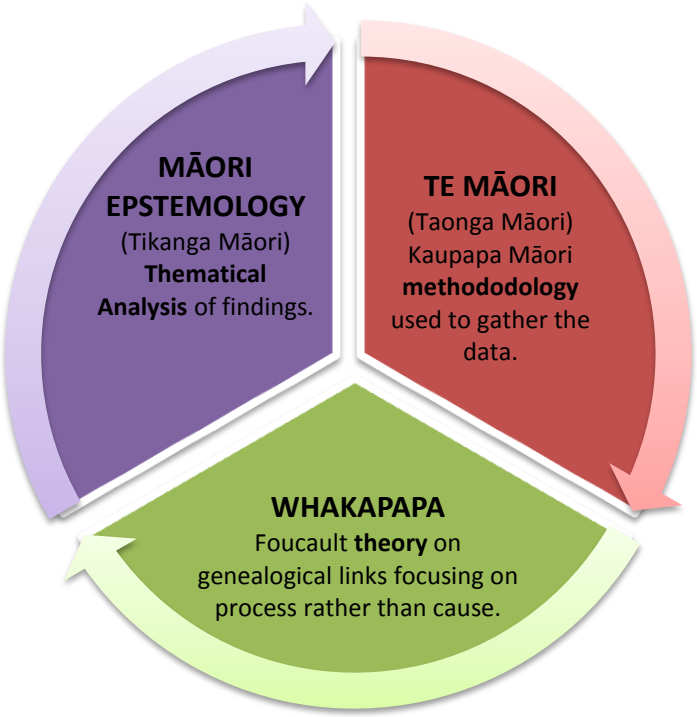
1. Māori Epistemology broadly interpreted as a tikanga Māori thematic analysis of findings

2. Te Māori broadly interpreted as a Kaupapa Māori methodology to gather data

3. Whakapapa broadly interpreted as a process of connection. This idea centres on Foucault's (1980) theory about genealogical links focusing on process rather than cause.

Having reviewed and defined each of the themes from the research findings, there was an obvious link between each. Because of the strong and obvious connections, this conceptual framework has been named 'He Tapatoru Hurihuringa which means a triangle that circulates indicated by the arrows allowing movement from one tridrant to the other. It is a unique framework discreetly designed for this study and will be used in Chapter Five as a recording tool to clearly show an analytical perspective of the research findings. It is a framework that indicates the living nature of the three elements of tikanga Māori, taonga Māori and whakapapa where the movement flows, complements and overlaps into each tridrant.

Figure 10 He Tapatoru Hurihuringa (summary)



Triangulation is a technique used in qualitative research that allows more than one method to collect data on the same topic. The aim is to analyse a research question from multiple perspectives. Therefore, if the question is - 'What are the characteristics that allow Māori to re-claim space and be heard in a mainstream environment where decisions are being made about them?' and the supplementary questions designed to assist in finding the answer relate to the lessons from the success of the Te Māori Exhibition, then the application of the holistic nature of triangulation bodes well with a multi-perspective Kaupapa Māori approach to research, by capturing different dimensions of the same phenomenon.

According to Denzin (1978) there are four types of triangulation, all of which have been used in this study.

1. Methodological triangulation – which refers to the use of more than one method of gathering data and is concerned with checking out the consistency of findings generated by different data collection methods. The application of this method will seek to elucidate complementary and common aspects of the same theme or trend.

2. Sources triangulation – entails gathering data from different sources and from a variety of different people. It is a means of examining the consistency of different data sources. A comparison of generational trends seeks to provide a range of different viewpoints from different people within the generational range.

3. Analyst triangulation – uses multiple analysts to review findings. While the researcher will be the only analyst reviewing the findings the researcher aims to ensure that the data collected has been achieved to saturation point.

4. Theoretical triangulation – uses multiple theoretical perspectives to examine and interpret data. Evidence in analysis throughout Chapter Five seeks to show that this will be achieved.

As Todd D. Jick (1979) writes, beyond the analysis of overlapping variance, the use of multiple measures may also uncover some unique variances which otherwise may have been neglected by single methods. In this sense, triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions and perspectives to emerge.

Although the aesthetic look of 'He Tapatoru Hurihuringa' resembles a circle and the name infers a triangle, the term triangulation actually refers to the use of more than one approach to the investigation of a research question (Bryman). The idea of triangulation is associated with measurement practices. Webb et al. (1966) suggested that once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes. Placing a Kaupapa Māori lens over the technique of triangulation allows for the measurement and inclusion of participants perspectives of various concepts into more than one tridrant. Similar to a whakapapa framework, the various tikanga Māori concepts within 'He Tapatoru Hurihuringa' are connected. Depending on which tridrant you stand in, the tikanga Māori concept is therefore arguably the same….but different, depending upon the context in which it is referred.

4.8 Conclusion

At the conclusion of Chapter Three a conceptual framework was presented showing the flow of theoretical constructs from the writings of post-colonial experts to local experts to the idea of an attempt through this thesis to produce new knowledge in the Kaupapa Māori literature space.

This chapter introduces another conceptual framework – He Tapatoru Hurihuringa which, as a qualitative method of analysis provides space to reflect on the knowledge, data and information collected for this study. The combination of the literature and theoretical considerations discussed in previous chapters provides a good base to allow the reflection to occur. Other supporting concepts discussed in this chapter such as the philosophical assumptions relating to ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology have been applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm to show the validity of Kaupapa Māori theory as a new form of praxis. The insider/outsider position provides an opportunity for self-reflection and a way of analysing my own personal subjectivities and prejudices. He Tapatoru Hurihuringa also establishes a solid foundation for Chapter Five to record the research findings and through the method of thematic analysis, to arrange the findings into themes.

Chapter 5
Research Findings

The dawn ceremony caught the imagination of the international art world and it became a necessary part of the exhibition….The ceremony was impressive, highly charged, eerie because it was performed in semi-darkness, emotionally wrenching for some, providing a taste of the real primitive for others.

The ceremony changed the way museums normally handled exhibition openings. It brought people of the owning culture together with their heritage treasures in a dynamic relationship, startling the dispassionate curators and exhibition experts. In Aotearoa the rangatahi of the various tribes took turns at being guides and therefore took on the unfamiliar role of explaining their own culture to others. Iwi took turns at welcoming visitors to the exhibition. These were the flow-on consequences of the iwi imposing cultural control upon the manner in which their heritage items were displayed, opened, discussed and explained.

By the conclusion of Te Māori, the dawn ceremony had become accepted as a normal way of opening the exhibition (H. M. Mead, 2003, p. 83).

5.1 Introduction

This passage from Hirini Moko Mead's book *'Tikanga Māori – living by Māori values'* provides a good example of some of the successes that came out of the Te Māori Exhibition. For a moment when Māori imposed cultural control, Pākehā curators and exhibition experts had no other choice but to conform to tikanga Māori. The Te Māori Exhibition brought about many significant changes to the art and museum worlds so too did it change the status of Māori art. Interestingly it took Māori taonga to go off shore before it was valued and recognised by some New Zealanders. Research findings suggest that Te Māori was without doubt a hugely successful event from which many valuable lessons are highlighted in this study. This study also shows that Te Maori was a success on Maori terms and on international terms. Pakeha only thought it was successful because of the international acclaim it attracted. This chapter discusses

some of the findings that highlight successes and the lessons gained from Te Māori that can be applied to other situations where better Maori control is needed. Together they form a useful platform for future considerations of how Māori can re-claim space within a mainstream environment. By applying a Māori epistemological approach, the value and legitimacy of Māori knowledge and traditions, as applied to the opening ceremonies of Te Māori, in particular, is maintained and its integrity upheld.

This chapter highlights some common threads throughout the various narratives of participants and the implicit and explicit references made to different aspects of Māori epistemology, Māori knowledge and whakapapa. Unsurprisingly the different levels of application of Tikanga Māori across the generations showed some interesting and unexpected results, particularly in regard to its use within a mainstream environment.

Chapter Four introduced the conceptual framework – He Tapatoru Hurihuringa. As a recording tool, He Tapatoru Hurihuringa shows the themes that have been extrapolated from the research findings, and groups them under the headings of Māori epistemology, Te Māori and Whakapapa. A critical analysis of the inter-relationship between each group is presented in this chapter.

5.2 Te Māori

The story in this thesis is one that focuses on gaining new understandings of the success factors of Te Māori. In doing so, an attempt is made to identify the lessons we can learn and use to reposition Māori control within Pākehā spaces and to position Māori knowledge in a place of value. It focuses on the public and private stories of the Te Maori Exhibition, and the transformative potential buried within Te Maori. This story relies on some of the public stories that have already been told that most people read about in the media; it also sought to investigate the private stories about the management of Te Maori; on interviews and discussions with people who were involved in the management procedures, policies and processes and who attended the exhibition in the United States of America; on video clips of interviews with some of the kaumatua who accompanied Te Māori to New York; and on a collection of

relevant documentation about Te Māori, that was previously unanalysed such as reports, private letters, lecture notes and photo albums.

Research findings have shown that from the initial planning stages through to the exhibition phase of Te Māori, various domains of tension arose between Māori and Pākehā organising groups. Although some serious negotiations had to take place during the seven year period of gestation, the integrity of Māori knowledge traditions and the associated Māori cultural practices remained firmly intact. Evidence from discussions, interviews and other commentators such as Davidson (1987), Crighton (2014), Mead (1980) and Wilson (1986) shows that this was due mainly to the fortitude and endurance of those individual Māori experts who led the negotiation teams.

> The presence of these assertive Māori together with the many kaumatua and kuia, who became swept along with the exciting project, ensured that Pākehā museum directors and curators were exposed to Māori values and responses to their visual culture. Despite the scepticism of professionals used to dealing with exhibits simply as objects, museum practices were challenged and stretched by Māori demands (Crighton 2014).

And from a different perspective:

> It became enormously complicated as I had to span two worlds – by day I sat on the Marae talking to elders about their treasures and by night we would discuss relative humidities, thermo hydrographs, calibrations and legal document. At first it was an enormous hurdle…… Piri Sciascia, Member of the Management Committee (AGMANZ, 1986, p. 10).

Similar to an earlier discussion about the oversight of recognising Māori as the single most important difference that this country has to offer, the New Zealand Tourism Industry has been presented as a domain of tension. There were also various other domains of tension associated with Te Māori. From the research evidence gathered, some of those domains of tension included:

1. A clash of cultures where various incidents occurred around Māori tikanga procedures, for instance, Mead (1986) claimed that it was a challenge explaining our customs to another culture, for example, a dawn ceremony was a new concept to them. Most of their exhibition openings were held in the evening where a significant part of the events included drinking wine, and then looking at the exhibition. They didn't have speeches until well after that. That custom was not appropriate for Māori, and would not be the correct procedure for Te Māori.

   Another incident involved the preparation of the exhibition gallery. To Māori, the customary ritual of the sprinkling of water, cleanses and clears the way for people to enter a site. When museum staff saw one of the kaumatua throwing water around, they got a shock and told him that he could not do that here. However, "some Māori devotees came to the exhibition with their bottles of water to sprinkle on the floor and chase the ghosts away" (PW Interview 10).

   Other incidents related to the responsibility of the provision of food and the requirement to have vessels of water available at the exit of the exhibition gallery. While things took a bit of explaining so that they could understand the necessary tikanga rituals involved in such events they finally agreed to accept and to support Māori customs. For example a member from the Te Māori Management Committee described how he was discussing the need to have food after the karakia and had to say " no, not down the road but here in the museum with our taonga" (AGMANZ, 1986).

The opening ceremony was something the Americans had never seen before, some thought it was a publicity stunt but when the karakia and chanting began they realised these were authentic Māori practices (AGMANZ, 1986).

2. Māori versus Māori where some iwi didn't want their taonga to go overseas. They were fearful that they wouldn't be returned, or may have been lost or broken. In some areas protest groups attended Hui to vent their anger over a wide range of issues that stemmed from colonisation; to the breach of the Treaty of Waitangi; to the American female Chief Registrar of the American Federation of Arts coming to take away the taonga and how could Māori elders allow that to happen (O'Biso, 1988). However, careful negotiations were planned and discussed in the correct culturally appropriate way in order to gain agreement and support. An incident occurred in the Te Whānau Apanui area which led to special 'kanohi ki te kanohi' negotiations that only Māori could conduct in a Māori way. The inclusion of the right mix of influential Māori people in the debating forum meant a favourable result.[30]

3. Museum personnel were justifiably hesitant about sending major objects to institutions unknown to them. Although the museums throughout the country were the legal owners of the Māori artefacts, the colonial attitude about the primitive relics rendered most Māori taonga to the darkness of the Museum basements. Museums had been cast as tools of Pākehā colonialism and oppression, and irrelevant to Māori perceptions of culture (Butler, 1996). Again skillful and experienced negotiations with key Māori personnel were required.

4. Western Pākehā ideology versus Tikanga Māori in relation to most Kaupapa Māori cultural praxis was both a new and time consuming learning for Pākehā. For example the concept of 'taonga' and all that it encompasses is in contrast to any Pākehā understanding of artefact or art object. Another example related to the serving of food after the ceremonial opening in each of the four American cities.

[30] Information shared with me by Prof. Sir Hirini Moko Mead and Lady June Mead. December 2012.

Carol O'Biso's comments about this were that "we tiptoed around the issue of who would cover these enormous unbudgeted expenses. Everyone tried hard to accept, but it seemed they could never really comprehend the spiritual needs of the Māori people" (1988, p. 87).

While the process of definition, acknowledgement, understanding and acceptance on issues relating to Tikanga Māori were necessary, constant exposure enabled Pākehā to become familiar with Māori protocol and eventually things were accepted.

5. In contrast to this were the Pākehā strict regulations around the requirements of indemnity, ownership and insurance obligations. After the Te Māori Management Committee reviewed the policy, they could not accept the provisions of the loss/buy-back clause of the fine arts insurance policy. Long distant lengthy discussions of disagreements and re-negotiations turned into a battle which then turned into a brick wall. The compounding risk being the loss of the Te Māori Exhibition over several technical details. After many offers and counter offers the complicated system of indemnity, ownership and insurance was resolved (O'Biso, 1988, p. 100).

6. Traditional versus contemporary art interests – The taonga selected were from a period before European contact. The decision to select these pieces in effect relegated Māori achievement to the past without expressing the creativity and ongoing nature of contemporary art works of today and was highly criticised. Sian Robyns criticised the exhibition for not containing any contemporary Māori art pieces and critically pointed out that the focus was in fact decided by Americans (Robyns, 1986 as cited in Butler 1996). The absence of tukutuku panels, weaving and other textile work was an obvious snub of women's art work. So too was the need to recognise Māori art as an ongoing and changing art form, not merely of what is historical, as testified in the art media world in the late 1980s (Butler, 1996).

A holistic reflection and an analytical inspiration about this study and all the elements that it encompasses are drawn together in the following table. It attempts to show the interrelationship of the Te Māori Exhibition experience; the broad domains that created tension; the theoretical context in which they fit; and the instruments of power that had the control. Each stage from one to three represents the evolution of Te Māori as considered by the researcher.

Table 7 The Evolution of Te Māori

	Stage One	**Stage Two**	**Stage Three**
Te Māori	Artifacts & primitive museum pieces. Awakening sleeping taonga.	The New York Metropolitan Experience. Māori representing Māori.	The "Coming Out" of objets d'art. Te Māori – Te Hokinga Mai.
Domains of Tension	The residual impact of the colonisation period.	Western Pākehā ideology versus tikanga Māori.	The validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge traditions. Māori epistemology.
Theory	HEGEMONY	REPRESENTATION	KAUPAPA MĀORI
Instruments of Power	Pākehā control	Māori control	Māori control

Each stage will now be discussed in more detail.

5.2.1 Awakening sleeping taonga

For Māori, the idea of an exhibition started in the mid 1970s when the then Secretary of the Department of Māori Affairs called together his regional departmental staff. His instruction to them was to call a Hui to seek permission from all the kaumatua and kuia throughout the country to have our taonga sent overseas (PW Interview 10). Although the museums were the legal owners of the Māori artefacts, it was the Māori people who were the cultural owners, many of whom had no idea what was being stored in the museums. According to Mead (1996) taonga are a part of Māori cultural heritage that provided the link to ancestors. In the days before the exhibition, the Te

Māori taonga were hidden behind the closed doors of the museums. An immediate consequence of the international recognition that came with the awakening of the sleeping taonga (Māori artefacts) was that it became necessary to reappraise Māori attitudes towards taonga Māori. One of the research participants said that:

> Māori artefacts became Māori art objects overnight. They were no longer just part of the material culture of Māori, they were greatly admired art pieces that fascinated thousands of people. They became the art treasures of the nation and the prized heirlooms of the Māori people. Māori had to change their attitudes of indifference to one of meaningful engagement (PW Interview 09).

This sentiment also meant a move away from the museum hegemonic tendencies of Pākehā control. Māori control over concepts of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and all those tikanga Māori rituals associated with taonga needed to be adopted. In particular, Mead (1996) contends that Māori need to resume the responsibility of ensuring the reconnection of taonga with tipuna from the past and contributing to ongoing developments for future generations.

5.2.2 Māori representing Māori in New York

Art had the power to connect cultures to become a bridge between them, to be a mediating force.

(H.M. Mead, 1986)

The impact of the opening ceremonies added a whole new dimension to the exhibition. At each opening the sheer power and awe of the ceremony took “many a cynic by surprise and either reduced him to tears or transported him into an unfamiliar world of heightened feelings. The Māori people live in close contact with their art…..their marae are full of art pieces and……are like art galleries” (Mead as cited in Crighton 2014, p. 204).

The exhibition provided Māori with the opportunity to showcase Māori culture at its best and to represent not only the human elements of the culture but also the static elements of the taonga. Te Māori was arguably an overwhelming success and an excellent display of Māori representing Māori in a way that no other people can.

5.2.3 Te Māori – Te Hokinga Mai

Upon returning to New Zealand Te Māori created both a challenge and a dilemma to the museum sector. The challenge was about the relationship between Māori art and Pākehā art and whether Māori art fitted within the 'cultural mainstream' of art. From one Pākehā critic:

> These works still stood too often as a backdrop for tourist-orientated kapa haka instead of being allowed to speak for themselves as the great art they are. In the Met, they proudly stood alongside art of the world's great civilisation. In our culture they still have some way to go to even join the cultural mainstream (Crighton 2014).

The dilemma related to how best to present this newly found form of art, which to Māori, were a collection of pre-European taonga, which were both spiritual and functional.

> The experience in the US had a profound effect on the subsequent response of Māori to museum displays in New Zealand – not only from the point of view of 'artefact' to 'art' but also 'from neglect to respect'. The past practice of museological displays was no longer acceptable (Crighton 2014).

International exposure had shifted Māori taonga from Māori artefacts to objets d'art. Traditional museum-based presentations of taonga were now being challenged. The most appropriate form of presentation would now appear to be one which is based on Kaupapa Māori ideology and controlled either in part or completely by Māori.

5.3 Claiming Māori Knowledge

This section discusses transcripts from participants who have provided their views and reality on broad discussion about Māori epistemology. Re-claiming space so that Māori can be heard is about claiming ownership of your own experiences and perceptions on how and what your contribution is to the wider pool of Māori knowledge. It is just as much about building knowledge, philosophy and theory which is uniquely Māori as it is about supporting, endorsing and maintaining what we already have and know. The research participants were asked a series of questions about their experience with Māori knowledge to ascertain its current use, validity and legitimacy in today's modern society; how Māori knowledge is defined by them and viewed by Pākehā in mainstream organisations; how the provision of Māori advice by Māori is received by mainstream managers and decision makers; and what their thoughts about the Te Māori Exhibition were in terms of its success and contribution to the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge. There were a range of views across the four generations. These were categorised into three areas; the origins of their experience, the value and applicability of Māori knowledge today and the potential weight it may have for future generations. Of particular interest were the different levels of understanding and application of te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori, and its contemporary currency across the generations. During the interview process it became obvious that generational differentiation was an important category because of the diverse views that came forward. There were no incorrect views, they were all real lived experiences based on individual knowing and truth. Every view was accepted and valued. The following quotes taken from transcripts of interviews have been arranged into the four generational groupings – detailed on page 130 in Chapter Four. Each participant has been given a code that identifies the generation and the individual participant.

The Pre/Post War Generation (PW) – A common thread through the various narratives of this generation was the implicit and explicit reference to the evolving nature of te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori. This group was very accepting of the blended nature of te reo being used by many Māori youth today. The acceptance and lenience of this view was a contrast to the view of the baby boomer generation. For example in

assisting Pākehā to raise their awareness of tikanga Māori, the PW generation said that Māori managers working in mainstream organisations need to nurture and guide Pākehā through the new learning, to show compassion and to be gentle. The Baby Boomer Generation were not so generous and said that Pākehā need to be responsible for their own learning and go find out for themselves. Some of the narratives from participants about the origins of their experience of growing up with te reo Māori me nga tikanga included the following transcripts.

> When we were growing up we were surrounded by aunties and uncles who spoke to us in Māori. The marae was the heart and soul of the whānau and the whānau was huge. When we were told about what our tipuna did and why they did it we followed suit. There was no questioning as to whether it was right or wrong – you just did it. We knew what to do at Hui because we watched and followed suit. The younger generation is different today but so are we. A lot of the traditional tikanga we followed like sitting on the floor for hours during a Hui is more relaxed now because there are chairs and time limits so Hui don't go on for hours. You want to keep up with the moko and they want to know who they are connected to and why no one lives at the marae….sometimes time constraints and distance are issues….so you learn how to use Facebook. Te reo Māori has changed so has the culture so you have to accept and move with the times (PW interview 08).

> When I was taught to whaikorero I was told not to do long whakapapa or to tauparapara back home because people knew who you were by your name and the marae you come from. It taught you humility, not to rave on and instead to get to the point you want to make. In those days you knew who the boss was and when you were given the nod you instinctively knew what that meant, that it was your turn to korero (PW Interview 07).

> The speakers of te reo today use a lot of words to say something, the words are different and the mita is different – but at least they are speaking te reo even though it's sometimes hard to follow (PW Interview 08).

> I was brought up in a situation where Māori was inculcated into everyday life and you wore it like your clothes. You never questioned why because you instinctively trusted and depended on your elders (PW Interview 07).

> Growing up I was surrounded by my uncles and the elders who spoke Māori – our job was to listen and learn. Now it's different. Kids are not brought up by their wider whānau and it's a shame because they miss out on all the fundamental basic things that the old people taught you. For me it was te reo, waiata tawhito, karakia, how to look after people and all those hardcase stories. When I look back now, they are all treasures (PW Interview 11).

> There were things I was told by my uncles and my elders while I was growing up, you had to listen and you knew not to question them, you learnt to trust the stories and to believe in them (PW Interview 07).

Today those stories are still significant to him as they form the:

> …..foundation of identity and a strong sense of belonging. I knew who I was connected to and when I went to other marae I knew they too were my home and I knew who my whanaunga were because my uncles and the elders said who they were (PW Interview 07).

Clearly, this group were very fortunate to be immersed in the culture as it provided a solid foundation from which they have continued to speak the language and practice the associated Māori cultural customs with ease. Questions around the definition of Māori knowledge, in particular the value and legitimacy in today's society included the following responses.

> Māori knowledge certainly does have value. Pākehā are often oblivious to it though. They lack vital information at sometimes vital times eg: reasons why women sit behind men at a powhiri has more to do with a mechanism of protection and maintenance of mana rather than a power & control or dominant male versus subordinate female issues (PW Interview 08).

> Government and Pākehā look at life in silos and they develop all their policies, programmes and initiatives in that fashion, in isolation. Māori look at life holistically we see the bigger picture. Pākehā can learn a lot from us in this respect (PW Interview 05).

> In transforming ourselves we need to help others to transform and the starting point is in the home with your own whānau. Outside the whānau we can't expect others to know so we have to create a 'level playing field' and if it means raising Pākehā awareness of things Māori – then so be it. It's up to us to explain tikanga Māori in our own way to them and others. If we don't they'll always get it wrong (PW Interview 11).

Questions on the Te Māori Exhibition provided the following responses.

> It was a fabulous time to be working in Te Tari Māori while Te Māori was on because you were able to get a sense of the importance of it and you stood in awe of the people involved in the huge amount of work that went into its preparation. There were a lot of things

> happening in the 1980s and Te Māori was the perfect catalyst to bring together a lot of good things about being Māori. It helped to mould, to reshape and to revive a lot of tikanga Māori – it was always there but just lying dormant (PW Interview 08).

> Te Māori took Māori to the world in a way that no other event could do so. Apart from a few and probably mostly only those who were involved, Pākehā New Zealanders had no idea about the affect Te Māori would have. It was just as much about Māori people and culture as it was about the art. It was a magnificent event but one that could have been even greater with the inclusion of contemporary art and the art of women (PW Interview 07).

> It was a timely event, one which Māori had been waiting for (PW Interview 11).

On the potential weight of Māori knowledge for future generations

> The blended nature of New Zealanders will be the future. Blended in culture and blended in knowledge. The opposite is exclusive or separatism – is that what we want? (PW Interview 07).

> If we want a future that is alive with Māori it is up to us to keep it happening and alive now and when we do become blended that we don't lose our Māoriness; that the language and the cultural aspects still live on in our youth. We must accept however, that things will evolve and change just like it has up until now. Value the new Māori, acknowledge and accept change (PW Interview 08).

This group of participants were very generous, laid-back, and confident and had mixed views about the future of Māori knowledge. Some were comfortable with the status quo and accepted the blended nature of te reo Māori me nga tikanga with a mix of old

traditions and contemporary interpretations. Some thought that it was time for their generation to step aside and let the younger generations come through but one said:

> ….you haven't seen the last of me yet (PW Interview 11).

The Baby Boomer Generation (BB)

The most obvious trend that came through for this generation was the encouragement of parents of research participants to follow the Pākehā way. Many were not spoken to in Māori or taught the language even though they were surrounded by it. Interestingly though the tikanga Māori ways of knowing, being and doing was still strong among some of the participants. The origin of their experiences follows.

> It was around me all the time when I was growing up and as a result I instinctively knew what to do and what was expected of me but I couldn't speak the language although I did understand it a bit. Our house was always crowded with whānau there was always something going on. It was like our house was the marae (BB Interview 06).

> Even though it was around it wasn't that obvious. My father was of the opinion that to make your way in the world you had to follow the Pākehā way. Mum would speak Māori but it was never taught to us. Similar to events on the marae we were seldom taken there. Dad's word was final. As a consequence Māori language and tikanga was foreign to me during my formative years (BB Interview 20).

> Our marae was our play ground where everyone spoke Māori. When there was something on at the marae we were expected to be there to help out. It was the place where you found out all the news about what was going on around the rohe. We had a strong kapa haka group even before kapa haka became trendy and everyone was

> involved. Even now that I've moved away my connection with my marae and whānau are still very strong and I go home as often as I can. But my kids are real townies and show no interest, there are too many other interests around and in spite of me being fluent in te reo Māori none of them are (BB Interview 16).
>
> There comes a point where you have to step-up, you have to go out of your way to learn what being a kai-karanga is all about. For me I was thrown in the deep end but just as well it was at home because I had my mother and aunties to teach me. It's difficult when you are not a fluent speaker of the reo but I've been taught to understand what I'm saying to know where you are who you are responding to or welcoming and why you are there; to know the purpose of the Hui and the marae you are entering. Calling on a marae in a traditional setting is different from calling in a Pākehā setting (BB Interview 20).

On the subject of Te Māori a common thread of positivity about the exhibition and what it represented flowed through from the participants in this generation range. Some of their comments included:

> Te Māori was an outstanding exhibition of both static and living taonga. It reinvigorated Māori; it reignited the pride of being Māori. It put us on the international stage of art. Our taonga became objets d'art. It touched the heart and soul of some non-Māori but not all. It made a huge impact internationally especially those US cities visited and it was exciting to follow its coverage on Te Karere (BB Interview 20).
>
> It was the most outstanding opportunity to be involved in Te Māori and to have travelled to New York to attend the inaugural opening. I've been to many powhiri and dawn ceremonies but this one was magnificent. The most amazing experience in so many ways – it

> made you so proud to be Māori. To be with a group of so many important and learned pakeke and kuia was extraordinary. You were able to learn from them by observing and listening and the more you learnt about the stories of our culture, the more you wanted to learn. Even though I was there to do a job the excitement of meeting people who were fascinated with what you were doing was astounding (BB Interview 17).

> I was a part of the fashion show when it came to Wellington and being allowed behind the scenes meant that you could wander through the exhibition hall at leisure without the public being there. Uenuku was particularly outstanding and commanded so much presence. Even now as I think about him I get goose bumps. The whole exhibition left a lasting impression on me. But the most impressive part of all was the hand-over ceremonies from one iwi to the other. The atmosphere during those occasions that I attended was both spiritually and physically electrifying and charged with so much emotion and passion (BB Interview 20).

> I was given the book 'First Light' by Carol O'Biso by a friend who knew of my enthusiasm with Te Māori. I found it fascinating how her involvement with Te Māori had such an impact on her life. I was also impressed with the fortitude she had in moving things along against all odds at times (BB Interview 06).

This research focuses on making a difference by seeking new understandings of how the lessons from the successes of the Te Māori Exhibition can position Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge in a way that ensures its value and legitimacy. The issue of valuing Māori knowledge is particularly pertinent when Māori managers working for mainstream organisations are tasked with the role of providing advice relative to Māori issues. Many of the participants in this generation had a lot to say on this issue. Sometimes the Māori knowledge and advice is accepted sometimes it isn't.

The question that remains is – "Is the Māori knowledge that has been shared with Pākehā valued?" Based on recent experience, and supported by the evidence of others, too often the advice is treated in some of the following ways:

> Not trusted and further justification is requested engendering a feeling of unworthiness; misunderstood because of a lack of understanding about what the tikanga all means; avoided if there's a cost involved and a further enquiry about the need to pay; a tendency to only chose the good bits ie: singing an easy waiata rote fashion without committing the time needed to practice and having to teach it through the lunch hour or after work (BB Interview 20).

> Questioned as to its necessity; changed to suit a Pākehā perspective; undervalued; showcased in an unauthentic way to give the impression that we are addressing the needs of Māori (BB Interview 19).

> Completely avoided as it has nothing to do with our section; received with hostility and treated with contempt; questioned in terms of why Māori are treated differently to all other races; completely misunderstood with no intention to try and understand (BB Interview 16).

> While in some situations the appearance of acceptance and understanding is sometimes evident, attempts to avoid vital cultural protocols are made. For instance a request to not have a powhiri on a marae as it takes too long and cuts into students learning time, and questions raised about why we need kaumatua and kuia present at the powhiri clearly shows a lack of understanding and a willingness to participate (BB Interview 19).

> Pākehā attitudes towards things Māori raise questions around organisational commitment to Māori. They also need to think strategically why they create Māori managers roles – is it for the purpose of the organisations funding requirements to meet Māori needs or is it for the purpose of the Māori client, or is it just 'window dressing'? (BB Interview 03).

There was a common thread throughout discussions with participants on this topic. The overall consensus was the lack of awareness of anything pertaining to Māori by Pākehā. When it came to discussions on organisational responsiveness to Māori within each of the participant's respective organisation, it was always a challenge for them to maintain ones cultural values and beliefs while at the same time having to address the key requirements of the position they held in the organisation. The solution often resulted in much compromise on behalf of the Māori manager.

From personal experience frustrating experiences in various employment roles have created tension. While Pākehā struggle to make attempts to understand the tikanga that is involved in important relationship building and engagement processes, their own requirements and desire to comply with Pakeka methodological and psychological practices associate with funding obligations takes precedence. No matter how many concessions are made in attempts to build bridges of understanding between Māori and Pākehā ways of doing things, the understanding of the cultural ritual element between tapu and noa especially when being welcomed on to a marae are not fully appreciated or understood by Pākehā.

The greater compromise Māori have to make in these situations, places those Māori, who do understand the importance of doing things right, at unnecessary risk of not having followed correct protocols. The consequences of deliberate compromise often leave Māori in varying stages of mortification or great embarrassment of not having upheld the integrity of their own culture. These are things that have been experienced personally and which need to be written about within the context of this thesis. The

necessity to justify one's existence as a Māori by continuously having to explain why Māori do the things they do is extremely humiliating and can often be traumatising.

We read in the media about the disparity of Māori education, health and justice outcomes being significantly lower than Pākehā statistics. This is often because the solutions have been designed and developed by Pākehā for Māori, who say they have consulted with Māori. The question remains, however, "on whose terms has the consultation process actually occurred?" Too often we see strategies, initiatives, programme or policies designed specifically to improve Māori outcomes which often only achieve marginal results. It is indeed time to challenge all those decisions made for Māori by Pākehā.

Generation X Period (GenX)

This generation commonly made reference to their grandparents when it came to discussions about Māori knowledge. Some of the responses were:

> My grandmother spoke Māori and although my father understood he didn't speak Māori back to her, he was her translator. My mother was a native speaker and grew up in a traditional way but when she visited our marae which was just down the road she had to do it behind my father's back, she used to sneak us to the marae to meet our Koro and our whanaunga. My father was strict and he decided that he didn't want us to follow the Māori way and I think that was a struggle for my mother. She was pulled in many ways. We had a big family and according to my father the only way to survive was to learn the Pākehā way (Gen X Interview 12).

> My Koro named me. I was given a Māori name and with that name came expectations but as a child I didn't want to know, the thought of responsibility scared me so I shunned it. I used my Pākehā name and I followed the Pākehā way. I loved school and did well (Gen X Interview 12).

Success in my father's eyes was for his children to get an office job and not follow the manual labour intense work that he knew (Gen X Interview 12).

I think Māori knowledge does have validity and legitimacy today but I don't know whether many Māori have that traditional understanding like my Koro had. That traditional knowledge that is handed down when you are growing up is hard to find these days.
People say a lot of things and they talk about Māori values and principles but what they say does not match their behaviour – so what they say does not match what they do. And what I see as Māori leadership is disappointing (Gen X Interview 12).

Māori knowledge is not what it used to be. I see a lot of young ones who want it all now – they are not willing to sit and wait because there is a time for stuff and they want to be seen. They see leadership as the one up the front doing stuff but for me leadership might be from the quiet one sitting humbly and doing all the driving from the back (Gen X Interview 18).

We are living in a modern world now with modern concepts and the Māori ways and language have to adapt. Traditional Māori values will always be there but the way they are practiced now – differ eg: a lot of tikanga are being Pākehā-fied where a powhiri is not actually a powhiri but a mihi-whakatau where the order of things might be changed to suit time constraints or the layout of a building or what the Pākehā says. The blending of things Māori with Pākehā ways creates a risk of losing the tuturu ways of how things should be done (Gen X Interview 18).

Pākehā see us as another ethnic group and question why we are getting special treatment. Although it's important to achieve buy-in at the board level the biggest challenge is achieving buy in at management and middle management levels where bias attitudes can do the most harm in influencing staff. And an even bigger challenge is when Māori managers and staff move against you. Pākehā awareness of things Māori is a very real issue no matter what you do to "show" them things like events around Matariki and around Te wiki o te reo Māori – once those two things are done – that's it – the Māori bit has been done. Pākehā awareness of things Māori is superficial and shallow – there is no level of depth (Gen X Interview 18).

Māori staff are just as challenging as Pākehā, actually they can be worse because they judge you on your language ability and if you're not fluent like they are they soon let you know it (Gen X Interview 18).

Māori are not valued in New Zealand – it's like we are invisible. When we are overseas and you bump into Pākehā they sometime act as though you are a long loss friend, they go out of their way to accommodate you. But Māori can sometimes be their own worst enemy and it doesn't help that we fight among ourselves. As Māori we actually need to get our act together and stop competing with each other (Gen X Interview 14).

In terms of Māori knowledge and maintaining credence for the younger generation there are only a few elders who hold fast to tradition and can share the knowledge and only a few youth that will grasp hold of it and pass it on. There is a Māori elitist group out there where it is working and it is those who have been brought up through the Māori system (Gen X Interview 12).

Similar to the previous generational group Pākehā attitudes about Māori, as indicated in the narrations, appear to be a barrier to any progress in achieving better outcomes for Māori. But more importantly is the attitude of some Māori towards other Māori. Often subtle judgements are made which create personal problems.

Generation Y Period (GenY)

Although there was only one participant who fell into this generational category, the contribution made was very useful in terms of a different and more youthful perspective. The participant also cast a wide net over many relevant issues. However the only memorable Te Māori moments were the waiata "Haere Mai" sung by Cara Pewhairangi and "Te Hokinga Mai" sung by the Pakipaki School children.

Comments on Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge included:

> People these days like to pick and choose. It's a picking mentality where they choose some things but not others. What I was taught about traditional things was that karakia or whakapapa or whatever it was had to be word perfect and to get it wrong could mean something bad might happen because the old ways were tapu. In the ancient times – if you get it wrong you would die, when I was growing up if you get it wrong something bad could happen. Now days no one really cares – you get it wrong – so be it. Tapu in a sense was a controlling mechanism (Gen Y Interview 13).

> Policy advice – expectations are that you just sit down and write a strategy. They don't understand the need to consult to ensure that whatever strategy you are working on meets the needs of the clients. At the sheer mention of a hui on a marae you are asked – well what's it going to cost. The model created was way beyond the understanding of the Pākehā but at least it got kaumatua sign-off.

They were interested but they didn't want to pay for it. It was all about ticking the box. They wanted to be seen to have done something even though they didn't really know what to do with it (Gen Y Interview 13).

Another interesting observation is the concept of 'we' and 'I' especially in the generations of today. In Māoridom the concept of 'we' is still there but in today's generations the concept of 'I' is creeping in more and more. Where is the humility in taking 'selfies' and posting them on Facebook? The world is becoming too superficial but so are Māori. Picking and choosing is becoming more abundant now because you can (Gen Y Interview 13).

When I was growing up and wanted to know how to cut up some meat for instance I would be taken to an uncle who was a master butcher and shown how to do it, starting with the care of your tools first and then the actual cutting of the meat further down the track. Today my kids look it up on 'YouTube' watch it and say 'oh yeah I can do that'. They don't have that concept of doing and after watching think they know it all. The concept of knowledge acquisition is quite different; the focus is on watching rather than talking, listening and doing (Gen Y Interview 13).

They choose what they like eg: I like kapa haka and want to do that but I don't want to learn the language – that's too hard. It's all about instant gratification – they lose the understanding of the depth of stuff (Gen Y Interview 13).

For me Māori are bicultural we have both inside us – Pākehā and Māori. We know how to be bicultural, Pākehā don't. Some Māori who stand comfortably in both worlds are able to manage in both worlds. But with many Māori it's the Pākehā side inside them that

> dominates. The strength of Māori knowledge is waning with every generation. Māori have to decide for themselves whether they want Māori knowledge – I think they do but I don't think they want it all – they only want the things they like because the rest is too hard (Gen Y Interview 13).
>
> It comes down to the fact that I think a lot of people who don't have Māori knowledge are looking for it – but don't know where to find it. For them it's the wairua side that's missing and that's hard to find if you are not surrounded by it (Gen Y Interview 13).

The comments provided by the four generational groups of participants show a diverse and useful range of views. Chapter Six makes use of the points discussed earlier ie: the origins, applicability and potential weight of Māori knowledge to analyse the commentary provided by the research participants against the assumptions made from the research questions.

5.4 He Tapatoru Hurihuringa - An Analysis

He Tapatoru Hurihuringa is a conceptual framework designed to show the strong and obvious connections to the themes that have come from the research findings. As discussed in Chapter Four, the three quadrants of the framework have been broadly interpreted to house the threads of data that relate generally to each of the specified areas. For example Māori beliefs about Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge are that – everything in existence is connected and related; all things are living; and unseen worlds can be mediated by humans. All those are called 'unseen' in English, but they are 'seen' in Māori (C. W. Smith, 2002).

While the initiation of Kaupapa Māori over the last thirty years provides a platform for Māori to theorise, research and undergo Kaupapa Māori praxis. Māori epistemology is still regularly relegated to the margins, perceived as inferior, or simply dismissed within a range of disciplines controlled by dominant western ideologies. (Berryman, 2007). Bishop (1996) contends that solutions and understandings for Māori do not

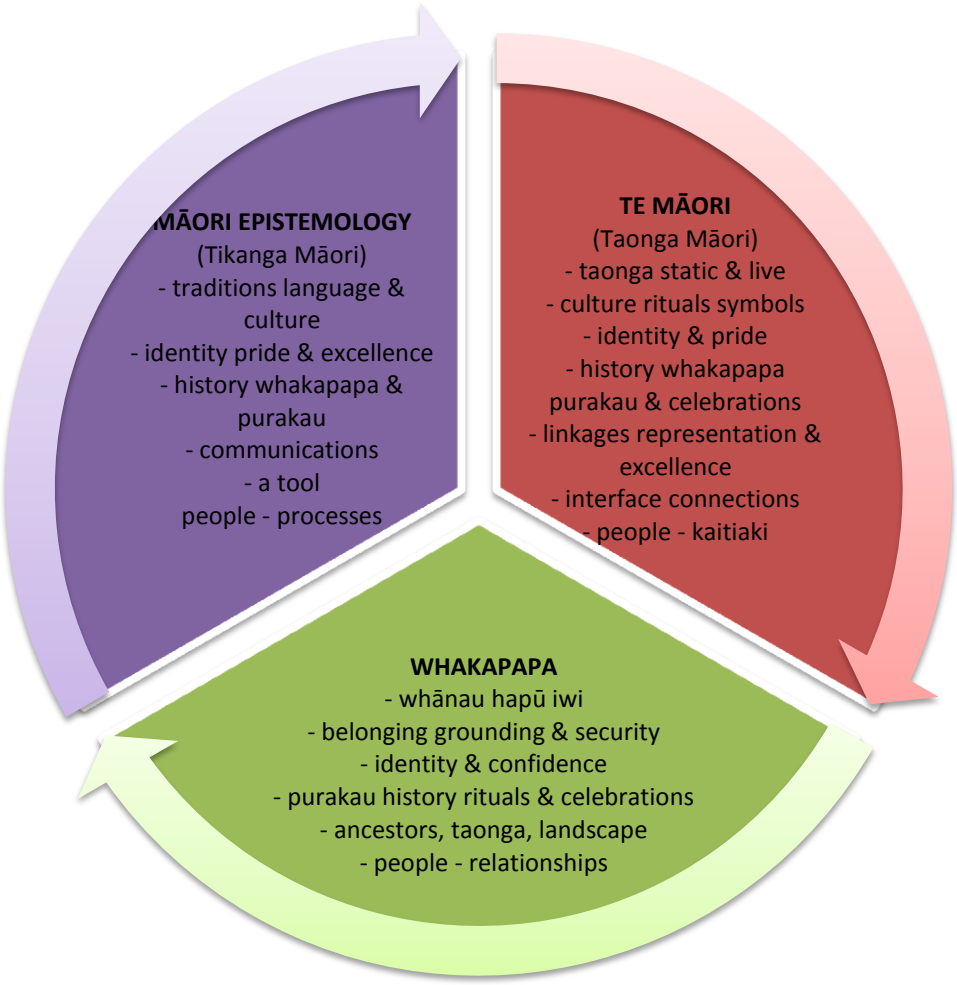
reside within the culture that has traditionally marginalised Māori, rather the solutions and understandings are located within Māori culture itself (R Bishop, 1996 as cited in Berryman (2007).

Te Māori was an excellent model of Māori representing Māori, because of the deep involvement of Māori people in every aspect of its organisation, management and delivery. Te Māori established in the minds of the public for the first time, locally as well as nationally and internationally, that traditional Māori materials could be seen not only as ethnographic examples of a way of life, but also as works of art. They were no longer, as previous New Zealand art gallery directors had typically felt, consigned to an irretrievable, unrepeatable and irrelevant past. Te Māori was an example of Māori influencing their own forms of control within Pākehā spaces through a deep and thorough understanding of te reo Māori, tikanga Māori and the cultural practices that were required to present the highly prized Māori taonga. He Tapatoru Hurihuringa attempts to show those connections, by focusing on the cultural relationship that connects the taonga from Te Māori to concepts of whakapapa and Māori epistemology.

Whakapapa is the key Māori concept that informs Māori identity. It is also a key Māori methodology for understanding the foundations of a Māori worldview. Whakapapa is activated when different groups come together mapping relationships, stories and histories. Within this context it is those stories and histories that bind the relationship of whakapapa to Māori Epistemology and Te Māori.

The circular nature of He Tapatoru Hurihuringa indicated by the arrows allows movement from one tridrant to the other. Each of the tridrants connect to each other in a very fluid manner, as did the findings and information that flowed from the literature reviews, interviews, document interrogation and other sources used to collect data. The three tridrants of He Tapatoru Hurihuringa have many things in common – primarily that whakapapa as an episteme is a core tenet of a Māori worldview and is a valid and powerful methodological tool for explaining a Māori worldview (Edwards, 2011).

Figure 11 He Tapatoru Hurihuringa (detailed)



The following table shows an analytical view of the inter-relationship of each tridrant. It also allows the opportunity to view each of the tridrants and the underlying concepts from which each is formed, regardless of where the starting point is in the table. The relationship between each concept and key heading shows a strong connection. Arguably this model could be used in other similar situations as a means of validating data which has been collated from a variety of sources. The researcher has found this to be a useful and valuable resource to use. It is a methodical and logical approach when sorting through complex ideas and issues.

Table 8 An Analytical View of the Inter-relationship of He Tapatoru Hurihuringa

Māori Epistemology (Tikanga Māori)		
Tradition	**Communication**	**People**
Based on historical events, myths, legends, experience, behaviours	Based on storytelling, incidents and events, purakau, whakapapa	Identity through whānau, hapū, iwi
Te Māori (Taonga Māori)		
Rituals & Symbols	**Representation**	**People**
Both static and live, a symbol of cultural excellence and a reason for celebration	Based on identity, pride, whakapapa, purakau	Connection through whānau, hapū, iwi
Whakapapa		
Identity	**Connection**	**People**
Based on a sense of grounding and belonging, security, turangawaewae	Based on relationships, landscape and environment, purakau	Tikanga through whānau, hapū, iwi

5.5 Conclusion

The collective findings from interviews indicate that there were similar views regarding the evolving nature of te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori; its credence in today's society; the value and legitimacy of Māori epistemology; the successes of Te Māori and issues of Māori management and control. Analysis of relevant documentation relating to Te Māori supported the interview data and in some cases illustrated the specific areas of concern raised by the research participants.

He Tapatoru Hurihuringa (a visual expression of both thematic analysis and the technique of triangulation) has been used to show the themes extrapolated from the various research findings. This conceptual framework shows the correlation between three main themes that have featured throughout this study, Māori Epistemology which included a thematic analysis of the research findings; Te Māori, where a Kaupapa Māori methodology was used to gather the data; and the concept of whakapapa which in line with Foucault's (M.Foucault, as cited in Gordon (1980) theory

on genealogical links focuses on the process by which the ideas and thoughts are linked rather than the cause. While the Te Māori Exhibition brought about many significant changes about Māori influencing their own forms of control within Pākehā spaces, the successes and lessons gained are analysed in more detail in Chapter Six.

Chapter 6
Repositioning Māori Forms of Control from Lessons from Te Māori

An unauthentic word, one which is unable to transform reality, results when dichotomy is imposed upon its constitutive elements. When a word is deprived of its dimension of action, reflection automatically suffers as well; and the word is changed into idle chatter, into verbalism, into an alienated and alienating "blah." It becomes an empty word, one which cannot denounce the world, for denunciation is impossible without a commitment to transform, and there is no transformation without action (Freire, 1970, p. 87).

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and synthesises the various strands of data discussed in Chapter Five to find potential solutions that may bring about transformative change to the way some Pākehā view aspects of Māori knowledge. The intention is to analyse how Māori can influence different forms of control that would benefit them within Pākehā spaces by using Māori knowledge in a way that is controlled by Māori and is able to provide an authentic perspective of a Māori worldview. With regard to Freire's word, a Pākehā word on things that relate to Māori is an 'unauthentic word' because the lack of depth in the understanding by Pākehā of tikanga Māori and Māori perspectives create the unauthenticity. Pākehā's continuous attempts to seize control over the management of the Te Māori Exhibition instilled in Māori the need to challenge the Pākehā word. It was essential for Māori to take action to ensure the integrity and maintain the kaitiaki role over their taonga. Research findings show that the expertise of key Māori personnel, who were an integral part of the exhibition management, maintained a tight-hold and control of the proceedings throughout the exhibition. For a change, Pākehā dominant control was tamed by Māori dominant control and the word from Māori was acknowledged and accepted.

Antonio Gramsci (1978) and Paulo Freire's (1970) views are important in drawing together the many strands of theory, history and praxis. The philosophical assumptions relating to the ontological, epistemological, axiological and methodological approach taken with this study, helped in extrapolating the ideas from the research findings and placing them into workable themes. The importance of Gramsci and Freire in relation to this study refer to the need to take the definition of 'cultural hegemony' and 'pedagogy of the oppressed' and to conceptualise the abstract thought contained in these two theories and then applying them in a realistic way to the experiences of the Te Māori Exhibition. As Smith contends, there is a need to 'read' Gramsci from the practical, 'tactile' point of view of everyday, lived reality. Such an applied theoretical approach to Gramsci's work, resonates with Freire's often quoted words; 'Read the word: read the world' (G. H. Smith, 1997).

6.2 An Analysis of Research Findings

In Chapter Five, narratives from four generations of participants were presented. Among them were experts in the areas of te reo Māori me nga tikanga, management in both mainstream and Māori organisations, iwi Rūnanga and community leaders and business owners and managers. The analysis of different strands of data such as reports, lecture notes, video footage, journals and other documentation was also presented. Throughout this study a number of assumptions that relate to the research questions have been made. An analysis of the research findings will be presented in three parts.

- Part One – consists of a table that broadly outlines assumptions drawn from the supplementary set of research questions and shows a brief synopsis of the evidence gathered against each assumption. The post-colonial theoretical considerations referred to have been discussed in detail in chapters one and three. Arranging the diverse range of evidence in a tabular format allowed for a methodical process and a relatively easy quick reference means.

- Part Two – consists of a more comprehensive analysis of the research findings. This section will expand on the evidence contained in the table and provide an

alignment between the theoretical considerations of this study and the reality from the findings.

- Part Three – consists of an analysis of how the evidence detailed in Part Two attempts to answer the primary research question – How can Māori influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces?

6.2.1 Part One – Assumptions and Evidence

A brief synopsis of the assumptions from the research questions and the evidence that provide solutions to the assumption is presented in the following table.

Table 9 Assumptions and Evidence

Assumptions	Evidence
From the question – How have Māori forms of control been marginalised? An assumption can be made that they have been marginalised.	Māori ways of being and forms of control are not understood, valued nor acknowledged by Pākehā due mainly to the dominant/subordinate relationship that has developed over the years between Pākehā and Māori. The main causal factors are broadly categoriesed as: 1. Colonisation – the imposition of colonial beliefs was a frequent mechanism for establishing and consolidating power and control by the colonisers over the Māori people. 2. Hegemony – the process by which dominant cultures maintain their dominant position over subordinate groups. 3. Neoliberalism – a philosophy that ensures Pākehā dominance and one that plays into the hands of theorists such as Gramsci and his theory about hegemony and Freire and his theory about the pedagogy of the oppressed.
The research question asked is – From the success of the Te Māori Exhibition what were the lessons that can influence Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces? There are two assumption: **a) That the Te Māori Exhibition was a**	a) That the Te Māori Exhibition was a success. A number of successes covering a diverse range of areas were revealed. These have been detailed on page 186. For the purpose of this table they have been sorted into the following broad categories and/or workable themes: 1. Uniqueness – the combination of static and live Māori culture was a significant differentiating feature. 2. Profile – raised Māori pride and awareness of their taonga.

success. **b) That there were lessons to be learnt.**	3. Catalyst – instrumental in the: a. revival of Māori customs b. establishment of new benchmark and appraisal measures of Māori art c. shifting of Museum staff attitudes about the presentation and value of Māori art 4. Strategic intent – the establishment of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust designed to provide formal training of curators and conservators for Māori candidates. b) That there were lessons to be learnt. An analysis of the successes shows that a number of lessons relating to a diverse range of competency areas were realised. These have been sorted into the following broad categories and/or workable themes: 1. The ground breaking innovative nature of the organisation and negotiation that went into the Te Māori Exhibition was profound. Evidence shows that the many domains of tension that were created through a lack of understanding were skillfully managed by having the right Māori expertise in the right place at the right time. **Lesson:** To be cognisant of the need to ensure a high competency level in innovation, management, organisation and negotiation abilities. 2. The professional mix and inclusion of cultural customary rituals with western Pākehā practices that were led by renowned Māori experts and leaders. The merging and transmission of new methods and protocols shifted Te Māori from being a mere showing of artefacts to a unique exhibition that set a platform for other similar exhibitions. **Lesson:** To be cognisant of the need to ensure a high competency level in te reo Māori me nga tikanga and in people management abilities. 3. The leadership and visionary qualities of those Māori experts who were highly skilled and highly involved in all things pertaining to tikanga Māori were an essential requirement to instilling and maintaining the mana and integrity of the exhibition. **Lesson:** To be cognisant of the need to ensure a high competency level in strategic thinking and the ability to lead and influence. 4. Te Māori provided a strategic platform for how Māori could

	be represented in an authentic manner by again having the right people in the right place. The establishment of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust and its recent re-launch is another clear indicator of its long term value. In effect, the many processes, procedures and protocols that made up the management and administrative arm of Te Māori was an exercise in taming Pākehā dominant control by Māori dominant control where inclusiveness was paramount. **Lesson:** To be cognisant of the need to ensure proven ability in understanding the concept of Māori representation and its application in both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā.
From the research question – In what way have the lessons from Te Māori benefited Māori? An assumption can be made that there were benefits from the experience of the Te Māori Exhibition.	There are two parts to the response to this assumption. The first part covers commentary from research participants about their perception of the state of Māori knowledge. These are summarised under the following workable themes: a. Origin – this category relates to the experiences that participants had with Māori knowledge. Evidence shows that those who were surrounded by extended whānau and immersed in te reo Māori me nga tikanga Māori were more likely to have grasped a good understanding and ability to speak the language and participate in the associated cultural practices than those who were encouraged to follow the Pākehā way. b. Applicability – this category relates to how applicable Māori knowledge is in today's society and the state to which it is applicable. Evidence shows that while most groups agree that Māori knowledge is applicable, questions were raised about the availability of traditional ways from which to draw knowledge from. While traditions still have their place the way in which they are practiced are changing. The tendency for Māori to 'pick' what they want to do and to discard the rest seems to be a growing trend among the younger generation. c. Potential Weight – this category relates to the degree of interest and use of Māori knowledge in the future. Evidence showed that there were a diverse range of views in this category. They ranged from the need to be adaptable and to accept the blended nature of Māori knowledge today; to assisting and nurturing Pākehā through the learning process about Māori knowledge; to viewing the learning process as a Pākehā responsibility to which they should carry out themselves; to the realisation that Māori knowledge is waning with each generation; to the concept of instant gratification, the 'I' mentality and the 'who cares' approach among the youth of today.

	The second part discusses some key themes that have come through from the analysis of all the assumptions above. At the risk of being repetitive where all the evidential views and analysis are both relevant and applicable the most insightful is the need for a range of competencies. For Māori competencies are required in the area of leadership, vision, management, governance, communications and organisation. For Pākehā competencies are required in the area of acceptance, understanding and acknowledgement that there is a difference between a Māori worldview and a Pākehā worldview.

6.2.2 Part Two – Expanding the Evidence

A more detailed analysis of the data shown in the above table is presented in this section. Each assumption is highlighted followed by a comprehensive discussion that has been based on the evidence found in the research findings.

Assumption – That Māori forms of control have been marginalised.

Māori ways of being and Māori forms of control are not understood, valued nor acknowledged by Pākehā due mainly to the dominant/subordinate relationship that has developed over the years between Pākehā and Māori. Evidence shows that Māori forms of control have been marginalised. The main causal factors are broadly categorised as:

1. Colonisation – which has been discussed in detail in Chapter Two, is briefly the imposition of colonial beliefs which were a frequent mechanism for establishing and consolidating power and control by the colonisers over the Māori people. Policies of colonisation such as the imposition of assimilation and integration silenced Māori culture and rendered them powerless within a colonial societal environment.

2. Hegemony – which has been discussed in detail in Chapter Three is the process by which dominant cultures maintain their dominant position over subordinate

groups. Again the policies of colonisation ensured the subordination of Māori people.

3. Neoliberalism – which is discussed in detail in Chapter One is briefly a philosophy that ensures Pākehā dominance and one that plays into the hands of theorists such as Gramsci and his theory about hegemony and Freire and his theory about the pedagogy of the oppressed.

From a theoretical perspective the alignment of the research findings between the theoretical constructs mentioned above and the responses from research participants and data, illustrate the enhancement of tino rangatiratanga in the following ways:

- Through the presence and assertiveness of Māori kuia and kaumatua at Te Māori to uphold the values and practices of Māori culture and traditions.
- Through the ability to span two worldviews Māori continually show a high degree of understanding, competency and flexibility.
- The high regard, respect and admiration bestowed on Te Māori.
- The cultural maintenance and revival of te reo, Māori knowledge, the importance of whakapapa and all those traditions that have been passed down from one generation to another, that is occurring at different levels among the research participants.

Assumption – That the Te Māori Exhibition was a success.

The Te Māori Exhibition was an overwhelming success. Much of the success can be measured by the following indicators.

- Large numbers that attended – 750,000 internationally, 917,500 nationally
- Significant international media hype – the exhibition was covered by many of the most well-known American publications such as The New York Times, Time Magazine, National Geographic as well as journals and local newspapers.

- Likened to other outstanding ancient exhibitions such as the Egyptian Tutankhamen Exhibition and the China terra-cotta exhibition.
- The merge of the static and live Māori culture was a significant differentiating feature. The attendance of the kaumatua and kuia at the opening ceremonies and the cultural rituals and activities they led gave meaning to Te Māori as a living art. Visitors to the exhibition were able to see and feel an attitude of reverence and respect for the taonga (Te Māori Management Committee, 1988).
- Te Māori put Māori art on the international map
- Raised the pride in being Māori
- Establishment of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust for the purpose of expanding Māori presence in Museums through the formal training of curators and conservators
- Opened up museum and art gallery institutions to Māori
- The reunification of the Māori people with their artistic heritage – the linking notion of cultural ownership rather than legal ownership was an important factor which brought about the realisation and connection of Māori people to their taonga.
- Te Māori made us aware of the kaitiaki role for Māori in museums and made it easier for Māori to join the workforce in museums.
- Te Māori became the catalyst for the revival and practice of some of our customs.

> Te Māori was the spark that reignited the fire within many Māori. Māori people were and still are reconnecting with their culture and the evidence is in the increased numbers learning the language, the increased numbers attending wānanga and the efforts being made to relearn forgotten traditional songs for instance (PW Interview 10).

- The revival of the art of ta moko and the adornment of taonga worn as jewellery, accessories such as neck ties and scarves and the use of ornamental kete and baskets – Māori art has now become highly visible.
- Signified and established a new benchmark and appraisal of Māori art and a new attitude towards Māori art among the museum and art gallery professionals.

> No exhibition of Māori art abroad can now be considered without proper attention being given to the people input element. Carvers, weavers or other artists and appropriate supporting groups with elders can all enhance what might otherwise be a rather passive display (Te Maori Management Committee, 1988).

- Transformed attitudes about Māori art through the educative programmes that were auxiliary to the exhibition and were well attended. Through the attendance to the exhibition along with media coverage and various promotional programme Te Māori created a strong public awareness of New Zealand in the United States.

A number of successes covering a diverse range of areas were revealed. These have been sorted into the following broad themes:

1. Uniqueness – the combination of static and live Māori culture was a significant differentiating feature throughout Te Māori. Evidence shows that Te Māori took Māori to the world in a way that no other event could do, it put Māori art on the international stage alongside world-renowned ancient exhibitions such as Tutankhamen and the terra-cotta pieces of China. It shifted Māori taonga from artefacts that were hidden in the museum basements to objects of art. To replicate the Te Māori Exhibition in 2015 would be a challenge. As there have been many other smaller exhibitions and events relating to the repatriation of taonga Māori, which have taken place in many other countries around the world, the uniqueness of such an event has been lost.

2. Profile – Te Māori raised Māori pride and awareness of their taonga. According to Mead (1996) the Te Māori Exhibition brought Māori art out of the closet and out from obscurity, anonymity and out of the cupboard of primitive contextualisation. Te Māori signified a phase of rediscovering Māori artistic heritage, reviving cultural form and ceremonies, of strengthening ourselves culturally, raising our self-esteem and reconnecting with our cultural roots. During a speech at the

relaunching of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust the then Minister of Māori Development Te Ururoa Flavell quoted Mead when he said that

> It is as though a veil; was lifted from our faces, enabling us to look into a mirror and see ourselves as Māori people who have a rich art heritage and who have much to be proud of. Te Māori raised our self-esteem, it gave us more space in the world, it defined clearly our identity as Māori and as New Zealanders, it ennobled us and lifted our morale – illuminated by a new glow of internationalism (Mead as cited in Flavell, 2015, p. 2).

While there was some doubt about taking Māori taonga overseas, Te Māori was the forerunner that elevated the profile of Māori and Māori art. It was the precursor to many more exhibitions and promotional events that still continue today.

3. Catalyst – As a vehicle to create change, Te Māori was instrumental in the following key themes.
    1. Revival of Māori customs. Te Māori reinvigorated Māori and reignited pride in being Māori. It helped to mould, reshape and to revive a lot of tikanga Māori. Being surrounded by so many learned pakeke and kuia for a considerable length of time was an extraordinary opportunity for those who were fortunate enough to attend Te Māori in New York. It seemed that the more you learnt about the stories of Māori culture the more you wanted to learn.

    2. Establishment of new benchmark and appraisal measures of Māori art. Māori artefacts became greatly admired art pieces; they became art treasures and prized heirlooms.

    3. Shifting of museum staff attitudes about the presentation and value of Māori art. Museums had been cast as tools of Pākehā colonialism and

oppression and irrelevant to Māori perceptions of culture. But Te Māori heralded the end of old museum practices and attitudes and marked the beginning of a new era of cultural appropriate procedures, protocols and methodologies (Butler, 1996).

4. Strategic intent – the establishment of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust designed to promote and provide formal training of Māori as curators and conservators. It was from Te Māori that this trust was born. The profits from Te Māori were allocated to administer internships and scholarships to ensure that Māori were afforded the skills needed to care for taonga. Since Te Māori, interest in its legacy has continued as illustrated in the recent re-launch of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust 31 years later (Flavell, 2015).

From a theoretical perspective the alignment between raising the conscientisation of Māori with Te Māori was high. Te Māori was a platform where Māori became conscious about their own art form and taonga. They resisted how the taonga were to be represented and brought about transformative changes by influencing Pākehā forms of control to create a unique space for them to be heard and acknowledged. While some of the younger research participants were not as informed about Te Māori as others, the responses from most of the participants illustrated the enhancement of feelings of utmost pride in being Māori.

Assumption – That there are lessons to be learnt from Te Māori.

An analysis of the successes shows a number of useful lessons (innovation, inclusivity, leadership, strategy) that intersected at every level with the list of successes (uniqueness, profile, catalyst, strategic intent). For example the differentiating feature of the combination of static and live Māori culture that made Te Māori unique were also a ground breaking innovative initiative which required leadership and visionary qualities. The lessons also unveiled a diverse range of transportable competencies. More detail is provided for the lessons below.

1. The innovation behind the ground breaking nature of the organisation that went on before the exhibition opening was profound. For the first time resources were allocated to Māori to lead this major event. This required leadership qualities to call together key personnel from iwi throughout the country and to seek their support and agreement to participate in this event. It was the first time Māori from all walks of life became involved in such an expansive event which meant learning to work together outside their comfort zone. It was the first time Māori were involved in the art of negotiating and setting new protocols and procedures on how the taonga would be treated and how the exhibition would run. While most of them were experts within their own tikanga-a-iwi the challenge for them was in the ability and willingness to adapt. The advantage was that the management, guidance and control lay firmly within the sphere of Māoridom. The important element being the appointment of key expertise in key positions. Many domains of tension arose at various times throughout the exhibition but were successfully managed because of the skilful and competent ability of these same key personnel.

2. The inclusion of customary rituals associated with the kaitiaki nature of the taonga were the defining aspects that shifted Te Māori from a mere showing of artefacts to a unique exhibition that represented the living culture and spiritual nature associated to each of the taonga. The people dimension of Te Māori made a new and different sort of contribution to the exhibition. People brought the exhibition alive; they added a dynamic quality to all events surrounding it, not just the exhibition itself, although that was the main element. People gave social meaning to the art, they provided an authentic context for the taonga, they enriched, informed and transformed the experience of visiting Te Māori into a memorable occasion (Hirini Moko Mead, 1986).

3. The leadership and visionary qualities of those Māori experts who were highly skilled and highly involved in all things pertaining to Tikanga Māori were an essential requirement to instilling and maintaining the mana and integrity of the

exhibition. Their ability to lead and influence played an important role in terms of securing funding and sponsorship and in seeing Te Māori through to completion.

4. It has always been my view that Te Māori was an excellent model of Māori representing Māori. Evidence shows that Te Māori provided an ideal strategic platform for how Māori could be represented in an authentic manner through the presentation of both static and living taonga. This again meant having the right people in the right place at the right time. The discussions, debates and negotiations that went on to ensure the inclusion of Tikanga Māori practices and rituals placed a high level of authenticity on the exhibition. As Rodney Wilson (1986) the Director of the Auckland City Art Gallery said "It is at that point, as the links between the exhibition and the people were forged, that the dormant spirit of Te Māori was awakened and it ceased to be merely an exhibition".

The establishment of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust and its recent re-launch is another clear indicator of the strategic nature of Te Māori and its long-term value. From a theoretical perspective, the value and praxis of Kaupapa Māori clearly illustrate the alignment with the four lessons outlined above. Research participants talked about Te Māori being the perfect catalyst for change to reshape and revive Māori culture; that it reinvigorated Māori and reignited the pride in being Māori; and that it raised Māori awareness of Māori taonga.

Assumption – That there were benefits for Māori from the experience of the Te Māori Exhibition.

There are two parts to the response to this assumption. The first part covers commentary from research participants about their perception of the state of Māori knowledge while the second part discusses some key themes that have come through from the analysis of all the assumptions above.

1. Although Te Māori happened 31 years ago the lessons that have unfolded from the successes are still current and transportable in today's environment. In considering the benefits from these lessons it has been useful to refer to the comments made by research participants about their perception of the state of Māori knowledge. The following discussion drawn from the participants comments have been presented in tabular form and are broadly categorised under the following headings:

   a) Origins – this category relates to the formative experiences that participants had with Māori knowledge.
   b) Applicability – this category is about their perception of the value of Māori knowledge.
   c) Potential Weight – this category indicates their perception of the legitimacy of Māori knowledge and whether it has credence in today's modern society.

Table 10 Participants Comments Categorised

	PW Generation	**BB Generation**	**Generation X**	**Generation Y**
Origins	All brought up in an environment surrounded by extended whānau, te reo Māori me nga tikanga. They wore tikanga like their clothes.	Some brought up in an environment surrounded by extended whānau but encouraged to follow the Pākehā way to the detriment of not learning or being able to speak the Māori language.	Varying degrees of exposure to Māori knowledge during the formative years. Similar to the previous generation some participants were encouraged to follow the Pākehā way.	The one participant in this group had a strict Māori upbringing and was taught that karakia or whakapapa had to be word perfect. Now days if you get it wrong no one really cares. The strict days of the old people in terms of adhering with traditions are diminishing.
Applicability	Still highly applicable for Māori. This group is current speakers of te reo Māori, has fluency in iwi dialect obvious,	Still highly applicable for Māori. Some participants are second language learners. Some participants have	Still applicable today but unsure of the level of traditional understanding that was around in grandparent days.	Māori are bicultural and can put their feet in both camps and feel comfortable about it. Māori knowledge still has its place

	leaders in tikanga Māori and associated rituals and practices. Often seen in kaumatua and kuia roles.	had to learn to take on roles such at kaikorero and kaikaranga.	Traditional ways will always be there but the way they are practiced has to change with the times.	and is still applicable but it's a picking mentality these days. There is a tendency for Māori to choose those Māori things that are easy.
Potential Weight	Māori knowledge still of value today. This group was highly adaptable in two respects: 1. To accepting the blended nature of te reo me nga tikanga Māori as it is seen today. 2. To assisting Pākehā to increase their cultural awareness by nurturing them through a process of understanding.	Māori knowledge still of value today. This group is not so lenient as the PW generation when it comes to assisting Pākehā to increase their cultural awareness it is the responsibility of the Pākehā to learn and to appreciate the value of difference. A common thread among this group of challenging experiences within mainstream institutions regarding the value and legitimacy of Māori knowledge.	Like all things there will be those who are very interested in traditional ways and will learn and passed the traditions and Māori knowledge on. There is still a lot of work to do in terms of shifting Pākehā attitudes towards Māori. At the same time Māori also need to "lift their game" and stop competing against each other.	The strength of Māori knowledge is waning with every generation. The tendency to choose the easy things and the issue around instant gratification are going to be an impediment and detrimental to the continuation of traditional Māori cultural rituals. Another interesting observation is the concept of 'we' and 'I' where 'I' is creeping in among the younger Māori generation more and more.

2. A thematic analysis of the evidence gathered is presented in tabular form against each of the research questions.

Table 11 A Thematic Analysis

Supplementary Research Questions	Thematic Analysis Results

1. How have Māori forms of control been marginalised?	- In situations where Māori ways of knowing being and doing are not taken into consideration.
	- Where western ideology and praxis is in control.
	  ○ Colonisation
	  ○ Hegemony
	  ○ Neoliberalism

2. From the success of the Te Māori Exhibition what were the lessons that can influence Māori forms of	- Māori knowledge best transmitted by Māori. - Range of competencies necessary to ensure integrity of Māori knowledge.

	control within Pākehā spaces?	
3.	**In what way have the lessons from Te Māori benefited Māori?**	- Te Māori has been a catalyst for positive change. - From the range of competencies comes a set of characteristics – definition, acknowledgement, understanding, acceptance and practice.

From a theoretical perspective Māori knowledge was seen as a repository of all those customs and traditions that are unique to Māori and that only reside in Te Ao Māori. Research participants spoke of growing up only speaking Māori, being told about tipuna, observing tikanga and following suit; being taught the old way of whaikorero; that tikanga was inculcated into everyday life and you wore it like you wore your clothes; that it built foundations of identity and a strong sense of belonging; that taonga were highly prized and were repositories of Māori knowledge; that although traditional ways will always be there, the way they are being practiced today is different; that the blending nature of society is leading to a blending of tikanga Māori – the Pākehā-fication of tikanga.

6.2.3 Part Three – The Primary Research Question

The primary research question that this thesis attempts to answer is – How can Māori influence forms of control within non-Māori spaces? Since colonisation Māori forms of control slowly diminished as Māori became subjected to policies of colonisation such as assimilation and integration. Mead (2016, p.3) recently contended that "the settlers set to take what we owned, to destroy our cultural systems and to ensure that as a collective we were unable to challenge the legitimacy of their actions, and their dominance in the political and economic life of the nation."

Over a few decades since the 1960s a period of Māori renaissance and later, cultural resurgence began to occur through the process of conscientisation, resistance and hence transformation. In 1984 the movement towards cultural resurgence was given a boost by the overwhelming success of the Te Māori Exhibition. Pākehā's continuous attempts to seize control over the management of the Te Māori Exhibition instilled in Māori the need to challenge Pākehā control. Māori did take up the challenge and took the necessary action to ensure the integrity and kaitiakitanga role over the taonga.

Throughout the four year duration of Te Māori, Māori continued to maintain a tight-hold and control of the proceedings throughout the exhibition. For a change, Pākehā dominant control was tamed by Māori dominant control. Māori had claimed a space for themselves within the Pākehā environments of art galleries and museums. This research has utilised the experiences from Te Māori to identify a range of lessons that have been taken from the success factors of the exhibition. The lessons which are based on a diverse range of competencies are transportable and can be used in other situations where Māori forms of control are required.

In order for Māori to influence different forms of control that would benefit them within Pākehā spaces, high levels of competencies are required, not only in Te Ao Māori but also in Te Ao Pākehā. Therefore, while Māori need to understand their own perspective of Te Ao Māori and all that it encompasses, they must also build capacity in Te Ao Pākehā. The following table shows a wide range of some generic competencies that Māori need to be mindful of in order to influence control under the mantle of a Kaupapa Māori approach within a Pākehā environment.

Table 12 Table of Competencies

Māori Competencies	Pākehā Competencies
Te Reo Māori	Strategic thinking
Nga tikanga Māori	Management
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Negotiation
Tino Rangatiratanga	Innovation
Whānau, Hapū, Iwi	Leadership
Te Ao Māori perspectives	Pākehā perspectives

6.3 A Potential Model of Engagement

From the ideas and themes that came through from a process of thematic analysis much consideration was given to the links and the relationships between each theme. Further refinement formed a coherent pattern and the picture that emerged is

presented in table 11 which form the skeleton of a potential model of engagement. Although this model is designed to:

1. Lift Pākehā awareness and understanding of Māori knowledge

2. Ensure Pākehā preparedness so that they can effectively engage with Māori and thus respond in a more informed way to Māori needs

It is also a model that ensures Māori guardianship and control of the Māori knowledge that is being shared. It employs a constructivist methodology to the learning process where the learner is actively engaged in the learning process rather than being lectured to and receiving knowledge passively. Its application can also be applied to many situations and at various points of any given situation. In developing the model the researcher was reminded of the following Chinese proverb:

> "Tell me and I'll forget; show me and I may remember; involve me and I'll understand"

The model begins with an explanation of the characteristics that have been referred to at different stages throughout this thesis. Each characteristic has then been compared across four key domains, chosen by the researcher which is relevant to this thesis.

6.3.1 A set of characteristics

The set of characteristics have been defined as follows:

Definition – A statement of the meaning of a term, word, phrase or object for example Māori define ***taonga*** to mean something special, of great value, a treasure, a gift or to be gifted. Sometimes the use of Māori terms is confused and this can lead to complications. A simple example is the use of the term 'whānau' which means different things to different people. Beginning this model with the need to define exactly what is intended is therefore very important.

Acknowledgement – The recognition of the importance or quality of something as being valid, having force or power eg: Māori acknowledge that some ***taonga*** have mana and may carry important lineage of history or whakapapa. Recognising the importance of an intention is a fundamental learning phase in knowing what is happening around you. To know something is to agree with it and to support it.

Understanding – A willingness and ability to comprehend to have insight, good judgement, sympathy to and awareness or tolerance of eg: Māori understand the metaphysical nature of some ***taonga*** and the associated tapu and spiritual nature some possess. This characteristic implies developing one's own knowledge so that the intent of something can be explained by the learner in various different ways and within different contexts.

Acceptance – The act of receiving a gift, believing or assenting to the reality of a situation eg: Māori accept the associated metaphysical nature of some ***taonga*** unconditionally. This characteristic implies believing in the value of difference and having a willingness to learn alternative ways.

Practice – The customary, habitual, expected procedure or way of doing something eg: Māori practice the traditional rituals associated with each of the elements of ***taonga*** which are characteristics above. The ability and competency to undertake the necessary practices associated with whatever the intent is.

6.3.2 Domains of Māori Knowledge

In designing this model a comparative analysis approach to the extent of showing similarities and differences has been used as a guidance to understand each characteristic against a variety of domains. The overall intention in using comparisons is to attempt to show that Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge is both valid and legitimate in all domains. Each of the domains chosen draws on its relevance to Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge. Presented in tabular format each domain will be discussed in more detail below.

The Historical Domain of Māori Knowledge

The historical domain refers to the territory over which events from the past are discussed. With reference to Māori knowledge it is an accumulation of all those events that have had a lasting impact on the development of a Māori worldview. From a personal perspective the researcher being Māori and having a Māori worldview is dependent on her being a member of the Te Atihaunui a Paparangi iwi and the events her tipuna especially kuia Pura McGregor were involved in which have had a lasting impression on her.

The Traditional Domain of Māori Knowledge

The traditional domain refers to the territory over which knowledge, habits and practices are discussed. The term used by Māori is 'tikanga Māori'. They are those things that relate to customary values, practices and rituals that are handed down from one generation to the other. According to Hirini Mead 'tika' means to be right and therefore tikanga Māori focuses on the correct way of doing something. Mead further says that:

> '….to look at tikanga Māori as an essential part of Māori knowledge. In fact tikanga Māori cannot be understood without making use of Māori knowledge….While Māori knowledge might be carried in the minds; tikanga Māori puts the knowledge into practice….' (H. M. Mead, 2003).

From a personal perspective the following whakatauki is significantly important to the researcher. When recited it is recognised as belonging to the Whanganui River.

> "Ko au te awa, Ko te awa ko au – I am the river and the river is me."

The Contemporary Domain of Māori Knowledge

The contemporary domain refers to the territory of newly articulated thinking about the status quo. With reference to Māori knowledge this may include a modern Māori perspective with a range of expanded definitions and meanings that can align with contemporary western thinking. From personal experience this means altering the concept of powhiri to a 'staged' event or a learning experience for Pākehā based on choice of place, time constraints and reciting basic waiata that they know. Often the depth and wairua of the experience is missing for Māori participants. When a powhiri is not performed on a marae it ceases to be a powhiri, it becomes a mihi whakatau instead.

The Policy Domain of Māori Knowledge

Within a western ideological paradigm the policy domain refers to the territory of dominant Pākehā control and restricted decision making. Within a Kaupapa Māori ideological paradigm, the policy domain refers to the territory of dominant Māori control and consensus decision making. Both territories have a place in society. However in order for Pākehā to allow a Māori perspective into the decision making mix and to "get it right for Māori" it is necessary for them to acknowledge, understand and accept an authentic Māori view which may produce more positive policy outcomes for Māori.

Table 13 The Four Domains of Māori Knowledge

The Historical Domain of Māori Knowledge	**The Traditional Domain of Māori Knowledge**	**The Contemporary Domain of Māori Knowledge**	**The Policy Domain of Māori Knowledge**
A definition of Māori Knowledge within a historical domain is based on an accumulation of Māori people's testimony about themselves eg: it is a body of information drawn from evidence, experience and beliefs that is meaningful to them.	A definition of Māori Knowledge within a traditional domain refers also to the concept of Matauranga Māori, a body of information that seeks to explain phenomena by drawing on concepts that have been handed down from one generation of Māori to	A definition of Māori Knowledge within a contemporary domain is based on a body of knowledge that includes a blended version of historical, traditional and new and expanded versions of Māori knowledge that fit within today's modern society.	A Definition of Māori Knowledge within a policy domain is based on a body of knowledge that is authentically Māori and can withstand robust scrutiny within a Kaupapa Māori context. At the same time it ought to be able to also withstand the rigor of

	another.		western ideological tests and measures.
An acknowledgement of Māori Knowledge within a historical domain is based on the metaphysical realm of Māori knowledge emanating from important historical events eg: Te Ao Māori origins. It is also based on the recognition that Māori knowledge always comes from within a local context and forever remains there.	An acknowledgement of Māori Knowledge within a traditional domain is based on the validation, confirmation and affirmation of traditional Māori knowledge and practices eg: providing a place or role for tradition, upholding the expertise of kaumatua and kuia, encouraging the retention of te reo me ona tikanga.	An acknowledgement of Māori knowledge within a contemporary domain is to recognise that intergenerational change is happening. Acknowledging the importance of modern thinking and the need to maintain pace with it is necessary for the evolution and maintenance of the Māori culture. Our future youthful leaders are adapting to the rapid global change in the IT world and need to be encouraged and supported by their elders.	An Acknowledgement of Māori Knowledge within a policy domain is to give recognition to the value that a Māori perspective can bring to policy decisions. Coupled with this is the importance for Pākehā to recognise the gaps where Māori world views are not taken into consideration.
An understanding of Māori knowledge within a historical domain is about having an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the evolution of historical foundation events. To be acquainted with and experienced in things Māori is a necessary pre requisite.	An understanding of Māori knowledge within a traditional domain is based on an awareness of the connectedness between te ao Māori and te ao marama. It is also about knowing the importance of Māori cultural beliefs, concepts and valuing oral traditions.	An understanding of Māori knowledge within a contemporary domain is to hold fast to those historical purakau and traditions that anchor oneself to their place of belonging while at the same time keep pace with the blended whakaaro coming through nga mokopuna. The challenge and excitement for Māori is to capitalise on the strengths and advantages of new age thinking and to harness the benefits for the sake of whānau, hapū and iwi survival.	An Understanding of Māori knowledge within a policy domain is based on an awareness of the rich history and traditions Māori can bring to the policy decision forum. The challenge for Pākehā is in knowing where to source the correct information and the correct Māori people to consult for the policy project in hand. The excitement for Māori is to 'step-up' to the challenge and to make themselves available to participate and contribute.
An acceptance of Māori knowledge within a historical domain is based on a person's assent to the reality of	An acceptance of Māori knowledge within a traditional domain is about enabling Māori knowledge to be used	An acceptance of Māori knowledge within a contemporary domain is about the willingness to recognise and allow	An Acceptance of Māori knowledge within a policy domain is about allowing the merging of Māori knowledge into a

a situation eg accepting that oral Māori history is still valid and legitimate today rather than being viewed as past history, quaint or ethnic.	in ways that will sustain Māori traditions for future generations.	an alternative approach to traditional Māori ways. This also means agreeing to an alternative approach as being valid and legitimate.	policy framework that validates a Māori worldview. The alignment and reinforcement of modern Māori concepts is also a significant feature to be aware of so too is the need to maintain Māori control over Māori knowledge.
The practice of Māori Knowledge within a historical domain is based on the use and translation of knowledge as a way to build customary practices that are distinctly Māori.	The practice of Māori Knowledge within a traditional domain is to affirm the rich expressions of ancient Māori culture through waiata, haka and purakau etc.	The practice of Māori Knowledge within a contemporary domain is to allow the introduction of modern methodologies such as the use of technology at Tangihanga to transmit the proceedings through the web or an app thus allowing those whānau who are unable to attend the tangi the opportunity to watch the proceedings. Times have changed from the 'hangi pit' to the 'microwave' to an 'app'.	The Practice of Māori Knowledge within a policy domain is to ensure the transmission and sharing of Māori knowledge is carried out in an appropriate manner that ensures a high level of quality and integrity.

This model seeks to understand through the lessons of negotiation experienced by Māori throughout the Te Māori Exhibition how convening a session of learning can benefit the guardianship of Māori knowledge. It seeks to endorse how Māori experts can strengthen, deepen and build their capacity to ensure control over the sharing of Māori knowledge. Ideally such a session would be organised along tikanga Māori lines within an environment based on Kaupapa Māori ideology. By placing a Kaupapa Māori methodological lens over western theoretical considerations and techniques such as conscientisation, resistance, transformation praxis, thematic analysis and triangulation the creativity and strength that comes from a model of engagement based on the genealogical links of Māori ways of knowing naturally ensures the validity and legitimacy of such knowledge.

In reflecting on the evidence gathered from the research participants about Pākehā responses to Māori knowledge this model may be useful for Pākehā decision makers when intending to engage with Māori. From a strategic perspective it makes good business sense to adopt such a model especially when working alongside Māori. While it would involve the transformation of Pākehā beliefs, values, knowledge, history and habits about Māori and the re-learning of Māori authenticity and the truth about the reality of Māori it should create an environment of equality and equability. In addition to this, the value Māori knowledge may bring to the decision making process and the outcomes sought could work in favour of both the mainstream institution and the Māori community.

6.4 Transformative Action

To paraphrase Freire's (1972) insight:

> "….we can't just free ourselves; we also have to free the system…"
> (G.H Smith, 2015)

It is acknowledged that as researchers we need to work towards eliminating the mainstream barriers that continually hold Māori back in areas of disparity through inefficient and inequitable decisions that are made for Māori by non-Māori. It is time for Māori to 'free themselves' by confronting the issues of inequality. This model of engagement is a solutions-focused approach tool that seeks to influence change to the way in which Māori knowledge is viewed and valued by Pākehā. By providing stepping stones of learning and ways to build bridges of understanding the process involved in the transmission of this model encourages people to change their mindset about Māori. In addition a more thorough understanding of Māori knowledge will be gained thus influencing more equitable policy decisions. However, in order to achieve genuine buy-in from mainstream institutions, Māori need to firstly know the outcome they seek and secondly be willing and capable to step-up to the mark and face the challenge and responsibility to participate and bring about positive change for Māori.

The following diagram of a business framework is a visual attempt of transformation in action showing how an organisation can show its commitment to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi from a strategic perspective and from an operational perspective. The potential model of engagement could be suitable deployed during the 'Preparedness' element of the framework.

Table 14 A Potential Business Framework

Treaty of Waitangi	Partnership (responding to issues of power sharing and decision making)	Protection (acknowledging and valuing Māori knowledge and pedagogical values)	Participation (Provides individuals and groups with equity of access to resources and services.
An organisational strategic response	Strategic leadership	Operational excellence	Building the Business
	Building Financial Strength		
An organisational operational response	Responding to Māori needs a high level of Preparedness	1. Organisational Capability 2. People Capability	
	Responsiveness	3. Effective Engagement 4. Collaboration / Joint Ventures etc.	

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has endeavoured to critically engage with the research findings through the use of original tools that have been uniquely designed and developed purposefully to show the intersection between research assumptions and research evidence. The analysis of the research findings revealed a range of evidence that justifiably provided answers to the research questions. While there is a need for Māori to re-claim space, for their voice to be heard in Pākehā spaces, the primary concern is the ability of Māori to actually be able to influence different forms of control that will allow the re-claiming to happen. Critical to this occurring is the acquisition of a range of key competencies in both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā. The Te Māori Exhibition has

been used as a tool to show that through my interpretation of the taming of Pākehā dominant control by Māori dominant control, over the management, organisation and delivery of the exhibition, Māori space was claimed and the Māori voice was heard, valued and acknowledged. This was a situation where key personnel were highly competent in both worlds. From the ideas and themes that have come through the research evidence a potential model of engagement has been developed and can be used in the future to strengthen relationships between Māori and Pākehā. While the model has been designed to lift Pākehā awareness and understanding of Māori knowledge, the principle aim of the model is to ensure Māori guardianship and control over the Māori knowledge that is being shared.

Chapter 7
Ko nga Rereketanga te Oranga/ Making a Difference

"For Māori there could be no more resounding affirmation of the talents of their forebears than to have it displayed in one of the world's great art galleries….the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

So much attention is devoted to Māori over-representation in crime, welfare and unemployment statistics that it is easy to forget the contribution Māori make to the richness of New Zealand life, the generosity of the tribes who have gifted to the nation parks, lakes and rivers and the patience with which Māori have to wait for historic grievances to be settled.

Māori have much to be proud of. The rest of New Zealand has much to thank them for.

A second Te Māori Exhibition would give everyone reason to celebrate……"

(Dominion Post, 2009).

7.1 Introduction

The quote above was written during the 25th anniversary celebration of the Te Māori Exhibition in September 2009. In September 2015, thirty one years since the Te Māori Exhibition, the re-launch of the Te Māori Manaaki Taonga Trust, possibly one of the most significant and lasting successes of Te Māori occurred. Both events serve as a reminder of the contribution they made not only to the increased awareness of Māori art but also to the validity and legitimacy of the Māori knowledge, purakau, waiata and tikanga Māori that surrounded the events. Te Māori changed the way Māori art, and its associated korero, was viewed. It made a profound difference to the way Māori viewed themselves as well. While there are pockets of areas throughout New Zealand where Māori art and culture and its associated korero are acknowledged and understood such as the art of Māori weaving taught and kept alive through the Hetet Art Space Gallery in Waiwhetu and the Māori Carving School at Te Puia in Rotorua for

instance, there is still much to be done in terms of raising cultural awareness among Pākehā. Te Māori was also a platform where Māori could influence Pākehā forms of control to create a unique space for them to be heard and acknowledged.

Critical reflections presented in this chapter are a culmination of the ideas and concepts introduced in earlier chapters. They also include research participant's views and experiences, literature reviews, interpretations from the interrogation of documentation and my own personal experiences. The accumulation of all the different perspectives and the formation of new interpretations has been a fundamental learning experience. At every point I have endeavored to merge abstract theory to the reality of experiences and have provided a Kaupapa Māori perspective to further show the linkages between two world views on different issues. Diagrams, flow charts and tables have been used as a visual expression to help articulate layers of abstraction and comprehensive concepts. From a qualitative perspective, unlike statistical quantitative data, I believe visual expression provides a useful picture of the data captured.

This chapter provides the reflections of the journey throughout the duration of this study. It presents the overarching themes which form the backbone of this thesis. In an effort to make a difference for the repositioning of Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces, it highlights the strengths, limitations and the contributions this study makes to the pool of Kaupapa Māori literature.

7.2 Reflections of a journey well travelled

This thesis has evolved out of a sense of irritation with Pākehā domination and patronisation over Māori issues that they know almost nothing about. I've always known that I've wanted to write about the frustrations I've felt over continually having to justify myself and why Māori do things the way they do. There were those consistent feelings of isolation and marginalisation, about being Māori and about knowing all those things that underpin ones Māori-ness that were never valued or counted outside a Māori environment. With so many thoughts and ideas floating around, I just didn't know how to articulate them into a coherent framework or where

to begin. There have been events throughout my life that have had a profound effect on the continual confirmation of the subordination I felt as a Māori, particularly in career related situations. There were also many events that have had a positive impact on 'simply being Māori'. One in particular, is the hype that came from the success of the Te Māori Exhibition at a time in the 1980's when Māori cultural revival received a huge boost from Te Māori's popularity. My curiosity about how to merge the two schools of thought by utilising the positivity of one, such as the lessons from the success of Te Māori, to counteract the other, such as the subordinate/dominate relationship that developed between Māori and Pākehā, began my investigation.

Chapter One has provided some useful background information that justifies the rationale for asking the primary research question – How can Māori influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces? It focused particularly in a mainstream environment where critical decisions are often made for, about and without Māori people. Approaches by Māori to reclaim space for themselves and to have control over decisions that affect them, has been a struggle since colonisation. A contextual scan that discussed the perpetual toil that Māori have gone through since colonisation as well as a milieu of associated events established the ethos for this study. Included in the scan was a very brief historical snapshot of the position of Māori before colonisation; the importance of the role of the Treaty of Waitangi and its implications to issues relating to the relationship between two peoples, Māori and Pākehā; the concept of Māori representation and the assumptions and challenges Māori have faced in attempts to represent themselves in their own unique way; policies that came from neoliberalism and the effect they had on Māori; and the 1981 Springbok tour. It concludes with a discussion about the decades of Māori renaissance touching on the patronising Pākehā perspective of things relating to Māori interests and how the disparity and inequalities between Māori and Pākehā interests continue today.

The literature reviewed and analyzed in Chapter Two was specifically selected to help rationalise the topic of this study – repositioning Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces – the Te Māori experience. It focused on themes around the concept of unequal power relations between dominant and subordinate interest groups.

Developmental trends throughout this chapter demonstrated patterns of resilience in the face of adversity such as Māori ability to survive colonisation and to revive Māori culture. For instance it discusses the failure of neoliberal policies to assimilate, integrate and subsequently eliminate Māori. Despite the gains made during the Te Māori Exhibition, where Māori became the dominant force, disparities over who has the last say in a mainstream environment between Māori and Pākehā, remains. Although the literature covered a wide range of topics, each component was relevant. The examples used in the body of the chapter provided the justification for the context being discussed. As illustrated in Table Three, the relationship between the literature and the topic attempts to show the logical movement from Pākehā control to Māori resistance to Māori control to Māori opportunities.

Table Three (extracted from Chapter Two)

Pākehā Control	Colonisation – the establishment of control. Knowledge – a platform to understanding whose knowledge counts.	Whakapapa
Māori Resistance	Kaupapa Māori – a vehicle for change. Matauranga Māori – a concept that anchors Māori history, knowledge and language.	
Māori Control	The Te Māori Exhibition – an expression of the above components.	
Māori Opportunities	Tourism and the New Zealand Economy – an opportunity for Māori to contribute.	

The intention of the use of whakapapa is to provide a framework that genealogically links and recalls past histories of knowledge to present new pathways of opportunities that validate Māori forms of control.

The range of post colonial concepts and theories that were explored in Chapter Three attempted to explain phenomenon about dominant power. Responding to questions on 'how' dominant/subordinate relationships have flourished, an examination of cultural hegemony, the pedagogy of the oppressed and hybridity was undertaken. In spite of the emergence of Kaupapa Māori theory which evolved from a space of resistance and struggle, its maintenance, use and survival within Pākehā spaces,

remains a challenge for Māori. However, combining Pākehā ideology with Kaupapa Māori theory will always be a problem because of the different concepts, beliefs and worldwide views between Māori and Pākehā. Further on in this study a set of characteristics that may provide a solution to bridging the gap between the two world views is presented. Each characteristic (underlined) builds a bridge of understanding from one to the other. For instance, in identifying a topic to discuss, the topic needs to be clearly defined. It has to be acknowledged for its importance and understood for its value to comprehend and convey information. An acceptance is required, to believe in the value of difference and finally the ability and competence to undertake the necessary practices associated with whatever the intention of the topic is. These characteristics are further discussed in Chapter Six.

The comprehensive range of theoretical considerations presented in Chapter Three guided the methodological approach that was used in Chapter Four. Analyzing research participant's narratives to find meaning from their experiences, established a platform where abstract theory, and lived realities, tested the candor of the research questions around the repositioning of Māori forms of control within Pākehā spaces. A conceptual framework 'He Tapatoru Hurihuringa' is introduced in Chapter Four and served as a useful tool to record and reflect on the knowledge, data and information collected for this study. Philosophical assumptions, relating to ontology, epistemology, axiology and methodology were applied to a Kaupapa Māori paradigm to show the veracity of Kaupapa Māori within a western theoretical paradigm. While this allowed movement between the two paradigms, the focus of this research leaned more towards a Kaupapa Māori methodology. As a research methodology, a Kaupapa Māori approach is a means of analyzing the world from a Māori perspective. Kaupapa Māori ethics and values were paramount and have been instilled throughout the research journey. They served as a clear set of guidance tools to ensure the integrity of the study remained intact. This was particularly necessary throughout the engagement with research participants and the analysis of the information they shared.

Chapter Five is an inventory of the findings. The combined findings from interviews indicate that there are similar views regarding the evolving nature of te reo Māori me

nga tikanga Māori; its credence in today's society; the value and legitimacy of Māori epistemology and knowledge; the successes of Te Māori and issues of Māori management and control. Analysis of relevant documentation relating to Te Māori supported the interview data and in some cases illustrated the specific areas of concern raised by participants.

Again diagrams were used as a visual expression of the technique of triangulation to show an intersection between various points that arose from the interviews. He Tapatoru Hurihuringa was used to show the correlation between Māori epistemology which included a thematic analysis of the research findings; Te Māori where a Kaupapa Māori methodology was used to gather the data; and the concept of whakapapa, which, in line with Foucault's (Foucault as cited in Gordon (1980) theory on genealogical links, focuses on the process by which ideas and thoughts are linked rather than the cause. Research findings also showed how Māori can influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces. This was particularly evident where the expertise of key Māori personnel who were an integral part of the management of the Te Māori Exhibition, maintained a tight hold and control on the proceedings throughout the exhibition. For a change Pākehā dominant control was tamed by Māori dominant control and the word from Māori was acknowledged and accepted.

In Chapter Six, critical engagement with the research findings has been attempted, through the use of original tools that were unique in their design and which were developed purposefully for this study. The intention was to show an intersect between research assumptions and research evidence. The analysis of the findings revealed a range of evidence that justifiably provided answers and solutions to the research questions. While there is a need for Māori to re-claim space so that the Māori voice can be heard in Pākehā spaces, it became evident from the Te Māori experience that the primary concern is the ability of Māori to actually be able to influence control and allow the re-claiming to happen. Critical to this occurring is the acquisition of a range of key competencies in both Te Ao Māori and Te Ao Pākehā. The Te Māori Exhibition has been a useful tool to show that the taming of Pākehā dominant control by Māori dominant control, over the management, organisation and delivery of the exhibition,

Māori space was claimed and the Māori voice was heard, valued and acknowledged. This was clearly a situation where key personnel were highly competent in both worlds. From the ideas and themes that have come through the research evidence a potential model of engagement has been developed and can be used in the future to strengthen relationships between Māori and Pākehā. While the model has been designed to lift Pākehā awareness and the understanding of Māori knowledge, the principle aim of the model is to ensure Māori guardianship and control over the Māori knowledge that is being shared.

This journey has indeed been a journey well travelled for myself. The notion of bias is important for every researcher because the stories, thoughts and ideas we carry are our own. The issues we create around these, as well as our tendency to view things and interpret things from our point of view, influence us into believing that our way is the 'right way'. However reviewing literature and gathering evidence for a study such as this, raises a whole set of new questions, thoughts, ideas, concepts, theory opinions, and for me diagrams. Going through the process of this research has extended my quest for further knowledge and truths.

There are four themes that have come from this thesis. They are:

1. The successes from the Te Māori Exhibition that are seldom referred to today. In terms of influencing control within dominant Pākehā spaces, the lessons that can be gained from the successes of Te Māori still hold credence for the current and future generations of today. This thesis has attempted to approach the successes of Te Māori by using them as an analytical tool to compare the value of Māori epistemology and knowledge. The aim has been to shift Te Māori away from the margins to a place of more prominence. It is hoped that through the reading of this thesis Te Māori will be given the ongoing consideration it deserves as a significant point in Māori history, which made a huge difference, and within western museum and art gallery traditional etiquette Māori control became firmly embedded and eventually became the dominant force. It is also hoped that through the Te Māori Manaaki Trust can continue to make a difference.

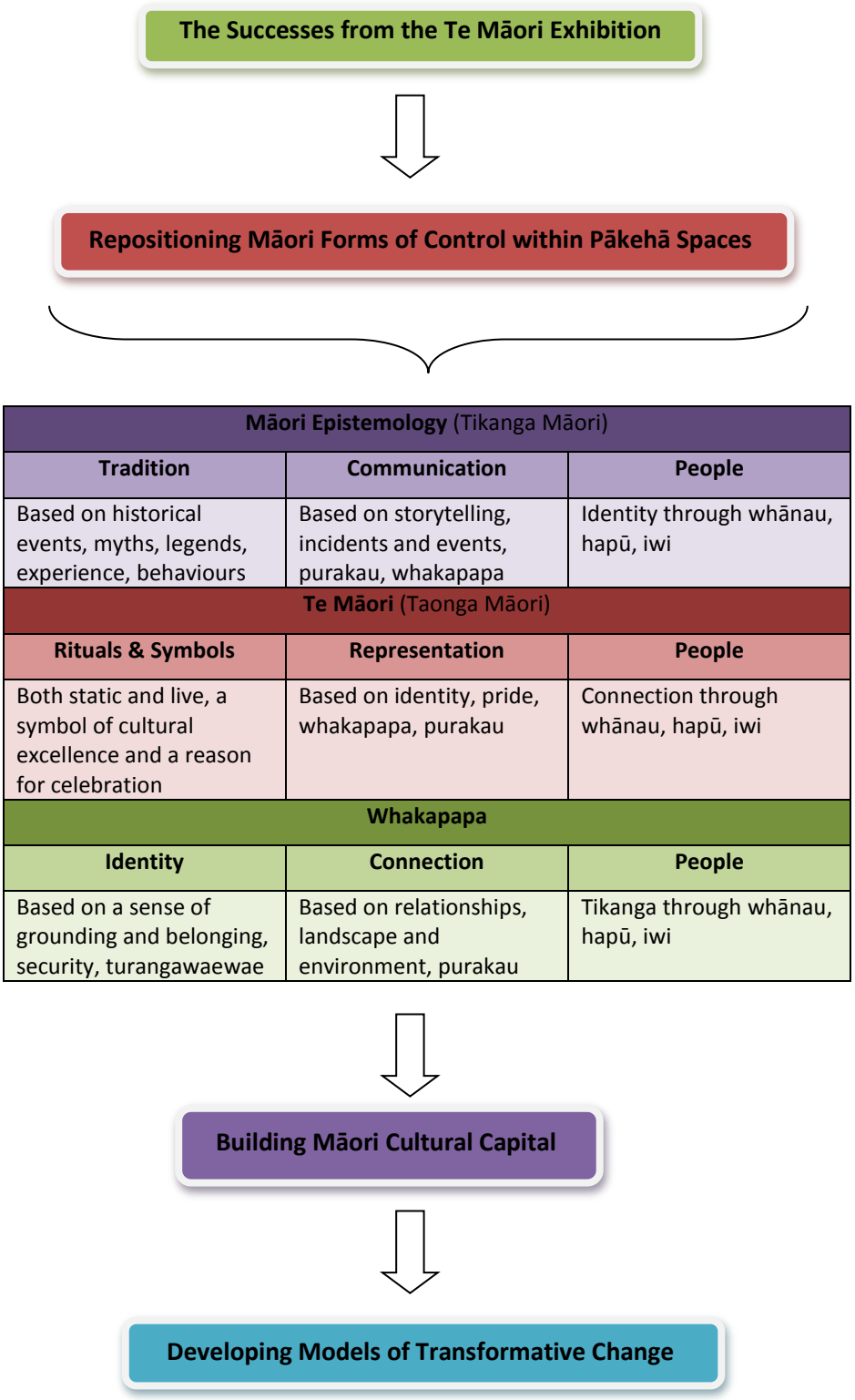
2. Influencing forms of control is an opportunity and a challenge for Māori through acknowledging the value and legitimacy of Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge. This thesis has attempted to show that the use of a Kaupapa Māori platform provides Māori researchers with the freedom to exercise their own Māori values and philosophies in a way that is empowering to them and ultimately to the wider Māori community and to New Zealand society at large. The taming of Pākehā dominant control by Māori dominant control is not a negative approach, in fact, as evidence has shown, it is a necessity in most situations where Māori meet Pākehā at the interface where Māori issues are being discussed. There are many opportunities for Māori to maintain control over issues that affect Māori. It is hoped that more Māori continue to seize this opportunity.

3. Building Māori cultural capital by guaranteeing a vested interest in ensuring cultural competencies are important in maintaining and affirming the validity and legitimacy of Māori epistemology and Māori knowledge. This thesis attempts to contribute to the growing body of Kaupapa Māori literature that focuses on exploring different ways and means of eliminating the barriers that create tension between Māori and Pākehā interests. It is hoped that Māori can realise their potential in building Māori capacity, capability, models, theory, literature and endorsing current Kaupapa Māori initiatives.

4. Developing models of transformation that introduce notions of interaction, challenge personal beliefs and values and that engage in action to shift mindsets and habits are essential. This thesis has presented a potential model of engagement and a business framework based on the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi that can potentially work in favour of Māori interests and produce better result for them. By presenting these models it is hoped that they will be taken up by others to extend the limitations of Māori cultural understanding on issues that hugely affect Māori.

In conclusion this diagram provides a visual expression of the evolution of this thesis.

Figure 12 The Evolution of this Thesis



A Model of Engagement

The Historical Domain	The Traditional Domain	The Contemporary Domain	The Policy Domain
A definition of Māori Knowledge			
An acknowledgement of Māori Knowledge			
An understanding of Māori Knowledge			
An acceptance of Māori Knowledge			
The practice of Māori Knowledge			

A Treaty of Waitangi Business Framework

Treaty of Waitangi	Partnership (responding to issues of power sharing and decision making)	Protection (acknowledging and valuing Māori knowledge and pedagogical values)	Participation (Provides individuals and groups with equity of access to resources and services.
An organisational strategic response	Strategic leadership	Operational excellence	Building the Business
	Building Financial Strength		
An organisational operational response	Preparedness	1. Organisational Capability 2. People Capability	
	Responsiveness	3. Effective Engagement 4. Collaboration / Joint Ventures etc.	

7.3 Further Research

An interesting area of subsequent enquiry came out of the interview process and I was tempted to shift the focus of this thesis. This new idea of studying Māori generational change through the ages was very appealing. In particular the motivation to study the affect the generational change has had on the evolving nature of Māori knowledge begged the question - Can we meet the future by doing what we did in the past? Or how can the past add value and give credence to the youth today who live in a rapidly changing and blended environment.

While the elders of today, through their youth and upbringing, wear tikanga Māori like they do their clothes and are steeped in Māori knowledge traditions and have the capability to maintain its integrity through their expression and fluency in te reo Māori, how can the youth of the day grasp hold of these treasures and do the same? Motivated by 'instant gratification' the concept of 'selfies' and the preference to 'watch and know' rather than 'do and know' is an appealing and provocative area of enquiry which could potentially be an interesting area of further research.

7.4 Conclusion

In search of opportunities to create political and cultural space for Māori the institutional and systemic forms of colonial oppression that have devastated Māori for years have to be removed (Bidois, 2012). In order for Māori to influence forms of control within Pākehā spaces and to be heard, Māori need to do something different so that a change can occur. Transformation cannot happen if we continue to do the same thing. We have to do things differently and in that sense there is no conclusion to this thesis. There is only a continuation for Māori to search for the fortitude and dexterity to rise up to the challenges before them and to create a difference that will impact positively on the whole of New Zealand society.

The most important contribution this study sets out to make, is to show that the lessons learnt from the success of Te Māori, in terms of Maori control in Pakeha spaces can be applied to other Pakeha spaces where better Maori control is needed.

This thesis began with a quote from Te Māori. I believe the following quote from Te Māori is an ideal one to end this thesis.

> "We stand taller after Te Māori, we speak with greater assurance and dignity, we are more hopeful about our future, we are confident about being Māori, and we feel less threatened by others. We have a magnificent heritage and a beautiful future ahead of us. This is the message of Te Māori" (H.M. Mead, 1986).

Appendix 1

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Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi
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Rongo-o-Awa, Domain Road
Whakatane

Managing the Interface of Knowledge Traditions

CONSENT FORM

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of study explained to me.
My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree to participate in this study under conditions set out in the Information Sheet, but may withdraw my consent at any given time.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

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Whakatane

Managing the Interface of Knowledge Traditions

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

THIS CONSENT FORM WILL BE HELD FOR A PERIOD OF FIVE (5) YEARS

I _____ (Full Name – printed)

agree to keep confidential all information concerning the project

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Full name – printed: _____

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Managing the Interface of Knowledge Traditions

INFORMATION SHEET

Researchers Information

Researcher:
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Dr Cherryl Smith – contact number 021 0242882

Research Summary

This research seeks to examine the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge and its existence, maintenance and representation within a colonial societal context. It explores whether it is possible to manage the interface between the two knowledge traditions of dominant Pākehā interests or western colonial style thinking and subordinate Māori interests or Matauranga Māori whakaaro. In many respects the policies, systems and processes that organisations have used to legislate, plan and manage their activities have been done so in a way that has overtly excluded Māori participation and input and have consequently perpetuated inequality, inequity, injustice and subsequently disparity for Māori.

This research also considers how a transformative model of change can be developed that clearly defines the characteristics of Māori knowledge across various domains of influence? Furthermore how can these characteristics be applied to allow and enable Māori knowledge to be an inclusive component of future epistemological thought, writing, discussion and debate, rather than an afterthought or an add-on?

Participant Recruitment

- The participants have been randomly chosen from my personal network of colleagues, friends and acquaintances. Among the participants are Māori community leaders, public servant senior managers and managers, business owners, academic scholars and those with an active interest in Māori issues.
- All of the participants have had many years experience in their particular field, currently remain engaged in Māori development and have the capability and capacity to provide a useful perspective on this topic and to make a valuable contribution upon which to draw conclusions.
- The number of participants will be in the range of 18 – 20.

Project Procedures

- A range of questions have been designed to gather information from participants based on their own personal perspective and experience. The questions are attached at page 6.
- Information will be captured using the recording application on a Samsung Mobile Galaxy S6 phone as well as note taking by the researcher.
- When the information has been transcribed by the researcher it will be stored on Portable Hard Drive, protected by a password and kept in a lockable cabinet. The only person who will have access to the information will be the researcher.
- The information gathered will be analysed using a variety of methods eg:
    1) Organisation of the information – by developing a matrix to record the information collected against each question. This should clearly identify similarities and themes.
    2) Overlaying a Kaupapa Māori audit on the information to ascertain the
        - Māori development potential
        - Contribution towards positive Māori outcome gains
        - The depth and value of the cultural beliefs and experience of the participant.
    3) Completing a SWOT analysis as a means to determine how weaknesses and threats can be presented as potential opportunities that strengthen and enhance the underlying question/argument of the research
    4) Conducting a PEST analysis on the information to draw conclusions from a political, economic, social and technical relationship perspective.
    5) Applying an analytical lens over stories of events that have made a significant change eg: the impact of the Te Māori Exhibition especially on the validation of Māori taonga and the impact of the waka-shaped pavilion during the 2011 RWC tournament. Questions about change are often in the form of stories of who did what, when and why – and the reasons why the event was important and the impact it made. All these stories are significant evidence worthy of inclusion in this thesis.

Participants involvement

- Individual interviews and up to two focus group meetings will be conducted.
- The time allocated for interviews will be approximately 2 hours.

Participants Rights

You have the right to:

- Decline to participate;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Withdraw from the study (specify timeframe);
- Ask any questions about the study at any time during participation;
- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be use unless you give permission to the researcher;
- To be given access to a summary of the project finding when it is concluded.
- I also understand that I have the right to ask for the audio/video tape to be turned off at any time during the interview.

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about the research please feel free to contact the researcher or the supervisors at the contact numbers above.

Ethics Research Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi Ethics Research Committee, ERCA # 12/014DK. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact the Chairperson of the Ethics Research Committee at the address of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiarangi.

Research Questions

1. What was your experience with Māori knowledge and/or tikanga Māori as you were growing up?
    a. What were the conditions under which Māori knowledge was shared?
    b. Has it influences your life today?
    c. How have you ensured its maintenance?

2. How would you define Māori knowledge?
    a. In your opinion do you think Māori knowledge has value and legitimacy in today's society?
    b. Under what circumstances would this be so?

3. What have been your opportunities to share the Māori knowledge and/or tikanga you know? Have you ever conducted a whaikorero/karanga, been a keynote speaker/speaker at a conference, facilitated a meeting or managed a PowerPoint presentation on a Māori topic to a mixed audience?
    a. What was the opportunity?
    b. How were you received by the audience?
    c. How did you feel?
    d. How did the audience respond?

4. Have you ever been in a situation where you were required to provide advice, from a Māori perspective for a strategy, policy or project?
    a. Can you describe the process you went through?
    b. At what level did you participate in the discussion?
    c. How was your advice received?

5. In your opinion what was the Te Māori Exhibition all about?
    a. What impact do you think it had on Māori?
    b. What impact do you think it had on non-Māori New Zealanders?
    c. What impact do you think it had on the New Zealand economy?
    d. What impact do you think it had on Tourism?
    e. What impact do you think it had internationally?

6. Do you think Te Māori was successful?
    a. Why?
    b. What made it so?

7. Do you think there were lessons to be learnt from Te Māori?
    a. What were they?
    b. Do you think the lessons still have currency today?

8. Do you think we could have another Te Māori Exhibition?
    a. If so what might it look like?

9. Do you think traditional Māori knowledge and views have credence with young Māori today?
    a. Does it matter?

10. If we were to embark on a programme of transformative change to ensure that the validity and legitimacy of Māori knowledge is upheld – what would that look like?
    a. What are the fundamental changes that might need to happen?

Glossary

ao	world
Aotearoa	literally the land of the long white cloud, New Zealand
aroha	love
hapū	sub-tribe
He mihi	A greeting
hui	meeting, gathering
iwi	tribe, people
kai	food, to eat
kaitiaki	trustee, manager, guardian
kanohi ki te kanohi	face to face
kapa haka	form of modern Māori cultural group performance
karakia	prayer, religious service
kaumatua	elder, elderly men
kaupapa	groundwork, topic, strategy, theme
Kaupapa Māori	in a Māori way
kawa	protocol
kete	basket, kit, toolkit
kia tupato	be careful
koha	donation, gift
Kohanga Reo	literally language nest, a Māori language immersion preschool
korero	speak, news, narrative
koroua	old man, elder
korowai	cloak, mantle
kotahitanga	unity
kuia	old lady, matron
Kura Kaupapa	Māori school

mana	prestige
manaaki	care for, show respect
manaakitanga	entertain, hospitality
mana whenua	local people, having rights over this land
Māori	indigenous people of New Zealand
marae	meeting area of a village or settlement, including its building and courtyards
Matariki	the Māori name for the cluster of stars also known as the Pleiades
matua	Parent, father
matua whangai	adoptive parent
matauranga	education, information, knowledge
mihi	greet, greeting
mihi whakatau	formal speeches of welcome
mokopuna	grandchildren, young generation
moteatea	traditional song
nga	the (plural)
ngahere	forest, bush
nga hau e wha	the four winds or north, south, east and west
noa	free from tapu
Pākehā	Non-Māori, European, Caucasian
pepeha	proverb
piupiu	flax, waist garment
poroporoaki	farewell, closing ceremony
pou	all gone, consumed, post
poutama	staircase
powhiri	welcome, opening ceremony
purakau	story
putea	fund, budget
rangatahi	modern youth

rangatiratanga	autonomy or political authority
reo	language (Māori)
rohe	territory, zone
rūnanga/rūnaka	assembly
tamariki	children
tane	husband, male, man
tangata, tangata (pl.)	person, people
tangata whenua	local people, indigenous people
tangihanga (tangi)	funeral, mourning
taonga	treasure, property
tapu	sacred, forbidden
tauiwi	foreigner, not indigenous
taurahere	literally to bind together, in this context it means a group from another tribal area who bind together
tautoko	to support
tapu	sacred
te	the (singular)
Te Hokinga mai	The return
Te Kohanga Reo	Language Nest
Te wiki o te reo Māori	The week of the Māori language
Tika	authentic, realistic
tikanga	protocols, practices, customs
tino Rangatiratanga	sovereignty
titiro	look
tipuna kuia	ancestral old lady
tupuna, tupuna (pl.)	ancestor(s)
turangawaewae	home, domicile
tu tangata	stand tall
tuturu	staunch
tohunga	priest

waiata	song, chant
wairua	spirit, attitude
waka	canoe
wānanga	seminar, series of discussions, also used to denote Māori universities
whakaaro	thought
whaikorero	a formal speech or oration
whakaiti	humble oneself
whakama	shy, embarrassment
whakahihi	arrogant
whakapapa	genealogy
whakapono	Belief
whakatauaki, whakatauki	Proverb
whakawhanaungatanga	coming together as a family
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	relationship, kinship
whānau ora	family health
Whare Wānanga	House of learning
whenua	land

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