

critical MASS

Building a National Māori Association of Social Sciences

Te Herenga Waka Marae, Victoria University, JUNE 11 - 13, 2008

Conference Proceedings

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Office of the Pro Vice Chancellor Māori at Victoria University of Wellington for funding the printing of these Conference Proceedings.

December 2010

ISBN 978-0-473-18162-8

CONTENTS

FOREWORD Editor: Meegan Hall	1
NAVIGATING ‘THE POST-DOC’, ‘THE RESEARCH TEAM’ AND COMMUNITY RESEARCH: A PERSONAL STORY Dr Pip Pehi	7
BARRIERS AND SOLUTIONS: VIEWS FROM THE MARGINS Dr Tahu Kukutai Melinda Webber	22
CONTESTABLE SPACES: EXPANDING OUR CULTURAL LANDSCAPE INTO THE ACADEMY Margaret Forster	32
“FRIEND OR ENEMY” : MĀORI HISTORY AND MĀORI SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH Dr Danny Keenan	45
THE POLITICS OF PRIVILEGE – A SCOPING STUDY Belinda Borell	50
ARTICULATING THE INTELLECTUAL: TŪRANGAWAEWAE OF AN INDIGENOUS ANTHROPOLOGIST Dr Lily George	55
RESEARCH NOTES - RE-INTEGRATION: IN PURSUIT OF MAURI ORA Tamati Te Urupaina Kaiwai Joy Bullen	65
UPSETTING GEOGRAPHIES: SACRED BODY, SACRED HOME Keri Topperwien	71
ASSIMILATION OR ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT: RETHINKING A MĀORI POSITION IN THE FIELD OF SOCIAL SCIENCE Dr Fiona Te Momo	79

Foreword

Editor: Meegan Hall

Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa
Victoria University of Wellington
meegan.hall@vuw.ac.nz

1. INTRODUCTION

“Prepare to go ballistic”.

When Paul Holmes, a New Zealand television identity of the 1980’s and 90’s, uttered these opening lines as host of the *Holmes* current affairs show on 18 November 2002, he was referring to a story about Kopukairoa, a maunga near Welcome Bay in Tauranga. Kopukairoa sits within the rohe of the Ngāti Pūkenga people and for generations it has been considered a tapu area, having witnessed significant tribal events and being a burial site for the remains of Ngāti Pūkenga ancestors. The opening shots of the *Holmes* story panned the pictureque landscape of Kopukairoa before the story honed in on the Pākehā land owners’ ‘tale of woe’ because the Historic Places Trust had acknowledged Māori concerns and declared their private property to be a wāhi tapu.

What Holmes and his roving reporter, Duncan Garner, failed to acknowledge in the story is that, in fact, the majority owners of Kopukairoa are Māori. They also neglected to mention that the *wāhi tapu* status bestowed by the Historic Places Trust places very few, if any, fetters on the private land owners – unfortunately. They also made the classic and somewhat amateurish mistake of thinking that seeking comment from an unmandated Māori man who happened to be visiting the local marae was sufficient to claim they had consulted with the Iwi.

The way the media portrays Māori has been the subject of a number of social science publications and research projects (for example, Adds, Bennett, Hall, Kernot, Russell & Walker, 2005; Nairn, Pega, McCreanor, Rankine & Barnes,

2006) yet still a prominent and experienced media presenter felt comfortable fronting such shoddy journalism. Inviting the wrath of his mainstream New Zealand viewership with the intentionally one-sided lead in, “Prepare to go ballistic” is frankly unprofessional. Such a provocative phrase. Such a loaded phrase. But what does it really mean?

‘The pen is mightier than the sword’ and ‘ko te kai o te rangatira, he kōrero’ are well known proverbs that exemplify the power of words. Some of their power derives from their provenance and the layers of meaning they contain. The idiomatic phrase, ‘Go ballistic’ means “to become so angry as to lose emotional control” (Webster’s New World College Dictionary, 2010). It derives from the word *ballista*, “an ancient and medieval engine of warfare used to hurl heavy projectiles at a target” (The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000). Was Holmes intending to invoke war on the Ngāti Pūkenga of Kopukairoa? Perhaps not, but his story did launch a battle of sorts....all the way to the Broadcasting Standards Authority.

2. WHAT IS MĀORI SOCIAL SCIENCE?

The *Critical MASS* Conference, held at Te Herenga Waka Marae at Victoria University of Wellington in June 2008, attracted 170 Māori researchers from a diverse range of social science disciplines and institutions across New Zealand. The name and overall theme of the conference, *Critical MASS*, was designed to create an image of catalytic change and to promote the idea of bringing Māori social scientists together to form an association.

In his inimitable style, one of the keynotes at the Conference, Moana Jackson, offered a translation for ‘Māori social scientist’. He suggested that a return to the latin root words uncovered a more appropriate combination of terms - ‘community knowledge bearers’ - which resonated strongly with many of the Conference attendees and partially inspired the theme for the 2010 Conference.

Jackson also shared his understandings of the origins of the terms ‘social’ and ‘science’. He explained that the word ‘science’ derives from the Latin word for ‘knowledge’ and suggested that ‘social science’ is the “systematic process of measuring social phenomena of how humans interact with each other”. He concluded that “...the science of knowledge is very distinct from a scientific methodology whereby the method of acquiring knowledge is simply one way of telling the story where different people have different truths”.

The following papers in this set of Conference Proceedings are a sample of the social science ‘stories’ that were shared in person at the *Critical MASS* Conference. They vary widely in their topic and tone, and some are more developed than others. Alongside the full research articles that resulted from presentations at the Conference, we also received a number of thoughtful and provocative pieces of work in the form of ‘work-in-progress’ research notes that we believe warranted wider readership. However, a thread that connects them together is that they all attempt to tell their own ‘truths’ about Māori social science – what it is, who does it and what the challenges are now and for the future.

In Pip Pehi’s paper, *Navigating ‘the Post-Doc’, ‘the Research Team’ and Community Research; a Personal Story*, she provides a moving account from her perspective as an emerging Māori researcher. Her reflections about her triumphs and difficulties encountered while ‘navigating’ not only community research, but the social realities of being a lone Māori researcher within a wider research team, will strike a chord with many Māori social scientists.

Danny Keenan’s paper, *Friend or enemy’: Māori Social Science Research* reflects on the similarities and differences that exist between the practices of people engaged in Māori history and Māori social science research. He acknowledges that the term ‘Māori social science’ encapsulates a huge array of research and scholarly activities, methods and outcomes but concludes that while there are opportunities for Māori social scientists and Māori historians to work together, their respective disciplines are essentially different.

In Lily George’s, *Articulating the Intellectual: Tūrangawaewae of an Indigenous Anthropologist* she calls herself an ‘Indigenous anthropologist’, which she defines as “an Indigenous person who works mainly with [her] own people, who is cognisant of the issues and challenges that Indigenous people share, and their place within this, and who approaches research as a reciprocal and collaborative endeavour that privileges Indigenous concerns and Indigenous knowledge”. She notes the importance of conducting research in Māori communities within a kaupapa Māori framework but resists “the idea that there is a single Māori way of doing things that suits all Māori...” and recommends instead that Māori social scientists “work from a value base of inclusion and acceptance”.

Fiona Te Momo’s reflection piece, *Assimilation or Organic Development: Rethinking a Māori position in the field of Social Science*, enters the debate by considering two positions: that Māori social science and scientists are either a “product of assimilation” or an “organic development”. She concludes that both are possible and that Māori social scientists are able to achieve an “assimilation of Western social science that provide[s] a difference in terms of ethnicity and cultural approaches” while still developing organically, having “grown from those seeking and challenging Western structures to propose another area or discipline based on Māori knowledge”.

Tahu Kukutai and Melinda Webber combined their backgrounds in demography and education to produce their article, *Barriers and Solutions:*

Views from the Margins. Despite transformations in tertiary education over the past decade, Kukutai and Webber note that there remains a dearth of social scientists that identify as Māori. They suggest that some of the factors that negatively affect capacity building include the barriers, both internal and external to Māori social science networks, which researchers face in the field. Although Māori researchers have been quick to critique external barriers, Kukutai and Webber also remind us of the importance of examining the internal constraints, such as prescriptive ideologies, closed networks and access to resources, which shape and constrain the organisation and activities of Māori social scientists. They conclude that “if Māori social science were truly open to critique, questions, negotiation, trial, error and change – internally as well as externally – the question would be, then, not how to arrive, but how to journey”.

3. THE MASS JOURNEY

The notion of being on a social science ‘journey’ provides a useful segue into the story about the origins of the Māori Association of Social Science (MASS). As the 2008 Conference goes will know, MASS, is an open network designed to support and connect Māori social scientists and researchers and promote Māori social science both nationally and internationally. It was established to provide a collaborative forum for Māori social scientists, researchers and postgraduates to discuss issues of mutual interest and concern, and to debate, critique, evaluate, and analyse Māori-focused research without prejudice.

The idea for the establishment of the Association was discussed at an initial national hui of sixty Māori social scientists held Rotorua in 2006 and was further developed at the *Critical MASS* Conference in 2008. In the sunset moments of the Conference, just as the final touches to the establishment of ‘MASS’ were being considered, a suggestion was made and adopted that the Association should drop the term ‘scientist’ from its name. Instead we became the Māori Association of Social *Science*, to reinforce the

notion that many of the Māori engaged in social science research do not regard themselves as ‘scientists’ in the orthodox sense of the word.

There was strong support for establishing this MASS network from the first iteration of BRCSS, the Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences Network (2004-2009). BRCSS was a key supporter of MASS activity and the main sponsor for both the 2006 gathering and the 2008 conference. As the Māori network that is supported in the work of the new BRCSS II, MASS also seeks to make a useful contribution to the wider development of research capability in the social sciences as a whole in New Zealand.

The key role of MASS is to promote and support Māori social scientists and social science research. We seek to advance our capacity and capability by building on our strengths, particularly amongst emerging researchers and postgraduates. Other important foci include research networking and the strengthening of relations amongst Māori social scientists within an open, cross-disciplinary and cross-institutional network. We host a website and we are continuing to expand its functions to include notice boards, discussion forums, archives and more.

MASS has an inclusive stance on who engages with our kaupapa and we draw upon Jackson’s words at our 2008 Conference, to frame our notion of Māori social scientists as those who are ‘Māori community knowledge bearers’. The MASS membership therefore is Māori social scientists and researchers engaged in Māori social science research. This includes students, emerging and established researchers, and also representatives of institutions or groups that deliver Māori and/or Indigenous social science-related research services. Currently we have an email list in excess of 200 people spread across universities, wānanga and communities. MASS also has an Executive Committee comprised of representatives from tertiary institutions nationally, which meets monthly throughout the year on the BRCSS Access Grid.

As an Association, we have identified one of our key kaupapa as being to foster the output of quality Māori social science research through collaboration with other MASS members, identifying research gaps relating to Māori social science research, and promoting Māori social science research. We also see a role for MASS in providing mentoring and support for emerging and established Māori social scientists by highlighting pathways into social science; offering supervision for postgraduate Māori social sciences students; and providing opportunities for Māori social scientists to discuss and strategise about Māori social science-related issues.

To facilitate relationship building via the MASS network we intend to provide opportunities to gather together with other Māori social scientists; establish links between participants in Māori Studies departments and those in other sectors of institutions; and link in to other Māori social science research entities. We also see potential for MASS in an advocacy and facilitation role for Māori social scientists; Māori social science tertiary students; and increasing the Māori input and/or providing a Māori world view into Māori public policy.

We are formally established as an Incorporated Society, with all of the documentation and formalities that entails, but we still have work to do in developing our own alternative constitution that enshrines our tikanga Māori-led goals and processes. This work is expected to continue through to our 2010 Conference.

4. KOPUKAIROA REVISITED

You may wonder why the Kopukairoa story was recounted here at the start of this introduction to the *Critical MASS* Conference Proceedings. It was not part of any of the presentations at the Conference, and the complaint to the Broadcasting Standards Authority was instigated by a different set of ‘community knowledge bearers’, the Ngāti Pūkenga, not by anyone associated with MASS. However, at the crux of the *Holmes* piece on Kopukairoa was concern that declaring the maunga a wāhi tapu would

lessen the Pākehā owners’ authority over the land and devalue their property. In the *Holmes* story, the battle lines set these concerns against the fact that Kopukairoa had been a burial location for members of the Ngāti Pūkenga people for centuries. In this way, the Kopukairoa story is a microcosm for many of the challenges, issues and successes experienced by Māori social scientists and provides connections for the remainder of the Conference papers published in these Proceedings.

The significance of unearthing ancestral Māori bones in the process of conducting social science research was the topic of Keri Topperwien’s conference paper, *Upsetting Geographies: Sacred Body, Sacred Home*. Her piece suggests that Indigenous ideas about the sacredness of bones need to be better understood, especially in the context of environmental planning, and she argues that without this there will continue to be cultural misunderstandings and on-going disputes over sacred spaces.

The whole purpose of seeking *wāhi tapu* status for Kopukairoa was to acknowledge the significance of the site for Ngāti Pūkenga and to begin to restore some of the mauri of the area as a safeguard for future generations. This notion of restoring mauri resonates with the piece by Tamati Kaiwai and Joy Bullen, *Re-integration: In Pursuit of Mauri Ora*. Their paper, presented here in the form of preliminary research notes, reflects on their own experiences of the criminal justice system’s re-integration processes, focusing on the fragile and under-resourced inclusion of kaupapa Māori values and practices. They argue that Māori people and content should be recognised as a key part of re-integration for Māori prisoners into the community but lament that current government policy and practice ignores the need for a holistic approach that supports the restoration of mauri ora in whānau, both before and after prisoner release.

In its Kopukairoa decision, the Broadcasting Standards Authority noted that ‘the views of the four Pākehā landowners were promoted and their concerns elevated, as yet another example of

Māori with cultural claims usurping the rights of private landowners. In the Authority's opinion this perspective distorted the item' (2003: 10). The Authority found that the entire story was designed to lead viewers to believe that the Iwi held a privileged position that had unfairly and negatively impacted on the Pākehā owners.

Belinda Borell's paper, *The Politics of Privilege: a scoping study*, explores the dominant view in New Zealand that Māori are 'privileged', a perception that had a resurgence post the Don Brash 'Orewa speech' of 2004 and the Foreshore and Seabed controversy in 2005. She notes, for example, the discursive use of the terms "the public" or "New Zealanders" to disenfranchise Māori, much as the Broadcasting Standards Authority found the Holmes show had intended to 'evoke a negative reaction among viewers' towards the Ngāti Pūkenga people.

If the Kopukairoa story teaches us anything, it is that not only is it a site of tapu, a site of remembrance and a site of significance for the Ngāti Pūkenga, but it is now also a site of resistance. After the *Holmes* story first aired, the Ngāti Pūkenga representative wrote to TVNZ to complain about the story. TVNZ promptly wrote back to explain that their reporter had acted appropriately and there was no basis for a complaint. Ngāti Pūkenga then took their complaint to the Broadcasting Standards Authority. This is a rare thing indeed for a Māori complaint – according to the Broadcasting Standards Authority, most Māori complaints are dropped after their first rebuttal. Almost one year after the story first aired on national television, the Broadcasting Standards Authority released their decision – and upheld the Ngāti Pūkenga complaint that the *Holmes* story was unbalanced, unfair and contained factual inaccuracies (2003:1).

In Margaret Forster's paper, *Contestable Spaces: Expanding our Cultural Landscape into the Academy*, she suggests that "research is a site of resistance seeking to contest the universality of Western research discourse and promote an Indigenous understanding that is then used to

advance Māori agendas for Māori purposes". Her paper explores the development of Māori research and publication capability in the social sciences and she concludes that Māori have established a presence within the academy and amassed a large body of evidence by challenging existing hegemony and through the development of culturally framed research practices.

5. CONCLUSION

If we take on board Moana Jackson's idea that science is 'simply one way of telling a story where different people have different truths', MASS then is committed to providing an opportunity for Māori people working in a range of social science research areas to tell their own stories, and acknowledge their own truths. In total 45 presenters and keynote speakers shared their thoughts within the themes of the *Critical MASS* Conference in 2008 and the range of views and degree of scholarship contained within this publication represents some of the diversity of the Māori social science researchers working in New Zealand today.

This piece of writing started with the provocation, "Prepare to go ballistic". The Broadcasting Standards Authority thought that Holmes framed his opening statement in a way "calculated to incite moral indignation" and was "inflammatory and displayed partiality" (Broadcasting Standards Authority 2003:9). Here, at the start of the MASS Conference 2008 Proceedings, I invite you to join me in reclaiming that phrase...not as an incendiary comment designed to rally anti-Māori indignation but rather as a call to scholars interested and involved in Māori social science research. This is a call to join in the spirit of MASS, to pool our skills, our resources, our experience and, probably most importantly, our passion for the broad range of important Māori social science kaupapa. Collectively we can develop and disseminate our own scholarly 'projectiles', address the challenges and issues facing Māoridom today and 'lift off' in the cause of advancing the aspirations of our communities....so read on, get inspired and 'prepare to go ballistic'....

GLOSSARY

<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>rohe</i>	area
<i>tapu</i>	sacred
<i>wāhi tapu</i>	sacred place

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following papers have been through a double-blind peer review process as well as a copy-edit process.

Thank you to all of the reviewers and assistants who provided invaluable support in the production of these Conference Proceedings: Peter Addis, Mahina-ā-rangi Baker, Rawinia Higgins, Pania Lee, Tim McCreanor, Ocean Mercier, Dee O'Carroll, Bridget Robson, Māmari Stephens, Juan Tauri and Alice Te Punga Somerville.

Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adds, P., Bennett, M., Hall, M., Kernot, B., Russell, M. & Walker, T., 2005. *The Portrayal of Māori and Te Ao Māori in Broadcasting — the foreshore and seabed issue*. Wellington: Broadcasting Standards Authority.

Broadcasting Standards Authority (2003). Decision No. 2003-109.

Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J. and Barnes, A., 2006. Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology* 11, 183-196. A184.

The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, 2000. Fourth Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Webster's New World College Dictionary, 2004. Fourth Edition. California: Wiley Publishing.

Navigating ‘the Post-Doc’, ‘the Research Team’ and Community Research: A Personal Story

Dr Pip Pehi

Ngā Puhī

Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

phillipa.pehi@wananga.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

I have found navigating my postdoctoral fellowship both challenging and rewarding. I am two years into postdoctoral work as a Māori researcher and am responsible for a research project (*Ka Ora te Whenua, Ka Ora te Tangata*) under the umbrella of a wider nationwide project. This paper presents my experience and reflections as an emerging Māori researcher including an outline of issues, triumphs and difficulties involved with navigating community research, but also as a member of a wider research team. The paper ends with a number of conclusions that I have come to that are a result of my experience.

Keywords

Self-reflection, personal experience, Māori research, community research, safety, research team, postdoctoral fellowship

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper has unfolded primarily as a result of the process I have been undergoing for the past two years throughout this postdoctoral fellowship. The main aim of sharing this personal story is to articulate in an academic forum some of the issues, triumphs and difficulties I have encountered. The hope is that others on similar journeys may find something of value to aid them in navigating research with Māori communities and within research teams. The main value for me is to examine in depth the process from a distance. Through writing my experience down, I am able to ‘see’ what I have been living and breathing for the last two years.

I claim that I did not choose this road; rather I contend that it chose me. No matter really, for here I am. I trained as a clinical psychologist and completed my doctorate in social psychology. I worked as a counselor/clinician for nine years (including my internship years) and it was my intention never to do research again. I found my entire education on the whole painful and torturous. By the end of my doctoral studies, I had spent 24 of my 29 years as a student. I decided that the academic world was not for me. I felt at the time that academia was no more than a ‘game’. I was treated with cynicism when I said I wanted to ‘help’ people, and found people laughed at my idealistic and naïve hopes to pursue truth and the betterment of mankind. I finally realized and accepted that the rules to this game did not fit with my values and ideals and that I did not ‘belong’ in that environment. So I chose to work as a co-director of a residential treatment centre for male offenders and then as a Māori counselor for tertiary students. I came to be further disillusioned about our society’s social and institutional structures (particularly in health). I seemed to be engaged in fruitless tasks of working with individuals and helping them to change, only to send them back out into the unhealthy environments that they came from (and at times questioning the health of the places I worked). I became convinced that the increasing levels of un-wellness manifesting in individuals was simply a reflection of the illness of our society as a whole.

So I sat down with my two most dedicated and life-long supporters, confidantes and mentors: my father and my mother. We examined what I

had achieved so far, what my skills were and what I wanted to achieve. I was a doctor of philosophy, a registered clinical psychologist and a single mother. I wanted to serve others to the best of my ability, look after myself and my daughter, and to be happy and fulfilled in my work and life. After careful consideration, I decided that going back to research at this point in my life was the place at which I would have the greatest opportunity to achieve these goals.

As fate would have it, I was contacted by a senior academic from the University of Otago to consider a postdoctoral fellowship shortly after this conversation. Within six months, I was a junior researcher on an ambitious and visionary research project. I was excited and amazed at how quickly my life had changed. The honeymoon lasted for six months. At this point, I began to struggle for a number of reasons that I will outline in this paper. The next year was an intense period of soul-searching, questioning, examination and self-growth. The central question I kept asking myself was whether I wanted to continue with the post-doc, given that I was struggling and not enjoying working within the system. The last six months have continued to be a challenge, yet some core self-realizations have seen my experience change to one of mostly intense satisfaction and joy.

2. THE FRAME

Navigating the research world as a junior Māori researcher has not proved an easy journey on my part. My postdoctoral fellowship has provided me with a very steep learning curve and I have very much felt as if I have been thrown in the deep end of the pool and left to sink or swim. I was new to the area of qualitative research, and relatively unfamiliar with the research methodologies of Participatory Action Research and Kaupapa Māori Research. I was also new to the research areas of environmental management, community, Māori and sustainability. All of these areas are challenging in their own right for a university trained psychologist, specializing in the areas of clinical and social psychology, psychometric

testing and quantitative methods. In addition to these challenges has been the need to figure out the impacts of the wider social environment, including: the projects themselves; the research team (including the unique needs of students); the communities; and the institutions involved.

2.1 The projects

My postdoctoral fellowship comes under the wider umbrella of the nationwide project *Te Tiaki Mahinga Kai (TMK)* which holds the vision to “trigger improved cultural, social, economic and environmental outcomes from kaitiakitanga through research around the effective establishment and management of mātaihai and taiāpure (customary fishing reserves)”. One of the main aims of the wider research is to “empower and develop research capacity among grassroots and kaitiaki”. TMK is funded by the Foundation of Research, Science and Technology (FRST) for a four-year period and is currently into its third year of operation. The TMK project itself is an ambitious project aiming to be national in scope, interdisciplinary, cross-cultural, cross-iwi/hapu/whanau, cross-institutional, longitudinal and collaborative. Each of these aspects on its own can be a challenge for any research project. TMK attempts to incorporate all these approaches and thus the many challenges that they bring.

The original intention of this post-doc, entitled *Ka Ora te Whenua, Ka Ora te Tangata (Ka Ora)* was to encompass the social, economic and cultural aspects of the project. This was identified to centre around describing the kaitiaki world-view of their relationship with the whenua and the impact of this on their overall well-being. Particularly important themes were identified as being: social well-being, cultural identity and cultural resilience. This original intention has since changed within the research process to more accurately reflect the interests of local communities associated with these customary fishing reserves, and unsurprisingly, this varies from community to community. *Ka Ora* is also funded by FRST and I am now into

the third and final year of the ‘postdoc’.

A number of other research projects come under the wider umbrella of TMK, such as those investigating the sustainability and restoration of key kaimoana species (e.g. paua, toheroa and tuaki/tuangi), development of a Marine Health Index and stock-take of marine species within mātaítai and taiāpure. In addition, two research grants were awarded to conduct small research projects as identified by communities themselves in the area of social science which I have had the privilege of being one of the lead researchers.

2.2 The research team

I have the privilege of working with many great people within the research team. I have found some of the greatest strength in research colleagues who may not understand what it is I am going on about, but who will listen and who have offered me their friendship and their help. I have loved working with some of these people, even when we do not agree! My personal observation has been that a research team requires a) good strong leadership, b) strong lines of communication, c) clear job roles and responsibilities, d) honesty and transparency, and e) respect for each person regardless of status. I have also observed throughout my post-doc the many factors that impact on whether these key requirements are implemented or not. I will discuss these aspects and my experience of them in later sections.

2.3 Social Scientists vs. ‘Real’ Scientists

Of special significance to me in this research has been that until this point in my life, I had not been defined as a social scientist. I had been peripherally aware of the divide between Arts and Science students, but as I graduated with a BSc and Postgraduate Diploma in Science, I guess I just classified myself as a scientist. In the application for my Postdoctoral Fellowship from FRST, I had to *justify* that I would be able to deliver ‘real’ science as opposed to only social science! I have continued to witness the disregard and disdain with which the expertise held by social scientists is treated within the

area of environmental research. I have also witnessed researchers trained in ‘pure’ science, conduct social science research with little supervision or guidance from those suitably qualified. I believe this practice is premised on the basic disregard held for the years of training required to produce a qualified social scientist and reflects the hierarchy within the research system. I have found this dualistic division of ‘pure’ and social science unhelpful and I believe it denies the reality within which we find ourselves. The environment and our communities co-exist and impact upon each other. I believe that science that will be beneficial and meaningful to communities requires examination of both areas in *all* projects, a healthy respect for each, and an acknowledgement of the overlap between the environment and the social systems we live in.

2.4 Conflict/disagreement within the research team

I do not see conflict as a necessarily destructive process, in fact, these situations can be opportunities to identify key issues, discuss them in a safe environment and then build strengths and understandings from them. However, if within a research team there are dynamics that do not allow for this resolution to take place (e.g. some people’s opinions and decisions are privileged over others) the opportunity is lost. In my opinion, conflict is further compounded by lack of, or poor communication and a lack of transparency and honesty.

2.5 The students

Again, I have had the privilege and pleasure of working with a group of talented and articulate group of students motivated with a desire to conduct research that will be meaningful for the communities within which they choose to work. I have placed students in a separate section here, even though they are a vitally important part of the research team. I have done this to highlight the particular challenges that face supervision and mentorship for students, especially those who are relatively young and/or Māori.

Throughout my time in this project I have co-supervised three PhD students and one Masters student, all of whom are studying in areas outside the field of expertise I was trained in. My supervisory role in all of these projects is to provide guidance mainly on processes of engagement with communities, particularly Māori. However I have needed to understand the area of study and to educate myself on their specific topics. The workload of supervising students is additional to the primary work of research, and though rewarding, requires a significant investment in time and energy. The greater challenge however may be one of integrity. There may occur competing desires of wanting to protect students from the internal politics within research and science, and yet also wanting to be honest and open about what is happening. The best approach for me has often been keeping an uneasy balance with these two desires and I have worked with each student in different ways according to our particular relationships.

When I started this research, I and another fellow Māori researcher suggested that we needed a student coordinator position to support students and then together developed this role. This was stimulated by the fact that both of us have fulfilled postgraduate student support roles in other employment and believe it is important to recognize the unique needs of students. As part of this role, we developed a guide for students wanting to become involved with the overall project. We also anticipated that we would fulfill a role of advocacy and support as required.

2.6 The communities

The interface between research and community is where the real joy for me in this work comes from. When I am working with communities, I remember why it is I do this work. I love it! I am honoured by the stories I am told and the time and energy gifted to me. I want to take the time to acknowledge all the communities I have worked with throughout this fellowship. I have experienced nothing but goodwill, respect and

friendship from the people I have met with. Some have decided to give this research a wide berth, others have decided to work with me or the wider team. Many people I have met are true scholars, though they may not have a research qualification, and I have felt truly humbled by their depth of knowledge and understanding of this area I am ‘researching’ as an ‘expert’! I am also in awe of their understanding of research and science, which seems at odds with the assertion made by many of my colleagues that we are here to ‘empower’ and help communities do things ‘better’. In my opinion, we need to be doing a lot more listening than talking as many of the solutions are already known and have been used by communities for many decades. I have felt at times however an impossible squeeze from both sides: the research ‘world’ on one hand, and the communities on the other. These are such diverse realities that to make sense of how the research can possibly work for both can create quite a pressure.

2.7 Institutions

The area of co-management and customary fishing is a complex one with multiple layers including local/regional/national institutions, regulatory and funding bodies, and other social systems (e.g. NIWA, MFish, other research providers, Te Ohu Kaimoana and various runanga/iwi). A knowledge of each of these areas is essential to understand the overall picture and there exists a vast volume of information to read through to find what is relevant to the research.

In addition, this post-doc requires that I fulfill my contractual obligations with FRST (e.g. milestones and regular research reports) and that I also abide by the processes, ethics and professional conduct as determined by my hosting at the University of Otago. Therefore a sound understanding of how both of these institutions operate is required to adequately meet these requirements.

One of the experiences I have had as a researcher was that I felt at times concerns I

voiced around social science or Māori issues were discounted as being a ‘personal’ difference with another colleague. I think it is really important that issues are addressed without personalising them in this manner. This process results in people being ‘pitted’ against each other and setting up a situation where one person has to be ‘right’ and another ‘wrong’. I do not think this is helpful in any situation. I also contend that the deeper problems are not about a person(s) as such, that they are in fact deeply imbedded in institutional processes and systems that underlie personal dynamics. These implicit rules and codes of conduct that occur within any system function to protect the status quo by ensuring that anything or anyone that challenges these processes and systems will be silenced. One of the best ways to achieve this ‘silencing’ is to make any dissension something about the person(s) challenging the system, rather than about the system itself. This process often ends with the person(s) being held to blame. Unfortunately, this can mean that people are dismissed or forced out of a situation, while the core problem remains.

3. ETHICS, SAFETY AND MENTORSHIP

Ethics

This is a tricky area to discuss. I am certainly not an expert on ethics, however, throughout the course of this project I have had cause to stop and examine what my ethical understandings are and how they apply to this kind of research in particular (i.e. working with communities) and for research in general. I have had a number of discussions with fellow researchers within this project, and also with students and research peers and mentors not directly involved in the project. The conclusion I have come to is that there are different understandings as to what constitutes ethical behaviour depending on the type of research conducted, the ethical obligations of the institutions and job descriptions involved and of course the individuals involved and their opinions. I think I have struggled most with the concept of adhering to ethical guidelines to ‘tick the box’

rather than having more robust discussions about the ethical behaviour required for the particular situation. Often it seems that researchers are satisfied that as ethical approval is granted by the University (and as long as we adhere to the University guidelines) then our ethical obligations are fulfilled. I myself take a much broader view, and believe that we have a duty to ensure that our best practice not only adhere to the ethical standards of the University (or any other institution) but also adhere to those as required by the communities we work with. These different approaches to ethics can give rise to some interesting differences within the team as to what constitutes cultural ethics and safety.

3.1 Unclear agreement, understanding and adherence to ethical guidelines

For a clear agreement to exist, I contend ongoing discussion within a team is required with continual revision, especially when new team members join. For me within this particular study, this includes an open and robust discussion about cultural and personal safety and what that may mean for team members, students and the communities with which we engage. This is particularly important to remember as in community-based research there may be more than one set of ethical guidelines to adhere to. These team guidelines for personal and cultural safety may therefore go beyond the ethical guidelines for the institution at which we work, but are no less important. For team members to assume that we all share the same understanding, and for some to dismiss concerns raised that we do not, is to my mind a recipe for disaster. I have chosen to navigate this situation by ensuring that I am clear about my ethical practice, the ethical guidelines within the institution I work and the project’s ethical approval. Within this I have worked out various strategies to ensure that I feel confident that I can conduct the research in a way that takes account of the different views of all the parties, and as determined by the communities I work with.

3.2 Vulnerability of young Māori researchers within a predominantly non-Māori research team

I think the hardest thing I have had to come to terms with in this fellowship has been the suspicion that I was not hired for my abilities as a researcher, or to make valuable and innovative contributions to the project as a whole. While no-one has ever said as much, I believe one of the main reasons I was approached to be part of this project was to be a 'brown face' to front the project with Māori communities and to 'tick a box' in terms of funding. A token position at best. This suspicion has been sparked when as one of the few Māori researchers on this team who is not a student, I have felt at times that my opinions and concerns about a number of issues (e.g. cultural safety) have been discounted or ignored. I have since learnt to simply put forward my opinion, despite the possibility of offending others, deal with my own feelings about the reactions from others and then keep working to ensure the safety of myself and the communities I work with. This has been one of the most difficult aspects of my work for me to master.

3.3 Personal Well-being and Safety

After talking to others and examining my own experiences, I believe that vulnerability of early career researchers is extreme in our current competitive research and academic climate. I further believe that this is more extreme for those emerging researchers who are young, idealistic, naïve, compassionate, female and Māori. As I have reflected on my own personal experiences, I have realized I have discovered tools for dealing with some of the challenges I have perceived to my personal safety. I offer them as reflections and do not begin to suggest that these are the optimum ways to deal with them. These tools are simply the ones I have found to be most effective for myself.

3.3.1 Personal Safety

I have felt at times that my personal safety has not been adequately provided for over the course of my postdoctoral fellowship. I reached

a point in the process where I had two very clear choices: 1) resign or, 2) work to ensure my own personal safety. I chose the latter for reasons I will outline later. Then I had to first understand what personal safety meant to me. In this situation, my personal safety included cultural safety. I decided that my safety was my primary responsibility and that I would not keep relying on others to ensure this. I took steps to make sure I was safe at all times. This involved some rather drastic steps including asking for mediation between myself and a research colleague. I am happy to say however that I now feel safe. I also remind myself that it is my choice to stay, and at anytime I no longer feel that I am able to keep safe, I can choose to leave.

3.4 Ill-defined expectations

This is a serious problem. I have at times experienced clear misunderstandings between myself and other colleagues around the research I was employed to conduct. These misunderstandings may have been exacerbated by scientists coming from different research paradigms (e.g. social science and physical science) and different cultural world-views. The absence of any written record of the exact understanding of how I would work compounded the problem. This process was prolonged and was left unresolved longer than it should have been as there were more pressing issues within the wider project to attend to. After nearly eight months, this issue was finally resolved. I kept clear on what my own understanding was, despite repeated assertions to the contrary. I also kept a detailed record of all communications and e-mails throughout the process as back-up should it be required as proof. Thankfully in this case, this back-up was not required. This experience has highlighted for me the need for written records within this system to refer back to should misunderstandings arise, including what roles and functions each research member is responsible for. These understandings are also particularly important with regards to

supervision and mentoring relationships.

3.5 Appropriate levels of responsibility

This is another area that I now believe needs to be a personal undertaking and links in with expectations from other team members, funding authorities and communities. One of the pressures within the wider research project has been the scope of the project exceeding the capabilities of the researchers' (and other staff) ability to meet the demands and various functions required. Currently, alongside my fellowship, I am also project manager on two smaller research projects, have recently resigned as the student coordinator for the overall project and co-supervise students. I also have assumed at different times responsibilities including looking after other team members and student welfare, and safeguarding communities engaged with the research. I own that taking on these responsibilities was my choice and also reflect my own tendencies to assume responsibility, and that I chose these despite some advice from others to *not* take on these additional responsibilities (e.g. two of my mentors advising me not to bid for other research grants for communities). Over-commitment also led to having to review all commitments and to relinquish some of these or to modify them (e.g. resignation from student coordinator).

3.6 Other people's perception/definition of me

As I have said earlier, I do not recall being defined as a social scientist before this project. I also have not felt being seen as 'Māori' so much before either, nor had my 'pedigree' questioned (by Māori and non-Māori alike) as much! Through this process I have realized that my sense of self is solid. If I had taken this role earlier in my life however, I suspect I would have not lasted for long. I have spent a lot of my life with a fragile sense of who I am, including an insecurity over whether I was 'Māori enough.' I believe this experience would have affected me in a much more adverse way had I entered into this at an earlier age with less life experience. Reflecting on this learning

about myself has only highlighted to me the urgent need to address the issues highlighted in this paper as I know there are many young Māori students and researchers who feel vulnerable in a similar way and some I know who now avoid this area of research for this reason.

3.7 Lack of recognition and acknowledgement, constructive and detailed feedback on performance, and valuing of additional skills and input

Within this research I have come to doubt my ability at times, been confused as to what was expected of me and to become despondent about my role within the team. The effect on my personal well-being aside, if any researchers within a team feel this way, there are definite impacts on the volume and quality of research done due to the personal energy required for team members to maintain personal equilibrium. I have learnt that to address and overcome these negative states for myself that I need to attend to all feedback from all sources, and have received this from my current mentors, many of my research colleagues and from my wider networks. I also needed to keep as objective about my progress and achievement as possible and satisfy *myself* that I am doing a good job, rather than rely on others to do that. I have also learned to offer my additional skills and input (e.g. knowledge about issues such as cultural safety) and to accept that others may not recognize or accept them and I can choose to not take it personally. My lack of ability to not take things personally has been one of the greatest challenges for me within this project, though I think it is an essential ability to have for navigating all the different kinds of feedback received (both positive and negative). Mastering this ability does not mean the denial of my first reactions however. This skill has required that I perfect the ability to accept what is happening (including how I feel), allow myself time and space (and demand it if necessary) to reflect on: a) what is going on, b) what I am wanting to achieve, and c) how best

to do that. Despite following this process as much as I can, I still experience frustration at times, but this process allows me to better understand other peoples' points of view and gives me time to figure out what to do with the resources available to me.

3.8 Appropriate and accessible mentoring

For me personally, I have determined that ultimately, the responsibility to ensure such support lies with me. I have taken steps personally to make sure I have the appropriate mentoring, even though this took a lot of energy and time to do initially. I have also used part of my research funding to have regular meetings with my named FRST mentors as they live in different parts of the country. My initial induction in this postdoctoral fellowship was very quick and the primary guidance I received at the time to my mind was determined mostly from a biophysical scientific point of view. I felt this guidance was not appropriate to a more socially and Māori oriented research programme and felt a pressure to conform with a more biophysical approach when I voiced my discomfort or disagreement with advice given. I would recommend in hindsight that the assignment of mentoring for this kind of work be more considered. I am currently thinking hard about my professional development and have been advised to look for additional mentors to help guide me through to the end of my fellowship. I cannot emphasise enough how important it is to have a mentor who does have the mentee's best interests and well-being at heart but who is also prepared to ask the hard questions and to challenge the mentee on their work where necessary. I believe this is a hard balance to strike often, but with open and honest communication, this does not need to be perfect. I am lucky to now have two mentors named on my FRST post-doc who I believe fill this role very well and have many unofficial mentors (e.g. my parents) who provide an extended whanau of support for me.

4. NEGOTIATED RESEARCH/PROCESS

This is the way I would describe the process I

have been involved with: negotiated research. Working within the two research paradigms of Participatory Action Research and Kaupapa Māori Research requires an on-going relationship with the participants or communities within which the research is taking place. I have endeavoured to involve participants/community members at all stages of the research, including the development of method, framing of the research questions and expected outcomes. This has been a challenging process as along with negotiating with the communities themselves, I have also had to re-negotiate the initial expectations of fellow researchers and funders.

4.1 World-views and theory

4.1.1 Own biases and assumptions

One of the consequences of this post-doc for me has been the increasing knowledge of the underpinning theory and world-views to these research areas. The biggest challenge has been for me to become conscious of, and be able to articulate my *own* world-view and how this may differ from others and also how this has changed over the course of this post-doc.

For example, when I first started this project, I thought I could be most useful by validating through science Māori forms of knowledge and learning to help them be accepted in the mainstream. This approach is based on the core belief that Western science *can* validate other systems of knowledge. However this is not something I believe or want to pursue now. I would rather be part of creating and negotiating space to allow Māori voices and knowledge to transform the research space, rather than simply reframe those voices and knowledge to be palatable for the mainstream audience. One of the questions I now ask is 'how can non-Māori world-views, systems of thought and research even come close to understanding or comprehending Māori reality stemming from Māori world-views?'

4.1.2 Different world-views within the research team

Again, as with conflict, I do not see this as a

problem unless these are not recognized and respected by other research team members. The assumption that there is one ‘right’ way to see or address any situation can often lead to problems within a team. For example, I have been told repeatedly by a non-Māori colleague that “if I only thought about it, I would see that we don’t actually disagree, that we are on the same *waka*”. I experienced this comment and other similar comments as being condescending, paternalistic, disrespectful and uncomfortable. I have also been told when putting across a different view-point on research best practice and theory in a team meeting that I was ‘projecting my personal (Māori) baggage’ on to a fellow researcher. Often as the only Māori person in team meetings, I have felt ignored or marginalized and my views discounted as being ‘reactionary’. To deal with these situations and my associated strong emotions, I have had many counseling and debriefing meetings with my Māori peers and trusted mentors. I have then taught myself to stay focused on the task at hand in these situations and choose not to engage in trying to counter these statements or become emotionally reactive. I have found that these strategies only intensify and aggravate an already tense situation.

4.2 Methodology and Method

This has taken me a long time to work out! As previously stated, I started this post-doc relatively unskilled in qualitative research. The main research paradigm articulated in my original FRST application was Participatory Action Research. However, throughout the course of this research I have become more familiar also with other approaches, particularly Kaupapa Māori Research which I have come to believe are necessary when working with Māori. Both these research theories are broad and hard to provide definitions for, and many people have different interpretations of them. I have argued for a synergy of both approaches in this research as I feel they both encompass the reality of a multiplicity of world-views and belief systems within this current research climate (including

mainstream institutions and systems and more specific cultural and community-centred social systems). This synergy has resulted in a general method being negotiated overall with more specific methods being tailored to each community within which I am working (six communities nationally) to adequately reflect the uniqueness of each community.

5. WHAT IS IMPORTANT?

All these experiences have conspired to have me question why I am doing this fellowship. To answer that question I needed to ask myself what was important to me in this lifetime. First and foremost was the well-being of myself and my daughter. I have learnt that the more well I am, the more well my daughter is and that I am a better mother. I also have learnt that if I am well, and my daughter is happy, I do EVERYTHING better, including my job.

Also important to me is nature. The natural world is so many things to me I cannot begin to describe. The earth is my cradle and my grave, she gives me health and life, she heals me when I am sick and soothes me when I am angry and sad. In nature I feel part of something greater than myself. To care for her I will work tirelessly and joyfully. So I remind myself when I get caught up in politics and my own self that I work for love and for joy.

People are important to me. I love people! I want to be of the greatest service that I can to my communities. I believe I am a local, national and global citizen in this world, and as such I have a responsibility to contribute as optimally as I can to the health and well-being of all people. So again, I work for love and joy.

I am grateful to this fellowship for therefore bringing me to this place of great peace and understanding. All things are interconnected. My health and well-being are as integral a part of this research as anything else in this project. My daughter and I do not stand alone. We are surrounded by a web of people and social systems, and we are also surrounded by an intricate dance of nature and natural systems.

What one does affects the all, and what all do affects the one. All great traditions know this one great truth, including science.

This job allows me the opportunity to be with and work with the things I most love in this world and also to work towards a healthy and sustainable future for myself, my daughter and the children she may have. For this I am truly grateful.

6. WHO AM I?

When I first presented this paper at the Māori Association of Social Scientists (MASS) inaugural hui in Wellington in June 2008, I was very ill with bronchitis, very sad and very angry. I was bravely stating how my journey in this project had been thus far. I was also seriously contemplating resigning from my Postdoctoral Fellowship after ending up in mediation with another researcher on the overall project. I did not feel that this process had ended with a clear resolution and therefore I was still experiencing what I perceived as ongoing antagonism and work-based stress. At this hui for Māori social scientists, I was given a forum to share openly my experience.

I was at a crisis point. I went from this conference to the Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga Senior Researcher's Writing Retreat in Rotorua that I felt incredibly privileged to have been invited to attend. At this hui I was accepted and listened to and given guidance, strength, aroha and advice. Rotorua is also the place my name-sake lies (at Whakarewarewa). I spent many an hour in her company and in the company of whānau who helped me to make sense of where I was in my life at this point and more importantly to remind me of **who I am**.

I am the child of my ancestors. I am Māori. I am Scottish. I am female. No-one can deny me these things. And these are only a few of the words that begin to define me. I **know** who I am. More importantly, I **know** why I am here in this lifetime and what my purpose in breathing is. I will not question these things again. This postdoctoral fellowship gave me the perfect

vehicle to know these things consciously, by bringing together all my life experiences and skills to navigate my way through what has been at times a distressing experience - a culmination of all the hard work and self-examination of a lifetime. For this opportunity I am grateful.

This time in my life has marked a great transition for me. A time to grow up. A time to step up. A time to be who I truly am and to stop giving over my power to others to determine what and who I am. I am on fire and I burn to do what I was born to do. This is not negotiable. This is not for tender. I am here until the work is done.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Navigating an early stage research career is not an easy task for many. Sometimes the ease of transition from student to researcher seems to be dependent on luck more often than not. The following are some of the conclusions I have come to that I believe are essential to achieving optimal well-being within a post-doc. They are not new. I have read and heard similar conclusions and recommendations from many other sources. So perhaps all I am doing is re-presenting. I have read and re-read what I have written and there seems to me a simple thread weaving through my story that I think is reflected in some of the things I have heard from communities. I simply wanted to be treated well and fairly and as a human being first and foremost.

7.1 The Need to Respect Others and Listen

Within any research field or team, good communication is a vital element. I have found on the whole, that many researchers and scientists are adept at making their point of view heard and communicating *to* others. However, I believe that researchers need to spend more time listening, particularly when engaging with communities. Good communication involves *dialogue* between the respective parties, which involves of course both speaking *and* listening.

I have become of the opinion that everyone has something valuable to contribute, and there are

some key things that need to be adhered to by all people. I have found within many situations that some people (particularly those at ‘the top’ of a hierarchy) are accorded more respect than others. There also seems to be a process by which those same people are exempt from providing some basic courtesies to others, such as listening to what others have to say. I believe the need to listen, regardless of where you are in any pecking order, is a core competency, especially in this context where people often have differing opinions.

Being able to really hear what people are saying is as essential when working with communities as it is when functioning as part of a team. Being prepared to say that “we don’t know” and to ask questions that contribute to hearing what is being said, helps to deepen our understanding about another person’s point of view. There can be a lot of talk about ‘talking past each other’ which I believe can be used as an excuse *not* to listen, or to *not* make more of an effort to understand.

I believe that in the context of research with Māori, the onus is on researchers to hear what Māori are saying, rather than the other way as Māori know what the dominant or mainstream view is, they *live it*. Most non-Māori researchers do not live in the reality of Māori culture, so to work appropriately with Māori, I believe they need to make the effort to actively listen, understand and comprehend, including gaining *in-depth* training about Māori culture and language.

7.2 The Need for Space and Time

Two years have passed since I began this research and it has taken me this long to secure my case studies (i.e. the communities I will be working with). I have come to see this as very fast. I have been lucky enough to build on prior networks and relationships with fellow researchers and community members. I believe for good quality community research, it takes time and space to build adequate relationships with people in communities and then to maintain these relationships. Unfortunately the

research climate as it is does not allow much time or space for this. Therefore, within the context of the wider research team and research funding milestones/expectations, this approach has been excruciatingly slow. I have felt immense pressure to “start data collection” and to ‘get results’. I have become very angry at times when I have seen other researchers push hard for people to participate, begin engaging even when people have doubts and to seem to ignore the discomfort of participants, and then show very little in the way of follow-up (until another research initiative would benefit from their continued participation).

7.3 The Need for Self-Reflection

Personally, I find it much easier to point the finger than to examine myself, my motives and what behaviours I may be engaging in that are not contributing to my own and others’ well-being. However, I believe that there is a need for true self-reflection on the part of all people involved in a work situation such as a research team. As mentioned previously, it appears that in some hierarchical situations, those nearer the top are exempt from this process. I believe that none of us are free from the need to continually self evaluate our own process, to listen to and process critical feedback from others, and to then modify our behaviour accordingly. When certain people are not required to self evaluate their process in a group of people working together (and not held accountable for the effects of this process), unfortunately they can start to believe that they are infallible and that their ‘expert’ opinion is of more consequence than the opinions of others. I have come to further believe that institutions also need to be held accountable for their failure to adequately hold these individuals responsible or have adequate checks to evaluate their performance and the effects on the people they are working with (e.g. colleagues and communities they engage with).

7.4 The Need for Honesty, Integrity and Accountability

If people within a team or workplace are

actively listening, have a high level of respect, and are actively engaging in continuous self-evaluation, then chances are that people will be working at a high level of honesty, integrity and accountability. I believe there also needs to be from the outset a clear understanding of roles and responsibilities of every person involved. If this is not attended to, then the scene is set for miscommunication, unclear expectations, conflict and frustration. This lack of articulation of roles and responsibilities also means that team members can claim no responsibility for when things go wrong, because there is no clear proof that they were responsible! This lack of accountability can be a serious problem when things do go wrong, as how can a situation be remedied when no-one really knows what has happened, who is telling the truth and what can be done to repair the damage?

I also believe that strong leadership is required at any time in a research team, but never more so, than when things do not go right. A strong leader will assume responsibility *regardless* of the situation and will be a role model in demonstrating that along with the privilege of their position, comes the responsibility that the ‘buck stops’ with them. Failure to demonstrate these core principles of honesty, integrity and accountability are fatal mistakes within any research initiative that seeks to engage with communities, particularly those communities that are often highly sensitive to and expect appropriate protocols to be followed (e.g. Māori communities). This sensitivity is heightened when those communities have also experienced previous research engagement that has not matched their expectations of due process that are in place to ensure that honesty, integrity and accountability are delivered.

7.5 Collective Approaches

There is an increasing trend in research conducted in this country to work across disciplines, within communities and to employ more participant inclusive methodologies. This trend is supported by more funding focusing on the measurable outcomes to New Zealanders as

a whole. Therefore it is even more important that there be dialogue around the issues that can damage research capacity, community trust and possible ways to mitigate this damage if it should occur. I think that important in a more collective approach is the ability to articulate at the beginning that we are working together to develop something, so things will evolve and change as we go along. Then a discussion needs to happen about what process(es) do we follow when things need to change and how do we negotiate that?

One of the main reasons I did not resign from this research when I was struggling was that it did not feel ethical for me to walk away as I had already engaged with, and was working with, communities and research colleagues. I was also mentoring and supervising students I had recommended the project to! My leaving them in this situation was simply not something I could do. For me it comes back to whether you approach research (or anything in life) from an individualistic viewpoint or more of a collective viewpoint and what your ideas of responsibility are around those two world-views. My personal task was to determine which would win out in this situation. From an individualistic approach I believed I was only responsible for myself and my own well-being, yet from a collectivist approach, I felt responsible for other people and their well-being as well. There was a huge mismatch. When I was coming from a collectivist view I was thinking of not only myself but also my fellow researchers, the students involved, the communities I was engaging with and even the implications for the wider institution I was working within, the tribal affiliations I have, my family, my daughter... the list went on. The other question I had to ask myself was ‘then what happens when this (feeling of responsibility) is not reciprocated?’ So for example if that sense of collective responsibility is not shared by my research colleagues, that while I will go out of my way to ensure that what I do has only a positive impact on them and their work, or assist them in some

way, care for their well-being... What happens when that is not extended the other way? Or indeed when I am working with communities and they see me as an outsider, as a researcher or someone not from their iwi. I am working hard to come from a perspective that holds as paramount their well-being and the impact I am having on them (and making sure it is positive). What happens then if they do not extend that back? For me it came down to needing to work out what I would (and would not) do in terms of my practices, what my boundaries were, and what I was willing to compromise (and not). Ideally I would have loved to have understood all these things before engaging in this research! But the reality has been that I have only fully understood these things as a result of going through this process. I have personally navigated these competing world-views within myself by taking personal responsibility for my own well-being (which may have included walking away from this project), but making every attempt to negotiate a way in which I could ensure my well-being *and* continue in this post-doc. As a consequence I now know what it is that I am willing to contribute, the limitations to what I can contribute and still maintain my well-being. Perhaps more importantly, I am able to be very upfront, clear and honest about these things.

For myself personally, in order to work collectively *as an individual*, there are some basic practices or principles that I endeavour to adhere to. The first of these is to follow the guiding directive to 'first do no harm' or alternatively 'what is the most loving thing I can do in this situation?' The next practice is to acknowledge from what feeling or emotive state I am acting from. I have struggled with this one, attempting to deny when I am angry or upset, refusing to acknowledge when someone else has 'got the better of me' by reacting to what they have said or done. I believe this struggle reflects the requirement of much academic work to operate *only* from a 'head', rational or intellectual perspective. Emotion

(and the expression of this) is viewed as a weakness or as being not 'as valid' as a more 'rational' approach. I believe the primary problem with this intellectual approach is that it denies our own humanity and therefore imbues our work with the same inhuman and detached quality. How can such an approach be expected to improve or 'better' the experience of people within communities who operate on a very *human* level? And what happens to us as researchers when we deny our own humanity on a regular basis? I would like to argue that we distance ourselves from our own communities and we run the risk of becoming unwell. An essential part of maintaining my wellbeing is to remind myself that I am human and acknowledge when I am angry, hurt and scared.

Another practice I follow is to question myself about what intention I am operating from. This is sometimes a hard one for me to be honest about as I am not always being honourable in my intention. This project has challenged me when I have felt that I have been wronged, because I have felt a desire or intention to exact revenge on certain people. This has not always been easy to be honest about. All of these practices require that I be honest first and foremost with myself. In all the work I have done counselling people, within this post-doc and simply living my own life, I believe that this is one of the hardest things we as people can be asked to do. There are so many reasons why we are not honest.

The last practice I attempt to follow is to give freely without any expectation of return. I work towards it being enough to know that at the end of the day I have done my best (even when my best has not been enough for others) and to be satisfied and happy with that. To believe that the giving (in and of itself) is enough and its own reward. I have learnt (particularly in this post-doc) that if I expect rewards of other kinds, I am often setting myself up to be disappointed.

None of these practices come easily to me, however I have found that the more I am able to follow these, the easier the path becomes and

the more happy and satisfied with my life I have become. I have also struggled with the disdain with which these practices are held by many people, not just within the institutions I have trained and worked, but within society in general. I find it sad that to profess to live and work for love is something that is not valued as highly (or is derogated) as to live and work for money or status.

7.6 Relationships and Sharing Experiences

I believe that our social world (including the academic world) is based on relationships. For any relationship to function optimally, I would argue that all of the sections outlined so far are necessary, such as good communication, respect, honesty and time.

However, the key process of making good relationships, whether we call it 'networking' or whakawhanaungatanga I believe is an essential one. My experience within the research milieu (as outlined previously) has unfortunately often not seemed conducive to this process, particularly because of time and budget constraints.

Simply put, I would not be here if I did not have the excellent relationships with other people that I do. Most of my support in working through this experience has come from immediate whanau and my wider whanau of friends, colleagues and mentors. Sadly at times I have let the work situation take precedence over my whanau and I have felt more isolated and alone as a result. Once I re-prioritized and put the most important people back at the top, I regained health and happiness. I think that pressures we encounter in our work often mean that we neglect those people that are most dear to us. I do not think this is healthy.

Alongside these core relationships, it has been essential for me to have access to networks of like-minded individuals outside of the immediate work environment, yet who are still within the research/academic world. Through these networks I have found personal and professional guidance and support, especially in

how to address such core and fundamental issues as personal and professional safety and best practice guidelines. Through these networks, I have also come to understand more fully the Western scientific paradigm and where this arose from to understand more adequately the world-view I was trained in and how to articulate other world-views.

The most salient and helpful part of these networks has been the sharing of ourselves fearlessly and openly. Not just in private homes and on lunch-breaks, but speaking and writing about it and putting it out in the light of day.

I think it is vitally important that we do not lose these communities and networks that have developed over the years. Emerging Māori researchers who are young, naïve and idealistic may be especially vulnerable and susceptible to being used in unethical ways. There has been a concerted effort in the past decade to increase the number of postgraduate Māori students and thus Māori researchers. This increase needs to be supported by networks, structures and processes that can ensure that the transition into academic careers is less fraught with challenges.

Recently, I have heard discussion within these networks that question whether some initiatives are cost-effective (e.g. writing retreats). I believe that providing these spaces where we can be ourselves and to share freely is what makes these networks qualitatively different from the mainstream. These networks provide the opportunities in those spaces for many of us who have been disconnected from our Māori communities or who have not had those opportunities previously. We need to have access to these networks and the knowledge of our predecessors. We can learn from their experience and not lose so much energy and hope trying to figure it out by ourselves, and worrying about what is 'wrong' with us. Then we can get on with what needs to be done. There is freedom and strength in our numbers, to know that our struggles are a shared experience and that we are not alone. We all have something important to contribute, but we

do not always have the opportunity to have our voices and our contribution heard and valued outside of these spaces.

Even though my personal experience has been difficult, it has given me a deeper appreciation and understanding of what it is I do as a researcher, and an acceptance of the choice I make to continue to work with (and for) people and our environment. I also read the work of people like Linda Tuhiwai Smith now and understand more of what they are talking about. This I guess is the difference between reading something in a book and living it. However, an essential part of navigating this post-doc has been the support and collective knowledge of these networks to help me make sense of these experiences and possible ways to turn them to my advantage.

So I rest easy in knowing that this is not the first time (or the last) that these things have been experienced, and that many fine people have written about these issues before me.

“...I have met indigenous people who have experienced similar histories as researchers. Their tertiary education was alienating and disconnected from the needs of their own communities. The more educated they became the more it was assumed that they would not want to return to their communities...Many did take that road and have never returned. There are many others, however, who choose to remain, to wear their identities with pride and work with and for their

own communities and nations” (Smith, 1999, pp198-199).

I am happy to give testimony to my experience, to share it with others and to celebrate that I am still here and happier and more fulfilled than I have ever been. I also revel in the fact that I am here to give back to others for all the support I have received... with joy and with love.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to acknowledge my beautiful daughter Maia for always loving me and for reminding me of what is most important in life, all my whanau, my supportive research colleagues, my current mentors and peers. I acknowledge the Foundation of Research, Science and Technology for the generous funding to do this research, the University of Otago and the Centre for the Study of Agriculture, Food and the Environment (CSAFE) for hosting me. A very special thanks to Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga (especially the MAI programme) for their support and aroha and all the wonderful people I have had the good fortune to have met through these networks and come to know as whānau. Thanks also to Dr Reremoana Theodore and Dr Will Allen for their useful comments on early drafts of this paper. Special thanks also to Dr Reremoana Theodore for her unfailing support of me both professionally and personally.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Barriers and Solutions: Views from the Margins

Dr Tahu Kukutai

Ngāti Tīpa, Ngāti Kinohaku (Waikato-Maniapoto),
Te Aupouri, Tekaumarua ki Parihaka
University of Waikato
tahuk@waikato.ac.nz

Melinda Webber

Ngāti Whakaaue, Ngāti Hau, Pākehā
University of Auckland
m.webber@auckland.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

Despite transformations in tertiary education over the past decade, there remains a dearth of Māori who identify as social scientists. Factors that negatively affect capacity building include the barriers – both internal and external to Māori social science networks – that researchers face in the field. Although Māori researchers have been quick to critique external barriers, we also think it important to examine the internal constraints. In this paper we explore how three kinds of internal constraints – prescriptive ideologies, closed networks and access to resources – shape and constrain the organisation and activities of Māori social scientists. As researchers who have worked in both Māori and non-Māori collaborations, we seek to describe the complex nature of this problem. In so doing, we are guided by the principle that good social science practice requires that research be rigorous, consequential, unique, and open to contestation and critique – irrespective of time-space-cultural boundaries. This calls for careful reflection on what methodology best suits the research problem, and the opening of spaces for diverse theoretical paradigms and methodological approaches.

Keywords

Research, identity, kaupapa Māori

1. TAHU KUKUTAI: SETTING THE CONTEXT

This symposium – the inaugural conference of the Māori Association of Social Science – has provided us with a timely opportunity to explore new territory in several respects. First, it has

given us an incentive to collaborate, a prospect that never seemed particularly likely, given our professional differences. Although we both study the construction and functioning of ethnicity in particular settings, we employ vastly different tools to do so. I am a sociologist with a background in demography and conduct mostly empirical research using census and survey data. A good deal of my research has addressed ethnic and socio-economic diversity within the Māori ethnic population and the implications for social stratification. Melinda is a social psychologist who has spent the last seven years working in teacher education. Her mostly qualitative educational research aims to better understand the ways in which ethnic identity development is impacted in school contexts.

Though we come at sociological problems from different vantage points, in other respects we have much in common. We are both young-ish emerging researchers, women obviously and juggling commitments as academics and parents. We are Māori by virtue of whakapapa and self-conscious identification. We are both committed, in our own ways, to contributing to Māori development through our research. Perhaps like many of you, we were both raised in families of fairly modest means but, as adults, find ourselves firmly located in the middle class and about to join the educational elite as newly minted PhDs.

I point to the similarities in our backgrounds and current circumstances, not to garnish our talk with biographical anecdotes, but to illuminate the problems inherent in defining the problem of the barriers that Māori social scientists face. There

are multiple roles and statuses that we all occupy and what might privilege us in one context may be used to marginalise us in another. For Melinda and I, our attachment to Māori ethnicity is implicated in how we experience and perceive the constraints that we work within, albeit that the salience and centrality of those attachments varies depending on the context. However, it would be an overstatement to say that Māori ethnicity is the only, or even perhaps the most important factor that conditions our experiences as social science professionals. Other statuses also matter, gender, age, and career stage among them.

In exploring the claim that ethnicity is implicated in the constraints that Māori social scientists face we also suggest that ethnicity, or ethnic positioning, can be strategically employed as a resource. Indeed, Māori ethnicity can simultaneously be a constraint and a resource as a social science professional. Significant changes in the funding environment provide structural supports for the strategic deployment of Māori ethnicity. In recent years considerable funding has been allocated to research that is *by Māori and/or for Māori*, providing unprecedented funding opportunities for Māori identified researchers and, to a lesser extent, non-Māori undertaking research deemed to be of consequence to Māori. For Māori identified researchers, such opportunities are undeniably advantageous, but can also become a constraint when ethnicity rather than research expertise becomes the point of evaluation. This can occur whether one is the only Māori researcher in a non-Māori research team; or working within a *Māori and/or for Māori* research paradigm.

Our main motivation for this paper is to share what we hope are some useful ideas about the complex nature of the constraints that researchers encounter when conducting social science research that involves Māori individuals, communities and organisations. Because this is the first meeting of MASS, and where some degree of agenda setting will take place, we think it an appropriate setting within which to critique

and reflect upon our practices. Our decision to examine the constraints that emanate from *within* Māori social science networks and institutions – rather than the ‘prevailing Pākehā economic and social forces’ emphasised in the conference programme – is part of this process of internal critique and reflection. This does not mean that we see external forces as unimportant – far from it. But we feel that to focus exclusively on Pākehā forces, whatever that means, risks enshrining a partial and somewhat skewed picture of the terrain within which we work. In terms of transformative action, there is also the question of where change can be best effected. By focusing on our own practices, we feel there are more opportunities for making changes consistent with the social justice kaupapa of this conference.

Having said that, we see this paper merely as a starting point for an ongoing discussion and a more rigorous paper that elaborates some of the constraints, both internal and external. This is not an area that either of us has examined in the course of our ordinary research activities, although as we delve further into it we see the potential for future work. We also see this collaboration as an example of the benefits that may arise from inter-disciplinary approaches – something that is often lost in the quantitative versus qualitative binary model of ‘doing research’.

1.1 Articulating internal constraints

In conceptualising internal constraints, we take a structural approach. In short, we see constraints as being embedded into social systems in such a way that they shape the behaviour of actors within those systems. We do not see constraints in the social sciences as being something peculiar to Māori. As anyone who has worked in an academic institution knows, there are plenty of constraints – administrative, ideological and fiscal, for example – that all faculty face, irrespective of their ethnicity or field of research. We do think, however, that researchers who identify as Māori *and* research Māori ‘subjects’ face particular sorts of constraints. However, these are largely consequences of the ways in

which Māori ethnicity is treated within the social system, including academic institutions and funding agencies, rather than any inherent quality of ethnicity.

Some qualification is needed here in making the distinction between internal and external constraints. We see internal constraints as arising out of Māori networks, institutions and discourses. However we acknowledge that internal and external constraints are inter-related rather than independent, because of the shifting locus of power within academia, within New Zealand society, and the world writ large. Internal barriers are not created in a vacuum - they arise in response to, and also contribute to, external power shifts. In the last decade, the extent to which Māori aspirations have been able to be inscribed into academic system have flowed from openings in the political opportunity structure in the wake of Māori political activism and the global diffusion of Indigenous rights. Like other 'new social movements', Indigenous rights had its genesis in Civil Rights, which is currently facing sustained attacks in the United States from either sides of the political spectrum. Thus, while it is important to be able to identify barriers that Māori social scientists face, it is also incumbent upon us to recognise that barriers (and opportunities) may be created, magnified, attenuated or dismantled as new conditions arise.

This might all sound a bit abstract and it is important to recognise that the task of conceptualising and elaborating constraints is not merely academic. Constraints matter because they impede potential in terms of research excellence, capacity building and access to resources. This is concerning because, in spite of increasing Māori participation in the tertiary sector, there remains a dearth of Māori identified social science professionals. A 2006 survey of PBRF eligible social scientists working in New Zealand universities found eight per cent identified Māori as their main ethnic group, with Māori women outnumbering Māori men by about two to one (Witten et al. 2006). Our paper is directed at those working within the field but will

hopefully also be of interest to the current cohort of students who are considering moving into the profession.

In the next section we identify three kinds of constraints - ideologies, networks, resources - and examine each in turn. This typology is intended to aid conceptual clarity, rather than describe the problem of internal barriers in its entirety.

1.2 Ideological constraints

The first kind of constraint comprises ideologies – that is, systems of abstract thought, which are usually underpinned by transformative aspirations. There are multiple ideologies that Māori social scientists must negotiate in the course of carrying out their work, but the ones we focus on here emanate from within Māori networks, institutions and discourses. Ideologies that are constraining are those that engender prescriptive notions of who should conduct Māori research; what should be researched; and how it should be done. These ideologies have both contributed to the institutionalisation of a '*by Māori and/or for Māori*' research paradigm, and arisen in response to it. The politicisation of Māori tradition and ways of knowing from the late 1970s provided the context within which ideas about what constituted Māori research emerged. As these ideas took on a paradigmatic form in the sense of a model with its own theoretical and methodological tools, new ideologies emerged as post-hoc justifications for the paradigm.

We must note that we do not take issue with the broad principles and emancipatory goals that underlie the '*by Māori and/or for Māori*' paradigm – for example, of producing consequential research that empowers Māori individuals and collectives and providing meaningful opportunities for Māori identified researchers to undertake research on Māori 'subjects' in ways that challenge Eurocentric assumptions and practices. However, we argue that in so doing, what is needed is a flexible, open approach to interpreting who or what is Māori. We want to avoid foregoing a research-skills match for a race-match as the latter is unlikely to

be in the interests of good research. Prescriptive ideologies about Māori research and researchers pose a problem when there is an assumption that the Māori identified researcher will be a match to the 'Māori subject', based on some essentialised notion of racial or cultural sameness, or uniquely Māori way of viewing the world. Research projects that are essentialised and essentialising are at odds with the perspective, widely accepted within the social sciences, that ethnicity and ethnic groups are constructions borne of historical, social and political forces rather than immutable, objective 'facts'. A prescriptive rendering of the '*by Māori and/or for Māori*' research paradigm is also at odds with the well-documented heterogeneity within the Māori population, whether defined by ancestry, ethnicity or tribal affiliation (Kukutai forthcoming). In striving to transform longstanding racial inequalities in academia, we must take care not to allow prescriptive ideologies to become established as the new dimensions of exclusivity.

1.3 Network constraints

Networks are the ties, real or imagined, that researchers have to institutions, other academics, stakeholders and communities. There are several ways that networks act as a constraint. One is the interaction with ideology. Ties are often conditioned by ideological position so that research networks are circumscribed by buying into a particular way of doing research on Māori. Networks also limit or endow access to the 'Māori subject', with academics acting as brokers between prospective researchers and the communities of interest. This is not necessarily a bad thing, given historical practices of exploiting communities for individual research agendas. But questions need to be asked about the agenda of the brokers, the institution, the research-methodology match and the role of the researcher.

There is also the matter of the status that networks have, and the special case of internal networks in external settings is particularly interesting. Such is the case with Māori advisory

committees, or ethics advisors, in mainstream institutions. Because they are often adjuncts, and only exercise limited or even nominal power, they can end up working in ways that potentially exclude Māori social science researchers. To that end, the insistence that prospective researchers adhere to a narrow view of Māori culture and ways of knowing is one exclusionary device; another is the insistence that Māori researchers 'prove' their suitability in terms of Māori cultural competence, even though it may be largely irrelevant to the task at hand and less important than their broader skills base. Ironically, such 'reactive objectifications' (Sissons 1993) may work to further protect the interests of the mainstream institution.

1.4 Resource constraints

The final type of constraint we identify relates to resources, both economic and human. Again, these link to ideological and network dimensions. One example of an internal constraint is access to funding tagged '*by Māori and/or for Māori*'. A leading source of this sort of funding is the Māori Knowledge and Development Research output class (MKDOC) funded by the Ministry of Research, Science and Technology. The overarching kaupapa is to: 'develop Māori research capability, evolve Māori knowledge and develop knowledge for the benefit of the nation' (MORST 2008). The MKDOC is administered through the Foundation of Research, Science and Technology and the Health Research Council. In the case of the HRC, the Māori Advancement Research and Māori Development Research funding programmes are specifically targeted at Māori identified researchers, while its Māori Health Research programme is open to non-Māori engaging in research relevant to Māori. Again, we have no issue with the goals of encouraging Māori research capability or producing research of consequence that will improve the circumstances of Māori individuals and collectives. The problem is the vagueness of the signifier 'Māori' in such contexts. Indeed, the Ministry recognises the vagueness of the term 'Māori Research', but has yet to offer a viable

alternative (MORST 2008). Though the loose deployment of the term ‘Māori research’ is more desirable than a tight, essentialised interpretation, its imprecision renders it vulnerable to prescriptive discourses. Thus, by default, internal discourses may shape how external funding agencies make available the funding. Again, we believe it should be a balance of skills and cultural competence, with the emphasis on skills. There are many factors – some of them historical – that means some fields are dominated by researchers who are not Māori. It makes no sense for Māori communities to be deprived of their research expertise when that is what is called for.

Internal resource constraints also manifest in terms of human resources and skills valued within Māori contexts. For example, in the course of working with Māori communities or organisations, a researcher may need to be accompanied by a kaumatua who smooths the way, providing the pragmatic skill of translation but also providing a crucial point of reference and source of validation. Access to kaumatua cannot be bought by thumbing the yellow pages – it requires whanau or other network connections, and these may be elusive for Māori identified researchers, particularly those who have grown up in whanau geographically or relationally distanced from their hapū and marae.

Finally, we turn to access to skills that are framed as mainstream. This can be an internal constraint because the skill does not fit or is not valued within prescriptive ideologies. For example, quantitative skills are seen as “Western” in orientation. Ironically, in the course of carrying out demographic research for hapu and iwi, I’ve found that many Māori communities and organisations are desperately in need of Māori researchers with these sorts of skills to assist them in their policy development. However, it’s a case of the demand greatly exceeding the supply.

Having mapped the general argument and conceptual terrain, we will provide some reflections on how these constraints have manifested throughout Melinda’s career as an education researcher, and provide some

theoretical reference points to the question: “where to from here?”

2. MELINDA WEBBER: NGĀ HAERENGA - THE BUMPY ROAD TO RESEARCH INSIGHT

Research methodology texts often start with an anecdote about the ‘bumpy road’ to research insight. Linda Smith (2005) posits that Indigenous researchers engage in “research in [...] a time of uncertainty, and in an era when knowledge as power is re-inscribed through its value as a commodity in the global market place, this presents tricky ground for researchers” (p.102). Smith further refers to this tricky ground as a space of marginalisation that can also become a space of resistance and hope. By openly reflecting on the complexities impacting our research, and through sharing our inter-subjectivities and personal observations, we hope this paper goes some way towards validating the naturalness of transitional and intellectual spaces of uncertainty, encouraging other researchers to engage in interrogating these uncomfortable positions, creating new spaces and imagining future possibilities.

Writing and research is never ‘innocent’. Indeed we have to consider how, in describing what we see in an objective way, we are already locked into frameworks of cultural understandings which can inevitably be critically assessed in terms of their political contours and interests served. The idea and act of observing, and thus researching people’s experiences, is fraught with complexity. Institutional protocols and guidelines for working with Indigenous communities can help, as can guidelines from within te ao Māori. However any complexities that impact on research, the researcher and/or the researched need to be emphasised and explored as a means of making explicit the borders that exist within borders. We need to recognise the transitional spaces as valid spaces to occupy as a researcher. Like Selby (2004) we believe there is no seamless fit of researcher to researched. It is an achievement involving emotional life, the researchers’ subjectivities as ever present, and should also be

recognised as crucial in the development of ideas. Our writings and visions are never politically neutral.

2.1 Ideologies of authenticity: the imagined and the real.

Useful research should always aim to address the diversity of the Māori experience, refuting the tendency within NZ society (including within institutions) to refer to Māori as if they constitute a homogenous group. Research should illuminate the high degree of cultural, social, linguistic and physical difference that characterise Māori peoples. This notion should apply to the Māori researcher too, because there has historically been a tendency to emphasise what Jennett and Stewart (1987) call, “the tribal (traditional) versus non-tribal (non-traditional) polarity, to argue that urbanised and non-tribal Māori are not representative of traditional Māori” (p.70).

The importance of my research within the Western academy often seems minimized because I teach and research in a tertiary institution which seems very intent on 'making exotic' what I do by insisting on the use of an essentialised and prescriptive 'Māori research methodology'. I suspect that part of this justifies their approval regarding the 'ethnic nature' of the research. In some ways it seems like a post-script to why the research has been funded, or approved, and I wonder if it is a kind of safety mechanism for them - a justification for the institution's approval of research that proceeds without the absolute adherence to set methods often used to satisfy Western scientific notions of rigor, validity and reliability. Said (1979) has long commented on this orientalist positioning, stating that exoticising our work allows colleagues to feel they are supporting 'the other', but ironically provides an excuse for later dismissing the validity of our work.

Kaupapa Māori 'methodology' (Smith, 1999) as it is called often in education, (note I am not talking about kaupapa Māori theory itself) continues to be a useful and appropriate korero to guide initial thoughts regarding research ethics in and with Māori communities. Its conceptual framework

reflects the point in time in which it was theorised and written, and the aroha behind its intentions. Like any theory or ideology, kaupapa Māori can be liberating and it can be constricting. But it is also important to gauge whether the institution's interpretation of 'kaupapa Māori' (and its conventions) is being used in a manner that is prescriptive about real Māori research practices. It might be, it might not. It all depends on the circumstances, who is involved, and so on. In the hands of some, it does, in other, perhaps not. Whilst I think the foregrounding of kaupapa Māori in institutions has been understandable in the short term, in the long term we need to be developing internal critiques and strengthening some of our ideas in order for Māori research practices to not remain entirely "closed". In what ways might we move kaupapa Māori forward in terms of the ways we operationalise its principles?

I feel that like time itself, there needs to be room for the evolution of theories and methodologies - a fluidity and dynamism - that matches the time - space - cultural context. Thus, new visions of how research might proceed - for, with and by Māori - need to be embraced. Not as a further means of brokering what Māori research is, or who a Māori researcher is, but rather to re- focus on research intention or motive. I suggest that we celebrate the different ways we can work within and outside of our communities of interest whilst being true to our own developing and situational 'native theories' about how research proceeds. The key is the research intention, context and the cultural capital of those being researched. What is the purpose of the research and in what ways will it contribute to Māori development? We need to write, publish and constructively critique these narratives/research

protocols/narratives/methodologies (whatever you wish to call them) so that emerging researchers, and those embarking on research with Māori communities, see multiple ways of operating as valid – then, and only then, will research truly reflect the multiplicity of the Māori

experience.

2.2 Networks: insider, outsider, inside out?

Māori, teacher, mother, daughter, lecturer, researcher, language learner, colleague – these are just a few of the parts of me that construct my whole. Yet, in the domain of my work and career it seems there are implicit challenges to my right to claim ownership of some of these positions. My role as a young emerging Māori researcher within an academic institution is a complex and challenging one, fraught even. It is one thing for me to self-define, but another to actually be accepted.

One of the dilemmas I face in my current role as a lecturer, PhD student and emerging researcher is determining what role my being Māori will play in that journey. For me, and those family, friends and colleagues who know me, being Māori is without question an inseparable part of who I am, how I operate and why I persist. They know and trust the intentions of my research and work. For some of my other colleagues and academic contemporaries, my being Māori is seen as a privilege, a bonus, a step up that makes my journey easier than theirs. For some others still, my claim to being Māori is a right that has to be earned, proven and authenticated via my adherence to prescriptive ideologies and demonstration of the ‘right’ discourse (Gee, 1989). These dichotomous factors – both internal and external to *te ao Māori* – constrain my work as a Māori researcher.

James Gee notes that “Discourses are ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles of specific *groups of people* . . . They are always and everywhere *social* ” (1996:xix). Therefore, if discourses are viewed as forms of social practice which are intimately tied to the cultural affiliations of groups of people, a person’s adoption and use of particular discourses would signify his or her alignment with or membership in particular groups. Hence, discourses are group-specific and, in Māori communities where the distribution of privileges

is exercised through group differentiation and social hierarchy, the discourse practices of diverse groups can stand in conflict with one another. This conflict is exacerbated by the perceived opportunities those in the in-group might have access to, as opposed to the access offered to those who exist on the peripheries of the these groups. These intercultural insider/outsider boundaries are not challenged often enough. Gate-keeping regarding what is deemed as ‘appropriate Discourse’ inside and outside of Māori research communities’ means that *access* has become elusive and opportunities restricted. What makes one a *real Māori* is never clear cut and, like culture, it is dynamic, contextual, and situational. That is, one can know the rules in one context but not in another. In the face of changing situations and contexts, how does he or she ‘get it right’ all the time? How does it make sense that in some situations one is certainly ‘Māori enough’ while in others, one stands no chance of being ‘Māori enough?’ This leads me to wonder, are these insider/outsider boundaries the new hegemony?

I have been concerned at the ways I have tried to fit my research into the constrictions of a funding pathway. However I feel caught in the goal/achievement, research output driven paradigm that drives the academy. I am demoralized by the requests that I seek institution-based Māori approval for research within my own communities. However, I am bound to the ethics approval processes as a vehicle for having my research supported. I am floored by the workload of being the only Māori academic outside of Te Puna Wananga in the ‘mainstream’ BEd programme. However, I feel a deep sense that students need to see Māori teaching and researching in a diverse number of courses and academic subjects.

I work within a complex intercultural space, constantly reflecting on the dual and conflicting nature of being an emerging Māori researcher in a research driven academic institution. Whilst ‘being Māori’ is not the totality of who I am or my research capabilities, I am pigeon-holed by

the university as just that - 'a Māori researcher'. What does this actually mean? Will it benefit the 'currency' of my research career by privileging me insider access to research grants or ministry funding associated with Māori, whilst at the same time disadvantaging my opportunities to diversify my research scope by reducing the 'currency' of my research to Māori research only?

Like many others I belong to more than one social category or cultural group but they are often in conflict with one another. This has created a need to constantly negotiate between my academic and cultural discourses and the discourses that signify ties to those I research with, in my various communities of practice. Thus, my cultural, academic and social networks and identities transcend the totalizing concept of a 'Māori researcher'.

This tension between the ways that identity is defined by members of the community and the ways that identity is discussed by the academy are like night and day. Māori people – both those who are like me and those who are very different from me – hold views based on traits that are established informally and vary depending on with whom you interact and with whom you place legitimacy and importance. Academics like me might view identity and authenticity differently, in that we see intra-group differences among people and groups. Essentialised ways of viewing groups fail to recognise differences among groups and are limited by a belief that individuals from certain ethnic, gender, sexual preference, or economic class groups hold identical or even similar views, ideas, or behaviours. Thus, there is an ongoing need to challenge the continuing development of hegemonic orthodoxies within 'Māori research', grounded in essentialist notions of 'Māoriness'. This should not be seen as threatening, disrespectful or controversial, but rather a challenge to the privilege certain Māori (researchers, academics and social commentators) give to themselves and those they define as 'like them'; through their tightly constructed definitions of authentic Māoriness.

This will indeed be challenging to the orthodoxy and the *orthodox*. But, it is a debate that must be had. It is imperative that we guard against Māori-centred essentialism, or else we confine so many Māori to silence and simply visit upon other Māori another form of disempowerment.

2.3 He whakaaro whakamutunga: some final thoughts

Thus, these academic ponderings are the beginning of a new research journey that celebrates my multiple-subject positioning. I choose not to hide that I utilise different forms of cultural connections to serve specific needs or purposes. Said (1993) has long argued that the hybridization of cultural identity, and the syncretic perspective that arises from it, can constitute a new space where it is necessary "to seek out, to map, to invent, or to discover a *third nature*" wherein resides the potential for better understanding one's experiences (p. 226). In the same vein, Bhabha (1994) reacts against the polarization and simplification of culture and instead uses the metaphor of "a third space" to signify a new frame of reference and process of signification that occurs *in between* cultures as a result of contact and the clash of difference.

I do not believe it is impossible to teach well or conduct good research without some sense of personal involvement. Without attending to these apparently extraneous emotional aspects our work is impoverished. Discursive dialogue should enable all members to represent who they are however they want, allow equal access to the floor, permit all to express any opinion and allow any view to be criticized without prejudice. Habermas (1970) calls these conditions of absolute freedom, truth, and justice. However, in actuality these situations are often distorted by asymmetries in power, status, or the capacity for self-expression. Bhabha (1994) calls this an 'unhomely' moment – a moment that provides us with the sense of discomfort of being in-between, of loss, of 'floundering in un-chartered seas' – revealing the notion that you can never again see yourself as of only one coherent community or identity. There are borders within borders within

borders - a clash of voices', which result's in mental and emotional states of perplexity. This then creates borderlands, that are physically present whenever two or more cultures edge each other, where different peoples occupy the same territory and the space between shrinks into intimacy (p. iv). In terms of my claim to being Māori, a Māori researcher, a researcher – I exist in these borderlands. At times it can be a very un-homely place. However, it is where I reside.

In this paper I have raised slippery and problematic issues in the hope of demonstrating that we, as Māori academics, become more specific about seeing the differences among Māori peoples and their world-views. We must recognise the disparity between our theories, and the real lives of those we study. It is time to acknowledge, reflect upon and reexamine the forces that have led us to differentiate among ourselves in such specific and destructive ways. Thus, this paper has sought to highlight some of the struggles and contradictions involved with being a Māori person, who is also a researcher. To the uninitiated, being both may not appear to be a dilemma. For me however, being both Māori and an academic is fraught with difficulties and costs, for I am constantly aware of the ways that I am being positioned by those with whom I interact as a researcher as well as those I interact with as a Māori, and the differences between the two. This positioning becomes extremely complicated when both my researcher and Māori identities must be simultaneously fore-grounded. I have also challenged some of the prevailing ideologies of authenticity - the ways that individuals are defined and assessed by others within particular contexts and situations. First and foremost, I question claims that authenticity is derived from specific, static qualities which one *must* have in order to be a *real Māori*. In so doing, I also raise questions about what it means to be described as *real* as well as who has the right to define authenticity or realness.

If Māori social science is genuinely underpinned by a belief that all reality is socially and systemically constructed, it should also

accommodate the notion that the Māori subject is ever-changing and that through a process of cultural ecology, people create new realities, new knowledges and new cultural journeys. If Māori social science were truly open to critique, questions, negotiation, trial, error and change – internally as well as externally - the question would be, then, not how to arrive, but how to journey.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York; Routledge.
- Gee, J. P. (1989). Literacy, discourse, and linguistics: Introduction. *Journal of Education*, 171, 5-17.
- Gee, J. P. (1996). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses* (2nd ed.). London: Taylor & Francis.
- Habermas, J. (1970). Toward a Theory of Communicative Competence. In Hans Peter Dreitzel (ed.) *Recent Sociology No. 2*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 114-148.
- Jennett, C. & Stewart, R. (1987). *Three Worlds of Inequality: Race, Class & Gender*. MacMillan Company of Australia Pty. Ltd, Melbourne.
- Kukutai, T. (Forthcoming). "Building Ethnic Boundaries in New Zealand: Representations of Māori Identity in the Census." In *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relation Between Identity and Statistics*, edited by P. Sköld and P. Axelsson. Oxford: Berghan Books,
- Ministry of Research Science and Technology. 2008. Retrieved June 2008 from <http://www.morst.govt.nz/current-work/vision-matauranga/what-is-Māori-research/>.
- Sissons, J. 1993. The Systematisation of Tradition: Māori Culture as a Strategic Resource. *Oceania* 64 (2):97-116. Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York: Random House Inc.

- Said, E. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. London: Vintage.
- Selby, J. (2004). Working divides between indigenous and non-indigenous: disruptions of identity. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 17(1), 143-156.
- Smith, L. T. (2005). On tricky ground: Researching the native in an age of uncertainty. . In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 85-107). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Kaupapa Māori methodology: Our power to define ourselves*. Retrieved 21 July 2008
- Witten, K., Rose, E., Sweetsur, P., Huckle, T., and J. Huakau. 2006. *Building Research Capability in the Social Sciences (BRCSS): National Survey of Social Scientists 2006*. Palmerston North: Massey University.

Contestable Spaces: Expanding our Cultural Landscape into the Academy

Margaret Forster

Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu
Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Massey University
Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North
m.e.forster@massey.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

Māori participate across a range of disciplines in the social sciences. A commonality across these research and teaching programmes is a focus on the advancement and positive development of Māori people, resources and knowledge. This approach to research can be traced to recognition of Treaty of Waitangi principles and the emergence of kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred methodologies that challenge the invisibility of indigeneity in the research archive and advocate an exploration of the broader factors that have led to alienation and marginalisation of tribal communities from their tribal assets and culture. Research therefore is a site of resistance seeking to contest the universality of Western research discourse and promote an Indigenous understanding that is then used to advance Māori agendas for Māori purposes. This paper explores the development of Māori research and publication capability in the social sciences.

Keywords

Māori research, Māori publications, He Pukenga Kōrero

1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this paper is the relationship between Māori and the academy and the development of Māori excellence and scholarship in the social sciences, particularly the contribution of *He Pukenga Kōrero, Journal of Māori Studies*. *He Pukenga Kōrero* is a publication initiative developed by staff at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey

University. A historical overview of the initial intent of the journal and a content analysis of past contributions is provided to demonstrate the contribution of the journal to the Māori research environment.

It is argued that publication initiatives such as *He Pukenga Kōrero* are critical for maintaining the presence of Māori scholarship and people in the academy, controlling the articulation of Māori interests and concerns and building Māori excellence and publication capability in the social sciences.

2. MĀORI AND THE ACADEMY

The early relationship between Māori and what is now known as the social sciences was that of the researched and the researcher. The institutions and scientific conventions of, initially, anthropology formalised culture collection and the study of cultures. This established the dominant position of Western knowledge and the authority of the academy over Māori society further alienating Māori communities from their own culture, knowledge and language. As a consequence, Māori society, like other Indigenous cultures, was constructed by the academy, on notions of European cultural superiority and Eurocentric understandings of society (Ames, 1992, pp. 49, 144; Clifford, 1988, p. 23; L. T. Smith, 1999b).

Recent acknowledgement that the West has monopolised and controlled the construction of culture and global recognition of Indigenous

politics of self-determination has led to a critique of colonial styles of representation¹ and dispersion of ethnographic authority (Clifford, 1988, pp. 24, 53). Indigenous peoples are engaged in the reconstruction of their own images in a deliberate attempt to control how they are portrayed to their own people and to others. Research therefore is a site of resistance seeking to contest the universality of Western research discourse and promote an Indigenous understanding that is then used to advance Indigenous agendas for Indigenous purposes. Māori no longer or never have accepted that those values and tikanga that inform cultural identity do not have a place in ALL of the spaces that Māori occupy, this includes the academy. The key is to establish a presence of our own making and to participate in the manner of our own choosing. This must be based on a sound understanding of the challenges and risks associated with relocating and repackaging Māori culture, knowledge and language into foreign systems and institutions as in the process of reshaping or creating new realities the integrity of Māori culture and knowledge must be maintained. Nonetheless, these challenges should not prevent us from establishing a Māori presence, from contesting the dominant Western discourse and promoting our own realities.

That there is a space called Māori Studies is the legacy of Sir Apirana Ngata who in 1908 argued for the introduction of Māori as a subject at university, which eventually happened in 1923. Also, there have been a number of people of Māori descent who have made a substantial contribution to the study of Māori society including Sir Apirana Ngata, Peter Rangihira Buck, Ranginui Walker, John Rangihau, Sir Hugh Kawharu, Hirini Moko Mead and Bill Nepia. The university was and still is a male dominated environment however increasingly we are seeing more Māori women in senior roles and

¹ For examples related to Aotearoa refer to Bishop (1994), M.H. Durie (1997a), Glover (1997), Irwin (1994), G. Smith (1992) and L.T. Smith (1999a).

they too are making significant contributions. These key people and organisations such as Te Matawhānui² have challenged the institutional barriers that seek to exclude Māori knowledge, culture and peoples and created a space for those of us today to teach and research and continue to build on their vision.

2.1 Māori Studies

The emergence of Departments of Māori Studies in the 1980s was a critical milestone for the development of Māori excellence and scholarship and expansion of a Māori presence in the academy. Separation from linguistics and social anthropology provided critical foci for Māori language and culture and a forum for the deliberation of Māori interests (M.H Durie, 1996, p. 24). Due to the multidisciplinary nature of Departments of Māori Studies, teaching and research was no longer constrained by the institutional frameworks of a single discipline (M.H Durie, 1996, p. 24). This allowed for a “reinterpretation of Māori philosophies and methods... [and] a more authentic Māori scholarship to emerge” (M.H Durie, 1996, p. 23). The result was a body of evidence that considered the constraints of academic training and past research methodologies and disciplinary specific methods that failed to reflect Māori realities and research aspirations and promotion of practices and methodologies that aligned with a Māori understanding of knowledge production (M.H. Durie, 1996, p. 22; Jackson, 1998; Johnston, 1999).

It is important to note that teaching and research related to Māori Studies is not confined to Departments or Schools of Māori Studies and occurs across a range of disciplines throughout the university (M.H Durie, 1996, p. 24). In addition Māori Studies at universities “is not the same as studies in tribal whare wānanga” (M.H Durie, 1996, p. 21).

² Te Matawhānui is the national body of Māori Studies, although in later years membership was expanded to include all Māori employed within universities. Te Matawhānui advocated Māori equity issues in universities.

3. DEVELOPING MĀORI RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS CAPABILITY

Sir Apirana Ngata's *Ngā Moteatea* (1928) and the works of Sir Rangihiroa Buck (1939; 1949) are early, widely known and respected examples of scholarly Māori writings. These works contributed to a small but significant Māori scholarship and publication presence. In recent decades this tradition has grown to include numerous examples of discourses on Māori culture and traditions, tribal histories and other creative works and is related to a continued effort to build a critical Māori mass and publication capacity in academia and a growth in publishers targeting Māori readership. Notable examples of academically framed writings from Māori scholars include Ranginui Walker (1987; R. J. Walker, 1992, 1996, 2004), Hirini Moko Mead (1996; 2003; H. M. Mead & Grove, 2001), Mason Durie (1994; M. H. Durie, 1998b; M.H Durie, 2001, 2005) and Linda Smith's *Decolonizing Methodologies* (1999a). In addition in recent years there has been several theme based books with multiple Māori contributors in the area of Māori culture (Ka'ai, Moorfield, Reilly, & Mosely, 2004), Māori development (Mulholland & contributors, 2006), business studies (Mulholland & Te Au Rangahau, 2006), intellectual property (A. T. P. Mead & Ratuva, 2007), political studies (Bargh, 2007; O'Sullivan, 2007) and resource management (M. Kawharu, 2002). The list has become quite extensive when consideration is also given to the number of Māori contributors providing a Māori perspective on a range of issues such as ethics and research (e.g. Bishop, 2005; Cram, 2001; L. T. Smith, 2005; Tomlins-Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999), genetic modification (e.g. Matua-Tipene, 2000) and planning (e.g. Matunga, 2000) and if an account is taken of the significant body of literature developed through monograph serials such as those published by the Research Unit for Māori Education, University of Auckland (1991-1995), the Department of Education, University of Victoria's occasional publication series *He Pārekereke* (1992-), *Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga's Tihei Oreore* series (2005-) and the *Te Mata o te*

Tau Matariki series (2007-).

Māori contributions to academic journals have also increased, particularly as the number of journals committed to Māori issues and concerns has grown. Until the 1980s the *Journal of Polynesian Society*, published quarterly since 1892, was the primary location of scholarly articles focused on Māori people and culture. These articles were written from within an anthropological or cultural studies framework and mainly by non-Māori. *SITES*, the New Zealand Cultural Studies journal founded in 1984 and still in publication today, although in a modified form, is another example of journals that published articles on Māori people and culture but from a cultural studies framework.

From 1985-1992 the journal *Race, Gender and Class* provided one of the first opportunities to discourse on issues related to Māori self-determination albeit from a political studies context. During this period there was an increased focus on Treaty politics and Māori advancement and development. As a response to these factors and the growth in Māori Studies, in 1995, *He Pukenga Kōrero* was established to provide a forum for research that focused on historical and contemporary issues emerging primarily from the discipline of Māori Studies. Māori advancement and development became a primary focus of research emerging from this area and as a consequence the journal contributions were multidisciplinary rather than restricted just to Māori Studies. Although published biannually from 1995-2003, publication in recent years has been intermittent however heads of Māori Studies units recently indicated a renewed support and commitment to this kaupapa.

Since 1995 several journals with a Māori specific focus have also emerged. In 1997 *He Tuhinga Aronui: The Journal of Māori Writings* was launched by Te Ara Poutama, Faculty of Māori Development, Auckland Institute of Technology. This journal had a multidisciplinary focus on issues related to Māori development and was last published in 2000. In 1999 *Te Pouhere Kōrero:*

Māori history, Māori people, a journal of the Māori historians was launched. The executive was based at Massey University and membership drawn from a range of people interested in history from several difference centres throughout New Zealand. The inaugural issue was edited by Drs Danny Keegan and Te Maire Tau and received funding from Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. Also published in 1999 was *Te Ūkaipō*. *Te Ūkaipō* is a Wānanga o Raukawa initiative that publishes contributions from Māori women across a range of topics drawing mainly from ngā uri o Ngāti Toarangatira, Te Āti Awa and Ngāti Raukawa. Since the last issue published in 2002/2003 over thirty contributions have been published providing a significant tribal and mana wāhine resource.

In 2000 the University of Waikato launched the biannually published *He Puna Kōrero: Journal of Māori and Pacific Development*. This is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary journal providing a forum for research and literary works related to Māori and Pacific development. The Editorial Board is drawn entirely from University of Waikato staff (He Puna Kōrero website, retrieved August 25, 2008, from <http://waikato.ac.nz/smpd/research/jmpd/index.shtml>).

AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous People is one of the newest journal with a Māori advancement and development focus. It is a peer-reviewed, multidisciplinary, Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga initiative with an international editorial board and a focus on “Indigenous development... [and the] themes of place, history, colonialism, education, policy, development and self-determination” (AlterNative website, retrieved August 25, 2008, from <http://www.maramatanga.co.nz/alternative/Home/tabid/729/Default.aspx>).

Scholarly articles on Māori people, culture and issues are also published, although infrequently, in a range of disciplinary focused journals. Some journals, like New Zealand *Women's Studies Journal* have even published special editions on

Māori issues (Special Edition: Mātauranga Māori, 2007, volume 21 number 2). However the small number of articles in discipline specific journals is a reflection of cultural apathy for mainstream journal readership on Māori specific issues.

This section has very quickly reviewed Māori publication capacity. The development of recent publication initiatives had lead to an increase in opportunities to publish in the general area of Māori development. Several of these sources are dormant or have struggled to maintain regular publication probably due to a number of factors including a lack of critical mass and capability of contributors and production staff, limited resources and competition. It is debatable whether the small number of journals can continue to exist as all journals recruit from the same pool of contributors. However since each journal has targeted a slightly different readership, competition for contributions may not be an issue. For example, in addition to issues related to Māori development *He Pukenga Kōrero* has a Māori Studies focus, *He Puna Kōrero* has a Pacific focus and *AlterNative* has an Indigenous and colonialism focus. Competition aside Māori research and publication capability in the social sciences has increased and the presence of multiple sites for publication can only continue to build capacity in this area.

4. HE PUKENGA KŌRERO

He Pukenga Kōrero is a refereed journal that publishes a wide range of articles in either Māori and/or English related to historical and contemporary issues relevant to Māori Studies. It is published twice a year in ngahuru (autumn) and kōanga (spring). Priority is given to papers relevant to Māori language, or Māori cultural, social or economic development. The concept was first raised at a national Te Matawhānui forum and later developed on behalf of all Māori Studies by the Department of Māori Studies at Massey University. It was originally intended that production would periodically move from institution to institution so that responsibility for journal publication and fiscal burden would be

shared by all Māori Studies units. Attempts to date to share production have not eventuated although this strategy could be revisited. Also, publication collaborations with Māori research units would be considered and a future issue on Māori mental health research is planned.

He Pukenga Kōrero was a response to the growth in Māori Studies Departments in all New Zealand Universities, Whare Wānanga and other tertiary institutions and the subsequent need for appropriate publication outlets that could provide a suitable forum primarily for Māori academic authors to engage in issues related to Māori development. It provides a forum for Māori research and scholarship development increasing Māori academic capacity and capability.

4.1 Journal Name

The journal name was suggested by Te Karauna Whakamoe, a respected Tūhoe kaumātua who together with his wife Huia Whakamoe were the pakeke of Te Kupenga o te Mātauranga, Palmerston North College of Education. It is taken from the following whakatauki, ‘he pukenga wai he noho ngā tangata, he noho ngā tangata he pukenga kōrero’ (when waters converge and pool, people come together; when people gather, conversation flows). ‘Pukenga kōrero’ is a specific reference to the “high articulation of ideas and pronouncements” and when placed in the context of this whakatauki refers to the importance of vision and critical discussion of ideas to enhance a hui or any other occasion when Māori gather (Tairahia Black, personal communication, June 1, 2008). Therefore this whakatauki is a reference to the importance of dialogue and critical reflection (wānanga) for informing our understanding of a kaupapa to enhance the well-being of Māori communities. Pukenga kōrero is a reference to the sharing of knowledge and visions for positive Māori advancement and development. The notion of knowledge sharing is continued in the cover design that depicts flowing water or a stream representing the flow of knowledge.

4.2 Contribution to the Research Environment

Sixteen issues with a total of 141 contributions³ have been published since the inaugural issue in 1995. These have included articles (47%), special editions (18%) of keynote addresses to Te Oru Rangahau: Māori Research and Development Conference, Massey University, 7-9 July 1998, Toi te Kupu, Toi te Mana, Toi te Whenua: Māori Development in a Global Society Conference, Massey University, 4-6 July 2000 and a discussion document on the politics of Māori image and design, invited commentaries (6%), editorials (5%), poroporoaki (9%), book reviews (12%), a kupu whakataki, a patere and a doctoral citation.

The majority of the contributions (68%) were received from academic staff at New Zealand Universities. Fifty-eight percent of the university staff were employed by Māori Studies units and the remaining 42% from 17 other disciplines.⁴ In addition to contributions from universities, other sources of contributions were received from Crown agencies (11%) including the Department of Corrections, Manaaki Whenua, Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Trade, Ministry of Health, National Library, Statistics New Zealand, Taura Whiri i te reo, Te Ohu Kaimoana, Te Papa Tongarewa and Te Puni Kōkiri, law and health professionals (8%) and Māori research groups or projects (8%) including the James Henare Māori Research Centre & Education, International Research Institute for Māori and Indigenous Education, Ngā Pae o te Maramatanga, Te Hoe Nuku Roa, Te Ropu Hauora a Eru Pomare and Toi te kupu, and the remaining 5% from wānanga, iwi authorities or Indigenous contributors.

Although Māori Studies units produce a

³ Multiple contributions have been received from some people.

⁴ Art history, biological and veterinarian sciences, computer science, economics, education, Hawaiian Studies, English, health, history, law, management, political science and public policy, psychology, resource & environmental planning, social & linguistic history and sociology.

substantial proportion of research related to Māori language, Māori cultural, social and economic development, contribution from other disciplines and submissions from outside of the academy is not insignificant.

4.3 Relationship to Positive Māori Development

Māori participate across a range of disciplines in the social sciences. A commonality across these research and teaching programmes is a focus on the advancement and positive development of Māori people, resources and knowledge. This approach to research can be traced to the recognition of Indigenous and human rights, Treaty of Waitangi principles and the emergence of kaupapa Māori and Māori-centred methodologies that challenge the invisibility of indigeneity in the research archive and advocate an exploration of the broader factors that have led to alienation and marginalisation of tribal communities from their tribal assets and culture. Research therefore is a highly politicised activity, a site of resistance where Indigenous peoples are contesting the universality of Western research discourse. It is argued that Māori knowledge and ways of knowing has a contemporary relevance and as a consequence can make a positive contribution to Māori development and New Zealand society. Increasingly, Māori communities are seeking to control the research process and use their own knowledge and ways of knowing to promote an Indigenous understanding that is then used to reaffirm a cultural position and advance Māori agendas for Māori purposes.

4.3.1 Cultural Development

Affirmation of cultural identity and strengthening of culture through language revitalisation and maintenance of cultural integrity are central foci of *He Pukenga Kōrero* journal contributions. Several articles have focused on the link between cultural identity and language revitalisation (Christensen, Black, Durie, Durie, Fitzgerald, & Taiapa, 1997; Hohepa, 2000; Mutu, 2001), educational (Bennett & Flett, 2001; G. Smith, 1995; Ulrich Cloher & Hohepa, 1996) and

sporting achievement (Hirini & Flett, 1999; Wall, 2000) and the influence of cultural identity on the production of modern art forms (Jahnke, 1996; Panoho, 1996, 2003).

That culture is relevant and critical for the well-being of Māori peoples is indisputable. As a consequence much debate is given to addressing issues related to marginalisation and cultural suppression including the consequences of the introduction of English law and custom, the clash of Indigenous and Western cultures and the colonisation of Māori knowledge (Jackson, 1998; Mutu, 1998; L. Smith, 1998; Wiri, 1996).

Māori development is preoccupied with issues related to self-determination and cultural recovery. This was demonstrated in several articles that explored the development of cultural frameworks to address past criticisms of Western styles of research and to explore the consequences of colonisation in general (Pihama, 1997) and produce culturally appropriate methodologies (Bishop & Glynn, 1995; Cram & Smith, 2003; Johnston, 1999; Keefe, Ormsby, Robson, Reid, Cram, & Purdie, 1999; Ratima, 2003; Reedy, 2000) and cultural understandings of health (Campbell, 1997; M. H. Durie, 1998a), literacy (Rawiri, 2007), mathematics (Christensen, 1996), navigation (Keegan, 1997), networking (Gillies, Tinirau, & Mako, 2007), written tribal histories and early Māori society (Keenan, 1995; Soutar, 1996) and the protection of cultural heritage (H. Smith, 1999). Another common theme is the use of customary knowledge and principles as frameworks for understanding (Reedy, 2000; Royal, 1998; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997) and conceptualisation of new technologies such as genetic modification (Hutchings, 2004; A. T. P. Mead, 1998) and contemporary issues such as electronic communications (McQueen & Clark, 2001), health promotion (Ratima, 2003), reoffending (Maynard, 1999) and social service delivery (Pohatu, 2004).

High priority is given to strengthening culture and the Māori language (Chrisp, 1997; Christensen et al., 1997; Gee, Stephans, Higgins,

& Liu, 2003; Joseph, 2003; Keegan, 2000; Keegan, Cunningham, & Benton, 2004; McKinley, Black, Christensen, & Richardson, 1996, 1997; Stevenson, 2004; Ulrich Cloher & Hohepa, 1996) and maintaining cultural integrity in the contemporary application of Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices in the contemporary arts (Jahnke, 1996; Jahnke & Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001; Panoho, 1996, 2003), education (G. Smith, 1995; Tomlins-Jahnke, 1997; Ulrich Cloher & Hohepa, 1996), history (Keenan, 1995; Soutar, 1996), and the sciences (Harmsworth, 2004; Hutchings, 2004; Mercier, 2007; C. J. Walker, 1998; M. Walker, 1998).

The concept of whanaungatanga has received considerable attention including the social interaction of members of modern whānau groups (Hirini, 1997), the interrelationship between whānau and household economics (Taiapa, 1995) and the role of whanaungatanga in addressing Māori underachievement in education (Bishop & Glynn, 1995; G. Smith, 1995; Ulrich Cloher & Hohepa, 1996) and as a framework for networking (Gillies et al., 2007). These contributions applied the concept of whanaungatanga to a diverse range of areas in different ways to demonstrate a continued contemporary relevance of a core cultural principle.

4.3.2 Māori & Crown Relations

Another central theme is full participation in contemporary New Zealand society with a specific focus on Māori and Crown relations. There are two distinct but interrelated foci - the recognition of Indigenous and human rights and the politics of resistance.

The politics of resistance is focused on self-determination and seeks to address issues of marginalisation and unequal power relations by providing a better understanding of the nature and consequences of marginalisation and seeking resolutions that restore the power imbalance and provide for a measure of control. *He Pukenga Kōrero* features several editorials, keynote addresses and articles from recognised experts

including Sir Hugh Kawharu (1996), Professor Mason Durie (1995) and Associate Professor Anne Sullivan (1998) on self-determination and sovereignty.

In New Zealand the recognition of Indigenous and human rights occurs at three levels, as citizens of the world, as New Zealanders and as Māori. Recognition as citizens of the world acknowledges the right to develop and participate in the global economy and is explored in articles published by Durie (1997b; 2000a; 2000b), Lord (1999) and Waaka (2000). Recognition of rights as New Zealand citizens requires full and equal participation in all levels of society and includes capitalising on the potentiality of Māori peoples (M.H Durie, 2000a; 2000b). Recognising the Indigenous status and rights of Māori peoples is intricately linked to the Treaty of Waitangi that guarantees the right to develop as Māori and the continued exercise of customary knowledge, values and practices. The Treaty claims industry has produced a great deal of discourse and in addition to contributions related to self-determination *He Pukenga Kōrero* has articles covering claims policy (Fleras & Maaka, 1998), direct negotiation (R. Walker, 1997) and iwi politics (Potiki, 2000; White, 2000).

Full and equal participation is critiqued in articles focused on education (G. Smith, 1995; Tomlins-Jahnke, 2001), kaitiakitanga and participation in environmental management (Harmsworth, 2004; Taiapa, 1999a, 1999b) and the right to participate in new technologies such as genetic engineering (Hutchings, 2004; A. T. P. Mead, 1998), the world wide web (Keegan, 2000; Keegan et al., 2004) and electronic communications (McQueen & Clark, 2001).

Political representation and legislative and institutional reform is one theme that has attracted several contributions. Crown practices are critiqued often in relation to the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi and Māori development aspirations including the biculturalism agenda and policy (Brown, 1998; Meredith, 1999; Mikaere, 1998), political representation in Parliament and constitutional change (Dahlberg,

1996; Keenan, 1996; O'Sullivan, 1999; Wickliffe & Dixon, 2000) and the responsiveness of the justice system to Māori interests including recognition of tikanga Māori (E. Durie, 1998; Henare, 1998) and the development of parallel institutions (Perrett, 1999).

5. CONCLUSION

Māori have established a presence within the academy and amassed a large body of work by challenging existing hegemony and through the development of culturally framed research practices. Therefore participation within the social sciences is critical for understanding how colonisation has shaped the way we think, the way Māori society and peoples are portrayed to our own people and to others and the suppression of customary knowledge and understandings. These explorations enable us to promote an Indigenous understanding that is then used to advance our own agendas for our own purposes. In this way Māori can reclaim their own realities and their own futures.

Indigenous publication forums are a form of wānanga and are critical for establishing a Māori presence within the academy, strengthening Māori academic capacity and research excellence and expanding the documentation of evidence based research.

This paper provides a snapshot of the wealth of scholarship and excellence in research that has been amassed by scholars in *He Pukenga Kōrero*. The journal is just one way in which Māori establish a presence in the social sciences and is an invaluable resource for teaching and research. Development of a new national network provides an opportunity for a renewed commitment and support for existing forums such as *He Pukenga Kōrero* capitalising on the spaces that has already been created for the debate, exchange and sharing of ideas on issues related to Māori Studies and Māori development assisting the expansion of our cultural landscape into the academy.

Notes for contributors and information on subscriptions and back issues of *He Pukenga*

Kōrero can be found at the journal website.⁵ Submissions can be sent to the *He Pukenga Kōrero* Secretary at Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies, Massey University by June 30th or December 15th of each year.

He pukenga wai he noho ngā tangata,
He noho ngā tangata he pukenga kōrero

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The success of *He Pukenga Kōrero* is due to the efforts of a large number of people. Firstly recognition is due to the many contributors who have shared their research and extensive knowledge and the referees that generously provided their time and expertise to ensure that contributions were of a high academic standard. Secondly it is necessary to acknowledge the expertise and skills of the editorial board, editors and the production team responsible for publishing each issue. Lastly publication of *He Pukenga Kōrero* would not be possible without the financial assistance for the inaugural issue from the Massey University Publication Committee and the Māori Purposes Fund. Subsequent issues were funded by the Māori Studies Department, Massey University and its successor Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, School of Māori Studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ames, M. M. (1992). *Cannibal tours and glass boxes: The anthropology of museums*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Bargh, M. (Ed.). (2007). *Resistance: An indigenous response to neoliberalism*. Wellington: Huia.
- Bennett, S. T. M., & Flett, R. (2001). Te hua o te ao Māori. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6(2), 29-34.
- Bishop, R. (2005). Freeing ourselves from neocolonial domination in research: A kaupapa Māori approach to creating knowledge. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln

⁵<http://maori.massey.ac.nz/publications/hepukengakorero.shtml>.

- (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*. (3rd ed., pp. 109-138). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Bishop, R. (1994). Initiating empowering research. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* 29(1), 175-188.
- Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1995). Cultural issues in educational research: A New Zealand perspective. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 37-43.
- Brown, M. (1998). Laws and institutions for a bicultural New Zealand - Actualising the partnership. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 62-68.
- Buck, P. H. (1939). *Anthropology and religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press.
- Buck, P. H. (1949). *The coming of the Māori*. Wellington: Māori Purposes Fund Board; Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Campbell, H. (1997). Ngā whakakitenga nui kei te ao Māori, mō te waiora, te hauora me te mauriora. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 31-34.
- Chrisp, S. (1997). Diglossia: A theoretical framework for the revitalisation of the Māori language. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 35-42.
- Christensen, I. S. (1996). Māori mathematics. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(2), 42-47.
- Christensen, I. S., Black, T. E., Durie, A. E., Durie, M. H., Fitzgerald, E. D., & Taiapa, J. T. (1997). Te Hoe Nuku Roa: Māori language in the Manawatū-Whanganui region analysis and discussion of preliminary findings. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 25-30.
- Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth-century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Cram, F. (2001). Rangahau Māori: Tōna tika, tōna pono. The validity and integrity of Māori research. In M. Tolich (Ed.), *Research ethics in Aotearoa, New Zealand: Concepts, practice, critique*. Auckland: Longman.
- Cram, F., & Smith, L. (2003). Māori women talk about accessing health care. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 7(2), 1-8.
- Dahlberg, T. (1996). Māori representation in parliament and tino rangatiratanga. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- Durie, E. (1998). Ethics and values in Māori research. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 19-25.
- Durie, M. H. (1994). *Whaiora: Maori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (1995). Tino rangatiratanga: Māori self determination. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 44-53.
- Durie, M. H. (1996). The development of Māori Studies in New Zealand universities. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(2), 21-32.
- Durie, M. H. (1997a). *Identity, access and Māori advancement in the indigenous future*. Edited proceedings at the New Zealand Educational Society Research Conference, Auckland Institute of Technology.
- Durie, M. H. (1997b). Taku titiro: Viewpoint - Māori advancement into te aonui. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(1), 6-10.
- Durie, M. H. (1998a). Puahou: A five part plan for improving Māori mental health. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 61-70.
- Durie, M. H. (1998b). *Te mana, te kawanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (Ed.). (2000a). *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 5(2).
- Durie, M. H. (Ed.). (2000b). *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 6(1).
- Durie, M. H. (2001). *Mauri ora. The dynamics of Māori health*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Durie, M. H. (2005). *Ngā tai matatū. Tides of Māori endurance*. Melbourne, Victoria;

- Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Fleras, A., & Maaka, R. (1998). Rethinking claims-making as Māori affairs policy. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 43-51.
- Gee, S., Stephans, M., Higgins, T. R., & Liu, J. (2003). Tōku reo, tōku mana! Tōku tuakiri! Tōku reo, tōku mauri ora! Te reo, ethnic identity and well-being. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 7(2), 16-24.
- Gillies, A., Tinirau, R., & Mako, N. (2007). Whakawhanaungatanga - extending the networking concept. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(2), 29-37.
- Glover, M. (1997). *Kaupapa Māori health research. A developing discipline*. Paper presented at the Hui Whakatipu, Otara, 10-11 December, University of Auckland.
- Harmsworth, G. (2004). The role of biodiversity in Māori advancement: A research framework. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(1), 9-16.
- Henare, D. (1998). The law of difference - Will it make a difference? *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 26-32.
- Hirini, P. (1997). He whakaaro mō te aria whanaungatanga: He āta rapu. Toward an understanding of whanaungatanga. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 43-50.
- Hirini, P., & Flett, R. (1999). Aspects of the Māori All Blacks experience: The value of cultural capital in the new professional era. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 18-24.
- Hohepa, P. (2000). Towards 2030 AD (2) - Māori language regeneration, strategies, government and people. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 5(2), 10-15.
- Hutchings, J. (2004). Claiming our ethical space - A mana wahine conceptual framework for discussing genetic modification. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(1), 17-26.
- Irwin, K. G. (1994). Māori research methods and processes: An exploration. *Sites*, 28, 25-43.
- Jackson, M. (1998). Research and the colonisation of Māori knowledge. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 69-76.
- Jahnke, R. (1996). Beyond the pae. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- Jahnke, R., & Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (2001). The politics of Māori image and design. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 7(1), 5-31.
- Joseph, D. (2003). Ā tātau kōrero: Te whakamahere i ngā momo kōrero Māori. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 7(2), 35-54.
- Johnston, P. M. G. (1999). This is not just another story: A journey to discover what counts as research? *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 4-11.
- Ka'ai, T., Moorfield, J. C., Reilly, M. P. J., & Mosely, S. (Eds.). (2004). *Ki te whaiāo: An introduction to Māori culture and society*. Auckland: Pearson Longman.
- Kawharu, H. (1996). Rangatiratanga and Sovereignty by 2040. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(2), 11-20.
- Kawharu, M. (Ed.). (2002). *Whenua: Managing our resources*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.
- Keefe, V., Ormsby, C., Robson, B., Reid, P., Cram, F., & Purdie, G. (1999). Kaupapa Māori meets retrospective cohort. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 12-17.
- Keegan, T. T. (1997). Mā te ao tawhito ka puta ki te ao hōu. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 16-24.
- Keegan, T. T. (2000). Te whakatipu o te reo Māori i te tukutuku ao whānui: The preservation, transmission and development of Māori text on the world wide web. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 6(1), 37-43.
- Keegan, T. T., Cunningham, S. J., & Benton, R. (2004). Is the web being used to speak our language? *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(1), 27-36.
- Keenan, D. (1995). Incontrovertible fact, notwithstanding estimates. Passing impressions to resounding expectations: Māori people observed in the early contact period. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 54-64.

- Keenan, D. (1996). A permanent expedient? MMP and Māori politics. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- Lord, H. (1999). Māori biodiversity. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 34-48.
- Matua-Tipene, B. (2000). A Māori response to the biogenetic age. In R. Prebble (Ed.), *Designer genes: The New Zealand guide to issues, facts and theories about genetic engineering*. Wellington: Dark Horse Publishing.
- Matunga, H. (2000). Decolonising planning: The Treaty of Waitangi, the environment and a dual planning tradition. In A. Memon & H. Perkins, C. (Eds.), *Environmental planning and management in New Zealand* (pp. 36-47). Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
- Maynard, K. (1999). Kimihia - Māori culture related needs: Seeking more effective ways to assess and address Māori offending. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 25-33.
- McKinley, S. A., Black, T. E., Christensen, I., & Richardson, A. P. (1996). Toi te Kupu: A framework for Māori language resource materials. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- McKinley, S. A., Black, T. E., Christensen, I., & Richardson, A. P. (1997). Toi te Kupu: Māori language resource materials. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(1), 46-53.
- McQueen, R. J., & Clark, V. N. (2001). Cultural influences in contribution to electronic group communication discussions. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6(2), 18-28.
- Mead, A. T. P. (1998). Sacred balance. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 22-27.
- Mead, A. T. P., & Ratuva, S. (Eds.). (2007). *Pacific genes and lifepatents*. Wellington: Call of the Earth Llamado de la Tierra and The United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies.
- Mead, H. M. (1996). *Ko Tāwhaki nui a Hema. Āna mahi whakahirahira*. Auckland: Reed.
- Mead, H. M. (2003). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values*. Wellington: Huia Publishers.
- Mead, H. M., & Grove, N. (2001). *Ngā pepeha a ngā tūpuna. The sayings of the ancestors*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
- Mercier, O. R. (2007). Indigenous knowledge and science: A new representation of the interface between indigenous and eurocentric ways of knowing. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(2), 20-28.
- Meredith, P. (1999). Hybridity in the third space: Rethinking bicultural politics in Aotearoa / New Zealand. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 12-16.
- Mikaere, A. (1998). Taku titiro: Viewpoint - rhetoric, reality and recrimination: Striving to fulfill the bicultural commitment at Waikato Law School. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 4-14.
- Mulholland, M. (Ed.). (2006). *State of the Māori nation: Twenty-first-century issues in Aotearoa*. Auckland: Reed Publishing.
- Mulholland, M., & Te Au Rangahau (Eds.). (2006). *He wairere pakihi: Māori business case studies*. Palmerston North: Te Au Rangahau, College of Business Studies, Massey University.
- Mutu, M. (1998). Barriers to research: The constraints of imposed framework. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 9-18.
- Mutu, M. (2001). Ko Puwheke te maunga - Puwheke is the mountain: Maori language and Maori ethnic identity -Reaffirming identity through language revitalisation. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6(2), 1-8.
- Ngata, A. T. (1928). *Ngā moteatea: He maramara rere nō ngā waka maha, he mea kohikohi*. Hastings: E.S. Cliff & Co.
- O'Sullivan, D. (1999). The 1996 general election and the Labour vote in the Māori electorates. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 40-56.
- O'Sullivan, D. (Ed.). (2007). *Beyond biculturalism. The politics of an indigenous minority*. Wellington: Huia.

- Panoho, R. (1996). A search for authenticity: Towards a definition and strategies for cultural survival. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- Panoho, R. (2003). Kei hea te ngākau Māori? Locating the heart, Shona Davies and reading Māori art. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 7(2), 25-34.
- Perrett, R. (1999). Dual justice: The Māori and the criminal justice system. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 17-26.
- Pihama, L. (1997). Ko Taranaki te maunga: Challenging post-colonial disturbances and post-modern fragmentation. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(2), 8-15.
- Pohatu, T. W. (2004). Āta: Growing respectful relationships. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(1), 1-8.
- Potiki, T. (2000). A traditionalist approach to iwi government. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 5(2), 48-58.
- Ratima, M. (2003). A Māori inquiry paradigm - A health research perspective. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 7(2), 9-15.
- Rawiri, A. (2007). Whanganui iwi and adult literacy: Ngā whiringa muka - indigenous community-based participatory adult literacy research. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(2), 38-47.
- Reedy, T. (2000). Ko te hiringa i te mahara -The empowering of the mind. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 6(1), 7-14.
- Royal, T. A. C. (1998). Te ao marama: A research paradigm. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 1-8.
- Smith, G. (1995). Whakaoho whānau: New formations of whānau as an innovative intervention into Māori cultural and educational crises. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 18-36.
- Smith, H. (1999). International perspectives and the protection of Māori cultural heritage in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 49-58.
- Smith, L. T. (1998). Towards the new millenium: International issues and projects in indigenous research. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 4(1), 43-61.
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books; Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Smith, L. T. (2005). On tricky ground: Researching the native in the age of uncertainty. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed., pp. 85-108). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publishers.
- Soutar, M. (1996). A framework for analysing written iwi histories. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 2(1).
- Stevenson, B. (2004). Te Hoe Nuku Roa: A measure of Māori cultural identity. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 8(1), 37-46.
- Sullivan, A. (1998). Self-determination and redistributive justice: The New Zealand Māori. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 52-60.
- Taiapa, J. (1995). Tā te whānau ohanga: The economics of the whānau - Cultural survival at fiscal expense. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(1), 10-17.
- Taiapa, T. (1999a). Collaborative management: Enhancing Māori participation in the management of natural resources. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 4(2), 27-33.
- Taiapa, T. (1999b). Māori participation in environmental planning: Institutional reform and collaborative management. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 5(1), 25-33.
- Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (1997). Towards a theory of mana wahine. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(1), 27-36.
- Tomlins-Jahnke, H. (2001). Navigating the education workplace: A Māori centred approach to researching Māori women in educational organisations. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 6(2), 9-17.
- Tomlins-Jahnke, H., & Taiapa, J. T. (1999). Māori research. In C. Davidson & M. Tolich

- (Eds.), *Social Science research in New Zealand. Many paths to understanding*. Auckland: Longman.
- Ulrich Cloher, D., & Hohepa, M. (1996). Te tū a te kōhanga reo i waenganui i te whānau me te tikanga poipoi tamariki: Māori families, child socialisation and the role of kōhanga reo. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(2), 33-41.
- Waaka, H. (2000). Māori and developing country similarities: Relationships in a global trading system. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 5(2), 33-40.
- Walker, C. J. (1998). Stranded whales as a source of meat for human consumption. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 28-42.
- Walker, M. (1998). Science and Māori development: A scientist's view. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(2), 15-21.
- Walker, R. J. (1987). *Nga tau tohetohe: Years of anger*. Auckland; Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- Walker, R. J. (1992). Māori people since 1950. In G. W. Rice (Ed.), *The Oxford history of New Zealand* (2nd ed., pp. 498-519). Auckland: Oxford University Press.
- Walker, R. J. (1996). *Ngā pepa a Ranginui*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Walker, R. J. (1997). The genesis of direct negotiation, the fiscal envelope and their impact on tribal land claim settlements. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 3(1), 11-18.
- Walker, R. J. (2004). *Ka whawhai tonu mātou: Struggle without end*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Wall, L. (2000). The battlefield of today is the sports field. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 6(1), 35-36.
- White, P. (2000). Restoration of the tribal collective: Rebuilding tribal capacity alongside economic development. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 5(2), 41-44.
- Wickliffe, C., & Dixon, M. (2000). Options for constitutional change. *He Pukenga Kōrero: Special Edition*, 6(1), 44-51.
- Wiri, R. (1996). Land alienation at Waikaremoana. *He Pukenga Kōrero*, 1(2), 48-60.

“Friend or Enemy”: Māori History and Māori Social Science Research

Dr Danny Keenan
Te Atiawa

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the similarities and differences that exist between Māori history and Māori social science. It begins by describing what history is, very generally speaking, and then analyses aspects of social science research methodology. The paper concludes by taking a closer look at some of the new, emerging Māori scholarship and draws some distinctions between this and Māori social science.

Keywords

Māori, social science, history

1. HISTORY AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The title of my paper is ‘Friend or Enemy: Māori History and Māori Social Science Research’ and discusses some of the issues as to the scholarly relationship between Māori history and Māori Social Science. In other words, are these two fields of research basically the same – are they friends - or are they significantly different – are they enemies?

The relationship between history and social science has taxed the energies of quite a few historians since the 1980s when self-conscious social scientists began to denounce history as ‘non-scientific’; and when historians began denouncing social science – and especially sociology – as a non-discipline. As historians are quick to point out, history has existed in some form for many centuries. History as we know it today represents a ‘seamless development’ from its origins in the 5th Century when Thucydides first wrote his histories of Greek warfare.

Thucydides is often called the ‘father of

history.’ He was the one who first started using strict standards of evidence-gathering and analysis in terms of cause and effect without reference to ‘intervention by the gods.’ He saw the potential of history as a vast record of human experience, serving as the collective memory of humankind. And so, as memory defined the self and guided behaviour, so history could speak to issues of identity and social responsibility in the classic period. Just as one’s memory changed and matured, he argued, so the collective understanding of the past would change as new evidence was discovered and new perspectives developed.

The social sciences do not have this long tradition as a basic semi-rational human activity. Thus, there are sound reasons for the separation between social science and history, say the historians. History has also always had strong links to Humanities disciplines like literature, languages and philosophy. To move history closer to the social sciences imperils those ancient linkages which together account for all facets of the human experience.

But the common response from social scientists has been to argue that history is vague, and that it lacks intellectual and analytical rigour, such as that offered by mathematical or statistical research which often underpins social science.

So, friend or enemy?

There are a number of key elements that define social science research methodology; that make social science what it is. I will now look at four of these elements of methodology and compare them to the ‘historical method’, to see if they are the same or essentially different.

2. EXPERIMENTAL DATA

Social scientists to a greater or lesser degree conduct experiments and create data in the form, principally, of behaviour patterns and responses to controlled stimuli of small groups like, for example, the unemployed, or the numbers of children in low decile schools. Historians also make extensive use of social surveys, but there is always the element of change over time at work e.g. examining census returns over a 100 year period, looking for *changes* in birth rates, or habitation patterns, for example, as well as the possible *reasons for change*.

The difference is that historians do not conduct controlled experiments; they don't seek to control the group they're examining because often, of course, they can't. For example, the people counted in the Māori census of 1881 are sadly no longer with us. It's a question of the gathering of data, or what historians call gathering primary materials; what data you use, how you set that data up (social science) as opposed to where to look in order to find it already existing, and what legitimacy or weight you attach to it (history).

The historians' use of primary material, incidentally, also tends to be more impressionistic than is the social science analysis of data. In other words, as an historian reading the Parliamentary Debates of the 1860s, when Māori MPs were first elected to Parliament, you can get a feel for their 'loss of morale' by reading their actual words. This is not the way that the collection of controlled data works where analysis is more mathematical or statistical.

3. THEORY

Another key difference is the critical one of theory. The social scientist uses models and theoretical constructs more often than does the historian; and these theoretical constructs are nearly always of a more abstract nature than the historian would be prepared to accept.

We often tell our history students that history is 'notoriously atheoretical'; you can't come to

history, or you shouldn't come to history, through a predisposed theoretical position. What you need to do is spend some time reading or interrogating your primary materials and allowing it to speak back to you. Otherwise, your historical research can simply implode because your ideas, or your theories, are too heavy to support the lack of real evidence underneath it, or supporting it.

Perhaps we can put it this way; that one difference is that the historian must always accommodate the unique, the contingent or the unexpected, in the material he/she works with. On the other hand, the social scientist, it seems to me, is essentially orientated towards systematic or recurrent patterns that are particular or universal, as reflected in forms of data gathered and analysed in a systematic way, in consequence of some or other theory. What I'm saying is that the two methodologies are essentially different.

4. VALUE JUDGMENTS

Value judgments inevitably intrude into the work of social scientists, as they do for historians. But I think that history grapples with this – the making of value judgments - rather more than social science can. For example, researching the colonising experience of Māori inevitably leads an historical researcher into making value judgements about the various players who were active in that process, like the Crown, the New Zealand Company, and the Wakefields (there were five of them).

On the other hand, if you are a social scientist dealing with empirical data, analysed against a theoretical construct, there seems to me to be less room to become entangled in the minutiae of the issues under study, much less being able to write about what you, as a researcher, might feel personally about it.

5. AUDIENCE

We all work to different audiences of course, and some of us are more conscious of who our audience is. History speaks to a universal audience since its message – or its subtext – is

the universal human experience. Social science does not have that direct involvement in the wider world, it seems to me, but is rather more closely connected to its control data or focus groups.

Beyond these general comments, I think there is a lot more we can say that would be quite specific about the relationship between history and particular social science disciplines, like psychology, economics, anthropology, and so on. The truth is that historians do have close relationships with scholars in these fields. But are historians social scientists? I think the answer is no.

6. MĀORI SCHOLARSHIP

The question then is; what about Māori historians and Māori social scientists? Is the story any different here? I want to now turn to Māori history and make some comparisons between this field, which I've been in for awhile, and Māori Social Science, to determine an answer.

Initially, I think it's true to say that Māori Historians, especially those who were trained up in history (as opposed to say Māori Studies) set out to work within the 'purity of the historical method'. Māori historical research is equally focused upon change over time; it is written from good primary materials, and it represents an aggregation of the Māori experience within a changing world framed by chronology. Some valuable work in this vein has been produced by eminent Māori scholars like Professor Ranginui Walker.

But what Walker really did was produce what he used to call a 'Māori counter narrative.' In other words, he was writing about the Māori experience of colonisation, where that experience had largely been ignored by Pākehā historians. According to Walker, a 'grand narrative' had developed which had focused upon the British Empire and Pākehā colonising achievements. This grand narrative, he argued, had largely ignored Māori. Walker saw himself as the author of Māori counter narrative of

history – he was writing against that grand colonial narrative which had its origins in Western historiography.

If you read Walker's work, you will see frequent reference to theorists like Foucault, Freire and Said since his focus is invariably Māori dispossession and disempowerment. However, his methodological approach is very 'historical'; his work is not underpinned by the controlled collection and testing of data, nor informed by any singular or related theory as to how to interpret that data. Walker sets up a framing device – a counter narrative which tells the Māori story – but his work is not informed by any particular theoretical construct.

His work is also full of pertinent value judgements, even if some of these are distracting with more than a few quite acerbic. And his works address a universal audience since he is writing about a facet of the human condition, that of one people's determination to suppress another. Some of the other Māori historians working in this field with Walker are Dr Tipene O'Regan, Dr Aroha Harris, Buddy Mikaere, and Dr Manuka Henare.

7. 'NEW MĀORI HISTORY'

Over the last decade or so, some new and interesting work has been produced by a new group of Māori historians. Their work is interesting because it is here that we can see some of the issues being addressed which I think will be of interest to Māori social scientists.

One important issue which emerging Māori historians have sought to address is that of 'framing device.' The framing device of a thesis or piece of research essentially provides the internal structure around which the work is presented. For example, the most common framing device used by historians is of course chronology. And, alongside chronology, there can be others; Ranginui Walker's most-used framing device is a Māori response to colonisation.

As mentioned earlier, Walker has posited that

most New Zealand history falls into a category called ‘grand narrative history.’ It is a history of British and Pākehā success in New Zealand which relegates Māori to a role of subjection and then silence. Walker’s new approach – his new framing device – was to construct a ‘counter-narrative’ which foregrounds the Māori experience of that colonising experience, hitherto beyond the scope of the grand narrative. His well-known book *Ka whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* tells the story of Māori resistance to the colonising of Aotearoa, presented as a singular and sustained perspective not seen in other published histories before. *Ka whawhai Tonu Matou* presents a counter-narrative of New Zealand history which recovers the Māori experience of that history.

In more recent years, some Māori historians have sought to expand upon Walker’s ‘grand narrative-counter narrative’ framing device, given that not all Māori stories of the past can be told this way. Dr Te Ahukaramu Charles Royal has emphasised the centrality of iwi and hapū to the framing of Māori histories (Royal:1992). Joe Pere has argued that histories of Māori must reflect the manifestations of tribal mana (Pere:1991). Dr Te Maire Tau has recently achieved this, publishing an outstanding account of Ngāi Tahu tribal genesis stories and traditions reflecting the sources of Ngāi Tahu mana (Tau and Anderson: 2008). Dr Monty Soutar has further argued that the ‘tribal archive’ is the essential basis of Māori history (Soutar:1996). I have also argued for the re-envisioning of Waitangi Tribunal testimony for customary purposes (Keenan: 1992).

Where these Māori historians differ from Walker is in their use of the ‘tribal archive’ as framing device. The colonisation story, whether told from the Pākehā or Māori perspective, does not feature in their work. Instead, there is now a real desire amongst Māori historians to recover customary structures of the Māori world, like whakapapa, and use these as the framing devices of new Māori histories.

8. MĀORI SOCIAL SCIENCE

The term ‘Māori social science’ encapsulates a huge array of research and scholarly activities, methods and outcomes. Social scientists create and/or extract data from a multitude of sources for a multitude of purposes. As Chief Justice Joe Williams has reminded us, a critical role for Māori social scientists is to inform and influence the formulation of public policy, especially in areas critical to sustaining a healthy and vibrant Māori community at large. In order to achieve these policy outcomes, Māori social scientists will be developing research projects that connect with Māori public sector policy needs. But the range of research options that will attract Māori social scientists extends much further than this.

There will always be opportunities for Māori social scientists and Māori historians to work together. But their respective disciplines are essentially different.

There is one area, though, where they might come together. As Māori historians continue to focus upon customary sources of evidence and frameworks, like whakapapa, in their research, it will be interesting to observe Māori Social Science developing in the same direction, through the methodological and theoretical utilising of customary knowledge to achieve social science outcomes.

I am sure this is already happening. If that is so, then the new research ground being opened up by both groups should provide an appropriate space for both Māori social scientists and historians to meet and to engage.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Keenan, Danny (1992), ‘Bound to the Land. Maori Assertions of Land and Identity’ in Tom Brooking and Eric Pawson, *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, pp. 246-260.
- Pere, Joe (1991), ‘Hitori Maori’ in Colin Davis and Peter Lineham in *The Future of the Past. Themes in New Zealand History*, Palmerston

- North: Massey University, pp.35-61.
- Royal, Charles (1992), *Te Haurapa. An Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions*, Wellington: Bridget Williams.
- Soutar, Monty (1996), 'A Framework for Analysing Written Iwi Histories' in *He Pūkenga Kōrero*, Vol 2: No. 1, pp.43-57.
- Tau, Te Marie and Anderson, Athol (2008), *Ngai Tahu A Migrant History*, Wellington: Bridget Williams.
- Te Pouhere Kōrero Journal (1999), Vol 1: No.1.
- Te Pouhere Kōrero Journal (2002), Vol 2: No. 2.
- Walker, Ranginui (2004), *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End*, Auckland: Penguin Group.

The Politics of Privilege – A Scoping Study

Belinda Borell

Ngāti Ranginui, Ngāi Te Rangi, Whakatohea
Whariki Research Group
Massey University
PO Box 6137, Wellesley Street, Auckland
b.borell@massey.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

This paper is about a recent project we have been working on at Whariki. It presents some of the initial findings from a “Politics of Privilege” scoping study we were able to complete with the funding and support from Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, Centre for Research Excellence, University of Auckland. This paper is about how the project came to fruition, what it has involved to date and some future plans for the research. It will also focus on the policy domain of the current research as a specific area of interest.

Keywords

Privilege, ethnicity, racism, health policy

1. INTRODUCTION

Māori and Pacific disadvantage has been the subject of intense and ongoing research, policy, monitoring and evaluation initiatives, much of it in a problematising if not victim-blaming mode particularly in relation to these populations. Indeed, measuring *disparity* or the distance of these groups from others still occupies considerable amounts of material, intellectual and personnel resources.

Recent research on disparities suggests that race, ethnicity and gender are important influences on a range of outcomes irrespective of socio-economic circumstances (Hattie, 2003, Ministry of Health, 2002, Reid, 2000). Many claim that physical environments, societal structures, institutions and policies as well as the effects of sexism, racism and colonisation are key factors in

explaining this (Ajwani et al., 2003, Nairn et al., 2006).

If we accept that there are forces in our society (other than socio-economic) that are significant in creating and maintaining disadvantage within certain populations, it suggests that equivalent forces protect and perpetuate *advantage* in other population groups (Durie, 2004). This scoping study was a small seeding project used to develop a wider research project that seeks to explore how the extent of structural advantage and privilege impacts on, amongst other things, the life outlook of a group of young New Zealanders.

Although there is much international literature concerning “white privilege” and “male privilege” mostly within American gender and race relations (Fine et al., 1997, Jensen, 1998, McIntosh, 1990), there is a dearth of information both nationally and internationally that explores this phenomenon from the gaze of Indigenous people (Paradies, 2008). Indeed in most Western democracies with clearly identifiable Indigenous populations the discursive structures of official and everyday talk hegemonically reinforce and reproduce the status quo of social inequity. For example, in this country even aside from overt expressions of hatred and exclusion, the use of terms like ‘privilege’, ‘special’ status/rights, ‘race-based’ and ‘akin to apartheid’ to describe Indigenous people undermine the policies or programmes that seek to support Māori as a population (McCreanor, 2005, 2008).

Despite social statistics highlighting the absolute opposite (Robson, 2008, Statistics New Zealand,

2007), the dominant view in New Zealand that Māori are privileged has also had a resurgence since the Don Brash ‘Orewa’ speech of 2004 and the Foreshore and Seabed controversy in 2005. A project that seeks to explore societal privilege is therefore timely in the current political situation in New Zealand where the above terms are readily used but where there are considerable gaps in meaning and understanding. Societal privilege in New Zealand in terms of ethnicity and gender is an issue that is under-researched and insufficiently recognised in current debates about “disparities”.

This scoping project seeks to explore the issue of societal privilege from within a Māori conceptual frame, being led by Māori, engaging Māori and non-Māori researchers and using methodologies developed within this Māori paradigm. The project can make a significant contribution to the understanding of this issue both locally and internationally.

2. METHODOLOGY

This scoping study is positioned within a kaupapa Māori research base. Kaupapa Māori research is an ever expanding and developing field and is an integral part of the philosophy and work practice of Whariki (Moewaka Barnes, 2000). Central to our interpretation, kaupapa Māori research maintains a particular focus on utility, Māori control of the research processes and activities and responsiveness to the needs and aspirations of Māori communities. While this project is clearly controlled by Māori and will be of use in terms of expanding Māori knowledge, both the scoping study and further studies about privilege in Aotearoa will involve significant numbers of non-Māori. It is important that non-Māori, while not controlling the project, are involved in a manner that nurtures the goals of collaboration and workforce development.

Open-ended discussions with 19 key informants from academic, community development, service provision and activist sectors were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Participants who we characterised as “critical key informants,” because they are actively and reflexively

involved in leading challenges to the status quo in a range of domains, were selected from multiple networks for their expressed interest and insight into the concept of privilege and its importance to analyses of social justice. Fourteen participants identified as Pākehā or tauwi, while five were Māori; fifteen were women and four were men.

This scoping project involved consultative interviews with a range of key informants and an overview examination of the literature on critical aspects of privilege that would inform and complement a wider research proposal in New Zealand.

Key informants were asked to discuss their understanding of privilege as a construct and its contemporary application and give their opinions on the proposed methodology, domain areas (policy, the media and everyday experience) and the anticipated analytical focus on identity and power. They were also asked about pragmatic, short-term uses for the research findings of a more in depth research project and what long term incentives existed for social change that might be employed in addressing privilege.

Domain	Policy	Media	Ethno data
Identity	Ministry of Pākehā Affairs?	The rise of ‘New Zealander’ as an ethnic group	Status is entirely achieved
Power	‘Race-based’	Kupu Taea media project	Who is scrutinised
Discourse	One law for all	Use of the term ‘Caucasian’	School zones

Diagram 1 Draft Analytical Framework

The diagram above is a visual tool used by the research team to help describe the domains of investigation and the draft analytical framework.

We use common examples where we believe the domains and analysis may intersect to provide the audience with a deeper understanding of the project and its potential to explore, illuminate and re-shape/address societal privilege in Aotearoa, like, for example, the recent use of ‘New Zealander’ as an ethnic group.

3. RESEARCH OUTCOMES

The interviews conducted in the scoping study revealed strong agreement that a significant research project around the construct of privilege in Aotearoa was important and long overdue. There was much discussion about the complex relationship between racial and ethnic privilege and class. The scoping project also greatly informed the current research design and analytical framing. While getting broad consensus around the proposed design, participants also highlighted many other forms of societal privilege and areas of analysis that could be explored by further research. For example, future studies may frame data with an analytical focus on citizenship and another domain worthy of investigation may involve understanding the privilege of the academy.

One of most important outcomes of the scoping project has been a successful application to the Health Research Council for funding that will ensure a more in depth look at this issue, and its particular implications for population health. The domains of investigation and the analytical framings outlined in diagram 1 have been included in the new study, with specific emphasis on the health of different population groups in terms of their expectations of the health system, their perceived access, quality of health care and the portrayal of their health need.

While the kaupapa of this paper is primarily to inform MASS members of our research, I wanted to use this opportunity to highlight the policy domain of the study. Given that the 2008 MASS Conference was in Wellington, the greater salience of the national policy arena provides the potential to garner critical input from this audience and wider networks of importance to the study.

The policy domain in the wider Health Research Council study aims to explore primarily the health policy environment from 2002 onwards. This particular period was chosen because it was a time of quite significant policy shifts and re-positioning, particularly with regards to Māori health, the place of the Treaty of Waitangi, the role of advocacy in health and links to wider policy shifts across government. These are some of the starting points we wish to employ to understand the policy environment at that time.

An area of immediate interest to our project has been the ‘Targeted policy and programme review’ conducted by Trevor Mallard on behalf of the government in 2004. While information concerning the review highlights that a process of this nature was to be ongoing, to our knowledge only one such review has ever taken place.

We are seeking to highlight and explore (via a survey of review policy documents, cabinet directives, media coverage pre- and post- review, and key informant interviews) what the review understood as ‘race-based’ funding, policies and programmes. The information we have obtained from the government website revealed that the review would involve seven ministries and three government departments. These included:

- Department of Child, Youth and Family (Māori; Pacific)
- Department of Corrections (Māori; Pacific)
- Ministry of Consumer Affairs (Māori; Pacific; new migrants; other vulnerable groups)
- Ministry of Education (Māori; Pacific; other populations low early childhood participation)
- Ministry of Health (Māori; Pacific; women; Asian [Asian Public Health Agreement])
- Ministry of Justice (Māori; Pacific)
- Department of Labour (Māori; women)
- Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs (Pacific)
- Ministry of Social Development (migrants; refugees; non-English speaking; Pacific; Māori; disability or illness; youth; mature people and sole parents)

Ministry of Research, Science and Technology
(Māori)

The parentheses indicate which groups the particular interventions were targeted to support. As these interventions are targeted to support groups that are understood to be disadvantaged, one can make an analysis of societal privilege by observing which population groups are absent and why that might be.

Finally, the two quotes below respond to the commencement of the targeted policy and programme review. The first quote is from the Minister in charge of the review in 2004, Hon Trevor Mallard. The second is from the Māori Affairs Spokesperson of the ACT party and represents a more extreme view that classes the programmes and policies under review as part of 'official racism'.

"The review of **targeted** policy and programmes is a priority for the government. The objective of the review is to give ministers and **the public** assurance that policy is being developed on the basis of **need**, not on the basis of **race**"

-Hon Trevor Mallard (Mallard, 2004)

"If Mr Mallard unwound **official racism** overnight, thousands of public servants in central and local government would breathe a huge sigh of relief. They'd go back to dealing with people on **merit**. 'Cultural safety' would stop being an exemption pass from the thought police, and return to being **good manners**. **We'd** all be delighted to watch the cultural consultants, advisers, and **commissars** packing their bags to find **genuinely useful** employment. The terms of reference pretend responsiveness to **New Zealanders who've had enough of racism** without risking a meltdown with Labour's **Treaty** sponsors."

-Stephen Franks ACT Māori Affairs

Spokesperson (Franks, 2004)

The two quotes were discussed at the MASS Conference under the presentation heading; "Privilege as Policy – Discourse". The research team attempted to highlight (in bold) the terms that are relevant to societal privilege in policy both implicitly and explicitly. For example, the discursive use of "the public" or "New Zealanders" as the key group to assure sets up a divide between the groups that 'targeted' policies and programmes are developed to support and the rest of the population. In the second quote, the discursive use of the personal pronoun 'we' makes this division more explicit, bringing the mass of the people into line with the view of the party. The quotes illustrate the subtlety with which discourse produces meaning and highlight the difficulty in recognising and analysing ways in which the notion of privilege can be used and who is understood as being served by them. The MASS hui attendees were asked their views about the words in bold; any additions that should be included from the quotes and; other interpretations of the bolded sections.

To end the presentation, audience members were invited to have input into the research project by; making comments or questions about the study; offering insights they may have experienced, particularly in the policy arena and; thinking of potential participants for the policy domain of the research.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ajwani, S., Blakely, T., Robson, B., Tobias, M. & Bonne, M. (2003) Decades of Disparity: Ethnic Mortality Trends in New Zealand 1980-1999. Ministry of Health and University of Otago, Wellington
- Durie, M. (2004) Race and ethnicity in public policy: does it work? Social Policy Research and Evaluation Conference, Wellington.
- Fine, M., Weis, I., Powell, L. & Wong, M. (1997) Off White: Readings on Race, Power and Society. Routledge, New York.
- Franks, S. (2004) Race Policy Review

- Prevarication, Scoop Independent News. Retrieved 21 August 2008, from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0403/S00587.htm>
- Hattie, J. (2003) Presentation. Knowledge Wave 2003 – the Leadership Forum, University of Auckland, February.
- Jensen, R. (1998) White Privilege Shapes the U.S. Retrieved 20 October 2007, from <http://www.dickshovel.com/priv2.html>
- Mallard, T. (2004) Terms of Reference: Review of Targeted Programmes. Retrieved 21 August 2008, from <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/node/19258>
- McCreanor, T. (2005) 'Sticks and stones may break my bones ...': talking Pākehā identities. In Liu, J., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T. & Teaiwa, T. (Eds.) *New Zealand Identities: Departures and Destinations*. Victoria University Press, Wellington, pp.52-68.
- McCreanor, T. (2008) Discourse, media and health in Aotearoa. In Dew, K. & Matheson, A. (Eds.) *Understanding Health Inequalities in Aotearoa New Zealand*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, pp.85-96.
- McIntosh, P. (1990) *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack*, Anarchist Black Cross Network. Retrieved August 2006, from <http://www.anarchistblackcross.org/org/wp/p-eggy.html>>
- Ministry of Health (2002) *Reducing Inequalities in Health*. Ministry of Health, Wellington, New Zealand
- Moewaka Barnes, H. (2000) Kaupapa Māori: explaining the ordinary. *Pacific Health Dialog*. 7, 13-17.
- Nairn, R., Pega, F., McCreanor, T., Rankine, J. & Barnes, A. (2006) Media, racism and public health psychology. *Journal of Health Psychology*. 11(2), 183-196.
- Paradies, Y., Harris, R. & Anderson, I. (2008) The impact of racism on indigenous health in Australia and Aotearoa. Co-operative Research Centre for Aboriginal Health, Melbourne
- Reid, P., Robson, B., and Jones, C. (2000) Disparities in health: common myths and uncommon truths. *Pacific Health Dialogue*. 7, 38-48.
- Robson, B. (2008) What's driving the disparities? In Dew, K. & Matheson, A. (Eds.) *Inequalities in Aotearoa New Zealand*. Otago University Press, Dunedin,
- Statistics New Zealand (2007) *QuickStats About Māori*, Revised 27 March. Wellington

Articulating the Intellectual: Tūrangawaewae of an Indigenous Anthropologist

Dr Lily George

Te Kapotai, Ngatihine, Ngāpuhi, Pākehā
Massey University (Albany)
PB 102904, NSMC, Auckland 0745
L.George@massey.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

Positioning myself as an Indigenous anthropologist can hold some challenges, considering the negative reputation anthropology in particular has had in contributing to the processes of colonization. In addition to that are notions of authenticity relating to Indigenous groups and individuals within those groups. While Indigenous groups may be perceived as collectives with shared features, there are often multiple and diverse ways in which individual identity can be expressed. Multiple challenges that can arise for an Indigenous researcher therefore necessitate the formation of a strong foundation – an intellectual tūrangawaewae – from which to base our research endeavours.

Keywords

Anthropology, Indigenous anthropology, kaupapa Māori, cultural invention, tūrangawaewae

1. INTRODUCTION

My ethnic and cultural identity as Māori has shaped how I position and conduct myself within my research. Claiming the title of ‘Indigenous anthropologist’ requires a certain amount of courage however, given that anthropologists have often been derided by Indigenous peoples as the worst of those social scientists who misrepresented them. While Indigenous anthropologists are increasingly common, occupying such a space can be contentious, with good reason. Although I am Māori, I am not fluent in the Māori language or culture and challenges have arisen as to my authenticity as a

Māori researcher. Researching with one’s own people can carry a unique set of challenges that arise from fieldwork situations that are often themselves conflicted. I suggest that an Indigenous researcher therefore, must be able to claim a firm foundation for themselves– an intellectual tūrangawaewae – from which they can venture outwards into the multiple and complex fields of research.

2. CRITIQUES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

There is no arguing that social sciences research has, in the past, had negative effects on the lives of those studied. Indigenous peoples and cultures have been described and defined many times over through the perspectives and ideals of Western scientific thought. Through its fundamental nature, anthropology in particular is charged with the creation of Indigenous cultures as clearly-bounded, homogeneous, often-genderless, a-historic, exotically captivating throw-backs of nature. Anthropology seemed based on the notion that it was possible to know and understand an entire people through the knowledgeable compilations of a handful of Western scholars.

Ethnographic narratives have described the social systems and institutions of Indigenous peoples. They claimed to extend the ‘native viewpoint’ for the perusal of their fellow, usually European, citizens. Yet as Geertz pointed out, “what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people’s construction, of what they and their compatriots are up to” (1973, p.2). There was often a wide gap of comprehension between the ‘natives’ understanding of their worlds, and those

who looked from the outside in. Thus, notions of cultures were often a “literary fiction” (Gupta and Ferguson, 1999, p.3), constructed through the frequently arrogant machinations of non-Indigenous writers.

In 19th century Aotearoa/New Zealand, “amateur ethnologists” (Henare, 2007, p.95) such as Tregear, Smith, Best and White, were prolific writers on the social and cultural nature of the Māori. Ballara contends that these scholars generated in what she terms a “grand design”, a condensed version of Māori society that fit the needs of the emerging nation state (1998, pp.97-99). Through this they mapped the historical and current movements of *all* Māori, despite tribal differences, in an orderly and simplistic fashion. Any contradictory evidence that disturbed the simplicity of their endeavors was considered ‘corrupt’. It was also assumed by Smith and his compatriots that what they were describing and investigating was a culture seemingly inert for hundreds of years, and they do not appear to have taken into consideration the changes affected by post-European contact (Webster, 1998). These notions and others came to be commonly believed at that time and into the 20th century, eventually becoming the “accepted wisdom” for many Māori people also (Durie, 1998a, p.54).

Vine Deloria was a well-known critic of the nature of the anthropological project. Deloria’s 1969 book, *Custer Died for Your Sins*, articulated his contentions that anthropologists “are the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free, and in the summer time, the home of the braves” (1986, p.78). It also seemed that for Deloria, there was no reconciling the anthropological project with that of Indigenous people. Deloria later wrote:

Some prominent Indian anthros have announced at Indian meetings, ‘I’m an Indian but I’m also an anthro’. There is no question...that the individual has chosen the profession over the community. Once this happens...unless they prove momentarily useful they are never trusted again and people avoid

them whenever possible. (In Watkins, 2006, p.507; original italics).

Weber-Pillwax writes of an incident where upon reading an article by an anthropologist, she was horrified to realize that the Cree man that was being described was her grandfather. She felt that their “lives had been assaulted and violated” (2001, p.166). The reasons for this emotive response were firstly, that her family had no idea of the existence of the research and the resultant article on such a close family member. Also, most importantly for her, the English translation of the Cree words her grandfather had shared was not accurate, and therefore misrepresentative. For Weber-Pillwax, an outcome of this experience was a new sense of responsibility to help develop Indigenous ways of researching that more clearly respected the rights of those being researched, was culturally safe, and of value to the communities involved (2001, p.166).

3. OBJECTIVE DISTANCING

Since the 17th century, Western scientific paradigms sought the separation of literature and science, believing that good practice necessitated the emphasis of fact over fiction, objectivity over subjectivity (Clifford, 1986, p.5). Thus, the majority of early ethnographies were written in such a way as to maintain objective distance in which scientific integrity could be preserved. A reliance on the ‘truth’ of science however, failed to recognize the depths to which social scientists are historical products of their own culture. They feel, think, and interpret, according to the social and cultural environments they were born into and grow through. Notions of reflexivity were postulated therefore as a tactic in which to rejoin fact and fiction, objectivity and subjectivity, in ways that more deeply expressed the multi-layered realities of peoples and cultures. Any piece of research is inherently relational and interactional. Further, Linda Smith notes that a “Maori researcher can’t objectify other Maori. Being Maori forces you into relationships” (2006, DVD – *Tikanga Rangahau*).

Fieldwork and the practice of participant-observation necessitates the formation of sound

relationships between the researcher and those he or she researches. However, this has not always been so, and Indigenous Canadian Shawn Wilson contends that, “appropriation of Indigenous culture and knowledge has taken place in the past when proper relationships have not been established and honoured between researchers and their subjects” (2001, p. 178).

The researcher goes into the field not as a totally objective scientist but as themselves, carrying facets of personality, culture, gender, and so on. Relationships and interactions are formed, then, at the interface between one person and another. The researcher’s own biases, prejudices and ‘truths’ consequently affect the way relationships are formed and maintained, and the ways in which research is undertaken, analysed, and reported. Therefore it can be said that “the field lies to a great extent within us” (in Denzin, 1997, p. 214). As Krieger notes, “We bring biases and more than biases” (1996, p.180), and what is needed is recognition of these, and further, an articulation of how these can affect our relationships, and therefore our research.

Reflexivity then, is “an essential condition of interaction with the people we study” that recognizes “the political dimension of anthropological practice” (Jaffe, 1993, pp.51 & 52). Failure to acknowledge the inherently political nature of research, whether studying in your own or an(other) culture, can lead to the abuses of research and people that many have spoken against. An emphasis on detachment only, produces texts that do not recognize their own biases, and objective distance becomes “an ethnographic fiction with which the anthropologist maintains control and authority over his or her subjects” (Jaffe, 1993, p.51). The poetic and narrative text was cited as a way in which to recognize that the relationship between researcher and researched is not only one of detached objectivity, but also one of subjectivity meeting subjectivity (George, 2004, p.7).

It was hoped that with these changes ethnography would become a “very personal and imaginative vehicle” (Marcus and Fischer, 1986, p.21),

meeting more effectively the needs of the researched as well as the researcher. There have been many critiques of this project however. Emphasis on the literary merits of the texts can lead to a scientific craft that is “too theoretically reticent” (Denzin, 1997, p.216). Experience is privileged over theoretical analysis, and the text can become a place of dialogical rapport and therapeutic analysis of the author’s own endeavors. Further, Henare notes that this ‘reflexive turn’ has “worked to reinforce old assumptions” about culture, culture change, and anthropological authority (2007, p.94). An emphasis on reflexivity can effectively produce anthropology with “an openly acknowledged freedom to engage in mystification and creative self-empowering fabrication unaccountable to any challenge of logic or fact” (Sangren, in Borofsky, 1994, p.26).

4. CULTURAL ‘INVENTION’

Allan Hanson’s 1989 article *The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic*, created a stir in New Zealand and internationally with his critique of Māori culture. He postulated two “distinct forms” in which Māori culture was “invented” by “anthropological interpretations and misinterpretations...contributions of other scholars, government officials, and Maoris themselves” (1989, p.890).

The first form, Hanson contends, occurred in the early 20th century. Here, the goal was to discover *similarities* between Māori and European cultures, thereby enabling the assimilation of Māori. The second form has a more contemporary setting, where the “strength and stridency” of Māori claims to ethnic value had grown considerably. Here Hanson suggests, the emphasis was to find *differences* between the cultures, thereby enabling Māori to fulfill the political goal of claiming more power within New Zealand society. Whereas the earlier objective was the creation of *one* culture, the vision of ‘Māoritanga’ sought a *bicultural* society where Māori had equal standing while retaining their cultural distinctiveness (Hanson, 1989, p.894).

Hanson further argued that a negative perspective of this self-conscious cultural invention could be that, “the reality of traditional culture and history is so irredeemably shrouded behind multiple veils of distortion, some woven from imported fabric and others homespun, that no effort at objectivity could be sufficient to strip them away” (1989, p.897).

Nevertheless, Māori acknowledged these ‘distortions’ as authentic, and therefore it was ‘acceptable’ as a factor of modern Māori culture as “the ongoing reconstruction of tradition is a facet of all social life” (Handler and Linnekin, in Hanson, 1989, p.898). The *process* of this reconstruction was of most analytical value for social scientists, and of course, only “detached observers” such as Hanson were able to recognize the obvious invention that was in play (Hanson, 1989, p.899).

It is amazing that Hanson could not perceive that his contention of Māori cultural invention would be incredibly insulting and hurtful to Māori and other Indigenous peoples. At a time when race relations in New Zealand were hotly contested, an article in a local paper emphasized Hanson’s contention that Māori culture was invented, and therefore inauthentic. A *New York Times* article covering the debate caused by Hanson, recognized Māori anger over these claims, while considering that the controversy was striking “at the very heart of anthropology” (cited in Linnekin, 1991, p.446). In a critique of Hanson’s work, New Zealand anthropologist Hal Levine wrote, “By using the logic of a “strong” version of the invention paradigm, it seems possible to now draw the puzzling conclusion that anthropology is inventing, not only Māori culture, but the backlash against it” (1991, p.446).

5. RECREATING ANTHROPOLOGY

In a time of altered perceptions and contested realities, Trinh posed the question – “how can one re-create without re-circulating dominance?” (1991, p.15). Perhaps theorists such as Hanson have neglected to ask themselves this question. The prevalence of cultural invention theory

within anthropological discourse in the 1980s and 1990s is perhaps an example of the danger of “premature foreclosure” in an “experimental moment” (Marcus and Fischer, 1986), whereby theories themselves become reified and objectified models embraced by academic mimics.

Anthropology is no longer an academic exercise primarily for the benefit of other Western anthropologists; it involves, describes, and affects those under study and other Indigenous and marginalized groups around the world. Because of the critiques, anthropology has had to recreate its craft to one that is more cognizant of the needs of those they research *with*, rather than *on*. Anthropologists now endeavor to “weave together approaches and perspectives from a toolbox of possibilities” (Knauff, 2006, p.407). Therefore, anthropology occupies a “middle ground”, where it is “a model for critical engagement with the world, rather than a distanced and magisterial explanation of the world” (Herzfeld, in Knauff, 2006, p.413).

Nevertheless, because of the unequal power differentials that remain, it is more likely that the voices of Western scholars will be heard over those of Indigenous peoples, sometimes resulting in the acceptance of theoretical fabrications. Thus the imperative is present for research paradigms that more clearly meet the needs of the researched. This includes the continued development and acceptance of Indigenous ways of research. Also important, is the ongoing critique of academic disciplines such as the social sciences that are involved in research which affects Indigenous peoples, as well as critiques of our own research projects.

6. KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

The call for kaupapa Māori research methodologies arose out of a Māori-perceived need to design, direct and control research in Māori communities and on Māori-related issues. Graham Smith defines kaupapa Māori as simply “the philosophy and practise of being Māori”, and as a “theory of change” (1993, appendix). Kaupapa Māori research initiatives then,

advocate the legitimacy of Māori knowledge, culture and values. Within the broad arena of ‘Māori research’, there have arisen an increasing plethora of research methods and methodologies that give a range of choices for a Māori researcher to pick from. Cree researcher, Cora Weber-Pillwax, states that “Because I am an Indigenous researcher, all existing research methods are available to me” (2001, p.167). There is no *single* entity that can be termed Kaupapa Māori research; reflecting the diversity within Māori communities and amongst Māori researchers. Such diversity necessitates a freedom with research practice to adjust those practices to the individuals and groups who participate in research. Also, just as culture is not static but is instead dynamic and ever-changing, so it is with research processes and practices.

Linda Smith presents three arguments wrapped around issues of research with Māori. The first of *decolonization*, refers to convincing Māori that research can be a positive endeavor useful for our own purposes. Secondly the *Treaty* argument states clearly that partnership in this land includes rights in policy decision making that is often related to research. The *kaupapa* argument is the ‘how’ of research that declares the right to formulate “how to proceed, how to develop approaches and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research and the parameters of both previous and current approaches to research” (1999, p.2).

Cunningham uses three basic frameworks through which to clarify the different ways in which Māori research may be conducted. The first is ‘Research Involving Māori’, with Māori participants and where Māori knowledge is sought, but the research methods and analysis may be mainstream. ‘Māori Centred Research’ involves Māori as significant participants and researchers, using a Māori analysis to produce Māori knowledge, but is measured against mainstream standards. By contrast, ‘Kaupapa Māori Research’ uses only Māori researchers and participants, and Māori analysis in the production

of Māori knowledge, and the expectations and quality standards of that research are set by Māori (1999).

7. RESEARCHER DIVERSITY

The issue of who should conduct research with Māori has been a contentious one – many Māori would say that only Māori should conduct research with Māori and on Māori-related issues. Kaupapa Māori research (as outlined by Cunningham above), is most often conducted by those who are fluent in the Māori language and culture. But while the development of the kaupapa Māori research paradigm was a timely and self-determining step forward, there are some tensions within this. As one of Tai Walker’s research participants concluded, kaupapa Māori research “is as diverse as the universe, because different people have different understandings of what it is to be Māori” (in Walker, 2001, pp.94-95). However, a ‘hierarchy of legitimacy’ seemed to have arisen that postulated notions of authentic and inauthentic Māori research. Authenticity appears to be based firstly on the researcher being of Māori descent, then on the ability of the researcher to move easily and be fluent within Te Ao Māori/the Māori world.

Kaupapa Māori research arose out of and alongside a Māori cultural renaissance. This renaissance included a gathering and naming of Māori cultural values and identity markers; so it was our commonalities as Māori that were emphasized, uniting us overall as Māori, while still acknowledging tribal differences. And it was this commonality as Māori, in all the multiple facets of our culture, that was contrasted with mainstream or Pākehā culture. But Māori researchers are also individuals who have had unique and diverse experiences as Māori. I believe there was a danger with the kaupapa Māori research paradigm becoming an exclusive project, rather than one that was inclusive of *all* Māori researchers.

One of the stated goals to arise from the 1998 Te Oru Rangahau conference was “human resource development” (Durie, 1998b, p.422), and although rising, relatively speaking the numbers

of researchers of Māori descent are still low. It makes no sense then to exclude from Kaupapa Māori Research those Māori researchers who are not *yet* conversant with all aspects of Te Ao Māori. Potentially every Māori researcher learns from the process of research; not just intellectually, but spiritually, emotionally, and culturally. If a ‘non-conversant’ Māori researcher is guided through the process by someone who is, concurrent achievements are enabled – the addition of a highly skilled Māori researcher to the pool, and the enfoldment and reclamation of one of our own.

8. RESEARCH CHALLENGES

In the early stages of my PhD research with Awataha Marae¹, I received several challenges regarding my authenticity as a Māori researcher. Firstly, two Māori academic professionals considered that because I was not fully conversant in the Māori language or culture, I should leave the Awataha research to those who were. On discussing this with an Awataha kaumatua (elder) however, he simply said – “ko wai koe?”² – thereby reminding me of my rights by whakapapa to be there, and that I was conducting the research at *their* invitation. In separate instances, two members of the Awataha community pointedly complained that I was not conducting ‘kaupapa Māori research’. Both members were themselves on cultural reclamation journeys, and had developed strong ideas around what being Māori is, and from that, how Māori research should be conducted.

I contend however, that in many ways I fit the criteria of kaupapa Māori research in that my research was culturally relevant, overseen and

¹ Located on Auckland’s North Shore. This article is drawn from my PhD dissertation which is a case study of Awataha Marae – entitled *Tradition, Invention and Innovation: Multiple Reflections of an Urban Marae*, due for submission December 2008.

² Translated literally as “who are you?”, a cultural imperative that seeks knowledge of your whakapapa (genealogical links) to people and land, rather than just your name.

mentored by kaumatua, addressed the political and institutional ideologies within which research is conducted (L. Smith, 1999: 2), was “by Māori for Māori with Māori” (L. Smith, 1995, in Henry and Pene, 2001: 236), and with a “methodology of participation” where research was “participant-driven” (Bishop, 1996, p. 226). In some ways however, what was being enacted here were the tensions inherent in the Māori multiplicity of experience, knowledge and positioning. I was considered to be an inauthentic Māori, and therefore an inauthentic Māori researcher, by these particular individuals.

One of the many challenges that face Māori society today is full acknowledgement of our multiplicity and diversity, and from that, the development of strategies and policies to deal more effectively with this. As noted by Borell, we “must resist the idea that there is a single Māori way of doing things that suits all Māori...[and] work from a value-base of inclusion and acceptance” (2008, pp.4-5). But I also believe that an aspect of tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, sovereignty) is the freedom to work through our challenges, in our own ways. If we can provide space for us all to stand strong beside each other with acknowledgement of our differences, we enable a space in which to explore our relationships to each other.

9. INTELLECTUAL TŪRANGAWAEWAE³

As a researcher, my intellectual tūrangawaewae draws from the puna (wellspring) of my cultural heritage, as well as that of anthropology. A suggestion made by a kaumatua at the beginning of my PhD was that I return to my tūrangawaewae in the Bay of Islands, and extend my knowledge of my whakapapa with my whānau (family). As contended by Te Tuhi Robust, “Backing into the future is a concept of

³ Tūrangawaewae translates literally as ‘place to stand’. Culturally this refers to connections to lands and people that give you the right to stand and speak. It is also used in this instance as meaning the intellectual positioning from which I speak as a Māori researcher/indigenous anthropologist.

thinking ahead with the full understanding of the historical journeys we have taken to be where we are now” (2000: 30). By grounding myself in my whakapapa – intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and culturally – I therefore stand upon a solid foundation that also provides a matrix of connection and protection. *Ko Kapowai te maunga, ko Waikare te awa, ko Te Kapotai te hapū, ko Ngāpuhi te iwi*⁴.

Anthropology has a whakapapa too, that includes a history of Māori involvement from the early 19th century, “as analysts of...[our] own culture” (Henare, 2007: 94). Later that century, we have for example, Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikaheke as Governor Grey’s informant, and Tamati Ranapiri as one of Elsdon Best’s informants (although neither Grey nor Best were professionally trained anthropologists). In the early 20th century, Apirana Ngata – described by Henare as a “sometime anthropologist” (2007, p.97) - was one of the organisers of a series of field expeditions that served a “Māori political agenda to ensure the persistence of old skills and knowledge among Māori” (Henare, 2007, p.98). Te Rangihiroa (Sir Peter Buck) was also involved in these expeditions, and remains one of our most prominently known anthropologists, becoming Director of the Bishop Museum in Hawaii, with a visiting professorship at Yale.

In 1952, Australian anthropologist Ralph Piddington, established the first anthropology department at Auckland University, and from there arose the first Māori Studies department (Henare, 2007: 102). By 1975, there were three more Māori Studies programmes at other universities (Webster, 1998: 30). Some of our most prominent Māori scholars to train in anthropology in the mid to late 20th century include Robert Mahuta, Pita Sharples, Hugh Kāwharu, Pare Hopa, Hirini Mead, Pat Hohepa, Ranginui Walker and Ngahuia Te Awekotuku. Although during and after the Māori renaissance of the late 20th century, non- Māori researchers

were heavily challenged as to their participation in research *on* Māori, there is no denying the positive contributions that anthropology has made to Māori people and culture.

A definition of an ‘Indigenous anthropologist’ is offered here as:

An Indigenous person who works mainly with his or her own people, who is cognizant of the issues and challenges that Indigenous people share, and their place within this, and who approaches research as a reciprocal and collaborative endeavor that privileges Indigenous concerns and Indigenous knowledge.

Anthropology, as with any social science, provides us with a set of tools we may use as researchers to inform directions for development of our resources, including our people. Some of the advantages of anthropology are its cross-cultural and international perspectives, the huge body of literature to draw from, and methods such as fieldwork, participant-observation and ethnography that can work well with Indigenous research goals and objectives. As individuals, and as Indigenous people, we have the right to use those tools in ways that meet the needs of our people. *We* decide how we use them; I believe we have that power, and the responsibility and accountability that accompany it.

10. CONCLUSION

At the Association of Social Anthropology of Oceania conference in 2008, I was privileged to participate in a session with a group of Pasifika anthropologists, exploring issues around Indigenous anthropology. For us, who we are as Indigenous people and who we are as anthropologists – though still challenging – we weave together well in ways that are productive, effective, ethical, and comfortable. The research process includes the weaving together of the multiple spaces in which we stand in relationship to the people we are researching with. Formation of an intellectual tūrangawaewae that draws from the intellectual traditions of our cultures as well as those of the academies within which we work,

⁴ Part of my tribal pepeha – recitation of links to land and people.

helps to produce research that is meaningful for our home communities, as well as having international relevance. It must be a conscious choice that is fully cognizant of issues of power and politics, of losses and gains, and of hopes and joys that are held in those moments where past, present and future meet. But notions of authenticity – whether ours or those of others – serve only to separate and disconnect us further. As proposed by Paul Meredith, instead of continually restating “adversarial polarities” that negate the interrelationships we now share, we move towards a “mutual sense of ‘both/and’... [which] must acknowledge and negotiate not only difference but also affinity” (1998:1). Concentrating on our own endeavors while continuing to critique ongoing domination and marginalisation, must include the creative negotiation and weaving of relationships and intellectual worlds.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This article was partly produced with the assistance of a grant from Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ballara, A. 1998. *The Dynamics of Māori Tribal Organisation from c.1769-1869*, Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Bishop, R. 1996. *Whakawhanaungatanga: Collaborative Research Stories*, Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.

Borofsky, R. 1994. *Assessing Cultural Anthropology*, USA: McGraw-Hill.

Borell, B. 2008. ‘Guest Editorial: The Original Masters in Public Health’, in Blank, A., (ed.), *Ora Nui: Maori Public Health Journal*, February, pp4-5.

Clifford, J. 1986. ‘Introduction: Partial Truths’, in Clifford J., and Marcus, G. (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, Berkeley, USA: University of California Press.

Cunningham, C. 1999. *Maori Research and Development*, online source – <http://hcro.enigma.co.nz/website/index.cfm?function=articledisplay&FeatureID=66>, accessed March 2008.

Deloria, V. 1988 (1969). *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, Oklahoma, USA: University of Oklahoma Press.

Denzin, N. 1997. ‘Ethnographic Poetics and Narratives of the Self’, in Denzin, N., (ed.), *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*, California, USA: Sage Publications.

Durie M. 1998a. *Te Mana Te Kawanatanga: The Politics of Maori Self-Determination*, Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Durie, M. 1998b. ‘Concluding Remarks’, in *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference*, Palmerston North, New Zealand: School of Maori Studies, Massey University, pp418-425.

Geertz, C. 1973. ‘Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture’, in *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz*, New York, USA: Basic Books.

George, L. 2004. *Different Music Same Dance: Te Taou and the Treaty Claims Process*, Auckland, New Zealand: School of Social and Cultural Studies Monograph Series, Massey University.

Gupta, A. & Ferguson, J. (eds.) 1999. *Culture Power Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*, USA: Duke University Press.

Hanson, A. 1989. ‘The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and its Logic’, in *American Anthropologist*, vol 91 (4), December, pp890-902.

Henare, A. 2007. ‘Nga Rakau a te Pakeha: Reconsidering Maori Anthropology’, in Edwards, J., Harvey, P., & Wade, P., *Anthropology and Science: Epistemologies in*

- Practice*, Oxford, England: Berg, pp93-113.
- Henry, E., & Pene, H. 2001. 'Kaupapa Maori: Locating Indigenous Ontology, Epistemology and Methodology in the Academy', in *Organization*, vol 8 (2), pp234-242.
- Jaffe, A. 1993. 'Involvement, Detachment, and Representation on Corsica', in Brettell, C. (ed.), *When They Read What we Write: The Politics of Ethnography*, Connecticut, USA: Bergin and Garvey, pp51-66.
- Knauft, B. 2006. 'Anthropology in the Middle', in *Anthropological Theory*, vol 6 (4), pp407-430.
- Krieger, S. 1996. 'Beyond Subjectivity', in Laraeu, A., & Shultz, J. (eds.), *Journeys Through Ethnography: Realistic Accounts of Fieldwork*, Colorado, USA: Westview Press.
- Levine, H. 1991. 'Comment on Hanson's "The Making of the Maori"', in *American Anthropologist*, vol 93 (2), June, pp444-446.
- Linnekin, J. 1991. 'Cultural Invention and the Dilemma of Authenticity', in *American Anthropologist*, vol 93 (2), June, pp446-450.
- Maori and Indigenous Analysis Ltd. (2006). DVD – *Tikanga Rangahau*, Auckland, New Zealand: In association with Rautaki Ltd, Nga Pae o te Maramatanga; funded by Tertiary Education Commission and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi.
- Marcus, G. & Fischer, M. 1986. *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*, Chicago, USA: University of Chicago Press.
- Menzies, C. 2001. 'Reflections on Research With, For, and Among Indigenous Peoples', in *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol 25 (1), pp19-36.
- Meredith, P. 'Hybridity in the Third Space: Rethinking Bi-cultural Politics in Aotearoa/New Zealand', in *Proceedings of Te Oru Rangahau Maori Research and Development Conference*, Palmerston North, New Zealand: School of Maori Studies, Massey University.
- Metge, J. 1998. 'Kia Tupato! Anthropologist at Work', in *Oceania*, vol 69 (1), September.
- Mihesuah, D. (ed.). 1998. *Natives and Academics: Researching and Writing about American Indians*, Lincoln, Nebraska, USA: University of Nebraska Press.
- Robust, T. 2000. 'Backing into the Future: Motatau Bilingual School', in *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol 24 (1), pp14-30.
- Royal, T.C. 1993. *Te Haurapa: And Introduction to Researching Tribal Histories and Traditions*, Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books.
- Smith, G. 1993. *Higher Education for Indigenous Peoples*, Auckland, New Zealand: Research Unit for Maori Education, Auckland University.
- Smith, L.T. 1999. *Kaupapa Maori Methodology: Our Power to Define Ourselves*, Seminar Presentation to the School of Education, University of British Columbia, Canada. Online source – www.hauora.com accessed April 2005.
- Smith, L.T. 1999. *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*, London (England)/Dunedin (New Zealand): Zed Books Ltd/ University of Otago Press.
- Te Awekotuku, N. 1991. *He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Maori Community*, Wellington, New Zealand: Manatu Māori/Ministry of Māori Affairs.
- Te Momo, F. 2002. *Stories from the Field: Developing Practical Research Methods in Maori Communities*, online source – www.devnet.org accessed September 2004.
- Trinh, M. 1991. *When the Moon Waxes Red: Representation, Gender and Cultural Politics*, New York, USA: Routledge.
- Walker, R. 1987. *Nga Tau Tohetohe: Years of Anger*, Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin

Books.

- Walker, T. 2001. *He Rapunga Whakaaro: A Search for Knowledge*, Unpublished M.A. (Applied) in Social Science Research, Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington.
- Watkins, J. 2006. 'Obituary - 'He Forced Us Into the Fray': Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933-2005)', in *Antiquity*, vol 80, pp506-507.
- Weber-Pillwax, C. 2001. 'What is Indigenous Research?', in *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, vol 25 (2), pp166-174.
- Webster, S. 1998a. 'Māori Hapū as a Whole Way of Struggle', in *Oceania*, vol 69, September.
- Webster, S. 1998b. *Patrons of Maori Culture: Power, Theory and Ideology in the Maori Renaissance*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press.
- Wilson. S., 2001. 'What is Indigenous Research Methodology'. In *Canadian Journal of native Education*, Urion ed (University of Alberta, 2001) Vol 25, no. 2., pp.175-179.

RESEARCH NOTES - Re-integration: In Pursuit of Mauri Ora

Tamati Te Urupaina Kaiwai
Orongomai Marae
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa

Joy Bullen
Orongomai Marae
Te Wānanga o Aotearoa
Joy.Bullen@xtra.co.nz

ABSTRACT

As practitioners in the area of prisoner re-integration we argue that the re-integration process needs to be more accessible to Māori as lead providers, with policy that embraces kaupapa Māori and funding that is both realistic and supportive of a paradigm of care. This paper highlights what we believe to be the key issues that arise directly from the economic and social forces activated by the Crown and offers suggestions that we believe may assist in moving forward.

Keywords

Māori, prisoner re-integration, tikanga Māori

1. INTRODUCTION

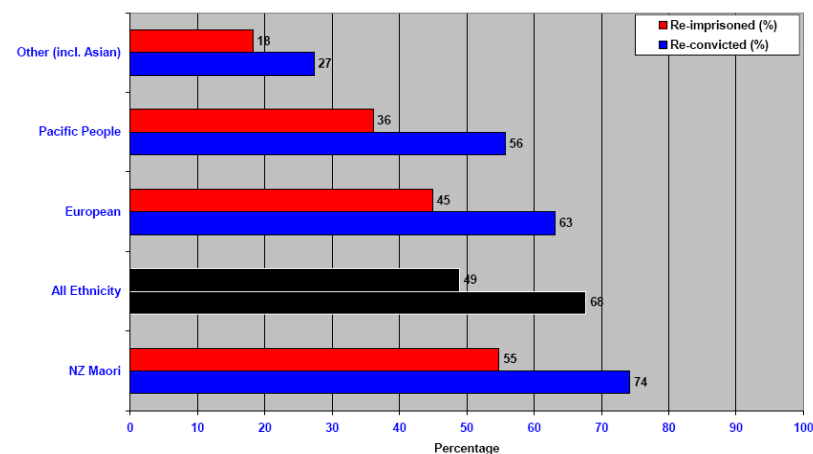
Statistics released by the Department of Corrections show that of the 6445 people imprisoned in New Zealand at 30 June 2007, 3196 declared Māori as their ethnicity (Department of Corrections, 2007). With Māori making up 49% of the prison population, clearly we are in crisis.

For many Māori prison has become a normal part of their life, with many convicted offenders believing that all Māori male offenders will go to prison at some stage.¹ The Department of Corrections, in its 2008 report *Reconviction Patterns of Released Prisoners*, noted that 68% of all prisoners are re-convicted and 49% re-

¹ This is expressed regularly in Tikanga programmes facilitated by Kaiwai and Bullen. These are 60 hour programmes contracted by Community Corrections quarterly.

imprisoned within the time period analysed.

These statistics when applied to Māori are 74% and 55% respectively, which is staggering given that only 17.7% of the New Zealand population is of Māori descent (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). These figures suggest that the belief of Māori offenders in the likelihood of their return to prison is not misplaced.



Graph 1: Rates of reconviction and re-imprisonment in New Zealand Prisons, 2007.

The Department of Corrections has undertaken various strategies designed to address the rise in prison numbers but the continued high re-offending and rates of return to prison suggest the strategies are unable to significantly alter the trend of continued re-offending, particularly for Māori.

However there are definitely facets within a number of these strategies that have appeared to have some success, namely Māori Focus Units and the faith based unit in Rimutaka Prison. Their success is not evidenced with evaluations, although we are aware that evaluation is

beginning in the Māori Focus Units. It is unfortunate that no evaluation or research appears to have been commissioned in the 10 years that the Māori Focus Units have been operating.

The introduction of a faith-based unit into Rimutaka Prison is a significant achievement towards the objective of reducing offending, according to international research used by Prison Fellowship New Zealand (PFNZ). Whilst there was a high media profile given to a murder occurring in the Unit, very little media attention has been given to the successes the unit has enjoyed.

Our assertion of successes for both units is derived from community-based conversations in both the government and NGO sectors. The only disquiet voiced has been that both are only able to deal with a small number of prisoners.

2. ISSUES

There are three key issues that we believe impact upon successful re-integration of released prisoners. In no way do we intend to be judgmental of any organisation or government department mentioned. We are aware that all believe that their methodology will produce a reduction in offending. We are simply presenting our point of view as to what we see as an unequal playing field that hinders the success of re-integration for community based organisations and the people they are working with, particularly Māori.

2.1 Policy ignores holistic practice

At present, there are issues with Māori being recognised as an integral part of re-integration but policy that ignores the holistic practice used. Holistic approaches also require funding to be allocated according to the paradigm of care.

The ability of faith based organisations, such as the Salvation Army and Operation Jericho, to utilise the voluntary arm of the Christian movement within its ranks and be deemed to be 'cost effective' inadvertently creates hardship for other organisations particularly Māori (McCarthy, 2006). Māori providers often need funding that allows them to institute a paradigm

of *care* that incorporates both the offender and whānau of an offender into the re-integration plan. Current funding to a local Māori organisation is based strictly upon the paradigm of *cure*, as required by policy. The expectation that all things outside of the funded areas can be achieved by 'aroha' fails to recognise the financial reality that many Māori are less able to freely donate their time. An additional concern is that whilst other organisations are able to screen who they will accept on their programmes, this is not the norm for Māori providers. Our philosophy has and continues to be 'ngā iwi katoa'. More often than not this means including people from all ethnicities.

In May 2004, the Hon. Paul Swain, then Minister of Corrections, called together a number of people working in the area of re-integration to a forum in Wellington. The challenge he set was that 'New Zealand would be a world leader in re-integrating offenders into the community'. In November 2004 at Rimutaka Prison, when announcing the first reintegration coordinator to be appointed he said:

A reintegration coordinator, based at this prison, will work alongside key agencies and services such as WINZ, Housing, employer organisations, Corrections, PARS and community groups such as Te Hikoi at Orongomai Marae to make sure services are in place prior to an offender's release.

This signaled the beginning of an Operational Project Group (OPG) which convened a meeting monthly within Rimutaka Prison to, using the Integrated Offender Management (IOM) system, look at the placement of prisoners to be released within the next six months. As the only Māori organisation, and indeed community organisation, present we quickly became aware we were also the only unsalaried and unpaid people at the table. This invariably caused us angst as we were unable to always have a representative at the table given the restraints of people being able to volunteer their time. The irony of this situation is that others in the OPG

were able to sign off at 4.30pm each day and, upon release of the prisoner, would cease to have any involvement with them, whereas we, the Māori providers, knew that we could be, and often would be, called out at all hours to attend to a domestic crisis, and provide support for dealings with Child Youth and Family (CYF), Community Corrections, employers and sometimes the Police.

A major part of our practice in the paradigm of care, again unfunded, was to attend regular meetings with Police in our area and let them know we would be working with released prisoners so that Police concerns of imminent re-offending could be somewhat allayed. We also gather together representatives from all relevant Government departments to a meeting with our clients, to allow any of their fears to be nullified, by sharing a cup of tea together and discussing best dates and times to address needs. Again, this activity was unfunded as it was not within the cure paradigm!

2.1.1 Example

As an illustration for consideration we offer the following:

XY was classified as a violent offender who, whilst in prison, had attended many criminogenic programmes over six years and opted to go into a Māori Focus Unit (MFU). He wanted to learn more about his identity and tikanga Māori. He was the second in charge of a gang known for its violence and anti-social stance. The gang was also connected with drug importation and distribution. His sentence was as a result of a gang confrontation where he shot a rival gang member in the leg. He received a sentence of 10 years.

XY began working with us in 2003 whilst in the MFU, following self-referral. His visible needs were: a plan for re-integration; accommodation; Parole Board support; employment; probation support; and whānau support. The plan for re-integration further revealed the need for: a bank account (auto closure two years non-use); an updated driver licence; enrolment with a health

provider; a birth certificate (original had been lost in various moves between prisons); IRD contact (as a liable parent); clothing; furniture; and several minor matters.

While finding employment was key to his successful re-integration, upon release XY would be required to attend psychological counselling, alcohol and drug counselling, an a violence prevention programme, as well as weekly probation visits. This hardly made him an ideal candidate for employment!

XY agreed there was a higher likelihood of parole if he undertook the nine month violence prevention programme available within the prison. This required him to leave the MFU and reside in the Violence Prevention Unit (VPU) for a period of time. He began struggling with the tikanga in the VPU because, in his view, it had no recognition for anything Māori. To his credit, XY remained and completed the programme but the final report was not supportive of any change having occurred. He sat with us and explained that most of his group quickly ‘sussed out’ what they needed to say to be seen as ‘progressing’, whereas he, wanting to be ‘pono’, found it difficult to do this. The key area of concern from the report was a reported lack of empathy for his victim. In his words, he was unable to feel empathy because the situation that led to the offending was a ‘him or me’ one. He relayed this to the facilitator and also told her that he had later met up with his victim in prison and they had talked it out and parted with no bad feelings. This was not acceptable to the facilitator and she concluded that she no longer saw him as participating in the programme.

2.2 Conflict of roles

There is a clear conflict in having those charged with containment of prisoners also being charged with their re-integration needs. As Dr. Shadd Maruna (2006) states:

The state can be said to be in the business of “rehabilitating” or “reforming” offenders. The State, however, cannot be said to be in the

business of “re-integrating” individuals. Professionals cannot re-integrate anyone no matter how much training they have. Ex-offenders can re-integrate themselves and communities can re-integrate ex-offenders. But the most that the State can do is to help or hinder this process (see McNeill, 2006). Re-integration happens “out there”, when the professionals go home.

Prison officers are trained to safely and humanely contain prisoners and conflict in this area can and does arise at times. Added to the situation is a requirement that the prison officers also become ‘case officers’, who are allocated prisoners to work with to identify re-integrative needs. If there has been any previous conflict between the prison officer and the prisoner, this process is flawed from the outset.

Māori prisoners are often reluctant for information about their whānau, which they regard as their only privacy, to be given to any person perceived to be from the Department of Corrections. Released prisoners talk of their willingness to visit ‘Koro’, Tamati Kaiwai from the MFU, to discuss whānau problems ‘inside’, but never their case officer. ‘Koro’ is seen as safe because he is not a prison officer and is trusted to never use the information against them. Similarly ‘Kaiwhakamana’ volunteers are trusted with information not shared with case officers. The very lack of information given to a case officer decreases the probability of the officer being able to register what are possibly several re-integrative needs to the Re-Integration Team.

Similarly the provision of a whānau liaison worker within MFU tends to raise expectations of prisoners beyond the capacity of the position. With 60 men in an MFU some 12 or more could be short-serving and possessing several re-integrative needs that will require time to address. The whānau liaison worker is charged with meeting these needs and therefore is unlikely to be able to action all requests for meetings thus often leading to criticisms of bias.

The introduction in 2006 of Re-integration Teams and Work and Income Brokers, while admirable in its intent and a direct result of the initial OPG forum, is in our opinion flawed. As yet no evaluations appear to be available publicly however with approximately 5000–9000 releases per year the resource of five regional re-integration teams would seem to be inadequate for the purpose.

In an interview with the New Zealand Herald given by Kim Workman, Rethinking Crime and Punishment (RECAP) Project Leader and Prison Fellowship Director, he raises the concerns we have with the re-integration processes currently undertaken within prison:

The Department of Corrections reintegration strategy ... still effectively stops at the prison gate....The common approach is to focus on employment and accommodation and think the job is done. Well it isn't. Unless the person has a support group around him, people to talk to when he's down in the dumps or starts smoking pot or drinking (2008).

Whilst Workman was referring to the ‘wrap around’ support offered by Operation Jericho, this is also applicable to the holistic approach offered by Māori re-integration providers.

2.3 The use of Māori as tools for strategies designed by others

In 2001 the Department of Corrections published *Let Māori Take the Journey*, following a series of hui held throughout the country. In it, Māori gave voice to their concerns regarding the Department and its interface with Māori over many areas. There was support from Māori for the Department’s commitment to consultation but also some concern about whether any change would be ‘real’. As one respondent noted in the publication, ‘This sounds like an old song with new words’ (2001, p7).

Feedback regarding the issue of partnership was vigorous, challenging and often distrustful with comments noting that true partnership requires

equality. One participant suggested that, 'It is not a matter of forming partnerships, but of equality within the relationship' (2001, p14). In answer to the question 'what works for Māori?' the responses revealed acknowledgement of tikanga, the Mahi Tahi programme and other Māori programmes. The call for Māori involvement at all levels was articulated throughout the oral and written submissions with consistent demands for Māori to be involved in the design, implementation and evaluation of all initiatives and programmes for Māori. Concern at programmes and services being accessible in practice was also raised, with people being aware that many are waitlisted but miss out on support because of short sentences.

Despite the weighty feedback regarding Māori concerns, aspirations and cautions, in 2006 the Department of Corrections called for interested Māori providers to tender for delivery of a programme that had been developed within the Department for Māori female prisoners in Arohata Prison. At a hui attended by Orongomai Marae, Te Wānanga o Aotearoa, Te Whānau o Te Maungarongo and the Department of Corrections Māori Advisors, a number of questions were raised regarding content. We were advised that this was the finished programme and whilst they were hearing our concerns it would not be changed. A number of us chose to have no further part in the implementation however the programme continues to be used. The question remains as to why Māori are not invited to tender for the design, development and delivery of programmes for Māori.

3. SEEDS FOR SOLUTION

We have developed and use a programme that is also being used with Community Corrections and that incorporates traditional Māori concepts with contemporary realities. We have aligned the programme alongside Māori concepts within the Bachelor of Social Work (Biculturalism in Practice) Level 7 Te Tohu Paetahi Ngā Poutoko Whakarara Oranga, delivered by Te Wananga o Aotearoa at both the Porirua Campus and Mangere Campus).

We believe it is paramount that re-integration programmes for Māori promote knowledge of self-identity. Māori offenders are often three to four generations urban born and many have scant knowledge of their whakapapa or indeed their hapū and/or iwi. We believe that this information was not lost by design or purposefully by earlier generations. It was as a result of the process of colonisation and assimilation. As the facilitators of a tikanga programme in the community and alongside our colleague 'Koro' with his ongoing prison programme, we are continually humbled by the growth of our participants as they become aware of the beauty of their culture. We are deeply moved when we see and hear their acknowledgement of the difficulties of our people as they became separated from the traditions of Māori culture. Forgiveness of self begins when we are able to forgive others and this we witness within the programme that we have been fortunate enough to develop and implement ourselves.

Our programme is delivered over two noho marae based at Orongomai Marae in Upper Hutt. Our participants enter leaving their worldly trappings at the gate. Together we embark upon a journey of self-discovery. This encompasses many of the traditional concepts that enabled our tupuna to preserve Māori society. We also examine contemporary realities and their alignment back to tradition. Amongst other things, we ask, is the media correct in their portrayal of us? Who are we as a people? Do we understand that offending against an individual is, in reality, also an offence against the whānau, hapū, and iwi? How can we say 'no' to violence when it has been part of our life? How have we become so separated from our traditional practices? What does the journey from 1840 to today look like and how has that affected both us and others within Aotearoa?

Within this programme we acknowledge *Ngā Takepū*, as developed by Taina Pohatu in the Bachelor of Social Work degree, namely:

Āhurutanga – the whareniui becomes the 'safe space' for fears to be voiced, learning to be

gained among peers, and where all are valued participants;

Te Whakakoha Rangatiratanga – the honouring of koha; respectful relationships; where many of the men and women we have worked with return voluntarily to mentor and share their stories (or their kaimoana) with another group;

Tino Rangatiratanga – absolute integrity; the trust the participants have in us not to judge them and the trust we put into them to be able to change their life to better care for themselves and their whānau;

Kaitiakitanga – responsible trusteeship is our responsibility; to uphold the tenets of tikanga tuku iho and be able to link these to today's society and our participants' responsibilities; to face the need for change that allows healing of their spirit. For us it is not about 'we teach, you learn' – we are all learning, every day in every way;

Tau-kumekume – we need tension, both negative and positive, to identify needs and then engender the changes required; the ability for anger to be diffused using knowledge and understanding;

Mauri ora – For example, the boys who came to a kapa haka festival to find us. They wanted to let us know they were doing well and for us to come and meet their whānau. Or the 'highest risk' paroled prisoner we began working with in his sixth year of an 8 ½ year confinement, and then supported in the community for three years of his parole – who has since left the gang, is employed as a supervisor, volunteers on the programme and has just taken on a newly paroled man to mentor. In between these milestones he has regained his partner and four children and we have been invited to their wedding next Easter.

4. CONCLUSIONS

We believe that other Māori should be given the opportunity to do what we are doing. We say that we must be able to develop an approach that is unashamedly and unapologetically Māori, and

that allows the restoration of mauri ora in our whānau within prisons. We need to ensure that this begins and continues both before and after their release. We need the Department of Corrections to be a partner in this journey.

Our solution is a challenge to the many Māori social scientists present at the *Critical MASS* Conference. Are we, as Māori, willing and able to use the many levels of skill and knowledge present at this conference to develop a forum that challenges, debates, offers solutions, and changes policy in the area of re-integration for our people?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Department of Corrections (2001) Let Maori take the journey. Retrieved 02 June 2008, from <http://www.corrections.govt.nz/public/pdf/publications/letmaoritakejourney.pdf>

Department of Corrections (2007) *Offender Volumes Report 2007*. Retrieved 16 June 2008, from

<http://www.corrections.govt.nz/public/research/offender-volumes-report-2007/index.html>

Department of Corrections (2008) *Reconviction Patterns of released prisoners - A 48 months follow-up analysis (2008)*. Retrieved 16 June 2008, from <http://www.corrections.govt.nz/public/research/recidivism-report/index.html>

McCarthy, P, 2006. Presentation at the Prison Fellowship New Zealand Conference.

Maruna, S. (2006). Who Owns Resettlement? Towards Restorative Re-Integration. *British Journal of Community Justice*, 4 (2), 23-33.

New Zealand Herald. *Beyond the Prison Gate*. 15 March 2008.

Statistics New Zealand. *2006 Census Data QuickStats about Māori (revised)* Retrieved 28 July 2008 from <http://www.stats.govt.nz/census/2006-census-data/quickstats-about-maori/2006-census-quickstats-about-maori-revised.htm?page=para009Master>

Upsetting Geographies: Sacred Body, Sacred Home

Keri Topperwien

Ngāti Awa / Ngāti Porou
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato
keri.topperwien@ew.govt.nz

ABSTRACT

In this paper I reflect on my experience of conducting Māori social science research by presenting a paper based on my Masters thesis which explores the emotional experience of the unearthing of ancestral bones for local Māori. I suggest that the importance of sacredness and spirituality has been largely overlooked as an influential factor in people's perceptions of the world around them. My research is intended to demonstrate the value of Indigenous perspectives of bones, the body and sacredness as a way of better understanding some of the complexities that can arise when cross-cultural perspectives collide in environmental planning.

Keywords

Wāhi tapu, spirituality, bones, identity, positionality

1. INTRODUCTION

Every research experience is unique. Researchers bring a host of influencing factors about who they are, their whakapapa, their history and experiences which weave throughout their identity as a Māori social researcher. There are an increasing number of New Zealand geographers who are bringing issues of embodiment, alternative knowledges, inequality and justice to the forefront of academic enquiry by exploring these issues through the lens of kaupapa Māori. This research contributes to this emerging field of Māori social research by examining the complicated issues associated with the unearthing of ancestral bones and the disruption on wāhi tapu. The setting for this research is the coastal

town of Matata in the Eastern Bay of Plenty (see Figure one). It provides a critical case study as it is a town that is facing the pressure of coastal residential development as well the added strain of dealing with the 2005 flood which has further compounded issues over local wāhi tapu.

What I offer here is a narrative of my experience of conducting research on a sensitive and intimate issue of sacredness and spirituality. It includes some personal and emotional encounters, the process of occupying and negotiating hybrid identities and some reflections on my positionality within the research.

2. MATATA: “AN HISTORICAL TREASURE CHEST”



Figure one: Map of Bay of Plenty showing location of Matata, New Zealand. Source: B.A Kamp (2006)

To provide some context, Matata is located in the Eastern Bay of Plenty and is steeped with historical significance not only to Māori as a converging point of surrounding iwi but as the locations of one of the last documented accounts of inter-Māori warfare.

The Battle of Kaokaoroa occurred in 1864 as Tairāwhiti, Whānau-ā-Apanui, Whakatōhea and Ngāti Awa traveled up the coastline towards Waikato to aid the Kingitanga as they attempted to prevent further land confiscation. However they were met along the Kaokaoroa coastline at Matata by the Crown who had acquired the support of Te Arawa. A brief but bloody battle raged on and many men were killed and were buried where they fell (Boyack 1987). As a constant reminder of this bloodshed, Kaokaoroa is revered by many for its significance as an ancient battle ground and as an informal urupa for tipuna killed in the battle. Like Kaokaoroa there are many wāhi tapu at Matata such as Te Awa o te Atua (the landing place of the Mataatua waka¹) and the streams the flow from the sacred mountain of Whakapoukorero.

These sacred spaces however, have also become subject to disruption from different sources. In the 1980s a proposal was put forward for a coastal residential subdivision for the area of Kaokaoroa. Immediately, this caused an uproar of disapproval from local Māori given that it was widely accepted as a wāhi tapu. Despite adamant disapproval and protest, heavy earth machinery began flattening out the sand dunes to make way for beachside housing (Whakatane Beacon 1980). Local Māori were not surprised then at the number of bones that were unearthed. This was deeply distressing for some local residents who shared angst in the thought of their tipuna being disrupted and not afforded the reverence or correct tikanga that they deserved. A review of the local paper revealed the media attention the subdivision debate created spanning almost 20

¹ According to Ngāti Awa tradition, it was Toroa who named it Te Awa o te Atua after his daughter bathed in the waters (Research participant: Brown 2006).

years and some local Māori continued to voice their concern over what many saw as desecration of their wāhi tapu (Whakatane Beacon 1980a).

The bones issue was further compounded by a flood that struck Matata on 18 May, 2005. Surges of floodwater, debris and boulders travelled down from the upper ranges of Whakapoukorero (the hill range adjacent to the township) and flowed towards the town through the Waitepuru, Waimea and Awatarariki stream outlets (McSaveney 2005). The areas surrounding these outlets were severely damaged; however the area beneath the Awatarariki stream was the most affected. This stream cuts a deep route through the valley and provided an accessible passageway for a huge volume of floodwaters. The normal course of the stream flows northward towards the eastern end of Te Awa o te Atua. However, being inundated with floodwater, it overflowed into the adjacent subdivision, Kaokaoroa. What makes the Awatarariki Valley particularly significant is the highly sacred status ascribed to it. It is held in high regard to many iwi of Matata as the location of ancient practices and burial. As the cleanup stages began, bones were again found unearthed in various locations around the town. Discussions began about the origins of these bones and where they had been transported from. While some believed they were the remains of casualties from the battle, others suggested they might have been dislodged from ancient burial caves located throughout the Awatarariki valley. While the origins of the bones may be in dispute, exposure to bones ‘out of place’ and the disruption to these sacred spaces became an additional emotional issue during these already turbulent times. I became interested in how intersecting and often competing knowledges concerning death, the human body and ways of perceiving the land can collide and contribute to cultural misunderstandings and on-going disputes over sacred spaces. Furthermore, who has the ‘right’ to determine the future of those spaces and the things within its perceived boundaries? Within Aotearoa, there seem to be instances where Māori and Pākehā worldviews continue to be positioned

as opposites in environmental debates. I saw an opportunity to explore these issues by merging together existing ideas on embodiedness and emotional attachment to land and identity, topics of interest to contemporary cultural geographers. I also wanted to explore the role that spirituality and sacredness plays in these worldviews, particularly to Indigenous cultures. I approached these issues by concentrating on the bones and sacred spaces from a uniquely Māori perspective.

With my research objectives established I was then left with a rather perplexing question, how do you research the sacred? Finding oneself at crossroads between conventional Western ways of conducting research and Māori ways of doing things is a common experience for Māori researchers who, like me, emerge from an institution largely bound by Western ethical parameters. For this research, it was crucial that I take guidance from kaupapa Māori methodologies and tikanga Māori given that acknowledgement of sacred sites and spaces are infused with broader understandings of traditional protocol and understanding.

3. DISCOVERING THE SACRED

The discovery of wāhi tapu and koiwi presents a number of dilemmas in regard to public knowledge. This may be apparent in planning disputes over mapping, locating and publicly documenting details of sacred sites. While institutions such as local authorities may insist that mapping sacred sites can act as a protection mechanism, since the public will know where these sites are located, this issue is much more complex. Much of the apprehension being felt by Māori communities is based on tapu and secrecy placed on particular areas which have been passed on through generations and the fact that there have been numerous incidences of disrespect and intrusion after the location has been made public knowledge. This is often traced back to the acquisition of knowledge from Tane and the feats of perseverance and strength that were needed to gather knowledge and therefore should be disseminated carefully (Te Awekotuku 1991).

Reasons for interest in these sacred areas are varied; it may be for academic reasons (research), development (council work) or simply intrigue from the public. It is interesting to note how these stories can become so instilled within the community whānau that they act as an informal deterrent or protection measure for certain areas. Te Awekotuku (1991:8) states:

There are pragmatic reasons for this in that publication of the location of old burial grounds can be construed as an inundation to artifact hunters who will desecrate the wāhi tapu. There are also strong spiritual reasons, in that the significance of such places is something that is part of the heritage of the tribe or hapu, and belongs to that group, not the public generally.

In light of these discussions, this research then could be seen as rather contradictory. By this I mean that it is concerned with two very tapu topics, sacred sites and the emotional discovery of ancestral bones, hence talking about them can be problematic and not as straightforward as simply undertaking 'traditional' fieldwork. Undoubtedly this has created a moral matrix for me as I come face to face with these complex issues. It is in circumstances such as these that working from a combined framework of cultural and emotional geographies are particularly useful as they both encourage reflexive commentary for the researcher (Cook 2005; Thien 2005). This research has meant confronting a number of important but difficult questions such as: should I be undertaking this research at all given the sensitivity of the topic? Who is the 'right' person to undertake this sort of research? How will the community respond to me? It was this raft of ethical, personal and cultural questions that I grappled with (and continue to). For these reasons I sought support from the community at the outset of research (Tolich & Davidson 1999). Equipped with these complicated issues, I visited a local kaumatua. He said that I should expect hesitation, and that not everyone will want to talk about their spirituality and wāhi tapu. He said

that I needed to create a methodological framework that allowed for flexibility in approach, particularly with regards to how I collected information. But I also had to start with myself and my position within the research.

4. MY POSITIONALITY

Situating the position of the researcher within the research is common for contemporary cultural geographers. This move to include one's self within the research arose out of the realization that 'objective' and distancing, a common trademark of past and much present social science research, left out a major component, the highly influential social position of the researcher (Davidson, Bondi and Smith 2005). Smith (1999) maintains that where Māori research is concerned it is crucial that the whakapapa lineage is made transparent throughout the research process. Like Bondi, Davidson and Smith (2005) I add to these assertions by stating that the emotional role of the researcher is also another important dimension to consider and include.

Given the highly emotive issues being discussed, I feel that it is important to include my own responses, apprehensions and experiences throughout the research process as I believe that this will add to the overall importance, significance and originality of researching wāhi tapu. As already highlighted, Matata is the converging location of Te Arawa, Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Rangitahi and Ngāti Awa and their respective hapū. It is an area of rich historical significance where occupying iwi all hold claim to the land. Each iwi traces their occupancy of the rohe to events and movements from their tipuna. Members from these iwi remain actively involved as kaitiaki of their lands. While they all share the common goal of preserving and maintaining sites of significance, each exercise their rights over the land which, at times, has led to tribal conflict and inter Māori politics. I found myself instantly included within this web of iwi politics through my affiliations to Matata through iwi, Ngāti Awa, and hapū, Ngā Maihi. This raised issues of perspective, that is, how being Ngāti Awa would affect my position as a researcher given the

complicated relations between Ngāti Awa and other iwi of the area. Being aware that participants outside of Ngāti Awa may fairly assume that I would approach this issue from a Ngāti Awa perspective, my objective was, and is, to be transparent in my reasons for pursuing this topic and that while I am somewhat conditioned to a Ngāti Awa account of historical events, my intentions were to talk to Māori of Matata from various iwi in order to emphasise the shared concern and emotional toll of the discovery of koiwi as a collective whānau of Matata. This did mean, however, that I had to remain aware of the tribal variation when it came to recalling historical information and particular names and explanations of wāhi tapu.

It was important that I remained aware of my situated position in that I was not detached from the participants. I have developed a strong connection to the place and people of Matata as a result of current and past research. As stated in earlier research "I acknowledge that I am documenting this research through a web of my own subjective interpretation both looking in (as a researcher who has been trained in a Western institutional University) and looking out (as a member of Ngāti Awa)" (Brown 2006:13), indicating that I occupy a rather paradoxical position and that the experience of being situated in these hybrid positions effects every facet of this research, from the creation of research objectives, to the way the information is presented. Feminist Robina Mohammad (2001:101) discusses the notion of the 'insider'/'outsider' boundary, and states, 'insider'/'outsider' refers to the boundary marking an inside from an outside, a boundary that is seen to circumscribe identity, social position and belonging and as such marks those who do not belong and hence excluded.

I am situated in the 'inbetweenness' of this insider/outsider binary and therefore it was crucial that I be guided through the process of my research by appropriate community members and academic scholars. Whether or not I should continue *this* research topic and whether *I* should

carry on at all, were just a few of the perplexing questions that I was faced with at the outset of the project. It was reassuring to read commentary from geographers about the significant effect of the researcher's own positionality (such as gender, ethnic background, age etc) throughout all stages of the research. However, Widdowfield (2000:200) presents an additional valid point:

While there is general acknowledgment that the researcher affects the research process, there is less appreciation (or certainly in academic writings) that there is often a two-way relationship - not only does the researcher affect the research process but they are themselves *affected* by this process.

I had to constantly think about how to explore the meaning of sacred spaces and the disruption of these areas by events such as the flood and the subdivision while judging what was appropriate to include within my analysis and what to leave out. This is where the notion of silences became crucial to help guide me through the complexities of researching not only the sacred but in many cases, the silent.

5. ENCOUNTERING SILENCES

There are two aspects of silences that became apparent in my research. Firstly, implicit but purposeful silence surrounding the location or mapping of wāhi tapu and secondly the actual experiences of silences from a methodological point of view and learning to listen and reflect on these encounters. Again, I was faced with some uncomfortable feelings such as how was I going to collect data on a highly sensitive topic which includes historical information that is stored within the members of the community? There are many dimensions to silenced information within Māori society, most stem from a complex recognition of the highly tapu nature of information concerning wāhi tapu (Manatu Māori 1992). It is common for people to be reserved about sharing spiritual and historical information for a number of reasons, be it for personal spiritual protection or out of the security and well-being of their hapū. While I understood the

seriousness of this issue, admittedly I did become concerned about how to develop an enquiry that was intended to highlight the significance of sacred sites to Māori without knowing if I would have any kind of access to relevant information. However, after talking this matter through at great length with some of my established contacts, I realized that this was not an obstacle, but rather a research finding within itself. That is, the 'silences' concerning these highly sacred issues are testament to the importance of this information. The fact that Māori may be reserved in sharing this type of detail is a reflection of the deep attachment and meaning attributed to these sites, and hence the suspicion about the motives of research that may be concerned with wāhi tapu. I realized that even if I was met with an unwillingness or hesitation to talk about sacred sites and koiwi, finding out the reasons and listening to these intended silences would be beneficial and in fact a research finding within itself.

It seems that my experience with silences is not unique; geographer Yvonne Underhill-Sem appears to have shared similar circumstances in her research in terms of selecting a highly emotional topic and finding herself immersed within a 'silenced' community. She too expresses an initial discomfort with this situation but with deeper analysis begins to deconstruct this perceived research barrier as an actual research finding. In fact she dedicates a chapter to this issue in an attempt to work through the covert meanings, implications, power relations and consequences of these silences and insists that a lot can be heard from listening to these silent voices. To provide some background, Underhill-Sem (2000:227) investigated the "experience of pregnant women of Wanigela in Papua New Guinea". In some instances Underhill-Sem's work echoes similarities in her findings regarding the spiritual reasons for the reluctance of women to talk openly about their experiences of childbirth. They too were caught up in a wider system of spiritual acknowledgment concerning birth and life and the dangers of disrespect of

these powers. The second part of the following excerpt reflects similar feelings of my own about the value of sacred knowledge:

It is not just the fear of sorcery that encourages silences about pregnancy and childbearing bodies. Rather, I argue it is because *the greatest respect that can be given to anything is to relegate it to silence but not from memory* (Underhill-Sem 2000:235 – my emphasis).

The issue of silenced information can also overflow into debates over contemporary research methods. From a naïve or inexperienced perspective, reluctance to share or participate in discussions could simply be read as uncooperativeness or disinterest on behalf of the participants; these types of situations can actually be deconstructed and deeper layers exposed. These seemingly uneventful encounters can produce a wealth of information suggesting the value of deeper reflection into these sorts of situations. It also contributes to a wider critique of existing dominant research methods and the power attributed to the spoken and written word. Underhill-Sem suggests that “unlike those absences that are often denied or rendered insignificant in modernist scientific analysis, silences can be examined” (2000:249). She goes on to state that in order to examine these silences entails going beyond the superficial and obvious available data; to venture outside of a Eurocentric assumption about knowledge barriers. It is important to remember that “spoken language is only one medium through which life is learned...”. However this is not always an easy task, it involves a conceptual shift from thinking of “anchored narratives” to a more “fluid” approach (Underhill-Sem 2000:249). I reiterate the point that the fact that people may seem reserved about sharing information concerning sacred sites and spaces is testament to the influence of sacredness and spirituality to sense of identity and attachment to the land. The fact that local Māori are sometimes nervous about recalling historical details reflects the respect and meaningful relationship to these spaces.

Silences are complicated and multifaceted. Encountering silences within a community can present a researcher with ethical and personal dilemmas with regard to continuation of the project, what these silences mean and if they are interpreting them correctly. For these reasons, it is essential that researchers critically consider their own position within the research, the power laden relations that exist within the community as well as between the researcher and participant (and vice versa). This is where having the support of a research whānau becomes invaluable.

6. SOME FINAL THOUGHTS ON MĀORI SOCIAL RESEARCH

Reflecting on my experience as an undergraduate student, I see a real opportunity for the incorporation of kaupapa Māori in core social science research papers. This could feed into a closer examination of Indigenous methodologies to expose and encourage all students to widen the scope of possible research approaches rather than the prescribed ‘conventional’ ways of doing research. It is important that kaupapa Māori is not portrayed as the ‘Other’ type of research as this may further fuel the dominant paradigm of Western methodologies as being the most valid research approach. I argue that kaupapa Māori needs to sit alongside ‘conventional’ ways of teaching research methods. I believe that this could ignite interest and promote further opportunities to contribute to Māori research outside of a system that can be easily interpreted as confining in terms of having the constraints or pre-prescribed formats of research. Exposing students to examples of kaupapa Māori may provide a sense of freedom to explore and contribute to Māori knowledge or at least presenting a challenge to ways of conducting research.

The interaction with community members and kaumatua as well as experiencing the actual physical and spiritual dimensions of Matata affected me from the very conception of the research. The process of learning more about the history and spiritual ties to the land was a uniquely personal experience between me and the

people I spoke with. Having a well respected kaumatua of Matata trace my ancestry to Matata by showing and explaining to me my whakapapa was a memorable experience, an experience unique to being Māori and doing research within a community that includes the researcher's own iwi. The realization of shared history, shared tipuna, which inevitably meant shared connection to the ancestral koiwi that had been unearthed, forged an intimate relationship between the people, space and place of Matata and me. To *not* engage with my own experience would be, in my opinion, impossible. They are experiences that are unique to conducting Māori social research.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Firstly, I have to thank my research whānau, a heartfelt thank you for your time and our kōrero. This experience has been so rewarding, and I hold your home town of Matata in the greatest esteem. Thank you to my whānau for your enduring support and aroha and to my supervisor Dr Lynda Johnston for your guidance and wise words.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Davidson, J.D., Bondi, L. and Smith, M. 2005: *Emotional Geographies*. Ashgate, Aldershot.
- England, K. 1994: Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality and feminist research. *Professional Geographer* 46, 80-89.
- Howitt, R and Suchet-Pearson, S. 2003: Contested Cultural Landscapes. In Anderson, K., Domosh, M., Pile, S., and Thrift, N., (Editors) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. Sage Publications, London.
- Kamp, B.A 2006: *Map of Matata*. University of Waikato, New Zealand.
- Mataira, P.J. 2000: Mana and Tapu: Sacred knowledge, sacred boundaries. In Harvey, G. *Indigenous Religions*. Continuum, London 99-111.
- McSaveney, M.J., R.D Beetham and G.S Leonard, 2005: *The 18 May Debris Flow Disaster at Matata: Causes and Mitigation Suggestions*. Institute of Geological and Nuclear Science Limited, New Zealand.
- Mead, S.M. 2003: *Tikanga Māori: living by Māori values*. Huia, Wellington.
- Melville, K. 2003: *Human bones unearthed during subdivision work*. The Whakatane Beacon 17 October.
- Melville, K: 2005a: *Tensions simmer on site of another bones row*. The Whakatane Beacon 6 May.
- Melville, K: 2005b: *Tensions rise in flood-hit Matata*. The Whakatane Beacon 27 May.
- Melville, K: 2005c: *Report confirms disputed subdivision as burial site*. The Whakatane Beacon 27 May.
- Melville, K: 2005d: *History casts a shadow over bones battle*. The Whakatane Beacon 10 June.
- Mohammad, R. 2001: 'Insiders' and/or 'outsiders': positionality, theory and Praxis. In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (editors) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Reed, A.W. 2004: *Reed Book of Māori Mythology*. Reed Publishing, New Zealand.
- Reed, A.W. 2007: *Maori Myth and Legend*. Reed Publishing, New Zealand.
- Rose, G. 1997: Situating Knowledges: positionality, reflexivity and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography* 21 (3), 305-320.
- Smith, L. 1999: *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin.
- Te Awekotuku, N. 1991: *He Tikanga Whakaaro: Research Ethics in the Maori Community*. A Discussion Paper. Manatu Māori, Ministry of Māori Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Te Puni Kōkiri, Ministry of Māori Development: 1996: Sites of Significance. *A Step-by-Step Guide to Protecting Sites of Cultural, Spiritual and Historical Significance to Māori*. Ministry

- of Māori Development, Wellington.
- Thien, D. 2005: After or beyond feeling? A consideration of affect and emotion in geography. *Area* 37.4, 450-456.
- Tolich, M. and Davidson, C. 1999: *Starting Fieldwork. An Introduction to Qualitative Research in New Zealand*. Oxford University Press. New Zealand.
- Underhill-Sem, Y. 2000: Maternities in 'Out-of-the-way' Places: Epistemological Possibilities for Rethorising Population Geography. University of Waikato, New Zealand.
- Whakatane Beacon. 1980: *Call for halt on bones site*. 16 September.
- Whakatane Beacon. 1980a: *Maoris upset by human bones find*. 29 July.
- Whakatane Beacon. 2005: *When nature roars we must listen*. 27 May.
- Whitwell, S. 2003: *Major implications following bones find*. Eastern Bay News 30 October.
- Whitwell, S. 2003a: *Bones lead to site ban*. The Daily Post 20 November.
- Widdowfield, R. 2000: The place of emotion in academic research. *Area* 32 (2), 199-208.

Assimilation or Organic Development: Rethinking a Māori Position in the Field of Social Science

Dr Fiona Te Momo

Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Konohi
School of Health and Social Services
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Massey University
F.TeMomo@massey.ac.nz

ABSTRACT

‘Māori social science’, many would argue, is an extension or modification of Western social science. Māori who systematically and rigorously observed, measured, and examined social phenomena and grounded their research and philosophy in Māori values, religion, and customs, are social scientists. This paper enters the debate and proposes two positions: Māori social science/scientists are a product of assimilation; or Māori social science/scientists are an organic development.

Keywords

Assimilation, organic development, Māori, social science, social scientist

1. INTRODUCTION

The term ‘Māori social science’ could be interpreted as a new phenomenon. Historically social scientists who researched various fields of practice representing a range of disciplines seldom identified ethnicity as a characteristic that separated them from other social scientists. Instead, studying human society and individual relationships in society using disciplines such as sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, and history were perceived as a role generic social scientists conducted to understand the nature of their study from established Western research protocols.

Hence social sciences were commonly referred to as a group of academic disciplines that

investigated, critiqued, examined, and analyzed human characteristics. Therefore drawing distinction from identifying the investigation to stem from an Indigenous perspective was seldom tested.

Rethinking the position of Māori in the field of social science can be an arduous task. Researchers from various disciplines like sociology, psychology and anthropology have in the past laboured to understand Māori terminology and the array of varying interpretations to a single Māori word. For example ‘aroha’ can mean many things for one person (love, compassion, empathy, feel pity/concern) let alone an entire iwi (tribe) because the interpretation of a single Māori word in one tribe can be viewed differently in another. This difference becomes apparent when thinking about ‘Māori’ and ‘social science’ because the term Māori is broad and trying to gauge an understanding of a Māori position or perspective in the range of social science disciplines can seem unachievable. However, as a Māori academic scholar who researches in the field of social science these types of task become challenges to find in the words of Smith, then Mead (1996), ‘space’. Over twenty years ago Smith discussed the challenges for Māori researchers conducting a kaupapa Māori approach to research highlighting the struggles they encounter. The struggles included three main issues: convincing Māori people of the value for Māori; convincing Pākehā research communities the need for Māori involvement in

research; developing approaches that acknowledged kaupapa Māori research.

This paper travels similar pathways of those Māori academic scholars who carved out space in the field of social science for theorising from an Indigenous Aotearoa/New Zealand perspective. It positions the discussion in the notion that a Māori social scientist deliver Māori social science. It looks at key issues around the notions of Māori social scientists, Indigenous social scientists, assimilation development and organic development. By taking this approach it can draw from a broad range of literature to discuss key issues that may become challenges for those that see a different perspective. It concludes by asserting that Māori social scientists that discuss social science ensure that methods of research are modelled in cultural frameworks making it a point of difference from Western social science/scientists.

2. MĀORI SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Identifying oneself as a ‘Māori social scientist’ is claiming a tūrangawaewae (a place to stand). Although for some academic scholars of Māori ethnicity this identification may seem brazen, for others it is about finding that cultural space in Western frameworks and academic institutions to discuss, argue, debate, and be informed studying the human society as a Māori. Looking to the past to review the journeys of other Māori academics and social scientists is a step towards understanding the changes Māori have undertaken over time and the relationship between Māori and social science.

Exploring the way Māori academics referred to themselves in history becomes a stepping stone to understanding whether they grew their knowledge in terms of Western academia organically or assimilated into the environment surrounding them. A basis to begin this exploration is noting that in 1893 the first Māori graduate, Sir Apirana Turupa Ngata (Ngata), graduated with a Bachelor of Arts Degree. Four years later he completed a Law

Degree and attained a LLB, graduated with a Master of Arts in 1921 and in 1948 received an Honorary Doctorate of Literature. (Lintock, 1966). Ngata’s academic career covered various social science fields. A bold statement can be made that prior this year the term and concept ‘Māori social science/scientist’ did not exist because a Māori person had not achieved a university degree and attained international and national acknowledgement as a person able to become a social scientist expected of those who enter such academic or scientific fields. This statement is made on an academic premise.

Ngata was not alone in his quest for academic attainment because two of his colleagues were also engaged in the field of social science. In 1899 Sir Maui Pomare (Pomare), while in America attending the American Medical Missionary College in Chicago, graduated as a Medical doctor. Another colleague, Sir Peter Buck (Buck) became knowledgeable in a range of social science fields throughout his career graduating with a Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery (MB ChB). In 1936 he received an honorary doctorate in Arts and Science from Yale University and graduated with a M.B. and “Ch.B. degrees in 1904 (house surgeon, Dunedin Hospital 1905–08), M.D. 1910. He was later awarded honorary degrees in arts and science from Yale (M.A., 1936; D.Sc., 1951), New Zealand (D.Sc., 1937), Rochester (D.Sc., 1939), and Hawaii (D.Litt., 1948)” (Lintock, 1966, p. 1). Buck’s excelled in his academic career and he was awarded other honours for his distinguished service in war and social science. For example, in anthropology he gained the D.S.O in “1918; K.C.M.G., 1946; the Swedish decoration of the Royal Order of the North Star, 1949; the Hector Medal, Royal Society of New Zealand, 1936; Rivers Memorial Medal, Royal Anthropological Institute, 1936; and the S.Percy Smith Medal, University of Otago, 1951”(Lintock, 1966, p. 1).

Buck continued broadening his scientific knowledge and became a “fellow of the American Anthropological Association, the Royal Society of New Zealand, the Royal Anthropological Institute, London, and the American Association for the Advancement of Science” (Ibid, p. 1). In terms of the academic theorising exercised by Ngata, Pomare, and Buck their international and national publications became measurements of their ability to assimilate and grow organically in an academic profession.

Pomare and Buck had the capacity to see beyond the ‘harm’ of customs, to appreciate that they were maintained for reasons that appeared good to the Māori. Understanding the meaning of a custom and how it fitted into the whole complex of thought and behaviour, they were better able to discuss its modification. Such a demonstration of authority within Māori society (as well as their obvious credentials in the Pakeha world) helped to earn them the respect as persons. A later Māori social scientist explained that the authority of Māori specialist leaders comes from Pakeha achievement but also from the fact that they are Māori and have retained this identification with their people. (Lange, 1999, p. 159).

The description by Lange of the prominent Māori leaders Buck and Pomare and the way they conducted their study of humans that were of Māori ethnicity, highlights the importance of understanding the nature of the subject under study whilst assimilating into the Western frameworks to gain a wider recognition of their work as social scientists. It also shows their ability as social scientists to add cultural approaches and thought to a dominant Western discipline.

After reviewing documentation on this matter it was difficult to find literature that acknowledged Ngata, Pomare, and Buck as

social scientists. Instead it arguably showed their work in the broad field of social sciences. In writings dating back a century this distinction regarding a person identifying themselves as a Māori social scientist(s) could not be made. Literature identified Māori and social scientists or social science, and when probing deeper the genealogy of these people would indicate they were of Māori ethnicity therefore connecting to the topic at hand, Māori social science/scientists. However the term ‘Māori social scientist’ seemed to surface as an identification of one’s cultural position in the last fifteen years which suggests that it is a contemporary position Māori academics were taking to show a point of difference to the common interpretation of social scientist. And if literature discussed Māori academics being social scientists a century ago it was reported by a person living in the last decades rather than from academics of that time. This would indicate that at that time, a century ago, Māori academics were assimilated into the Western frameworks and identifying themselves as Māori social scientists to separate from other social scientists or create a forum specifically for Māori social science was non-existent. Subsequently if social science was explored by Māori it was done within existing Western frameworks and if changes were made to the method of approach it was conducted delicately.

3. INDIGENOUS SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

Indigenous social scientists or social sciences, like Māori social scientists and Māori social sciences, as a term or concept continues to be under construction. Literature tends to suggest that it surfaced in the last three decades. But, the information is likely to be field specific rather than a general interpretation to represent all social science fields. Most literature covering this issue stems from mainly psychology and anthropology documentation.

About thirty ago authors were commenting on the term ‘Indigenous social scientist’ and the difference they brought to the broader field of

social science. Hamnett's (1970) evidence on the relationship between social scientists and researchers from other disciplines indicated "more and more people recognise that the social scientist has an important role to play in technological change; fewer (outside the academic world) have any very clear idea of what this role should be" (p. 2). He discussed the assumptions made about social scientists in that:

We all talk the same language because we all speak English (or French, or Russian, or whatever). What is still needed is a study of the sociology of technical development from the point of view of what goes on inside study missions and research teams. This would help, perhaps, to create a greater awareness of the distortions that can be introduced into 'expert' recommendations by the internal structure of the teams and the misunderstandings that result from people's ignorance of each other's skills and methods. (Hamnett, 1970, p. 6).

Hamnett recommended it is important to understand the field under study and those conducting the study so that the knowledge produced is subject to rigorous scrutiny, thus producing a relative approach to change. Purcell (1998) adds that the term 'Indigenous' in the 1980 "evolved beyond its specific empirical reference to a group of people defined by ancestral territory and common cultures" (p. 1). In addition Purcell comments that Indigenous has "come to signify a methodology, a social science perspective, and even philosophical and ideological positions, all of which rest on the recognition of the asymmetrical place of knowledge in the power relations historically constituted by the expansion of Europe" (ibid, p. 1).

In areas of economic development in Indigenous communities the scientific knowledge of Indigenous social scientists has

been acknowledged as important to the outcomes of development. Waelti's (1988) discussions on the economic development in Kenya contends that developing "economies penalize their agriculture, while industrial nations subsidize theirs. Social scientists by themselves cannot solve this problem. But certainly, an articulate cadre of Indigenous social scientists, particularly agricultural economists in this case, can be an intellectual force" (p. 16). Hence Waelti raised the difference in scientific knowledge between social scientists and Indigenous social scientists.

Riggs (1991) argued that the term Indigenous is a phenomenon that was developed and emerged from Third World countries. "Several such terms which appear alien to the Western World have been incorporated by scholars in social sciences. Several illustrations in this aspect have been shown" (p. 1). In addition, Riggs advocated for "a 'universal onomantic approach wherein concept-term relation is governed by intellectual categorical system" (ibid, p. 1). This system he called INTERCOCTA that was an "international programme to assist the development and internationalization of Indigenous concepts" (ibid, p. 1). On the other hand, Tummala (1992) reviewed the works by Riggs and found him to purport that "available social science vocabulary in English was inadequate to express either the new concepts he developed or the unique Indigenous phenomena he observed" (p. 581). Because of this Riggs was led "to develop his own language. For example, he borrowed from the language of optics to develop his famous "prismatic" model, to replace the traditional dichotomous definition of traditional and modern" (p. 581). Further on Riggs urges Americans to learn about foreign systems to understand their strengths and weaknesses. Riggs, showed a pathway forward for Indigenous social scientists struggling to find equal, exact, or similar interpretations of the research work they undertook by developing

their own systems and models to categorise intellectual thought.

Tapper's (1995) article on "Islamic anthropology and the anthropology of Islam" highlighted important issues. The issues showed the difference between the Western interpretation of the anthropology of Islam and Islamic or Hindu experiences and perception of anthropology. He references Talal Assad for the critical notions of Western anthropology and their compilation and publication of knowledge and the places they seem to draw information stating that Islam focuses on the moral person whereas "the West on the nature of society. Others merely provide an addendum to Western anthropology, as a response to colonialism, but accept the basic Western approach as universal; or promote the Indigenous social scientist with his/her special access and insights" (p. 189). These comments from Tapper indicate the difference between assimilation and organic development. For example the Indigenous social scientist is seen as the 'others' assimilating into Western frameworks of social science whereas anthropologists from an Islamic background retaining their focus on morality could be perceived as the development of organic thinkers.

Discussions about the Middle East by Mitchell's (2003) provide an approach to think about the past and future for social science. Although his thoughts pertain to another culture he draws out some key areas to address. The areas are "structures and possibilities of knowledge shape the field of Middle Eastern area studies, in ways that make the Middle East seem knowable and yet not" (p. 2); and understanding "the relationship between the "questions of power politics" that make the Middle East seem so near and the production of this academic knowledge" (p. 2). He also queries the changing relationship between those from the local community, the local expertise of area studies, and the knowledge from those representing social science disciplines that ask

general questions and govern the forms of knowledge that is produced.

Applying a similar view taken by Mitchell in the context of Aotearoa/New Zealand and looking at the two areas he addressed; 1) structures that shape the knowledge of social science for Māori; and 2) the relationship between power politics to produce academic knowledge; raises many debates. When investigating whether the notion of assimilation or organic development and the relationship between the two one needs to draw boundaries to frame a position.

Marsella's (2006) discussion on Indigenous approaches to the field of psychology raises comparable occurrences that emerged in literature involving Māori in regards to a new form of knowledge. He acknowledges the short history of Indigenous psychology, presents critical comments from authors who perceive it to be a 'carbon copy' of Western Psychology, and the importance raised from those that consider it a necessity for direction and development of Indigenous processes. He contends that "prior to the publication of Kim and Berry's (1993) volume, Indigenous psychology was a relatively unknown area that was collectively labelled as Indigenous psychologies. Since 1993, Indigenous psychology as a field began to receive greater attention" (p. xvi).

Framing a position from an Indigenous point of view commands that the local expertise and area of studies is the governing form of knowledge. But, social scientists that enter that local community and study the governing form of knowledge are most likely to be viewed as the experts and produce forms of knowledge in literature whose audience would represent a worldwide group than the local people. Once again the influence of a wider group, mainly representing an audience that acknowledges Western knowledge, would find Indigenous writers assimilating their knowledge with Western knowledge to produce knowledge readable to a greater spread of people. This

would continue to perpetuate the Western view of social science as the preferred view as opposed to the Indigenous view.

4. ASSIMILATION DEVELOPMENT

In Aotearoa/New Zealand Māori encountered struggles, war, death, and were colonised by Britain. Absorbing a Western culture failed to extinguish the Māori culture completely along with the knowledge and thoughts. Simon (1998) suggests cultural assimilation was a necessity. Using the term cultural adaptation Simon contends it “had been adopted as an official policy in Māori education, the concept had already been embraced by Māori scholars and politicians seeking to improve the position of Māori within a Pakeha-dominated society” (p. 1). Assimilation continues to be a global experience for Indigenous people.

Michies, Anlezark and Uibo (1998) apply the concept of ‘bush tucker’ to explain the way they assimilated their culture into education. Even though as colonised natives of Australia, like Māori, they found methods to implement cultural activities into the education curriculum. Teaching students about the natural resources of the Aborigine, the environment, and the customs for them was a step-forward in showing a greater audience the world through Indigenous eyes.

Michies et al. (1998) argue “indigenous people consider themselves part of the environment whereas Westerners see themselves as discrete from it, reflected in the holistic, subjective worldviews of Indigenous people as compared to fragmented, objective ones of Western science” (p. 12). They contend:

Our understanding of the nature of Western science and Indigenous science has been to express them as two separate worldviews. ... Much of what has been written has looked at the implications for Indigenous students of having to cross borders and the demands of curriculum in the past which only relate to the dominant Western science perspective.

Modern curriculum theory in science education is based on the constructivist model, with students constructing knowledge from their own background; for Indigenous students, this can be from another worldview. (Michies et al., 1998, p. 12).

Purcell (2000) focuses discussions on anthropology. Unlike Michies et. al (1998) and Simon (1998) from an education background who see assimilation in the broader context of science for schools, Purcell retells the negative history associated with assimilation. He contends “centuries of forced and unforced migration, miscegenation, and cultural assimilation have made identification of the indigenous a contested terrain, often with very slippery boundaries - as many cases in the US demonstrate” (Purcell, 1998, p. 1).

Biodiversity for Higgins (2000) is raised as a platform to acknowledge the importance of Indigenous knowledge. This knowledge is “often neglected, but can be vital in the holistic management of biodiversity. To protect biodiversity, Indigenous knowledge also needs protection. Research and documentation are necessary before Indigenous knowledge can be incorporated into resource management” (Higgins, 2000, p. 50). Higgins looks at pure science and the importance of Indigenous knowledge. However his suggestions towards the methods and processes of gathering this knowledge indicate that his perceptions are viewed from a social science perspective.

Documentation is also an important element in conserving and protecting this knowledge. Experts and Elders, from both Aboriginal and scientific backgrounds, must be involved in the use of Indigenous knowledge in the sustainable management of forests, and the long-term conservation of the biological diversity of ecosystems. Sustainability can only really be achieved when both the environmental, traditional, and cultural diversity of

particular communities and their regions are protected and understood in unique specificity. (Higgins, 2000, p. 50).

Reynolds (2004) like Higgins (2000) presents discussion from the pure science field, genetic engineering. Similar to Higgins, the view of Indigenous knowledge is presented in a social science fashion. For him “indigenous theorizing makes space for upcoming scholars to honour where they came from in their writing and work and, in a more mundane sense, gives them the ammunition to validate and legitimize this approach in the eyes of the academy” (Reynolds, 2004, p. 43).

Battiste (2005) argues that Indigenous knowledge has always existed. “The recognition and intellectual activation of Indigenous knowledge today is an act of empowerment by Indigenous people.”(p.1). The task, according to Battiste for academics of Indigenous origin and mode of thought has been to “affirm and activate the holistic paradigm of Indigenous knowledge to reveal the wealth and richness of Indigenous languages, worldviews, teachings, and experiences, all of which have been systematically excluded from contemporary educational institutions and from Eurocentric knowledge systems” (p. 1). The statements purported by Battiste in terms of the holistic paradigm of Indigenous knowledge, when linked to the discussions about assimilation and organic development, can be developed into organic modes of intellectual thought.

Becoming part of a larger national culture, following social processes to absorb one cultural group into harmony with another was inevitable for many Indigenous communities. Pe Pua’s (2005) views on the development of Indigenous research methods for Indigenous Philippines align cultural processes with Western process for working in the field of psychology. To advance Pe Pua articulated the Indigenous methods, trialled and redefined them, so they could be exported overseas. “

From a basically Indigenous perspective, Philippine psychology also made a bid for cross-indigenous perspective in support of a universal psychology that takes into account the frameworks of indigenous cultures” (p. 134). According to Pe Pua the “advances of scholars in the Philippines should serve as an encouragement to look within indigenous cultures for ways of doing research that are not only appropriate and relevant within, but from which researchers in the West and East could benefit” (ibid, p. 134).

From the 1960s onwards a range of organic thinking from an Indigenous perspective published in Western doctrine gained attention. The works of Freire and his notions of praxis and Said’s discussions on Western interpretation of Eastern knowledge provided strong Indigenous intellectual theorising. Thus continual developments of organic intellectual doctrine emerged from the East and Pacific to sit alongside Western doctrine.

5. ORGANIC DEVELOPMENT

Organic development is linked to evolution. This mode of thought became entangled with scientific notions of organisms and growth like comments expressed by Cope (1871) and Schütze (1922) that were over laden with technical descriptions covering a diverse spectrum of social sciences. Although the wealth of information was crucial for a broader understanding of science its relevance to discussions on Māori and Indigenous social scientists and social sciences were fields apart. A closer connection that was relevant to issues posed were the writings from authors such as Said. Using the information provided by Said organic development was altered slightly for these discussions to concentrate less on the evolution of man or development of organisms, rather the development of intellectual thought that strayed away from accepting the Western documentation of knowledge to be the only ‘truth’ but to create a ‘truth’ from Indigenous documentation.

Said (1978) was an Indigenous social scientist presenting knowledge about the East applying the notion of 'Orientalism, Occident, and Other'. He argued that knowledge about the Eastern countries was produced by scholars from a Western perspective who based the gathering and interpretation of information on Western values. They did this, according to Said, to manufacture knowledge in order to dominate the East. Writings, he stated, presented on the East that came from Western doctrine in the late 1800s to early 1900s were different from earlier writings and suggested that knowledge and domination in the imperial context must always go together.

Said (1978) contended that Europe had dominated Asia completely in Western text. The extent of domination was so great that even the most outwardly objective Western texts on the East were permeated with a bias that most Western scholars could not recognise. Said claimed the West had conquered the East politically and Western scholars appropriated the exploration and interpretation of the Orient's languages, history and culture for themselves. This appropriation led these Western scholars to rewrite the historical past of Asia. From this history they reconstructed Asia's identity from a Western perspective placing their European values as the normal bar of measurement from 'exotic' and 'inscrutable'. Said showed that this written knowledge and research was deviant and an untrue representation of the Orient. For Said, exposing this bias in scholarly writing, the untrue nature of research, and fictitious history, became a task for him to balance this uneven scholarly text by publishing his experience and observations in an academic and intellectual fashion. Subsequently, from Said's writing and publications sprang an organic line of thought that gained recognition from Western and Indigenous authors especially his interpretation and explanations of orientalism.

The notion of orientalism became a platform for a new school of thought. The truth claimed by

Western scholars of their interpretation of the East as being the 'real truth' was tested. Fundamental to this test was the different interpretations of religion in which the West had dominated the world with their historic accounts of Christianity and Muslim beliefs.

Third World intellectuals, emerging from a history of Western economic, political, cultural, and academic dominance, have come to reject these dominations and the way they are linked in "Orientalist" discourses and definitions of knowledge. For Muslims, Islam and Muslim identity, long damaged or threatened by Western and materialist values, must be reasserted at all levels, including that of knowledge. (Tapper, 1995, p. 186).

Orientalism, according to Turner (2000), was Said's "distinctive and pervasive ideology about Islamic Otherness. This critique has laid the foundation for an extensive inquiry into the problematic relationships between political power, sexual desire, religious identity and intellectual dominance" (p. 3). Turner suggests Orientalism produces methods of measurement to understand and compare knowledge about Islam.

Orient is defined by a series of lacunae: the absence of revolutionary change, the missing middle class, the erosion or denial of active citizenship, the failure of participatory democracy, the absence of autonomous cities, the lack of ascetic disciplines and the limitations of instrumental rationality as the critical culture of nature science, industrial capitalism and rational government. (Turner, 2000, p. 4).

Neel (2003) discussions about orientalism reviewed the notions of Ballantyne's connection to the Pacific. She considered Ballantyne's "interpretations and the enthusiasm for tracing kinship extended to the Pacific. Indocentrism led some to postulate an

Aryan origin to the Māori” (p. 419). Subsequently, Ballantyne was seen to relate Māori “with Europeans and Indians in the chain of peoples thought to be descendents of the ancient Aryan tribes” (ibid, p. 419). Māori were seen to assert their rights:

During the King movement in the mid-nineteenth century, they rejected notions of kinship as well as inferior status. Christian symbols and language became a part of the resistance to notions of kinship as Māori intellectuals began tracing their origins to the ancient Hebrews rather than to the wandering Aryan tribes. The work, although a bit dense for undergraduates or newcomers to the field of Orientalism, will appeal to a broad audience of scholars. I recommend it to anyone interested in New Zealand, India, the intellectual foundations of imperialism, Orientalism in general, or simply the history of ideas. The “world systems” approach to ideas is itself an idea whose time has come. (Neel, 2003, p. 420).

From Neel’s comments orientalism can be seen as an intellectual thought that is embedded in the history of races from the Pacific nations. This identification of Pacific knowledge shows the changes that have occurred in literature that was once dominated by Western knowledge, and then challenged with Eastern knowledge, to open up the pathway for Pacific knowledge to become part of the intellectual discussions.

6. ASSIMILATION VERSUS ORGANIC

The point of difference for Māori social science/social scientists and Western social science/social scientists is visible in a qualitative paradigm statement. Te Momo’s (2003) discussion on kaupapa Māori positions ontological, epistemological, axiological, rhetorical, and methodological assumptions provide a framework of this paradigm. When

interpreted to incorporate Māori and Western research approaches it views reality as “subjective and dual as seen by Māori in a Western society. Research interacts with Māori participants. Māori values are paramount” (p. 63) and the language of research, rhetorical assumption, is informal, could involve Te Reo Māori (Māori language), personal, and uses accepted qualitative words. This would make the methodological assumption endorse an inductive process that is shared between Māori and the researcher with an evolving design. The framework assimilates Māori cultural values with a Western paradigm assumption to create an organic development of a Kaupapa Māori paradigm assumption. In doing so it places Indigenous knowledge at the forefront of investigation for social scientists to incorporate in their quest to create information about Indigenous people or culture and aligns with a common body of knowledge from Eastern, Pacific, and Western literature.

Is assimilation or organic development positive or negative for Māori social science? When reviewing the positions taken from the literature on Māori social science/scientists, and looking backwards to consider the pathways Ngata, Pomare, and Buck took to develop Māori intellectual theorising in the field of social science shows their accomplishments are positive. These social scientists are the founders of Māori social science in an academic arena. Although they assimilated into Western social sciences they also created dual processes, methods, and cultural values to approach research and knowledge that is perceived today as organic development. As the literature from Māori academics increased over the decades it was found to follow similar processes of Ngata, Pomare, and Buck, regarding incorporating cultural processes into Western research, with a difference. The difference was the critique of Western interpretation and treatment of Indigenous people that created untruths. Consequently, Indigenous /Māori social scientists provided alternative ways to collect

information that was cultural so that the knowledge gathered and written was a true reflection of research. Therefore, instead of viewing assimilation as competing with organic development acknowledging both approaches to understanding Māori social science/scientists enables a broader debate to continue and recognises those scientists who have etched their modes of thought in Eastern, Pacific, and Western literature.

7. CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Identifying the relevance of the term ‘Māori social scientist’ to ‘Māori social science’ is complicated. Although there is a significant amount of documentation that relates Māori to the study of social science it is often reported as a study of Māori subjects like culture, customs, behaviours, health, and education in social science rather than a study of Māori social science. To explore whether this recognition is similar to other cultures a search was performed on Indigenous academics that identified themselves as social scientists. A common finding in the literature was the notion that recognition in the wider academic context of written text required an interwoven script of Indigenous thought and Western paradigms to create Indigenous knowledge.

Presenting a broad scope of the terms ‘Māori social scientist’ and ‘Indigenous social scientist’ to discuss the connections to assimilation and orientalism provided a space for thoughts and knowledge to occur enabling two positions to be posed. First, Māori social science is an assimilation of Western social science that provides a difference in terms of ethnicity and cultural approaches. Second, Māori social science is organic because it has grown from those seeking and challenging Western structures to propose another area or discipline based on Māori knowledge. Future discussions on this issue need to take place as Māori academics continue to search for what the significance of this type of theorising is to the development of knowledge. In conclusion Māori social scientists need to claim a point of

difference and that a role for them is to continue to perceive research methods in a Māori framework and write about it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- African Regions Knowledge and Learning Center. (2006). Grandmothers Promote Maternal and Child Health: the Role of Indigenous Knowledge Systems’ Managers. Retrieved 25 September 2008 from http://www.grandmotherproject.org/Art.GM.JIC_files/WB.IKnoteJan.2006.pdf.
- Bargh, M. (2005). No way out of the frying pan. An unpublished paper presented at the “Towards 2020 – Challenges for the Social Science community future capability and capacity workshop. Wellington, NZ: BRCSS Network.
- Battiste, M. (2005). *Indigenous Knowledge: Foundations for First Nations*. Canada: University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- Cope, D. (1871). The Laws of Organic Development. *The Journal of The American Naturalist*, Volume 5, Number 8/9, (Sep., 1871), pp. 593 – 608.
- Dietz, G., & Mateos Cortés, L. (2008). “Indigenizing” or “Interculturalizing” Universities in Mexico? An ethnography of diversity discourses and practices inside the Universidad Veracruzana Intercultural. Paper presented at Workshop W034 “Anthropologies of University Reform”. 10th Biennial Conference de la European Association of Social Anthropology (EASA). Ljubljana, Slovenia, August 2008. Universidad Veracruzana. Instituto de Investigaciones en Educación
- Hamnett, I. (1970). *A Social Scientist Among Technicians*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, at the University of Sussex.
- Higgins, C. (2000). Indigenous knowledge and occidental science: How both forms of knowledge can contribute to an understanding sustainability. In Proceedings,

- From Science to Management and Back: a science forum for southern interior ecosystems of British Columbia. C. Hollstedt, K. Sutherland, and T. Innes (editors). Southern Interior Forest Extension and Research Partnership, Kamloops, B.C., pp. 147–151.
- Lange, R. (1999). *May the people live: a history of Māori health development 1900-1920*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.
- Lintock, A. (1966). BUCK, Sir Peter Henry. Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. Retrieved 3 September 2008 from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/1966/B/BuckSirPeterHenryteRangihiroaKcmg/en>.
- Marsella, A. (2006). *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology. Understanding People in Context*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii.
- Mead, L.T. (1996). *Ngā aho tekakahu mātauranga: the multiple layers of struggle by Māori in education*. Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press.
- Michie, M., Anlezark, J., & Uibo, D. (1998). Beyond bush tucker: implementing indigenous perspectives through the science curriculum. Paper presented at the 47th Annual Conference of the Australian Science Teachers Association (CONASTA 47), Darwin NT, July 1998. It has been published in Proceedings of the Australian Science Teachers Conference, pp. 101-110.
- Mitchell, T. (2003). The Middle East in the past and future of Social Science. UCIAS Edited Volume 3. The Politics of Knowledge: Area Studies and the Disciplines. New York, USA: New York University.
- Neel, C. (2003). Orientalism and race: Aryanism in the British Empire by Tony Ballantyne. *Journal of World History*, Volume 14, Number 3, pp. 418-420.
- Pe-Pua, R. (2005). 'From decolonizing psychology to the development of a cross-indigenous perspective in methodology: The Philippine experience'. In Kim, U, Yang, KS, & Hwang, KK (eds), *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology: Understanding People in Context*. New York, USA: Springer.
- Purcell, T. (1998). Indigenous knowledge and applied anthropology: Questions of definition and direction. *Journal of Human Organization*, Volume 57, Number 3 / Fall, pp. 258 – 272.
- Reynolds, P. (2004). Nga Puni Whakapiri: indigenous struggle and genetic engineering. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Hamilton, NZ: Waikato University.
- Riggs, F. (1991). Indigenous concepts: a problem for social and information sciences. *Journal of Library Science*. Volume 28, Number 2, pp. 43 – 57.
- Schütze, M. (1922). The Fundamental Ideas in Herder's Thought. IV. *The Journal of Modern Philology*. Volume 19, Number 4 (May, 1922), pp. 361 – 382.
- Simon, J. (1998). Anthropology, 'Native Schooling' and Maori: The Politics of 'Cultural Adaptation' Policies. *Oceania*, Volume, p. 69.
- Simpson, J. (1997). Io as Supreme Being: Intellectual Colonization of the Māori? *History of Religions*, Volume 37, Number 1 (Aug., 1997), pp. 50-85.
- Tapper, R. (1995). "Islamic Anthropology" and the "Anthropology of Islam" *Anthropological Quarterly*, Volume 68, Number 3, Anthropological Analysis and Islamic Texts (Jul., 1995), pp. 185 – 193.
- Te Momo, O.H.F. (2003). Demystifying a relationship between voluntary work and Māori. Unpublished D.Phil. thesis. University of Waikato.
- Tummala, K. (1992). Fred W. Riggs and comparative administration. *Journal of*

Public Administration Review. Volume 55, Number 6, pp. 581 – 582.

Turner, B. (2000). Orientalism: early sources. Volume 1. *Readings in Orientalism*. By Turner, B., Lane-Poole, S., Wellhausen, J. London: Taylor & Francis.

Waelti, J. (1988). *Indigenous social science and economic development in Kenya*. Minneapolis, USA: Economic Development Center, Department of Economics, Department of Agricultural and Applied Economics, St. Paul, University of Minnesota.

MASS: Māori Association of Social Science
www.mass.maori.nz

ISBN 978-0-473-18162-8