

Proceedings of the
MĀTAURANGA TAKETAKE:
TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE CONFERENCE

Indigenous Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions



NGĀ PAE O TE MĀRAMATANGA

New Zealand's Māori Centre of Research Excellence

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**Mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge
Indigenous Indicators of Well-being:
Perspectives, Practices, Solutions
2006**

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Convened by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga
The National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and
Advancement

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Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

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

Whakataukī (Proverb)

Ko te pae tawhiti arumia kia tata	Seek to bring the distant horizon nearer
Ko te pae tata whakamaui	Grasp it firmly once near
Kia puta i te wheiao ki te ao mārama	And so emerge from darkness into enlightenment

Joint Directors

Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith & Professor Michael Walker

Accompanying DVD

A DVD is provided with this Proceedings. It contains the edited presentations of the Opening Address by Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith as well as the presentations by the international keynote speakers: Dr Diery Seck, Dr Holly Dublin, Professor Karina Walters, Dr Sylvia Marcos and Victoria Tauli-Corpuz. The filming was carried out by Double Cove Productions of Wellington and the video-editing by Josie McClutchie of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

Cover Design

The cover design is a *hoe* (paddle) carved by Len Hetet. Just as the *hoe* serves to make the *waka* advance, so this book is a tool to advance the *waka*, Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, and the aspirations for the well-being of Māori and indigenous peoples held by those at the Mātauranga Taketake Conference.

Mihi

Anei rā a manawa e ngunguru, e hotu tonu nei ki a rātau kua riro ki Paerau, ā, moe mai rā koutou. Heoi anō tā tātau ā te hunga moke, he pupuri tonu i a rātau ki te kokonga ngākau, ki te mahara.

Otirā, ka mihi tonu ki ō tātau marae kāinga o te motu, tēnā rawa atu koutou. Ā, ka mihi nā ki ngā kaiwāhi kōrero o te hui nei, ā, ki te hunga rangahau anō hoki huri noa i te ao. Ko koutou rā ēnei i whakapau kaha nei ki te tō mai i te pae tawhiti kia tata, arā, e taea ai pea e tēnei whakatipuranga te whāiro te ao o nehe me te mātauranga taketake o kui koro mā. Ko te hauora o taua mātauranga taketake nei kai te kitea mārikatia, i te mahi a te kaupapa Māori kua whakamanahia nei i kō, i kō, ā, me te mihi anō hoki ki te pakihwi kaha mō tērā.

Hai konei, ka huri ake ki a koutou ngā mātāwaka i kotahi mai nei ki te karanga a Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, tēnā koutou! Huri noa ki ngā kaitautoko me te pūtea āwhina a tēnā, a tēnā, ā, ki ngā whakapaunga werawera anō hoki a mea, a mea, kia tū rangatira ai tēnei kaupapa a tātau, tēnā koutou, tēnā koutou, tēnā tātau katoa.

Greeting

We acknowledge our ancestors and all of our loved ones who have passed on to Paerau – sleep in peace. We will hold you within our hearts and memories forever.

We also acknowledge our villages across the land. And we thank our keynote speakers and the contributors of articles from across the world. You have drawn on your links to the past, your tribal stories, customary practices and traditions – to bring distant horizons closer, thus allowing today's generation a glimpse into ancient times and the traditional indigenous knowledge of our forbears. Indigenous knowledge and indicators of its well-being are evident in the growth of the many Māori-based initiatives currently operating throughout the country; and those responsible for effecting change deserve to be congratulated for their efforts.

To the participants who rallied to the call of Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga, thank you. Thank you also to our sponsors, and all those who worked tirelessly to ensure its success, greetings one and all.

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Foreword

Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

The Mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference was convened in June 2006 to address issues, practices, models and perspectives for protecting, sustaining and nurturing traditional systems of knowledge.

The Conference invited participants to consider the following questions:

How do we know that our knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices are in a state of well-being? What practices do we use to sustain and help the next generation look after our systems of knowledge? How do we know that our relationships, languages, literatures, stories, environments, healing practices, spiritualities, genealogies, bodies, children, elders, women, men, and communities are flourishing? What are the basic indicators that we use to give us confidence that all is well? How do we measure our development and advancement?

Internationally generated indicators of well-being, like indicators of development, have a subtle but significant impact on Māori and other indigenous communities. An international conference with associated community workshops and satellite meetings enabled us to bring together in dialogue a wide range of participants, perspectives, voices, frameworks and models for developing indicators that best indicate well-being from indigenous points of view.

Introductory Remarks

Jan Sinclair

These Proceedings contain eloquent examples of indigenous projects, practices and approaches which are fostering the well-being of indigenous peoples. In the past, many scholars have investigated why historical events have left indigenous communities in a state of dis-ease. This research continues today, and a parallel line of inquiry, the focus of this conference, considers also what it means for an indigenous community to be well.

Some of the articles in this Proceedings detail the real pain, past and present, which is caused by ignorance or suppression of cultural identity. All discuss processes which indigenous communities have developed to improve the well-being of their people.

Giving value to a sense of past and present community is identified by many of the authors as critical to the well-being of indigenous peoples. Similarly, education which acknowledges and respects indigenous beliefs and knowledges is now proven to enhance both educational standards and students' self-confidence. As the articles here show, initiatives to improve educational options for young indigenous people now range from early childhood to the tertiary level.

A number of authors examine the broader community benefits that can arise from nurturing and valuing indigenous practices, whether these be weaving, growing food or caring for various community members. The key in all of these accounts is that research and research findings must be guided not by the external researcher's curiosity, but by the needs which the community in question perceives to be important to its well-being.

Most of the articles in this Proceedings state explicitly or implicitly that it is up to the community itself to agree on what makes it more well, what makes it less well, and how these indicators should be measured. It is plain from these articles that when indigenous communities are involved, or involve themselves, in initiatives to improve community well-being, those initiatives tend to be more successful, from the community's point of view.

We have moved a long way from the initial dis-ease of colonisation, but there is still a strong need to clarify what makes a people, a culture, well. These Proceedings raise many questions about the efficacy of existing official processes for determining well-being. They offer potential answers in the wide range of approaches of the many scholars from many fields whose work aims to restore value and respect to indigenous knowledges and practices, and thus to improve the well-being of indigenous peoples and communities.

Editor's Notes

Dr Joseph Te Rito

In these Proceedings, the convention in regard to the Māori language is that Māori words are italicised. This practice does not apply to proper nouns or names of organisations. When a Māori word is used for the first time within the Proceedings, its English translation follows directly after it in brackets. This translation appears again in the Glossary of Māori words at the end of the publication. At times, there may be several translations listed in the Glossary for a particular Māori word. This is so as to include the translations used by each writer.

The macron symbol, a dash placed above vowels, is used to indicate a double-length vowel sound. These macrons are provided to assist the reader to pronounce Māori words correctly and to avoid ambiguity e.g. *mana* (authority) and *māna* (for him/her). We have chosen not to adopt the practice of inserting two vowels used by some Māori writers for these same purposes i.e. we would use *māna* rather than *maana*.

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

The Mexican and Spanish words used by Dr Sylvia Marcos in her paper on 'Curing and cosmology in indigenous Mexico' are italicised and their English translations follow directly after in brackets, and the same convention is applied to Professor Karina Walter's Choctaw greeting at the beginning of her paper. A glossary of Aboriginal words is included at the end of the publication to assist readers as there are a number of papers by Aboriginal writers.

This publication has been divided into two Parts. Part A is the presentations by keynote speakers and session facilitators. The reader will note the less formal style of writing in Part A. This is due to the fact that these writings are derived from transcriptions of the oral presentations by the keynote presenters and facilitators of sessions. Slides they have used are shown as figures, and remain in their original form. Part B is the written papers submitted by various presenters at the Conference. They are presented in alphabetical order according to surnames.

PART A

**PRESENTATIONS BY KEYNOTE SPEAKERS
AND SESSION FACILITATORS**

Background to keynote speakers and session facilitators

Facilitator 1: Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith

Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou) is an internationally renowned Professor of Education with a professional background in Māori and indigenous education. Her research interests are wide-ranging and collaborative and include Marsden funded research on the Native Schools system and on New Zealand youth. She is known internationally for her work on research methodology and Māori and indigenous education. Professor Smith has served on a number of national advisory committees including the Tertiary Education Advisory Committee (TEAC) and was the Chair of the Māori Tertiary Reference Group for the Ministry of Education. She is also a Co-Deputy Chair of the Council for Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi and a Joint-Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

Keynote Speaker 1: Dr Diery Seck

Since March 2002, Dr Diery Seck has been Director of the United Nations African Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP), based in Dakar, Senegal. Previously he served as Executive Director of the Secretariat for Institutional Support for Economic Research in Africa (SISERA) of Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). Before returning to Africa in 1995, he was Associate Professor of Finance at the University of Windsor in Canada, and an Economist at the World Bank in Washington D.C. He specialises in mathematical economics and philosophy.

Dr Seck has authored several articles in academic journals and chapters in books on development economics. He has also co-edited books in African finance and policy-relevant economics. He was co-editor of the *Journal of African Finance and Economic Development* for eight years. His latest book co-edited with Lucie Colvin Phillips and entitled, *Fixing African Economies: Policy Research for Development*, was published by Lynne Reiner Publishers in 2004. He serves as an expert for the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa on issues of economic policy and sustainable development.

Keynote Speaker 2: Dr Holly T. Dublin

Dr Holly T. Dublin has been associated with the Species Survival Commission for over 30 years, starting when she first became a member of a Specialist Group. Since that time she has contributed to numerous SSC Specialist Groups, task forces and initiatives. In 1992 she became the Chair of the African Elephant SG, one of the Commission's most productive and acclaimed groups.

In 1994, Dr Dublin joined the SSC Executive Committee and has been a dynamic participant ever since.

Facilitator 2: Moana Jackson

Mr. Jackson is highly regarded throughout both Māoridom and mainstream Aotearoa for his contribution in the struggles endured by Māori in terms of sovereignty issues and their indigenous rights. He is known and respected at all levels of society – from government level, to academia, through to local marae community level.

Jackson's iwi affiliations are Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongomaiwahine and Ngāti Porou. He graduated in Law from Victoria University in Wellington; he was Director of the Māori Law Commission; he was appointed Judge on the International People's Tribunal in 1993 and has since then sat on hearings in Hawai'i, Canada and Mexico. He was appointed Visiting Fellow at the Victoria University Law School in 1995, and was elected Chair of the Indigenous People's Caucus of the United Nations working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. He teaches in the Māori Law and Philosophy degree programme at Te Wānanga o Raukawa.

Keynote Speaker 3: Professor Karina Walters

Professor Karina Walters is an enrolled citizen of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma and is an Associate Professor at the University of Washington in the School of Social Work. She is co-founder of the Native Wellness Research Centre and the newly-formed Institute for International Indigenous Health and Child Welfare Research at the University of Washington.

Professor Walters is the principal investigator of a National Institute of Mental Health-funded, seven-site national study on relationships, traumatic stress, substance use, mental health, cultural resilience, and HIV risk behaviours among LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender)/two-spirit American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Keynote Speaker 4: Erykah Kyle

Erykah Kyle is the Mayor of the Palm Island Aboriginal Council in Queensland, Australia. She has been active in social justice movements for her people for many decades. As a leading elder among her people she is an inspiration to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians. Intimately concerned for her people in one of Australia's largest Aboriginal communities, she is outspoken against "the government's stronghold on Aboriginal people". Kyle is an advocate for self-determination and human rights, and believes in the importance of using Indigenous education processes to build pride in Aboriginality among Palm Island's children and youth.

Facilitator 3: Aroha Mead

Ms Aroha Mead is a Senior Lecturer at He Pārekereke: Māori Business in the Victoria Management School of Victoria University of Wellington and has a Masters in International Relations (with Distinction) through the university.

Ms Mead has been a Senior Research Fellow with the Centre of Environmental Law at Macquarie University in Sydney. She co-chairs 'Call of the Earth Llamado de la Tierra', an international initiative in indigenous intellectual property policy hosted at the United Nations University Institute of Advanced Studies in Yokohama, Japan. She also serves on the Governing Council of the IUCN World Conservation Union.

Keynote Speaker 5: Dr Sylvia Marcos

Dr Sylvia Marcos is the Director of the Centre for Psycho-ethnological Research in Cuernavaca, Mexico, where she is a practising clinical psychologist. She is the author and editor of many books and articles on the history of psychiatry, medicine and women's popular culture in pre-Hispanic and contemporary Mexico. Dr Marcos is active in the International Women's Health Movement, focusing on the recuperation of traditional health practices that empower women. She has been working with indigenous women's groups and organisations in Mexico and beyond.

Keynote Speaker 6: Victoria Tauli-Corpuz

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz (Igorot-Filipina) is the Chair of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. She is also the Director of the Tebtebba Foundation (Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research & Education), an Indigenous peoples' organisation with United Nations consultative status based in Baguio City, Philippines. Tauli-Corpuz is an indigenous activist who has been involved for more than 30 years in defence of the rights and culture of indigenous peoples.

Tauli-Corpuz is active in the anti-globalisation movement and closely follows international processes affecting the development and environmental rights of indigenous peoples. She has been involved with work on the Millennium Development goals and their relevance to indigenous peoples. Tauli-Corpuz is also a former member of the Crucible Group.

Opening address

Facilitator 1: Professor Linda Tuhiwai Smith
Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Awa tribes of Aotearoa (NZ)
Joint Director of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga

How do we know as a people that we are well? How will we know when we are well? We are very good at describing and analysing and understanding the historical conditions that have led to us feeling dis-eased – the dis-ease of colonisation, the dis-ease of oppression, the dis-ease of marginalisation. But over the last 20, 30, 100 years, Māori have demonstrated other factors, other features, other characteristics: you might want to call those characteristics resilience, you might want to call them sheer determination, stubbornness and arrogance and a fighting spirit. Whatever it is, we got off our knees a long time ago. The question that this conference now asks of us all is how we move forward from that feeling of dis-ease as well as that position in society of dis-ease to conditions of well-being. How do we take not only our communities forward in that move towards wellness but, as Māori, how do we take all that our ancestors have left us and take that forward?

I think one of the strong tendencies that we have is to protect our language. We want to protect the little that we have left, and the challenge of going forward is not just about protecting it and wrapping it up in cotton wool so that it will never be really useful; it is simply our *taonga* (treasure) that you protect. How do you build from that? How do you strengthen it? How do you grow it? To me, the simplest analogy for this is when I look around New Zealand and I see that three generations ago people grew trees, just in an urban landscape. Two generations ago, they watched the trees grow. Now, in the third generation, the trees fall over in a storm and everyone says: “Oh, we haven’t got any trees left.” It is as if no-one thinks that maybe every generation has an obligation to plant for the future, and that is really the challenge of this conference: What are the things that we are also planting and growing for the future, not just wrapping up and protecting?

What we have done in terms of the structure of this conference, we hope, is to provide everyone with something of interest. We have assembled a very interesting group of international speakers. We have also structured what we hope are lively panel sessions later on, with people from different walks of life, different specialists who can talk from their perspective and debate the idea of what it means to be well and what contribution, for example, the arts and artists make to a vibrant and well society. What is the contribution of someone who is simply good at growing *kai* (food)? What contribution do they make to society? What contribution do our activists make to our society? So the panel sessions we hope will provide some lively debate and opportunity for you to interact. On the final day we want to synthesise some of the indicators or themes into our workshops, and during the next two days we have our international speakers and also some of our presentations.

Both of our international guests, Dr Diery Seck and Dr Holly Dublin, have travelled from Africa. Dr Diery Seck is from Senegal. He is a native French speaker as well as speaking his own languages, and he speaks English fluently. I think this is one of the impressive things about many of our international guests, how multilingual they are. Diery has been pleasantly surprised to find at least two Māori who are fluent French speakers, who can engage in academic conversation in French; this is one way that we communicate across the world.

Diery is an economist and it is often in the economic fields that indicators are used as a kind of hard measure of a society’s development or a society’s wellness. I have had to grapple with some of these issues over the last few years and if I think about the 1970s, back then our measure of wellness was to get the Treaty recognised and to have our language survive. Those were the two of the key agenda items that Māori were struggling for: to get the Treaty recognised and to have our language survive. That was the 1970s, so now in the 21st century we can ask, “What has been the impact of our language survival and regeneration movement? What has been the impact of a 30, 40 year struggle for recognition of our

Treaty?” How do you even begin to measure the effect of those two strategies that Māori used in the 1970s and obviously prior to the 1970s?

I think one of the things with the notion of indicators is the sense of time and the sense of looking back, and not only trying to understand ultimately both the effects of our own strategies and their impact, but also whether there are other consequences that have occurred unintentionally. We did not think about those things then, but we do have evidence now that in establishing our language we have influenced many things, schooling, for example. We have grown a generation of young people who are not just fluent in Māori and English but who are doing well academically and in life. So the whole idea to me of indicators is to try and pitch ourselves both backwards and forwards in time in order to understand the strategies we need for the future and the impact of the strategies that we have used in the past. I see it as a kind of proactive measure, of where we have been and where we are going.

I would like to return to my simple question for us to think about for the whole conference: How do we know when our society as Māori is well? When would we know that and what indicators would we use to give us signs that things are getting better? I hope all of our speakers shift us a little bit out of our comfort zones. All of them, I hope, shift us just a little bit because that is how we grow the skills that we need and the concepts that we need to deal with this topic.

The well-being of Māori communities: challenges and opportunities

Dr Diery Seck
IDEP, Dakar, Senegal

While I have been introduced as Senegalese, I would like to say that I am an African in the sense that we in Africa nowadays are trying to express a sense of identity that goes beyond the borders that we inherited from colonisation, on the cultural level as well as the political and economic levels. All African countries are striving very hard to show that we have one Africa, not different countries, so I am standing here before you as an African. I have been an academic all my life; therefore, one is very tempted to conceptualise and even when you are unaware of it you conceptualise. Anyway, that is what academics do. So, I started preparing my keynote address for this conference and I thought I was ready. I came here and had extremely intense discussions with staff at the centre and other people – even on my way here I happened to sit with somebody who knows about the Māori culture and we discussed it a lot – and so I changed it all around.

Now let us talk about why we are here. We are talking about the well-being of the Māori people of New Zealand and, having learnt a lot in the last few days, I decided to focus more on the socio-economic dimensions of the Māori people. Before I get into the arts and other material, let me just take stock of what I understand to be the current situation of the Māori people. On the one hand, if you want the plus side, we have the Māori who happen to be the integrated minority in a very wealthy country – New Zealand is an OECD country that is one of the richest countries in the world. Māori are also amongst the Indigenous groups that in world terms have the highest level of income, although I do know that in the case of Māori in New Zealand the average income is less than that of non-Māori. Reviewing the statistics provided by Statistics New Zealand, one realises that the economic conditions of Māori are improving – at least over the last 20 years they have been improving – and what is striking is that when you ask anybody around the world about New Zealand, people talk about Māori symbols, the Māori culture itself or those who represent Māori groups, such as the *haka* (fierce rhythmical Māori dance) or Jonah Lomu (who, incidentally, is Tongan not Māori). That is the perception that we have until we come here.

Now, on the other hand, looking further at the statistics we realise there is a high concentration of Māori in the low socio-economic groups in New Zealand. In other words, Māori are trailing behind other groups, consistently behind most of New Zealand and this state goes back as far as the Treaty. On top of this, Māori also lack human capital in many areas. One thing I noticed, in my area as an economist, is that Māori could use a little more human capital in economics; lack in this area has translated into a feeling of alienation and mistrust towards the Government, which is the main interlocutor with the Māori community.

So, quickly, in the pursuit of well-being for Māori there are the following to be considered: the sociological dimensions; the demonstration strategies of Māori over the last few decades; the business dimensions; the economic dimensions; and one that I am going to spend a little time on, vulnerable groups.

I start with the sociological dimensions of the well-being of Māori. In a country like New Zealand you just cannot talk about well-being because Māori are a culture apart and they have their own traditional values and culture; therefore, we first have to talk about the sense that Māori have of the notion of being. For Māori, what is being? Is it the same sense of being as, let us say, the European with Western values? Of course, I do not have enough time to discuss it here, but I think that this should be the starting point. As a human being or as a being, period, as part of the creation, how do you perceive yourself? Before getting to well-being, you have to discuss being well first, and the difference is that we talk about being well, that is: how well are you in yourself as an individual? You can actually be

physically healthy but not mentally healthy, not well adjusted to your environment, living within yourself. This all applies at the individual level as well as the community level and, of course, when we talk about the need to enhance the well-being of Māori people, should it be the role of the Māori community or the role of the Government? There are arguments either way: that the Māori people have responsibility towards their own people for their well-being; but at the same time the Government has responsibility for the well-being of its citizens and Māori happen to be citizens of New Zealand. Now, this is not part of what I would call the discipline-oriented, the sameness-oriented, approach to future well-being but I want to discuss it because I think it may have a bearing on the well-being of Māori.

Next, the negotiation strategies of Māori over the last few decades. As you know, there has been a lot of claims and settlements and some claims are still going on, but let me just mention a few things that could be reviewed for possible improvement. The negotiations of the Māori people are predominantly with the Government. When I asked around I realised, in fact, that Māori seem to see the Government as their only interlocutor in respect of improving their lives and, of course, reclaiming their assets and other dimensions such as culture. Māori negotiate with the Government in fragmented groups – each tribe goes out and negotiates – and this approach deprives them of a sense of unity, of a Māori nation talking to the Government of New Zealand. We do not have that, we have tribes and when they go and discuss their claims/problems, it is always the first time and that has implications. If you have a game where you have several rounds, you tend to learn after the first few rounds and then you become expert at it. Because the Government negotiates with every tribe, it gains experience whereas each tribe dealing with the Government for the first time actually lacks experience, so I do not think it is a level playing field. The negotiations are actually temporary, but when a tribe goes out and submits its claim, the negotiations are not temporary; once it's settled, it's over, they go home. Therefore, there is a lack of continuity in the discussion, a continuity that could foster better understanding, knowing the other person well and perhaps could develop a sense of trust capital in the other person. In fact, these things are assets, not income; clearly you cannot really enhance the well-being of people just by holding assets. You all know the story of that very rich king who was caught in his own palace and locked in with his treasure. He starved to death, so clearly his wealth did not help him much that day. Thus, I think it is important to think about income rather than just assets. The limitations, as far as I understand, are actually in the spirit of reparation – things that were taken away and have to be given back – but not development, and yet what we talk about here is development of the Māori people. When I also asked around I realised that the limited availability of expert advice may have affected the quality of the negotiations and perhaps even the outcomes.

Now let me move onto the next dimension, which is the business dimension. The initial conditions that we have here are that the New Zealand economy operates in a very good environment and is wealthy. If you have a group of people who happen to live and operate in that economy, then this gives them better prospects.

Also, in terms of finance and equities, you have a sufficient, equitable financial sector (I do not want to get into details of whether there is discrimination). What I am saying here is that New Zealand has a good financial sector that can recognise a good project when it sees one. So, we have a growing Māori business community.

On top of that, what could help to improve business prospects of the Māori people? The first one, of course, is training, or as people have discussed here, the need for capacity building. I saw three aspects deserving of special attention. One is more on-the-job training. I know it is happening now, but the fact is that even if you have Māori business people who are in fisheries and farming and so on, they may have a level of education that could be improved upon by on-the-job training. You cannot take them back to school but at least you can have some forms of training that will enhance their capacity to generate added value. Tertiary education is also important because you want to have an elite group that will speak on behalf of Māori, to think in New Zealand Māori terms as well. You definitely need to enhance the tertiary education of Māori people. I guess most of you are aware of the 500 PhD programme that has been discussed lately.

One thing I think is important – I am told that the Government actually does not trust Māori to manage the assets of their tribes because although they may have the assets, they may not have the capacity to manage them. One way of levelling the playing field, and also reassuring the Government and the private sector, banks and so on, is to have some of those people who manage the assets serving on boards of other corporations that are not necessarily Māori. One way of doing that is for the tribes to use some of their cash to buy stock in some companies and to serve as members of their boards. That way you not only get to learn the practices of the Government of New Zealand, but also you can exploit that to develop the Māori side of the economy.

The second aspect of what could help in the business dimensions of well-being: at breakfast, one of my friends was telling me about her programme for young Māori in business. Once people learn how to be in business or have a start-up or small company, they need money. Somehow, either the Māori community or the Government should set up a risk mitigation fund. That is, they do not lend the money but they put up a guarantee. So, if a bank lends money to a start-up Māori group and it fails, then the Government steps in and refunds the loan.

Another aspect related to the business community concerns the way that in the social sector Māori suffer from discrimination: they are more likely to die young; they have more misdiagnosed diseases; and so on and so forth. Further, in the education sector there are complaints that Māori are being given a second-rate education. So, Māori should fight really hard to be in positions where they can monitor these things. Where there are firms who provide health or education or housing, you can buy their stocks so you can sit on the boards and can monitor at the ground level those who engage in malpractice or discriminatory practices. That way, through business, you can control your fate.

Now, to look at the economic dimensions – allow me to spend a bit more time on this because these are what I have found to be the most lacking in the current discussions about the Māori situation in New Zealand. We must bear in mind the following: one has to make a decision between the community assets that are at stake when communities engage the Government on claims; and the community income that I mentioned earlier. I think the instruments that help a tribe go and negotiate with the Government in order to collect assets or to claim assets are not necessarily the instruments that will help the Māori community enhance or increase the income of its people. So, it would be a mistake to think that just because you are reclaiming a lot of assets from the Government your well-being and being are improved. Even the dividends provided from the assets after they grow and become more profitable would not be enough to cover all the needs of the Māori people. So, tribal authorities have to engage in the enhancement of Māori income. There is also the need to distinguish within the Māori community between the people who are converging with the average income of New Zealanders and those who are not. If you look at certain studies, you realise that for some Māori the average income has been growing faster than that of the New Zealand mainstream people; therefore, that is what we call convergence, they are converging towards the mainstream wheel. But next to those people, you have people who are stagnating, whose income is not rising or perhaps not rising as fast or even at the same speed as mainstream New Zealand; therefore, they are lagging behind. These two groups have to be dealt with separately – I may not have time now to discuss it but, please, one has to be aware of this and to set up instruments of policy that will address them separately.

Another consideration is the need to understand the impact of government economic policies on the Māori people. You may have four million New Zealanders, but when a Government is creating policy, trade policy or even this year's World Trade Organisation policy, Māori can be affected in a very special manner. Therefore, Māori have to understand what the implications of government economic policy will actually be for them. The other thing is the determinants of Māori well-being. Of course, as I was mentioning, the Components of Well-being Index would actually be of an economic nature; therefore we need to know what the determinants really are as then you can act on the determinants that have an impact on well-being. Thus, I think there is a need for a larger number of Māori economists. In the absence of a core of Māori economists doing this type of analysis, it is not going to be possible to talk to the Government on an equal footing because the Government may have its own economists; if you do not have your own economists, to understand things in your own way and measure things as they concern you, it is going to be difficult. One more reason why Māori need their own economists:

some economic dimensions are actually *within* the Māori community, so a tribal authority may want to look into the economic circumstances of its community members and, therefore, conduct household or sectorised aspects within the community.

I think the most important way that a group within a country may measure how the Government is treating it is by having a budget. Now the budget does not mean Māori actually make a budget. When the Government reads its budget and it is passed in Parliament, Māori take the document and comb out from it every aspect that has relevance for them. Thus I am calling for the Māori budget as a way of actually capturing the imagination. In fact, it is the New Zealand Government budget but this technique is used in a number of countries round the world, including Africa. Then, having combed the relevant material from the budget, go back to the Government, talk to your people, talk to the media, and defend your situation. As you do this, you will become more and more adept at it. The Government may find itself talking to Māori even before it prepares the budget. Therefore, you can have constructive input into the budget rather than complaining and distrusting the Government budget and the way the Government is spending money. This could be a really useful thing to do and it is also one way of disseminating Government policy out to your own people, by using the Māori budget document.

I would like to propose a way of really harnessing the efforts of the Māori people jointly across tribes and combining these with the Government's efforts towards long-term development of the Māori people. For that, I am proposing, as a conclusion of the analysis that I have proposed so far, the Māori Economic Development and Empowerment Plan (MEDEP). Of course, we do not have time to discuss this in detail but let me just tell you why this kind of vehicle would be very useful. Not only would you have a platform for long-term negotiation, discussion and strategising with the Government, but also across tribes. It becomes a wholly and jointly owned document by all stakeholders.

Now, what are the key elements of it? Well, first of all, for it to be meaningful the document would have to be a long-term development strategy. The one-off type of negotiations that have taken place in the last decades on asset reclamation cannot be a tool for development because they are about assets, not different income. Second, it has to be jointly designed by the Government and Māori – that means that Māori must have their own experts from a variety of disciplines who can sit down and engage the Government and agree on a long-term path for Māori people. Now, how would you justify that in the eyes of mainstream New Zealand? Of course, they will say, “Yeah, Māori are cry-babies, always want money,” and so on. Oh no! With convergence, we cannot have society on dual tracks – some people moving on it fast, and others lagging behind – as it is a time bomb. So, one way of justifying it is to promote that it is for the convergence of economic and social conditions of *all* New Zealanders including the Māori and this is the vehicle to achieve it. Of course, you will have to involve the New Zealand private sector and I am told that at least the Māori private sector is quite engaged and committed to the well-being of its own people.

One last point – vulnerable groups. It is urgent that we think about them because they are almost a social threat to the unity of Māori people, even within the Māori communities. The first group is what I call the lower-skilled, community-locked poor: these people have a stagnating income. When people are poor around the world, they tend to have high birth rates. So, in fact, that social segment of the Māori community tends actually to grow faster than those who are affluent because as people get richer they have a lower birth rate. That may cause a problem and somehow it has to be addressed. There are ways of addressing it but we do not have much time to discuss it. Perhaps in the final sessions we can actually do that. Another aspect is that Māori people are actually living longer; therefore, you will have a demographic bulge of elderly people, especially those without families to support them. And somebody will have to support them – if it is not another family it has to be the wider community, the tribe or the Government. This also requires early thinking, because it is very costly to take care of elderly people. You have to start accumulating assets to take care of them at least 15 years *before* they reach that stage where they need help.

Indicators of human and ecosystem health and well-being: in the eye of the beholder

Dr Holly T. Dublin

Chair, Species Survival Commission, IUCN – The World Conservation Union

I particularly welcome the older people here, and the younger people: the older people because they bring us the wisdom and knowledge of the past, and the young people because they must carry on the traditions and cultivate and sculpt the future. In my talk I am trying to bring together those two different but very important parts. So I have called my talk, “Indicators of human and ecosystem health and well-being: in the eye of the beholder”, and I hope you will see why.

Let me start by pointing out that I am restricting the topic, so that if anybody has come expecting me to speak on something in particular and I don't, I apologise in advance. I am restricting my topic to perspectives and means for measuring the health and well-being of humans and biodiversity. In saying that, I am definitely not going to be focusing on economic indicators of success and of access and rights to the benefits from biological diversity. Many of you may be aware that this is a very, very cutting edge area, particularly in the Convention on Biological Diversity and in Articles 8j and 10c, which I am also involved with, but today I choose not to focus there. Also having had Diery here is wonderful because he took over from the economics side, which is great for me.

Assessing our well-being: provisioning, regulating and cultural services

So, what are we talking about when we are assessing well-being? For clarity I have broken it into three different areas. The first is provisioning of ecosystem goods, which includes things like potable water, food for humans, domestic stock and the other things that humans eat, as well as building materials, medicines and ecosystem services. The second is provisioning of ecosystem services. We do not often think about these, but this includes the fixation of nitrogen, which supports our entire biological system, and the regulation of climate, which most of you know is currently in a much disrupted state. The regulation of seasonal flooding is in the papers; the news every single day is that we are losing more and more control over flooding, which is causing more and more poverty and despair. Disease regulation – this is something which perhaps down here in New Zealand you may or may not see as much as we do in Africa – acknowledges that disease has become a part of our day-to-day life. Disease has always been with us but now we have major disease transmissions because of the transience of people, not just locally but globally. Then there are some of the “nicer” ecosystem services that we often do not think about enough – for example, something like pollination. If we do not have pollination of our basic food plants, then we really do not have much hope for the future. Thirdly, in addition to ecosystem goods and services, we have the area of cultural services, or values. These are the values – inspirational, recreational, educational, aesthetic and spiritual – that our biological world brings to us. As a trained biologist, I can say from experience that we sometimes forget these ecosystem values, but these parts are as active a component as the others for our well-being, and it is important to think of cultural services in these terms.

What are the component pieces of our human well-being, then, with the provisioning, the regulation and the cultural aspects all feeding into these very important constituents? They are security, health, basic materials for a good life, good social relations; all of these things contribute to our perception of well-being. Sometimes we don't articulate them or separate them out, but they are all very important to our well-being as people and different components of the biological world help provide them for us. One other important thing to remember is that there can be gender and age differences in terms of how we actually perceive these values and the well-being of humans in biodiversity terms. I deal with many, many different sectors of society and many different age groups, and what I find is that everyone has a slightly different view. I think that this diversity of opinion is very important and this is why I use the

term “the eye of the beholder”, as you need to know where people are coming from in order to understand what they see.

How we view our well-being: the spatial scale

In considering further the concept of “the eye of the beholder”, I have noticed that when we are looking at our well-being it has certain spatial elements to it. Some people think about the very tiny patch of ground on which they live, such as the space around their house. Others think of the bigger properties that they have. Still others consider their well-being in terms of the general vicinity of their home, or within a day’s travel, within several days’ travel, or places where they go as a result of their dependence on the biological world. Sometimes people have to go and stay far from home for a while and then come back. These can be temporary or seasonal relationships with the environment. I have worked with colleagues in communities where people map their sense of well-being in spatial terms. This allows us a view into their very local perspective and to how much of their world they take into their perception; further, this helps us assess whether such groups think of their well-being in terms of goods and services. Sometimes well-being is assessed only on the basis of an area within walking distance from their village.

These things go on, of course, to even greater scales when talking of well-being. Are we thinking of well-being at a national level? At a regional level? Sometimes, in places like Africa, we think at a continental level: How is our well-being on a continental level? Still other people have the responsibility, for better or worse, of thinking about our well-being at a global level. Of course, those global factors are now feeding more and more into our local well-being, so something that happens far away from us may actually have an impact at home. These are the consequences, often negative, of globalisation.

How we view our well-being: the temporal scale

We also have temporal aspects of people’s perceptions of well-being and this is one of the things I find most interesting and a lot of fun when I am working with local communities. Sometimes we are looking at a snapshot in time and we say to ourselves: “What is it like right now? How are we defining our well-being today?” But we also have very different perspectives on that because we like to look over time, asking: “How did we feel about it yesterday and was that different than the way we feel about it today? What about over a week? What about over a month? What happens over a season? Or even longer term – over a year? Over a period of years or decades and from generation to generation?” In the wonderful little sketch below (Figure 1), a community worked together to present a representation of how different resources have been in the past (often long in the past), what they believe them to be now and what they would like them to be in the future. Without much guidance, this sketch was produced in answer to the questions: What would you like more of? What would you like less of? How do you see it all fitting together in the future

I believe that looking at different temporal scales often creates some confusion when sharing ideas. This is because one person may be thinking of today, another may be thinking of tomorrow and someone else may be thinking of their children and their grandchildren so, of course, in the biological world we have very specific ways that we begin to measure these things.

<i>Period</i>	<i>Before mechanization < 1963</i>	<i>Period of mechanization 1963 - 1973</i>	<i>Since droughts (today) 1991</i>	<i>The future</i>
<i>Resource</i>				
<i>Amount of land in fallow</i>				
<i>Amount of cultivated land</i>				
<i>Number of cattle</i>				
<i>Number of sheep/goats</i>				
<i>Density of trees</i>				

Source: Freudenberger, 1994, p. 40

Figure 1: Historical matrix of resources and land use from Ndam Mor Fadamba, Senegal

What we measure when we speak of well-being: local communities

So what do we actually choose to measure when we are talking about well-being? What we smell? What we touch? What we hear? What we see or taste? Different people consider different things when they are thinking about their well-being. Is it about quantity: how much? About quality: how good? About how predictable a desired resource is? About accessibility of a desired resource: is it very easy to access but of quite low value or is it difficult to access but very highly valued, and if it is difficult to access, then why or what is the legality of use? I work in areas where we have some natural resources which have unlimited use, meaning they are in “the commons” and to which everyone has free access. Of course, others are not unlimited and access to their use is limited. Sometimes the limits of use are enforced and sometimes they are not enforced, but I see that people think to themselves, “What do I measure in my well-being that I have unlimited access to or that I am very restricted in my access to?” And such resources then take on different values. But how do we measure these? In my view, there are very different ways of measuring and I am just going to be touching on a few of these.

There are so many different ways that we have been working with communities on their monitoring of their well-being through the resources they depend on. In these cases, the communities decide what resources they feel are important to measure. They then monitor what they think is important over time. It is important that this is not done by someone coming in from the outside and saying what should be monitored; rather it is local people saying, “This is what we think is important and this is what we monitor and how we monitor it.” This may be as simple as knowing how far from home people need to take their livestock for food and water today, compared to how far from home they took them 20 years ago or more. Not surprisingly, as resources are depleted and their state of well-being declines, these distances have become much greater. From this type of Indigenous knowledge, the local people know that their well-being is declining.

What we measure when we speak of well-being: scientific communities

Of course, we scientists have many other ways to do things: we have direct one-off measures; we have repeated measures; we go on and on and on because we are scientists and that is what we love to do! Sometimes we do things remotely, sometimes very remotely. Sometimes we try and measure the whole world and try and tell the global community something meaningful about our world, which most times is probably a bit of a guess. But the fact of the matter is that we do have these different ways of measuring. It is always fascinating and important for me to know where we get convergence of thought between local knowledge and scientific knowledge and where we get divergence of thought. Then, what do we do in those circumstances, especially where differences of perspective need to be reconciled?

My own view is that we should probably be using both methods together – from local and scientific communities about our past, future and current state – at all times. Applying this approach to an example then, at the local level, if you are in, say, a fishing economy, then how do you know that things are going well? Well, you are out there fishing and you know how much effort you are putting in to get the same catch that you got yesterday or last year or a decade ago. Scientists, on the other hand, have many other ways to measure the state of fish resources. They measure the length of fish and they measure their weight and they measure all these things. So, how do the two different ways fit together? This is a really important construct for us because there are times where we don't always get convergence in our different means of measuring. It is these scenarios that are the most complex and confusing.

I am just going to very quickly tell you how we in the IUCN Species Survival Commission are doing some of this work. I was not really planning to talk about my current work but someone asked me yesterday to talk about my work, so let me share a little with you.

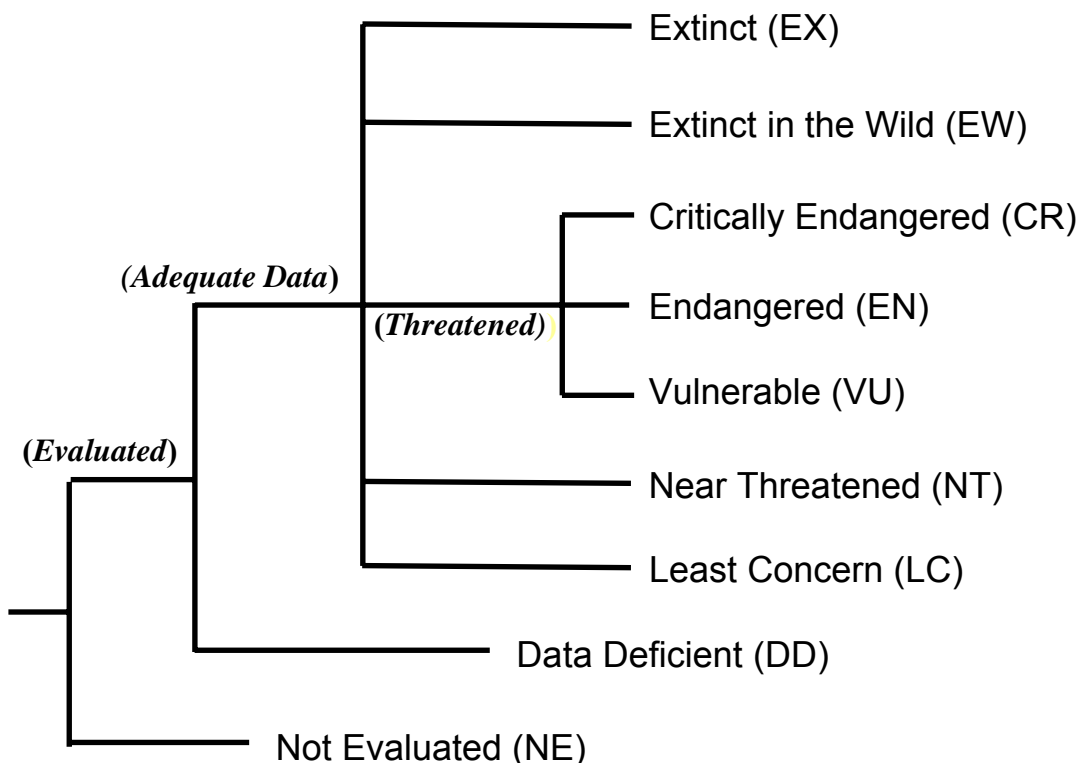


Figure 2: IUCN Red List Categories

In IUCN, we are trying to provide a global index of the status of the world's biological diversity. This is an overly ambitious goal for a large group of volunteers who identify and document those species that are most in need of conservation attention if we are to forestall their extinction. For us, this is everything, from plants to animals, in every context and, of course, most of the species are directly linked to human livelihoods and well-being. Those species that people are relying on, those people that

species' lives depend on are a very, very important focus for us. So we have our own scientific way of doing this, where we categorise the status of species against strict, standardised criteria. This process has been through an extensive peer review, which has resulted in the development of a global standard – the IUCN Red List of Threatened Species. This standard allows consistent comparisons across species, within species in different regions of the world, and across different periods of time. The following lays out the general categories and their application. It is complex but the important thing to note is that the IUCN Red List provides an important tool for the development of indicators of human, species and ecosystem well-being.

We are looking across all these species. We have now assessed about 45,000 species. Of those, 16,000 of them are in the categories related to “Threatened with Extinction”, and there are some pretty frightening figures here. I have not broken it down into groupings of species on which human livelihoods depend, but I can assure you that many of these species are directly related to human health and well-being. So 12 per cent of the world’s birds, 23 per cent of mammals, 32 per cent of amphibians, 25 per cent of the conifers are considered threatened. Possibly the most frightening figure is 56 per cent of endemic freshwater fish in the Mediterranean: these fish are a mainstay of many artisanal fishing communities. These are statistics of global assessments done in a standardised manner showing us that some species are in very, very serious trouble. We have recently started to look at trends over time because, of course, that is what everyone is interested in knowing, namely: are things getting better or worse? The dotted line in Figure 3 shows what we have determined about the bird trends over the past 20 years, while the line of dashes shows trends in the amphibians (e.g. frogs, toads, salamanders and newts). In the last 12 months we learned that frogs, toads, salamanders and newts are in seriously bad shape. From these trends, we can begin to look underneath and ask about the causes that are driving such losses. This is very important if we wish to relieve the pressures leading to these declines.

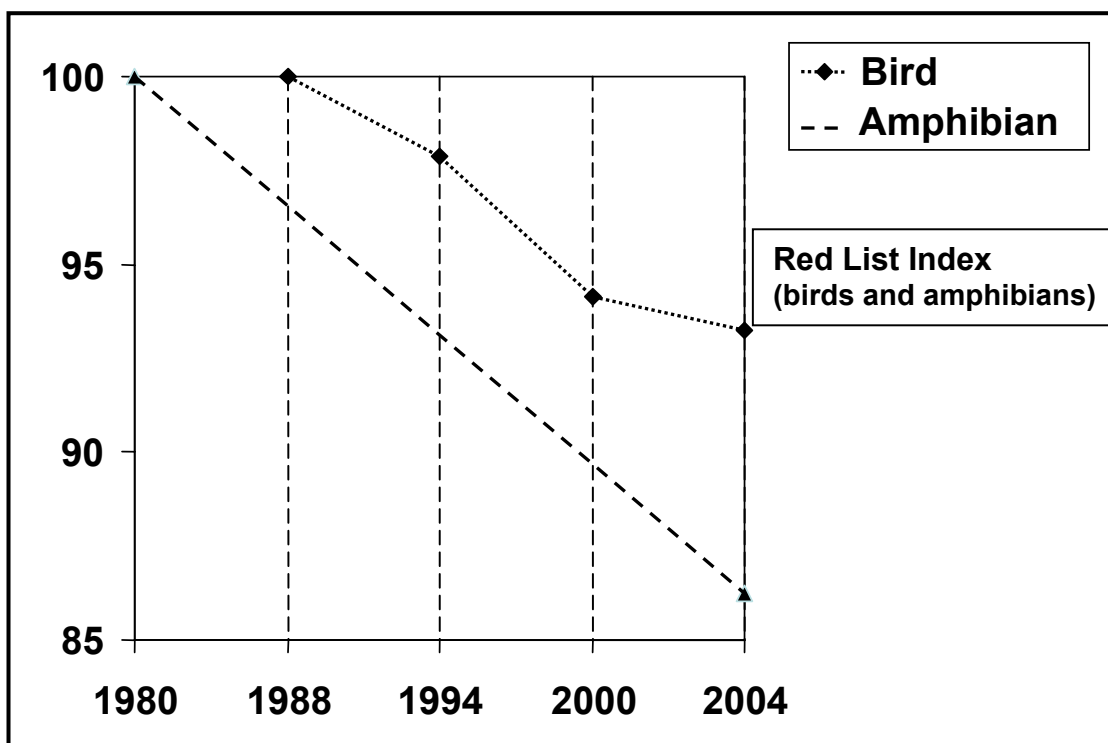


Figure 3: Trends in birds and amphibians as measured by the IUCN Red List Index

You don't need to see the details, all you need to know is that the two graphs tell a rather sad story about birds. Almost all of them are in a worse situation than they were 20 years ago.

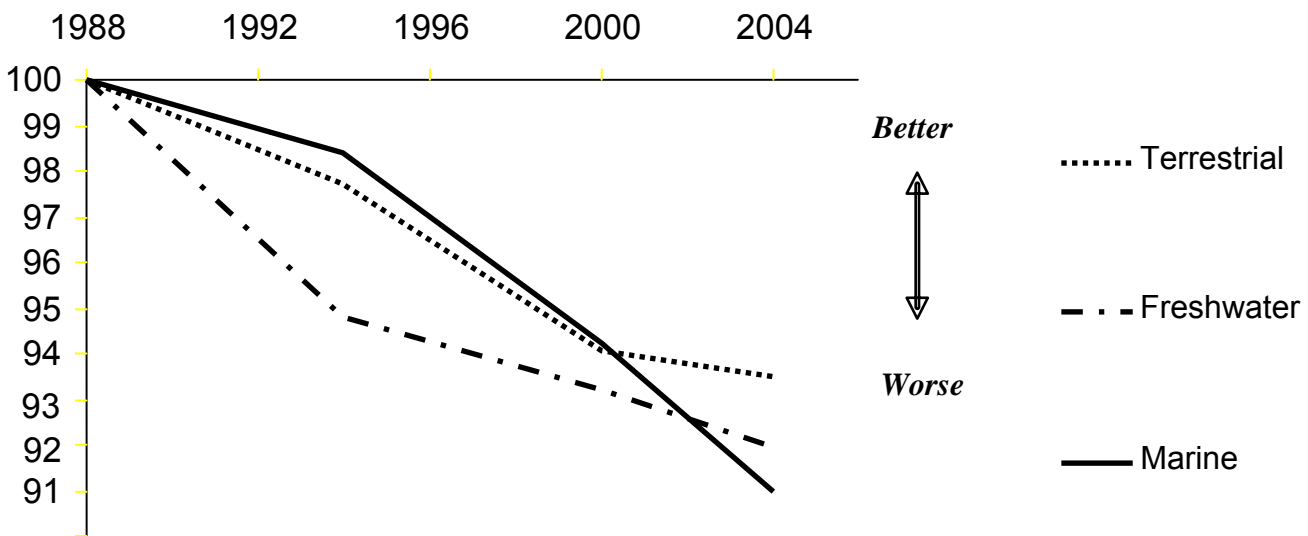


Figure 4: IUCN Red List Index

We are also working on another set of indicators at the moment. I will not go into them in any depth except for the current ones – the Red List Index (for birds, mammals and amphibians), the Sampled Red List Index (for samples across the taxa of plants and animals), another set of indicators measuring the sustainable use of species and ecosystems, and another indicator specifically on a group of factors around the impact of alien invasive species. We have many colleagues here in New Zealand who are working on invasive species. In the future we will be adding to our indicator work to include indicators measuring the impacts of climate change, emerging diseases and human-wildlife conflict (which probably isn't as big an issue in New Zealand as it is in other parts of the world, such as Africa and Asia). As you saw in part of my biography, I have worked with elephants for many years of my life and I can assure you that there is plenty of conflict between people and elephants.

Importantly, our work allows us to examine the most important threats or causes of the declines in species. Having this knowledge provides us with the necessary background from which to design specific conservation actions; these are aimed at reducing threats such as habitat loss, overexploitation, impacts from alien invasive species or even the impacts of environmental pollution.

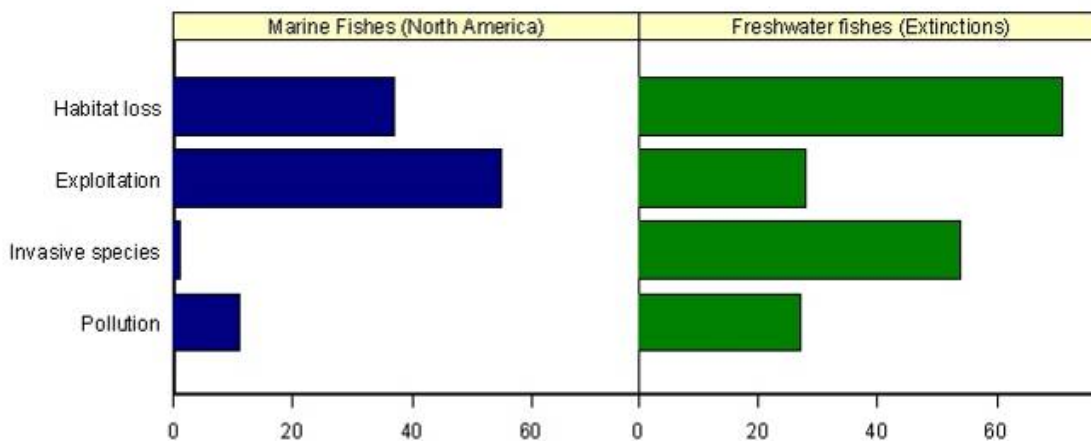


Figure 5: Causes of declines in marine and freshwater fish species

Who is doing the measuring and what are they measuring: the role of the beholder

When we begin looking at these different indicators – those from local knowledge and those from scientific assessments – interesting dichotomies/problems can arise. For example, the use of birds might be for food, for sale into the pet trade, or for colourful feathers used in ceremonial purposes, all of which can benefit local people through income or a sense of spiritual well-being. We are all completely convinced of this but when we look at it from the other side (the status of the species being used), we find that in many parts of the world these same species of birds are in massive decline. Sometimes there are linkages to overexploitation by local communities, sometimes there are not, but the sad part of it is that oftentimes people are measuring different things and thus cannot compare or reconcile these two measures.

Another example comes from Eastern Africa where the introduction of an alien invasive fish, the Nile perch, to local freshwater lakes has led to the incredible provision of food for local consumption and for export. The export to Europe of Nile perch from Lake Victoria has been vast. Unfortunately, there is another set of problems associated with the introduction and growth of this exotic species, namely that hundreds and hundreds of endemic species of a group called cichlids are going extinct now and have gone extinct within Lake Victoria. So in this case, we have two totally different answers and, again, the answers depend on who is doing the measuring and what is being measured.

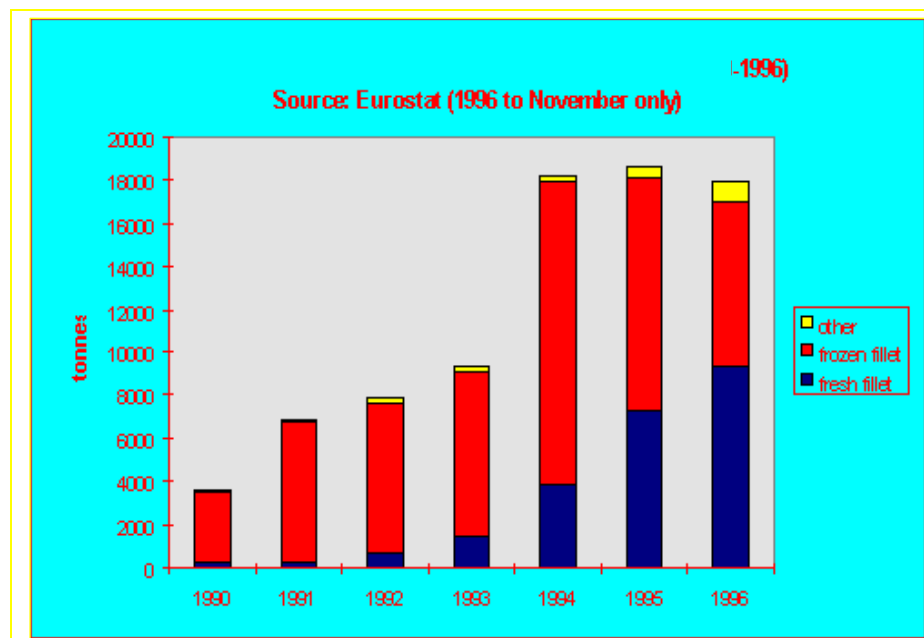


Figure 6: EU imports of Nile perch from Lake Victoria (1990–1996)

In yet another situation, the intensified husbanding of poultry and livestock provides tremendous food and income for local communities, but there are flip sides to such agricultural or pastoral practices. We are now seeing this with the recent bird flu scare: in their haste to control the situation, some management authorities believe that all the migratory wild birds should be destroyed in order to try and prevent spread of the disease, even though there has been no confirmed link made between the transmission of the disease through domestic birds and the transmission of the disease by wild birds. One of the worrying secondary effects, then, is the potential damage to some wild bird populations as a result of thinking only about one side of the coin.

In another example, problems have arisen where there have been very big build-ups of livestock and, subsequently, very big livelihoods coming from the sale, transfer and slaughter of wild livestock and use of these products. Originally all looks very positive for the local people but over time the build-up of livestock begins to devastate the land on which they are living.



Figure 7: Land degradation means cattle herds must forage further afield for fewer resources

In addition to this, in some places, this land degradation has allowed the invasion of exotic species, such as the *Opuntia* cactus, which has spread without limits and invaded many pastoral lands in Africa. Its presence will lead to declines in livestock and, subsequently, local livelihoods and well-being.



Figure 8: Exotic species such as the *Opuntia* cactus invade degraded land, reducing edible forage for livestock

Can we gain benefits for both people and biodiversity?

But there is a potential flipside to this, where both people and biodiversity can benefit. Some conservationists spend their energies in trying to find new areas that can be set up as protected areas; areas with a hard boundary, with a surrounding fence, and with armed people inside to “guard” them. Some of these areas will, indeed, serve the role of protecting species and ecosystems. However, many of us know that establishing protected areas does not always benefit local people. When we are trying to look further into the future, we worry that in the long term these protected areas may not be terribly beneficial because they can create conflict between the needs of local people and the needs of other species. Some areas, where people perhaps previously had access to food and fuel, can become restricted and this creates instability and unsustainable futures. In an effort to look for “win-win” situations, our work is now taken up with what we refer to in the African context as “collaborative management” efforts. I think, as my colleague Diery pointed out in his presentation, that you can have collaborative economic management, you can also have collaborative biological management. I also think that most of us, or most of the colleagues that I work with, are trying to get to a situation where less and less force is used to keep local people out of protected areas. At the same time, there needs to be more attempts to find out what local communities need access to and what they need to be able to use. In conjunction with this we will need systems of accountability, systems of monitoring, systems in which there are benefits for both biodiversity and human well-being. Achieving a shared vision is a pretty important part of success.

Here is another interesting example, and I added this because people told me they were upset to learn that I was not planning to talk about elephants. Some countries in Africa have experienced significant increases in elephant populations over the past decade or so. While not everyone in Africa thinks this is a positive sign for biodiversity, some of the governments feel that these growing elephant populations are a sign of recovery from years and years of illegal ivory use. In one country in southern Africa, Botswana, there are now 150,000 elephants; these numbers having recovered from almost none at the turn of the 20th century. On the one hand, this has been a major conservation success story but, on the other hand, I also spend a lot of time working with people who are impacted negatively by growing

elephant numbers. I am just going to unpack it a little bit because I think people really might not quite understand. It is really difficult to live with elephants and they tend to like the places that people like, so as both human and elephant populations continue to grow, a series of problems is put in motion.



Figure 9: Humans and elephants do not always comfortably co-exist

Of course, if you are an elephant where you can eat virtually everything, you also like to have particularly delicious foods, much like us going to the sweet shop. So when local communities plant maize or cassava – something really nice – why in the world would an elephant prefer to be eating something that is full of fibres and other awful things? Not surprisingly, elephants prefer food crops and therein lies the problem. So as human populations are expanding and elephant populations live where they do, the conflict begins. These are not trivial conflicts and potentially there are heavy impacts on human livelihoods; therefore we must look for solutions in order for both elephants and people to thrive. There are places where you can find mutual benefit and there are places you cannot. Most local communities say, “We love these elephants.” I think many of you here would appreciate that these communities have taboos, totems and legends involving elephants – elephants are a deep part of their spiritual and cultural heritage. It is just that they do not really want to share their backyards and crops with them! I am quite sure you would not either.

Bringing it all together: traditional knowledge and science for the good of ecosystem and human well-being

My bottom line is that in the long term our well-being will depend on benefits to both local communities and biodiversity. We should not be looking for situations where we have to compromise everything and be left with no benefits for either side. There will be compromises, but we should be looking at where we might obtain mutual benefits because mutual benefits always bring trust. In my view we have to strike a balance.

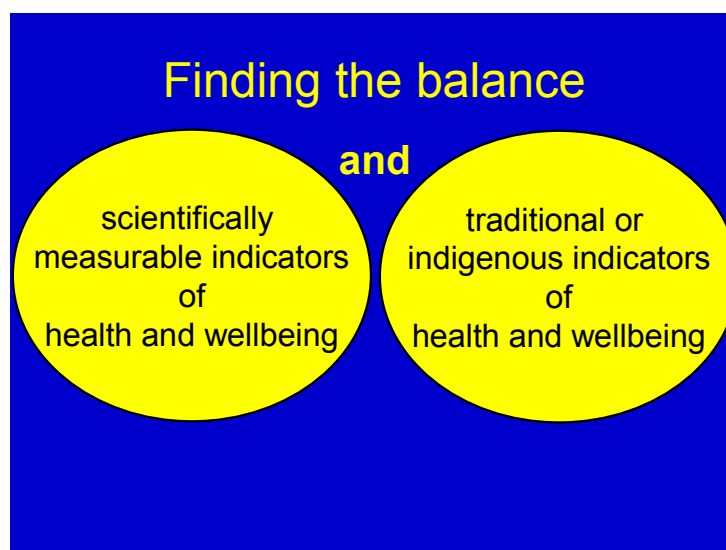


Figure 10: Balancing scientific and indigenous knowledge of ecosystem health and human well-being

We have to strike a balance between, on the one hand, scientifically measurable indicators and, on the other hand, those indicators which come from the knowledge and perceptions of Indigenous people and local communities. The scientific indicators will be developed because most of the world's nations have signed up to the Convention on Biological Diversity. Thus these nations are committed to delivering the indicators that measure their progress towards agreed-upon targets by 2010. But progress on the others is slower. Some of us are encouraging countries to pay attention to traditional and Indigenous indicators of well-being as these have the potential to provide us with powerful signals about the state of global health.

As I said earlier in my talk, when discussing relevant time scales, when communities say they have noticed an important change between last week and this week, it is likely that something is going wrong. So, a community living in a particular area that observes changes with negative impacts on livelihoods and well-being deserves to be given credence. Sometimes we scientists have not noticed important changes because we are operating at a completely different level when we try and do our assessments. For example, we have discovered from the scientific side that what is measured locally is not easy to extrapolate to a higher level. There are problems of scaling. So, adding a measure of well-being taken at one local situation onto another local situation and then another is still not likely to provide a picture of well-being at the national level. Or adding a measure of well-being at the national level in one country onto another country and another will not give you a continental view of well-being, or when you add all these continental views together, you will not get a measure of global well-being. While most scientists would love for the measurement of human and ecosystem well-being to be easily scalable, the problem is it just does not work that way. Our understanding of well-being for humans or for biodiversity is a complex collage of many different measures.

Remember that when trying to assess the health and well-being of our world, there is a very important concept that should always be kept in mind: Not all that can be measured is important and not all that is important can be measured. In other words, let those scientists go out, waste a lot of time and try to measure everything. In the end they will find that much of it just is not important and not everything that is important can be measured. Some of the really important things that you have in your heart, that you have in your mind, that you have in your memory, that you have in your future, that bring you a sense of well-being will never be “measured” by anyone. They may never be measurable, but people like yourselves will know that they exist, and will know their importance. These are the things that we must find ways to explain and express.

I leave you with my current vision of this and it is something that I am grappling with in my own day-to-day life. Our current assessments of human and ecosystem well-being are still divided because “the eye of the beholder” keeps them apart. I think that we must bring into focus a shared vision because if we don't we will always divide the biological world from people. And this is a dangerous division because of the clear interdependence of people on biodiversity. We need to find a way to measure our progress and our digressions when it comes to both the protection and the restoration of the ecosystems upon which we depend.

I spent last Sunday with a wonderful young woman in a wonderful Māori community. She was working on restoration of the biodiversity of former Māori lands that have been recently reclaimed. It was a short period of time, but I felt I had found a kindred soul here in New Zealand from my first day. She felt, and I agree, that restoring our ecosystems may be the key to restoring our well-being. We need to redress some of the negative things we have done to our environment if we want it to provide for our health and well-being in the years to come.

I will end by saying “asante sana” in the Swahili language which I grew up with, “enkosi”, which is “thank you” in one of the languages of my new home in South Africa and “thank you” in English.

Facilitator 2: Moana Jackson
Rongomaiwahine, Ngāti Kahungunu and Ngāti Porou tribes of Aotearoa (NZ)
Lawyer and advocate for Maori and indigenous peoples' rights

It is an honour and a privilege to be here and particularly to be asked to chair this session to begin this day. When I came in here I was a little nervous but trying to look all serious and chairman-like and suddenly I heard this “ehhhhhh”, coming from all these women here from Wanganui, so I gathered up my dignity and walked down to greet them and still try to look dignified and then I heard another “ehhhhhh” – it was my aunties from home, and so I’ll throw away the dignity and just be me.

The two speakers for this morning’s main session bring to us not only a wealth of knowledge – both traditional and contemporary knowledge – but they also bring what for me is the important base of any knowledge and that is experience, because it seems to me that knowledge without experience can often be a dangerous thing and that what experience can hopefully give is insight and wisdom and ways to use the knowledge that one gains. What I hope this conference will achieve, and what I hope that you will all take away from the conference, is not just some new knowledge, but also some wisdom as to how that knowledge might be used for the betterment of your people and indeed for our people.

I was told when I was first asked to take part as the organiser of this particular session that there would be strict time limits and I was a bit worried about that. Some of you will know on my father’s side that I am Ngāti Porou and on my mother’s side I am Kahungunu, so I have in my *whakapapa* (genealogy) the two noble lines of Māori-dom. But setting a time of only ten minutes? I mean, my Ngāti Porou side is just getting warmed up in ten minutes. So I’ll take my Kahungunu humble, quiet side and fit within the time limit.

Before talking a little bit about that nexus or that connection between wisdom, knowledge and experience, I would just like to acknowledge the organisers of the conference: Linda and all the others in Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga whose initiative and courage in terms of intellectual, Indigenous intellectual traditions is admired, not just here at home, but around the world. In Ngāti Kahungunu, one of the first sites of a *whare wānanga* (traditional house of higher learning) is located on a little island called Waikawa that the colonisers, as they were wont to do, renamed Portland Island after some obscure, third-rate colonial secretary in London who ended up in prison for fraud, so I refuse to call it by its Pākehā name. Waikawa is a tiny island and it is a place where one of our *tīpuna* (ancestors) established one of the first schools of higher learning. The students were taken to the *wānanga* (learning place) on this little island and the landing place where they brought their *waka* (canoes), before they began their learning, has a rock which is called *Whai Whakaaro* which means “to follow the thought”. And it seemed to me to be a particularly apt name for a landing place at the site of the school of higher learning because what one needs to do, perhaps more so now in the history of Indigenous peoples than in the past, is to follow the thought which is ours: to follow the Māori thought, to follow whatever thought is yours; because it is by following our own wisdom that we will adapt and find the answers to the problems that beset our people today. There are two difficulties, of course, in trying to follow the lines of thought that were first set in place by our ancestors.

The first is the common view adopted by many non-Indigenous peoples that Indigenous peoples had no thoughts that are worth worrying about, so there is nothing to follow. There was a philosopher in this country, who now holds a high position in a university here, who apparently regularly gives lectures on the subject that there is no such thing as Māori philosophy and science. He refers instead to Māori “perspectives”, and I am sure that other Indigenous peoples confront similar attitudes and ignorance. But, of course, we do have deep, long-lasting bodies of knowledge and those bodies of knowledge are constantly changing and adapting to meet new circumstances in order to help our people confront new issues. What does not change, I think, within what I have the temerity to call “Indigenous intellectual traditions”, is that experience which breeds the wisdom from the knowledge, so for hundreds of years Indigenous peoples around the world have had to live through the experience of being dispossessed in colonisation. That has had a profound effect on our world, on our knowledge, and how we have learned to view that knowledge. But part of that experience, of course, has been a history of struggle, and being

here today and during the course of this conference is, to me, another part of that struggle. It is a quiet yet firm way of Indigenous peoples around the world saying, “We are still here, we are still thinking and we are still resisting.” I would hope that as we learn new knowledge and as we investigate new areas, we will take that experience and the wisdom of struggle into the new learning that we seek to acquire; and that we will follow the thought which keeps us true to the wisdom, to the *tikanga* (customs and practices), of our old people because, as I am sure many speakers have talked about in the course of this conference, one of the many commonalities among the differences between Indigenous peoples around the world is that reverence for the relationships of *whakapapa*, of kin and of acknowledgement of our ancestors, and the belief that they walk with us and that the past is always with us, is not a bind which traps us in some fossilised history, but a stimulus to use that history to explore new and exciting things.

I remember when I went to my very first Indigenous peoples’ conference overseas – I had the usual stereotypes about Indigenous peoples, that they would all be beautiful and golden brown like Māori – and I got there and saw these blond-haired, blue-eyed people and I thought to myself, “What are these Pākehā doing at an Indigenous peoples conference?” I then learned, of course, that they were the Sámi people from northern Scandinavia and that Indigenous peoples come in all shapes and sizes and colours and with different experiences. All have developed unique and different histories and cultures but share those basic commonalities. The most common experience/history in the last few hundred years has been the threat of dispossession brought upon Indigenous peoples by countries from elsewhere in the world.

With Erykah and Karina this morning we are going to be able to share experiences from two different parts of the Indigenous world. Erykah is the Mayor of Palm Island off the coast of Queensland. When I saw that Erykah was going to be one of the speakers, I was delighted because one of my brothers has taught at the school on Palm Island for about 20 years and I was sure that Erykah would have heard of him and he would have heard of her and so I’m delighted that she is able to come and share some of the struggle and the knowledge which comes out of that struggle of the people on that island. Karina comes from across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, in what people call the United States of America and others call Turtle Island, and she brings too, from her people in Oklahoma, equally unique traditions and histories as well as those commonalities of learning needed to uncover the politics of knowledge and the knowledge of politics. So I’m honoured and privileged to be able to share this platform briefly with them this morning.

Erykah, I’m sure many of the people here are aware of the particular struggles that your people have waged and the resistance you still mount and we give you our support and our *aroha* (love) for that. I would like to just pick up on one point which Erykah made, and that was the notion of Corrective Services in Australia and what we call the Department of Corrections here. I am always fascinated by the words that the colonisers choose to use and so, as I mentioned earlier, the philosophy professor here who talks about a lack of Māori philosophy and says instead we only have perspectives, obviously is not aware of one of our great orators and a leader in many ways from several years ago, a man called Hōhua Tūtengaehe. I’m sure most of you will know, certainly the Māori people will, that he always used to complain bitterly about the notion of a Māori perspective. He called it window-dressing on an idea, the truth of which had already been set in concrete – and he much preferred the words “*mahi whakaaro*” to explain what he understood to be ‘the Māori view of things’ rather than a “perspective”, because a Māori perspective – and I would hazard a guess that this holds for the perspectives of other Indigenous peoples – is often a sort of clip-on postscript to what the colonisers decide is the ultimate truth. It seems to me that “Corrective Services”, or as in New Zealand the “Department of Corrections”, is another use of one of those words/terms that hide what the process actually does, which is to incarcerate our people in order to exercise yet another form of control. It saddened me that a month or so ago – some of you may have seen this – the Government issued through its Department of Corrections the latest prison population projections. And if those projections are proved correct, in five years’ time Māori people will have the dubious distinction of being, per head of population, the most imprisoned people in the world. We will surpass other peoples in the United States, in Australia and so on and have that dubious honour. Apart from our Māori media, no-one else in the country seemed to think that this issue is worth commenting on, or was worth raising concerns about. And yet to look at that figure in its stark reality imposes all sorts of, or raises all sorts of, I believe, rather scary

implications for our people and it sits us firmly in the appalling incarceration rates of other Indigenous peoples around the world. So, “Corrective Services and Corrections” is really a euphemism for something far more deadly and far more serious. To raise concerns about them is not to excuse the behaviour of some of our young people who are incarcerated, but it is at least to begin to follow the thought, to think why those things might be happening. So thank you, Erykah, for alluding to that.

I know that Karina Walters had the pleasure of spending some days with the people in Wanganui whom I have also had the pleasure of working with over the years. I can understand why she had such an enjoyable time here and once she has spoken I am sure you will all understand why the people of Wanganui do not want to let her go home. I welcome our next keynote speaker, Karina Walters.

Indigenous perspectives in survey research: conceptualising and measuring historical trauma, microaggressions, and colonial trauma response

Professor Karina Walters

The Institute for Indigenous Wellness Research
University of Washington School of Social Work

Halito, sa hochifo vt Karina Walters, micha Chata hsia hoke. (Hello, my name is Karina Walters and I am Choctaw). I'd like to start by paying my respects to the indigenous peoples of this land and I'd like to pay my respects to all the elders who are here, Erica and Auntie Paea and all of the beautiful ladies from Wanganui who kept me in line and brought me down here; and also I'd like to pay my respects to Professor Linda Smith and the folks at Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga. It's a real honour and privilege to be here today.

I'm going to talk a little bit about some of the work that we're doing, actually, work that we have completed in New York City. A lot of people don't know that New York City has the largest urban American Indian population in all of the United States, so today I'll talk a little bit about the research we conducted in New York City.

I want to tell you a little bit about my background to make sense of some of the work that I'm going to share with you today. When I graduated with my doctorate I moved to New York City and within two weeks of being in New York City, what we call the "moccasin telegraph" (our informal network of Native communication) spread the news quickly that a Native researcher was in town. As a result, I was called by the Mohawk elder to come and see her, and so I went to the American Indian Community House in New York city and she sat me down and she said "tell me a little bit about the work that you could do." So I said, "Well, in my background I used to be a psychotherapist and now I do mental health research and I'd be happy to help you however I could." She said, "Great, I need you to do an HIV needs assessment for us," and I said, "Well, I don't know a lot about that kind of research," and she said, "Well, I'm not really asking you," implying that she was telling me, only as an elder can truly convey. So that's how I got into HIV prevention research with Native communities.

I was born and raised in urban settings and I am an example of that diversity. I am enrolled in one tribe, the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma but also have flowing through my veins other tribal ties to the Alabama Choctaw, Cherokee, and Seminole. Being born into interracial and intertribal marriages is not uncommon in the cities. Overall, as indigenous peoples living within the borders of the U.S. we are incredibly culturally and tribally diverse. We have 561 federally recognised tribes, with over 200 different languages still spoken and several hundred other tribes that are not federally recognised but state recognised. A discussion of "federal recognition" is a long colonial story and process but we do not have time to go into it at the moment. Suffice it to say that we are incredibly tribally diverse. New York City has well over a hundred tribal representations in that city alone and so trying to create a research agenda that cuts across tribal boundaries, different languages, different cultures is quite a task. To address this diversity head-on, we met and collaborated with the community there, which I will address in more detail, momentarily.

Focusing on indigenous populations in urban settings is important work because 70 per cent of our people now live in cities. Living in urban settings means that a lot of people are not getting the health care that they need because a lot of our health care is tied to living on or near our reservation or travel jurisdiction lands, so people wait until they get really sick before they get help.

In New York City, because that's the HIV epicentre for the whole country, our community has been hit hard; yet, we didn't know the extent of the HIV issues or the problems. Some of the key issues that the

elders of the community asked us to pay attention to included identifying some of the root causes of HIV risk-taking behaviours. So, we went out and we met with the community and we talked about the role of historical trauma – which I’m going to talk a little bit about today and the role of discrimination. Then we talked about culturally specific manifestations of that kind of historical trauma experience. So half of my talk is going to be about the culturally specific meanings and manifestations of historical trauma and discrimination and the other half will focus on our findings. This focus is important (Figure 1). It is critical that before we can get to identifying resiliency, wellness, and the cultural protective factors that a community holds so dear and near to their hearts – especially around traditionalism, spirituality, traditional health and healing practices, we first need to get a better understanding of the traumatic stressors that place our wellness at risk, or that invoke culturally protective mechanisms into action.

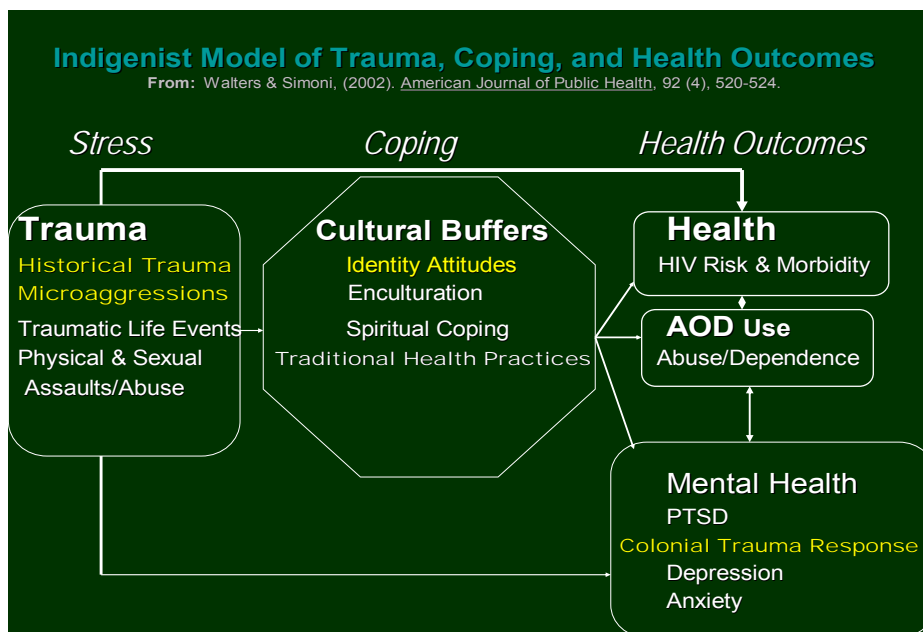


Figure 1

The community members wanted to know what we are protecting against: how we have thrived and survived despite traumas, especially historical traumas. The community also wanted to get a clearer idea of how cultural processes and traditions buffers the effect of traumas on our wellness so that we can develop interventions on our cultural strengths to protect our future generations. The other reason we wanted to look at this is because not everybody who’s been exposed to historically traumatic events does poorly. Consequently, what we wanted to see was who was doing well despite being exposed to high levels of trauma; and how we can build our community, how we can build our services around those culturally protective aspects of wellness in our community. So that’s where we started this HIV prevention project. I’m going to share with you how we translated these cultural concepts into useable measures for research and then I will share a little of the preliminary data from this study with you today.

We held three focus groups. Firstly though, I want to make sure we’re on the same page in terms of terminology. When I’m talking about historical trauma, what we mean by that is the collective and cumulative emotional wounding across generations that results from massive cataclysmic events (Figure 2). We’re not talking natural disaster. We’re talking about colonisation: man-made attempts to destroy people. It’s targeted at a collective. We experience it on a collective level. Even though we also experience it as individuals, we simultaneously experience it on a collective level. We talk about how this trauma can be held personally and passed on through the generations. Even family members who have never ever experienced that historical trauma may still have some of the symptoms related to that traumatic experience that was maybe three generations old.

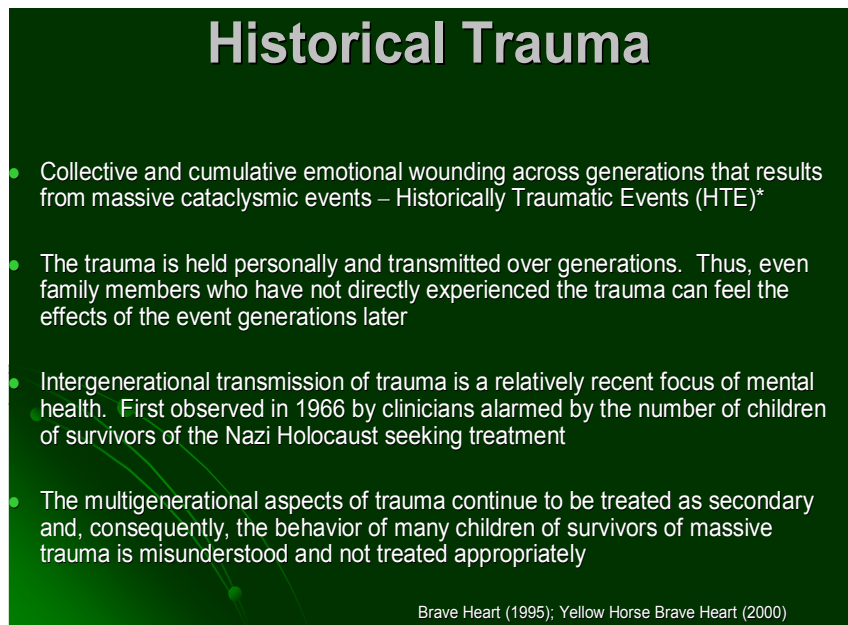


Figure 2

Scientists will ask if there is any evidence for this. Actually, it's mixed. There is some evidence primarily found in the holocaust literature and in the Japanese internment literature in the United States. Basically, to highlight just one piece of evidence which I think is very interesting for indigenous people – and I'm sure you will reflect on that for your own communities as well – is that when they looked at children of holocaust survivors, Jewish holocaust survivors and compared them to children of non-holocaust Jewish children, there were no differences in terms of baseline mental health. No differences, until you introduce a stressor. Once a stressor is introduced, the children of the holocaust survivors exhibited more of what we call sub-threshold post traumatic stress disorder, or PTSD, than the non-holocaust survivor Jewish children. So what does that mean, what does that suggest? It suggests that maybe some of us and some of our communities who get hit really hard with multiple traumatic events – not just one event, but multiple events over generations – might have a stress vulnerability that we need to be paying attention to. It doesn't mean that because we might have that vulnerability, that we're going to have difficulty. This is where the cultural protective factors come into play. For some or many, cultural protective factors buffer the negative effects of traumatic events on our wellness.

Part of the difficulty is that these multi-generational aspects of trauma continue to be treated as secondary in the treatment paradigms out there, and the behaviour of many of the children of survivors of multi-trauma tends to be misunderstood. They're pathologised. For Native Peoples, we're blamed; we get pathologised for having natural reactions to unnatural conditions.

There are many research issues associated with differences in how we talk about "historical trauma" (Figure 3, on next page). In our communities we talk about historical trauma as a causal factor, causing some of the issues that we deal with and that's through primarily looking at or examining "historically traumatic events". In other instances, we talk about "historical trauma as an outcome" in terms of having "historically traumatic response profiles" and experiences. We also talk about "historical trauma as a potential pathway". For example, how is historical trauma transmitted through generations? Some of the Jewish holocaust literature suggests that sometimes there are people who are identified as the "memorial candles": they're bearers of that knowledge to be passed on from generation to generation. Finally, when we talk about historical trauma, we also are talking about "historical trauma related factors" such as unresolved grief and loss, a sense of collective mourning when people haven't had an opportunity to do proper funerary rites or proper mourning rites. For example, if a community was devastated by a flood because the federal government decided to build a dam there and then they had to get relocated – which is another trauma – and they move to a new community where they don't know the medicines and the plants – thus another trauma – so unresolved grief and mourning is a historical trauma related factor due to the cumulative events to which we have been exposed.

HT Issues in Research

- HT as an etiological factor or causal agent
 - E.g., Historically traumatic events
- HT as an outcome
 - E.g., Historical trauma response (or CTR)
- HT as a mechanism or pathway
 - e.g., storytelling in families
- HT related factors
 - E.g., historical trauma loss

Figure 3

So how did we create the measures? We had focus groups in our community and we were talking about this notion of post traumatic stress disorder because it is starting to be used a lot in our communities and so our elders said, "What do you really mean by that?" One person stood up and said, "You know we're not 'post' anything. We're still dealing with trauma every single day. How about colonial trauma response or colonial stress syndrome?" and we shied away from calling it a syndrome because again it could pathologise us and rather talked about it being a colonial trauma response.

For those of you who are researchers, we did the synetics technique, for those of you who aren't into research, it really just means we brainstormed. So I'm going to share with you some fairly disturbing pictures because I think pictures actually tell the story better than my words could. These are some of the historically traumatic themes that came up by the group and of course the first theme that came up was genocide: the systematic destruction of a people.

Again, because we're dealing with hundreds of different tribes sitting at a table and having to answer this questionnaire, we were burdened with coming up with items that everybody could relate to. For example, being forcibly relocated removed from your tribal lands: that would be an item that Navaho could answer, Cherokee could answer, a Choctaw could answer, just about every tribe that ever lived east of the Mississippi could answer. We started saying, "Well, tell us a little bit. What are these historically traumatic events? What do you think about when you think of these things?" People talked about the trail of tears; they talked about smallpox-infected blankets given to the people. They talked about the massacres that occurred. Actually, in the United States, if you ask under which president were the most massacres – in the 1800s that is – under which president's administration did the most massacres occur? Most people say Andrew Jackson. It was actually Abraham Lincoln. Interesting huh?

Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne & Arapahos

- Kill and scalp all, little and big...nits make lice." –Colonel John Chivington
- "Of from five to six hundred souls [who were killed], the majority of which were women and children...[they] cut out woman's private parts and had them for exhibition on a stick...[there] were numerous instances in which men had cut out the private parts of females and stretched them over the saddle bows and wore them over hats while riding in the ranks..."
 - ----Lieutenant from the New Mexico Volunteer Cavalry in Testimony to Congress




Figure 4

Part of the historical trauma for the indigenous communities is they are still living in an area that people call “battlefields” and you have tourists who come out every year to see these re-enactments of battles which were in fact actual massacres. An example is at Sand Creek (Figure 4) under Colonel John Chivington, who was a former Methodist minister. In those days, in the 1860s, there were volunteer cavalry who were allowed 100-day tours of duty where they would go and kill as many “hostile” Indians as they could. Chivington basically invaded a peaceful camp that had a white flag flying over it and they were actually under the protection of the United States Government at the time they were attacked.

The Wounded Knee massacre (Figure 5) was in the 1890s among the Lakota people and this is particularly salient because this is a similar parallel issue we see that the holocaust survivors have – this issue of mass graves and improper burial of their relatives and people not being able to properly mourn and prepare the dead. For me as a Choctaw, my great-great-grandmother died along the trail of tears, she’s somewhere on the trail. Following the outright massacre period, we have the reservation and allotment periods.



Figure 5

Environmental trauma also needs to be considered. Historical trauma doesn’t mean trauma to the person; it includes also environmental traumas: trauma to the land, trauma to the environment. A lot of times non-indigenous persons assume historical trauma means trauma on people – well, it doesn’t. In fact, historical trauma on the environment impacts directly on the People from an indigenous perspective. Of course as indigenous people that makes total sense, right? Historical trauma doesn’t mean it had to happen 500 years ago. It could have happened last week. If you had nuclear testing on your indigenous lands, that is a historical trauma. That is the case for the Shoshone People right now. Nuclear bombs are still being tested on their lands.

For many of the Northern Plains people a big historical trauma on their environment was the killing of the buffalo (Figure 6). This is actually really important because in terms of colonial practices and historical trauma, some of these folks who did these practices were smart. They really knew how to get at the heart of the people. If I talk to a non-Native audience, a lot of the times they think the trauma is that their subsistence living was attacked by this attack, by getting rid of the buffalo. They think the food source was gone. That’s not it. The issue is – and General Sheridan said it – he said the way to kill the Sioux is to kill the buffalo. The reason is that if you kill the buffalo, you’re interrupting a People’s ability to fulfil their Original Instructions given to them by the creator. So when we’re talking historical trauma we’re talking also of spiritual trauma and that’s the core: the spiritual trauma, or soul wounding. The elders talk about this as a spirit wounding or, as Duran and Duran or Yellowhorse Braveheart state, as a “soul wound”.

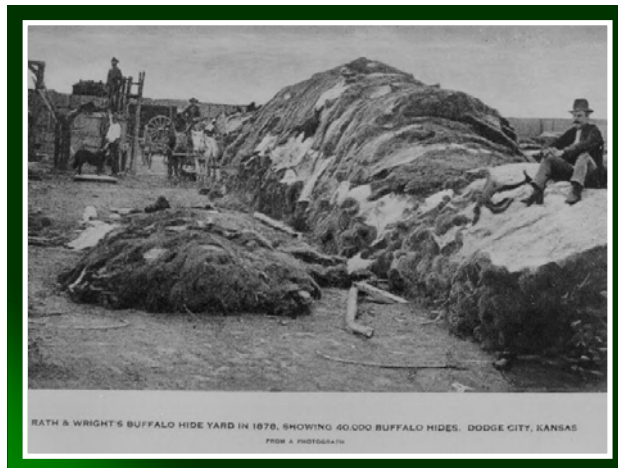


Figure 6

The worst of it happened through the late 1880s to the 1930s, though much of the devastation continued through the 1950s with the boarding school period (Figures 7-9). Of course, this is a period of intense ethnocide, a form of genocide: the systematic destruction of culture and life ways. This was run by General Pratt, who used to be head of prisoners of war prior to his position of being in charge of Indian education. Youth were forcibly relocated and put into these schools.

Boarding School Period

- 1880s – 1930s: During this time, thousands of Native children were forcefully removed from their families and placed in Indian boarding schools.
- The mission of the boarding schools was to assimilate Native children into mainstream culture. Tribes were effectively stripped of their right to raise their children.
- The children were forced to learn English, cut their hair, and were not allowed to practice traditional ways. Many children were abused and neglected in these settings.

Figure 7



Figure 8

Figure 9 shows a young Navajo man on his first day at Carlisle Indian school in Pennsylvania and then him three years later.



Figure 9

In terms of HIV research people might ask, “How does this connect?” Well, you know, kids in these schools suffered some incredibly high rates of physical and sexual abuse. They didn’t have access to their traditional stories about traditional ways of relating to the land, the earth, to each other. Traditional stories tell us about sexuality and how to express our sexuality in healthy ways for the People. Lack of

exposure to traditional forms of sexual and gender expression, especially the fluidity and diversity of expression, coupled with intense Christianisation and exposure to physical and sexual abuse, left many of our elders lacking in traditional knowledges relating to discussing sexuality, sexual or reproductive health. The abuse left us vulnerable to high levels of risk behaviours that we know are associated with abusive histories, such as alcohol and drug use, which are also associated with high risk sexual behaviours.

These young children were also exposed to severe military-style living, and intense socialisation to U.S. forms of living and of course this means spiritual trauma. A lot of people don't know that at the same time the boarding school started we had our spiritual practices outlawed (Figures 10 & 11). You could be fined, you could be put in prison for up to six months if you were caught dancing or practising Indian spirituality. So part of the boarding school focus was to Christianise as quickly as possible. The whole issue about the sexual abuse with the priests that is going on around the world right now: our community said that this is old news. They did not send their best priests to us. Quite often they sent their priests that they were trying to hide away because of the problems they were having. So our kids in some communities, particularly in Canada, have rates of sexual abuse exposure by priests, as high as 90 per cent.

Spiritual Trauma

- ✦ 500 years of conversion practices to eradicate Native religious practices and ceremonies
- ✦ In 1883 the Court of Indian Offenses prohibited ceremonial practices and enforced Christianity on Indian populations
- ✦ By 1892 this policy was expanded to include prohibition of dances, use of traditional medicines, ceremonies, healing practices, and funerary rites
- ✦ Violations were met with withholding of food rations and imprisonment for up to 6 months

Figure 10



Figure 11

Then we have more contemporary types of historically traumatic events, including the warehousing of ceremonial objects in museums improperly. These ceremonial objects are not supposed to be there and so that, too, is historical trauma; and then you layer on top of that contemporary violence and assault (Figure 12). We have the highest levels of violence exposure and assault compared to all other populations in the U.S. – and, by the way, this is not Indian on Indian violence as the media like to portray. In the US, it primarily involves whites perpetrating violence on Indians.

Contemporary Violent Assault

- ✦ AIs are victims of violent crimes at a rate of 124 per 1000, that is more than 2.5 times the national average
- ✦ The rate for AI women is almost 50% higher than that reported by Black males and the rate for AI males is twice that for all males
- ✦ The violent crime rate is highest for urban AIs (207 per 1,000) and lowest for rural AIs (89 per 1000)
- ✦ AIs experience primarily assault-related violence
- ✦ More likely to experience interracial violence: 60% of the assailants are White

Figure 12

On a slightly lighter note, the other issue that our communities dealt with and brought up is, “Well, okay, yeah we have these massive events in our communities and they wound us all but what about those everyday experiences, walking down the street as an Indian in New York city? How tiring that is.” What I am talking about is called Micro aggressions. It is those events, those everyday nicks, so that if you paid attention to every little assault you experience on a given day, you’d lose your mind by five o’clock in the evening. So we figure out ways to cope with these everyday nicks or Micro aggressions to get through our days. The reason why this is an important part of the research is because we now know from trauma research that it’s the chronic traumas that have more of a negative health impact on us than a single event trauma. Maybe it’s these everyday discriminatory experiences that actually might be really wearing on us, more than we realise. So we asked the community what are those everyday experiences that you encounter: those little nicks that you try not to pay attention to, but sometimes you have to call your friend after you’ve had one of those experiences and say, ”Oh man, you won’t believe what I just encountered again.” We asked people what those were, and one of the things they talked about was the role of being objectified, eroticised, having to deal with stereotypes in the media. The media basically cartoonises us so we cannot be whole people. We can only be cartoons, we can only be stereotypes for white consumption, like the Disney films. The other issue is the appropriation of our practices or misappropriation of our practices. An example of that is here this is a picture by someone named Evening Rain (Figure 13). I can tell you right now in native North America there is no Indian named Evening Rain. If it was Lone Dog I’d say okay, but then I’d ask why is Lone Dog painting a picture like this? But this is a picture supposedly of a Native woman and a horse. So the objectification and eroticisation, those elements are present.

**Ongoing and Current Trauma:
Microaggressions**

- Appropriation of cultural and spiritual practices - some “New Age” practices
- Romanticization & eroticization of AIAN men and women
- Invisibility
 - E.g., being mistaken for different race
- Religious defamation




Figure 13

What does this create? This creates invisibility. In urban settings this is a major issue. People feeling like they’re not truly seen and this isn’t just a full blood/mixed blood issue. We see it here played out at the Grammy Awards with popular rap artists (Figure 14): it’s not just how you look, it’s that you’re encountering people who think you don’t exist anymore.

Creating Invisibility



Figure 14

That's part of the colonial trauma, that's the ultimate in psychological colonisation – to have non-indigenous people talk to you as if you don't even exist anymore. So on certain holidays, Native parents start to get a bit worried: around Halloween you get nervous; on Thanksgiving, Columbus Day; those kinds of holidays where we have to deal with a lot of these stereotypes. And they persist. They go unnoticed and unchanged year after year. These stereotypes also connect us to alcohol as if alcohol is "cultural" for us. Historically, there are very few tribes who used alcohol at all and the ones that did, only did it for high ceremony and for medicinal purposes.

Another issue is mascots. We have a lot of "Indian" mascots in the United States (Figure 15). The Washington Redskins for example is our football team out of Washington DC – the United States capital. "Redskins" doesn't mean the colour of your skin: "Redskin" is the name of the scalps that were collected.

Microaggression Themes(cont.)

- Mascots and logos
- Racist name calling such as "squaw", etc.
- Ongoing lack of validation of the historical experiences in this country
- Continuing to live in the the country that perpetrated the trauma (massacres, boarding schools, germ warfare, etc.)





Figure 15

So these are all the images that we encounter. What does this do to us? It is even more crazy-making because people tell us they're honouring us: "I'm honouring you dude." That creates invisibility. (Figure 16). Then you have non-Natives constantly telling you whether or not you look Indian or act Indian, feeling as if they have the authority to do that and they really have no authority to do that (Figure 17).



Figure 16



Figure 17

You know, it damages everybody. It doesn't just damage our community, it's a loss to everybody to have that kind of relationship with one another. The effect is the soul wound in our communities: it is a spiritual wounding (Figure 18).

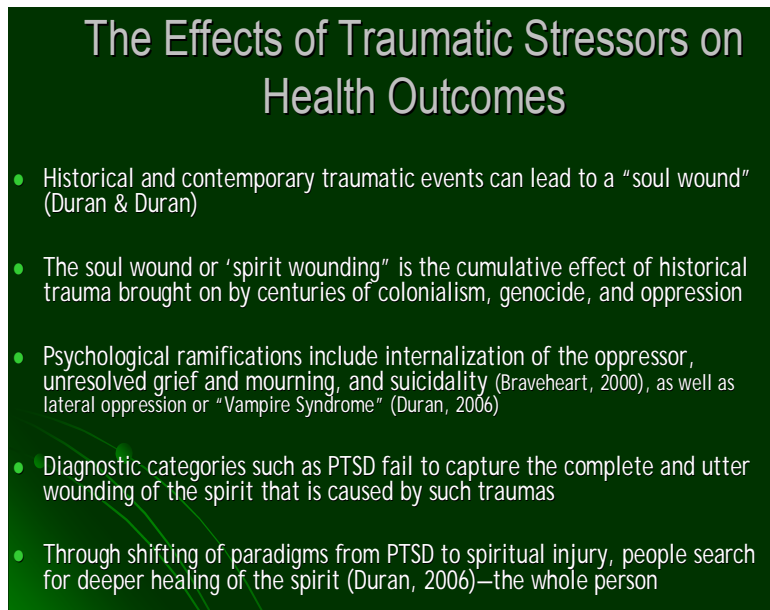


Figure 18

Back to the actual development of measurement. Out of the focus group themes, we developed three measures: a Historical Trauma Index; a Micro aggressions Measure; and a Colonial Trauma Response Measure (Figure 19). The Colonial Trauma Response is a measure of Native-specific symptom expression based on distressing experiences related to historically traumatic experiences and micro-aggressions. For example: indigenous survivor guilt. One woman I talked with about this process disclosed that her two grandmothers survived the Wounded Knee Massacre, complicating her own healing from intergenerational trauma. Basically, she stated that she has a hard time letting go of her pain, because if she does, and really feels good, then she feels like she is betraying her grandmothers somehow. She says she feels like she's betraying her ancestors by doing that: betraying what they died for and what they lived for. So that's an indigenous form of survivor guilt and an example of colonial trauma response.

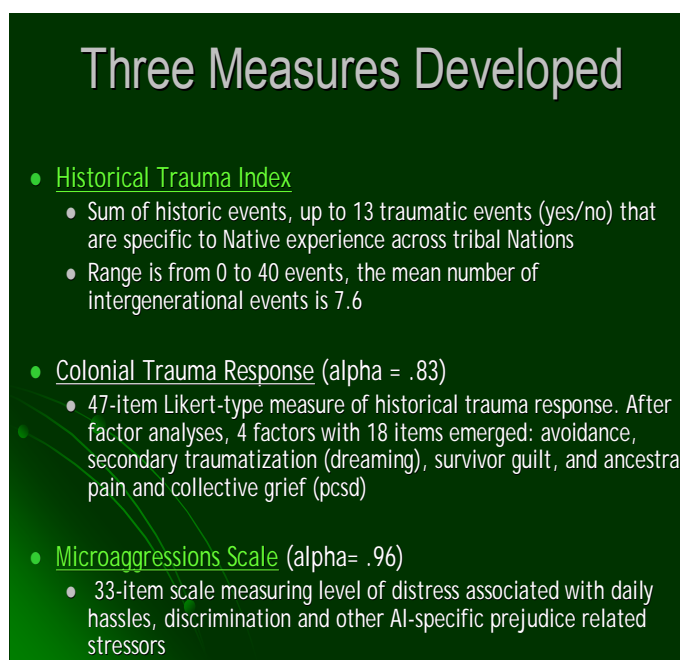


Figure 19

Here's an example of some of the historical trauma index items that we came up with, in discussions with the community when we asked about these historical traumatic events (Figures 20 & 21). We asked: "Have you personally experienced this event?" We asked: Has your mother, your parents, your grandparents, your great-grandparents, your great-great-grandparents all the way back, three greats back, experienced these types of events?" Basically, we are tapping into their knowledge about whether or not they or their direct ancestors experienced these events. Some may ask how do we know we have valid data or recall across generations? Well, this is very preliminary, but we have some built-in validity checks. For example, because the median age of the sample is 44 years old, we would anticipate that for this particular generational cohort that certain historical events should be prominent – such as high rates of adoption or foster care; and for their parents' generation it should be allotments or allotted land stolen or taken away and for great-grandparents it should be massacres. And this did bear out in the data. The unique cohort items for each generational cohort are the 9% (allotted land stolen or taken away) figure in Figure 20, and the 15% (experienced community massacre) and 14% (G2-Parents' remains or gravesites desecrated) figures in Figure 21.



Figure 20



Figure 21

In terms of micro-aggressions these are some of the items and examples that the community came up with (Figure 22). These aren't verbatim items. It just gives you a general idea of what the items are like. Some of these are: being asked if you're a real Indian by a non-Native person; being asked to prove your Indian-ness or authenticity; being asked by a stranger if he or she could touch you because you're Indian – which is a very strange phenomenon. Supposedly we're all medicine people. In New York City our Native male brothers would tell us how people would come up to them if they wear their hair long and strangers would touch or pet their hair while on the subway. Other items include feeling invisible to non-Natives; always having to start with Indian 101 to make your point or to be heard because no-one else knows the history; being asked to change your appearance by your employer; hearing from non-natives how surprisingly articulate, well-read or good your language skills are. Non-natives say that you don't look or act Indian; you hear discussions by persons in authority about Indians when you're in the room, but it's as if you don't even exist.

So here are some of the examples. We didn't ask people how often they experienced this because we would not get an accurate count. If I asked any of you how often you have experienced these kinds of events in your life, you probably couldn't tell me – additionally, the reality is it could have been one particular type of event that still sticks with you. We really wanted to get a clear idea of how distressed people are by that event. So we asked how distressed were you by this particular event (expressed as an item) over your lifetime and in the past year. Some of the most distressing items were things like being told by a non-Native person that he or she was an Indian in a past life, or that their grandmother was a Cherokee princess: I've really heard that several times from non-Natives. Others included being told by non-Natives how they wished they were Indian too, and how they felt a special spiritual connection to Indian people; being told by non-Natives that you're paranoid ; being told by non-Natives how lucky you are to be Indian; and being mistaken for another racial group. This latter was endorsed as really stressful, being mistaken for another racial group other than American Indian. Another was being asked if you're real, or told that some non-Native's past life grandmother was a princess. One of the points that I want to highlight is unexpressed anger. A lot of people say that it is really distressing to experience these events, but then you don't say anything and you walk away with that anger. The respondents noted that this unexpressed anger was particularly stressful.

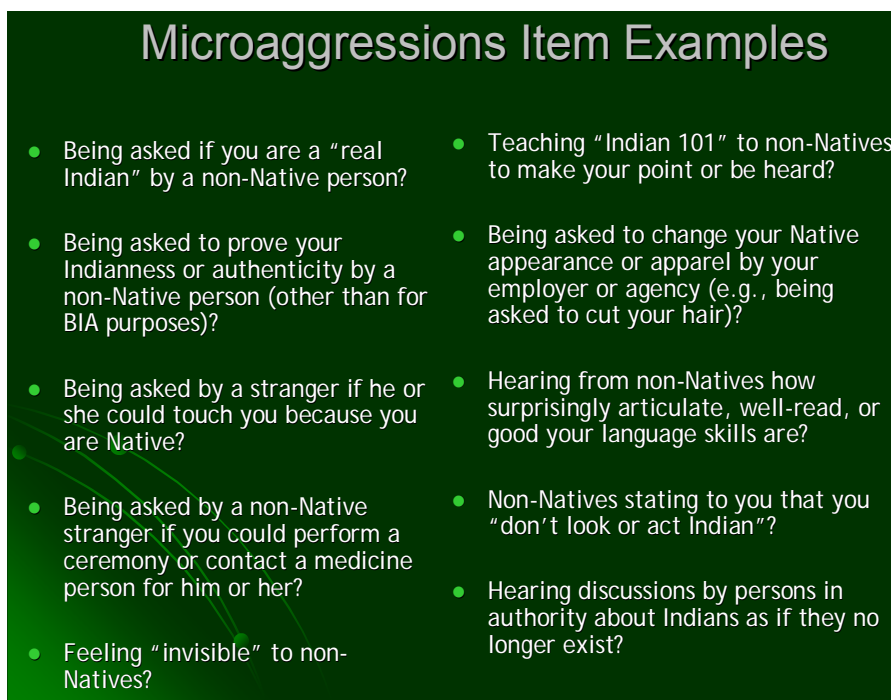


Figure 22

I want to say a little bit about some of the preliminary findings (Figure 23). This is where we get to say to the funders: “Guess what, we’ve got data now.” The findings suggest that historical trauma was related to this contemporary discrimination and we are making sense of that right now. Perhaps historically traumatic event exposure over successive generations may predispose folks to stress vulnerability given contemporary discriminatory experiences.

These are very preliminary. We haven’t run fancy analyses yet to control for things: I’m just giving you some preliminary information to mull over. We’re thinking that historically traumatic event exposure over successive generations may predispose folks to stress in contemporary discriminatory situations. For example, you’re walking down the street, someone yells: “Squaw” (bad word for us), and what does a Native woman experience when she hears this? What’s the first thing? First is the physical response - fight or flight and then she goes immediately to the collective experience. She doesn’t say to herself, “Oh I’m having a momentary discriminatory experience, a one-time incident with this one person.” But what she does do is immediately connect to a collective experience of historical trauma. She starts connecting to all the other historical trauma that our ancestors have endured, in that one moment. That’s what we’re talking about.

Microaggressions Results		
Items endorsed as extremely stressful		
	Life	Year
Being mistaken for another racial group	55%	48%
Being asked if “real Indian” by non-Native	50%	35%
Past life grandmother was princess?	48%	36%
Hearing discussions by instructors about Indians as if they no longer exist?	47%	34%
Felt spiritual connection to Indian people?	47%	36%
Hearing racist statements	45%	29%
Non-Natives wished they were Indian too?	43%	31%
Unexpressed anger re: racist statements	44%	33%

Figure 23

Historical trauma was associated with drug use, alcohol use and risky sex. What seems to be particularly important in terms of alcohol use is binge drinking (Figure 24). It wasn’t associated with sustained chronic drinking, which is interesting because most of our treatment services are developed based on alcohol dependence, yet it’s the binge drinking that really kills us with motor vehicle accidents and so forth. Discrimination was also related to PTSD anxiety, stress and distress over a lifetime, but not risky sexual behaviours.

- ### Historical Trauma Summary of Results
- Historically traumatic events were associated with...
 - ◆ Contemporary distress associated with microaggressions
 - ◆ Drug use (crack, crank, inhalants, opiates, & XTC)
 - ◆ Alcohol Use (binge, quantity, mood management, drinking injury)
 - ◆ Risky sexual behavior (inconsistent condom use)
 - ◆ Poor mental health (PTSD)
 - ◆ Vicarious trauma, unresolved grief and loss, and loss of hope and mastery (colonial trauma response reactions)
 - ◆ Inpatient treatment and seeking a traditional healer

Figure 24

One point I wanted to highlight in terms of historical trauma is that because this is a HIV prevention study we compared “two-spirits” (a Native term that approximates gays and lesbians) to heterosexual Native people. There are already high rates of childhood and adulthood trauma for both populations. But two-spirit people recorded greater knowledge over generations of historical trauma than the heterosexual people. So we went back to the community and we said, “Why is that?” The two-spirit community said, “Because most of us are the story-tellers in our communities.” So two-spirit people may be our memorial candles but what’s complicated is that our memorial candles are experiencing incredibly high levels of violence, so we need to reframe that and put that back in its traditional way.

Traumatic Assault Experiences

Trauma Indicator	2 Spirits	Hets	Statistics	
			$\chi^2(1)$	t(171)
Child physical abuse	40%	20%	4.6*	
Child sexual abuse	40%	26%	2.14	
Lifetime sexual assault	48%	35%	1.53	
Lifetime phys abuse by partner	29%	29%	0.00	
Lifetime phys assault by other	28%	24%	0.20	
Lifetime robbed, mugged, attack	60%	48%	1.17	
No. of historical trauma events experienced by:				
Self	1.71	1.45		-0.60
Parent	2.00	1.17		-2.09*
Grandparent	2.88	0.49		-2.24*
Great Grandparent	2.92	1.44		-2.00*
Great-Great Grandparent	2.79	1.29		-1.85†

†p<.10; *p<.05

As cited in Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, Vol. 10 (3), 287-301

Figure 25

I’m going to jump now to some of our findings on spirituality: the part that’s exciting about health and wellness. (Figure 25). For us, we’ve been talking about this as a soul wound. It is important to rename or reframe our experiences from traditional knowledges – it is a spiritual process and the re-naming is part of decolonising ourselves. Eduardo Duran notes that when you think about it, psychiatrists really have naming ceremonies with us. “PTSD”, “anxiety”, “depression”: they are doing a naming ceremony with us. So part of our communities are saying, “Wait a minute, we need to have a different kind of way of naming ourselves and naming these experiences and understanding it from a spiritual perspective.” The reason is that if you reframe it from being depressed to a spiritual injury and start looking at it that way, then, as Duran notes, all of a sudden the whole being of the person starts to look to be healed. It’s not just the head. So the indigenous world view and traditional knowledges are really critical. The centrality of spirituality and connecting the spirituality to traditional health and healing practices is critical to our healing (Figure 26).

- ### Centering Spirituality
- Indigenous worldviews, the centrality of spirituality, and ways of relating form the core of any behavioral expression
 - Traditional worldviews recognize the interdependency among humans and nature, the physical and spiritual worlds, the ancestors and future generations—connections that bind all living beings
 - Contemporary re-traditionalization movements are critical mechanisms for individual, communal, and tribal healing
 - Nativistic movements emphasize a return to traditional and spiritual practices and sobriety in developing nationalistic pride
 - At their core are revitalization of indigenous traditions accompanied by traditional living

Figure 26

A lot of people think those are one and the same but in our communities they aren't. Traditional health practices are those practices we do everyday. Maybe it's use of medicine, maybe it's certain kinds of cleansing rituals and things like that, maybe its prayer. Traditional healing practices is where we go to see a healer or a person who has a speciality, whether it's a dreamer, a seer or a person who works with plants, a person who works with the spirits to help us understand and work through the cause of our condition. So what we're finding from our data is that what happens in our communities, at least in the urban settings - and this surprised a lot of people, it didn't surprise me – is that a third of our people are going back home and are seeking our traditional healers to deal with their mental health concerns. This is actually very critical because what we're finding is that people seek our healers and western medicine simultaneously. A lot of people think there's a conflict (between western and traditional practices) but that is not necessarily true. In talking with some of the elders and community members we find that many use western medicine to treat their symptoms and work with the indigenous medicine to treat the cause - and in some cases, both the cause and the symptoms.

This connection to traditional health processes is a movement of what some of our community members call re-traditionalisation. A lot of people are trying to bring the ceremonies back out to re-establish that harmony and that wellness and to move away from the disease model, to understanding really it's just dis-ease or being out of harmony compared with being in balance. We work with a lot of our healers around these issues and we've actually had some studies that show there is some relationship to spirituality and traditional health and healing practices and better mental health outcomes. In our study we're seeing that too. We're seeing that this is the positive side: that the people who have higher rates of historical trauma and discrimination and colonial trauma response were also more likely to seek traditional healers (Figure 27). So people are actually searching for indigenous medicine to help address the trauma that they've encountered and the trauma they carry with them. We've also seen that some people who've utilised different forms of traditional health practices such as fasting or going out on a hill to seek a vision, prayer or engaging in a tribal specific ceremony, are reporting lower symptoms related to anxiety and depression in our sample. We're not surprised.

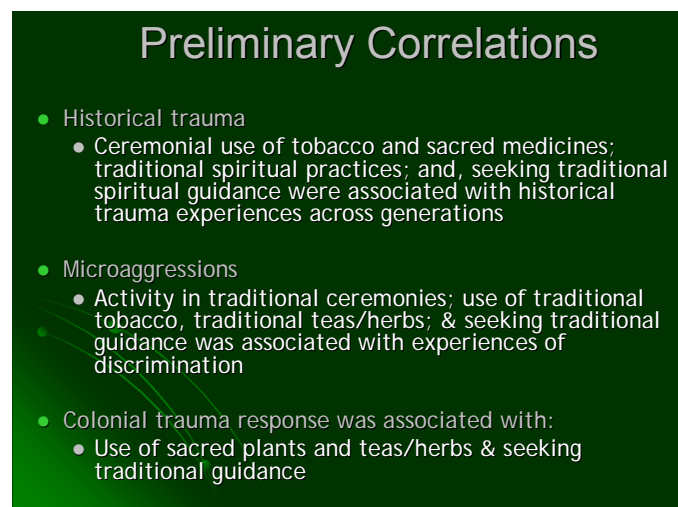


Figure 27

I'd like to leave you with just a couple of decolonising strategies (Figures 28 & 29): practice strategies that our communities utilised to reframe and rename this stuff. In terms of strategies, they include asking people to make sure that they know about pre-colonial history (Figure 28) and not to stop with historical trauma because that's actually really problematic. We don't want a victim mind, we want a warrior mind - this is how we talk about it. So it's important to reframe and re-interpret historically traumatic experiences and current manifestations of these from an indigenous perspective, indigenous world views, and our traditional knowledges. Sometimes we'll do that by documenting it. We'll do a soul wound timeline over the history of the community: for diabetes, for example, in a community (Figure 29). In one community, I asked the community what was their spiritual relationship to food for diabetes and they were like: "Wow, I don't know that we even have that anymore; I don't know that we know that." So I pulled off the wall calendar and I looked at each of the months in the calendar. In many of our calendars, our relationship to food and activity levels are documented in how we name our

months. These months actually document through our Original Instructions for each of our Peoples the spiritual relationship to the food sources and environments. For example, this is the berry-picking month or this is the month the salmon run, this is the month of little hunger, this is the month of big hunger. So there are ways of thinking about our spiritual relationship to either medicines or the food or whatever that trauma response issue is that we're trying to address, so part of that is renaming and reframing.

Decolonizing Strategies* 1

- **Enacting a Culturally Relevant Framework for Practice**
 - ◆ All practitioners should have training around colonial violence and impact of family processes and structure
- **Learning About Pre-Colonial History**
 - ◆ Explore cultural narratives and history with focus on identifying traditional ways of addressing trauma and re-connect to historic ways of healing and historic ways of wellness and harmony
- **Reframing and Reinterpreting Mistrust as a Healthy Reaction To Historical Trauma**
 - ◆ Practitioners should anticipate it, understand it, and reframe it
- **Documenting Historically Traumatic Events and Colonial Trauma**
 - ◆ Family members may not be aware of events that contextualize family functioning. Use genograms, culturagrams, and soul wounding timelines. Document births, deaths, cultural events, HT events and family reactions

* Drawn from work by Evans-Campbell and Walters (2006). *Catching Our Breath*.

Figure 28

Another example in terms of diabetes and food: when we do our soul wound time line, we'll start with the tribal origin story and then move to asking, "What was your relationship to food?" Then we'll move to "When did that get interrupted?"; and then you layer on top of that questions such as: how did your tribe respond; how did your family respond; what were your lessons of survival strategies over those generations. And the next thing to ask is: "What survival strategies are you still using that may not work for you in this generation?" There's a way to do that that doesn't disrespect what our elders did as a survival strategy but sometimes that's really what we call culture. It's sometimes a colonial trauma response. So part of that is to figure out and differentiate what aspects are cultural (traditional knowledge) versus what aspects are really colonial trauma response (Figure 29).

Decolonizing Strategies** 2

- **Reframing Relationships with "sickness" and medicines to treat (Duran, 2006)**
 - Example of depression and spirit of sadness (I'm depressed example)—naming ceremony
 - To medicines—spirit of medicine (e.g., "spirits and alcohol")
 - Idea of suffering—is sacred and should not be wasted—offer up suffering as a sacrifice for the well-being of the people vs. punishment approach
- **Re-Establishing Protocols and Offerings (Duran, 2006)**
 - Example-Use of tobacco offerings to spirit of alcohol (e.g. store aisle)
 - Establishing protocol to spirit of wellness -recognizing dual nature of wellness and dis-ease (dis-harmony)
- **Moving from victim mind to warrior mind (Duran, 2006)**
 - ◆ Protection ceremonies, purification ceremonies, and reframing narratives of trauma and resiliency

* Drawn from work of Eduardo Duran, (2006). *Healing the Soul Wound*.

Figure 29

An example of a colonial trauma response in the mental health arena as Eduardo Duran notes: a person walks in and you say, “Tell me about yourself.” They say, “I’m depressed,” and you say, “Is that what your mother named you?” Yes: part of colonisation is to make us believe that we are these things, that we are these entities. Duran notes that part of de-colonisation is to take those emotions outside of ourselves and ask: “How am I relating to the Spirit of Sadness here?”

To pay respect to the protocol between you and the spirit of the medicine, we sometimes offer tobacco or some other indigenous offering to establish the protocol between you and the spirit of that medicine or the spirit of suffering or trauma response. For example, in alcohol counselling sometimes practitioners have people go along the aisle and put tobacco offerings in the aisle to acknowledge the spirit of the that medicine being there. It’s a way to establish protocol. I acknowledge you, I have relationship to you, and I’m asking you to keep your boundary over there and I’m keeping my boundary here, and I’m putting a tobacco line here to recognise that. It’s not coincidental that we talk about alcohol and we think about the old ways that alcohol is talked about: alcohol used to be called “spirits”. So re-establishing protocols and offerings, moving from victim minds to warrior minds, learning to communicate about historical trauma, these are major decolonising strategies.

Some of our elders don’t want to talk about historical trauma and that’s okay. I think it’s important to honour the survival strategies that our elders have had to do, which sometimes means not talking about it. However, it gets complicated when someone you’re working with may be ready to talk about it, and part of that is honouring where they’re at compared to their elders. They might push their elders as part of their own personal healing agenda but that does not recognise the healing needs in that moment of the elders. We don’t need to do that if we don’t have to.

Another decolonising strategy is to highlight inter-generational resiliencies and strengths. For example, how people have dealt with trauma over the generations and how do they then create or re-create new narratives from which they can grow and heal? I’ll end with this strategy. One of the biggest issues and manifestations of colonial trauma response that our elders talk about is what Dr Eduardo Duran calls the “vampire syndrome”. It is what some call “lateral oppression”. Lateral oppression or the vampire syndrome is when we hurt each other – indigenous upon indigenous, violence and trauma. It manifests in many ways, including discriminating against one another, or internalising the coloniser and colonising ourselves. This type of colonial trauma response does not benefit any of us – it only benefits the coloniser. This doesn’t benefit our community. It plays out in all kinds of ways. Sometimes it plays out in institutions - for example, when we hold power over others in ways that are really dysfunctional. The articulation of the “vampire syndrome” came out of some healing work that he was doing with a young man who kept drawing vampires. He said, “Why do you keep drawing vampires?” He realised that when he talked to this young man, the young man was afraid of becoming a vampire too. So Duran calls it the vampire syndrome because once you get bitten you become infected with it; and then what do you do? You go and try to bite someone else so you can keep that negative medicine going, keep that negative energy going. To destroy the vampire within us, we must work to destroy the internalised colonial practices that we carry and that we sometimes act out with each other. It is actually a spiritual transformation that must take place. Just as the vampire is eradicated through spiritual means, so must we decolonise ourselves through spiritual means and the development of our traditional and contemporary indigenous knowledges.

The Aboriginal way: self-determination, human rights and the empowerment of Aboriginal people in Australia – a view from Palm Island

Erykah Kyle

Mayor of the Palm Island Aboriginal Council, Queensland

Introduction

I am an Aboriginal woman with strong spiritual and cultural beliefs. Because of my beliefs, I have been an integral part of the continuing struggle for Aboriginal people to be given the right of control over our lives. I am a member of the Birri Gubba nation. Our tribal area runs along the Great Burdekin River, in North Queensland. Palm Island is a part of a group of seven smaller islands. Our islands are the most picturesque place in Queensland. My story depicts the struggle of Aboriginal people throughout Australia.

Aboriginal residents of Palm Island are known as “historical people” as a result of Government policy, which forced the removal of our parents and grandparents from their ancestral lands on the mainland in 1918. As descendants of many tribal groups with our birthright being Palm Islands, we are known as Bwngolman people, which means “people of Palm Island”.

The removal of Aboriginal people of many tribal groups to Palm Island caused the loss of Aboriginal languages. In many parts of the world where that loss occurs there emerges another language that non-Aboriginal people call “broken English”. Today it is known as Aboriginal English. This form of communication also includes sign language, sounds, eye contact and even certain movements. This is what is not understood in the classrooms where non-Aboriginal teachers from the mainland teach our children.

Aboriginal people are great storytellers. You may have heard of our Dreamtime stories. I am a storyteller of longings, pain, despair, oppression, hopes and dreams. Our story is the story of all Aboriginal people throughout the continent of Australia.

The ongoing catastrophe of the removals orders

Let me tell you something of our history. Cook recorded in his logbook that there was a tribe Indigenous to Palm Island. Our ancestors practised ceremonies with mainland tribes and enjoyed the splendid surroundings of the seven groups of islands. Our old people told us that many of our people were taken to Hull River, which is in North Queensland. Some people died there, and some came back to Palm Island when it was formed in 1918 after a cyclone demolished that area.

Aboriginal reserves were established throughout Queensland in the early 1900s. It was the Queensland State Government’s policy to remove and deport Aboriginal people from other areas of Queensland to Palm Island and this increased the population where some 30 different languages were spoken. People were sent to Palm Island for many different reasons. Aboriginal people were forcibly removed from their tribal lands to make way for the cattle industry, others were sent for committing trivial offences. Palm Island was a prison place. We called it the “out of sight, out of mind” policy. Our people were taken away from our traditional communities all over Queensland and dumped on Palm Island where the Government controlled our lives.

The first Superintendent of Palm Island went berserk in 1929 and was shot by an Aboriginal policeman on the orders of the deputy superintendent. Superintendents who followed exercised control with an almost military-like discipline. Imprisonment resulted from offences such as swearing, failing to show “proper respect” for authority, having sexual relationships not authorised by the superintendent, and for

showing up late for work. Discipline and control were the main features of Palm Island and young women were punished by having their heads shaven and by being made to wear dresses of hessian, and to sweep the streets with grass brooms as a public example. The life of the community was governed by bells, which were rung for our people to get up, go to work, have lunch, and observe curfew. An anthropologist who visited Palm Island in 1946 described it as the “Devil’s Island of the Queensland Government”.

Early resistance

Until the 1960s, no wages were paid for the 30-hours of compulsory work that our people were required to perform. In 1957, a strike occurred led by seven men who spoke out about the poor conditions and low wages. The strike was brutally broken up by mainland police. The men were handcuffed and sent to other reserves. One of the strike leaders, now deceased, described the feelings of hopelessness and oppression in this way: “They [the Government] do everything from back to front, but I can’t tell them anything because I will go to jail.” In 1973, Amnesty International described Palm Island as a “concentration camp” (*Canberra Times*, 2 June, 1974). This notorious setting led to social tensions and conflict. It destroyed our people’s capacity to develop our own social controls.

Legislative changes

Palm Islanders have lived through the era of governmental “protectionism” and “assimilation” policies. We are still being disadvantaged by those same attitudes today. In the 1980s, change occurred in the administration of the Island with the establishment of the Community Councils. In 1982 we formed a group and called ourselves “The Concerned Palm Islanders”. We began to change our people’s thinking through our paper entitled *We the People*. Threats were made on our lives, our jobs and we were even threatened with being “thrown off” the Island. However, we stood together and in the 1983 election the people elected four councillors. Councils were to govern communities in the spirit of self-determination: the idea was that people would be “doing it for themselves”.

Self-management and self-determination

On 30 March 1987, Palm Island was granted total self-management. Local people were conscious of the need to make self-management work. There was a definite and growing movement of self-help and co-operation. The statement was: “We are working for ourselves and our betterment.” But the council had little power. Power was vested in the hands of the superintendent and the Department of Native Affairs. The Aboriginal councillors had no experience, and received no training, yet the council was expected to take on a workload which no other government authority would take on. The seeds of failure were planted.

When the superintendent era ended, the Government issued a Deed of Grant in Trust Title to the Palm Island council that was to be the new landlord. But this caused many new problems for the people. Many people who had left Palm Island during the superintendent period returned because they saw an opportunity for land ownership. As the light at the other end of the tunnel moved further and further away, apathy, frustration and despair became entrenched.

Today, Palm Islanders are facing immense social problems as a result of these government policies. It would have been better if we had been given true self-management. There was an urgent need for a strategy to transfer to Aboriginal people more responsibility for managing our own environment and services. Our community council’s mandate would then have been to listen, take note and be guided by our people, excluding all outside influences and advice and to bring into reality the hopes and aspirations of the people for a better quality of life based on culturally sound, traditional principles and disciplines that our ancestors used successfully as survival tools for more than 40,000 years.

Self-determination

Recently the clock has been turned back even further. The Premier of Queensland has taken self-determination off the agenda. Although this means that our people are simply doing it for themselves, what we are confronted with is a long stream of non-Aboriginal government people flying in to fix our problems. Each one represents the Government's racist policy, which ignores our rights to self-determination. Once again, the Government has changed things without first asking us for our views.

Greater autonomy should be providing for our communities; in fact, we demand more autonomy. This demand is driven by the pressing problems facing our people, such as high incarceration, juvenile crime, violence, poor health, loss of culture and language, the inadequacies of the western schooling system, and other problems to do with the everyday survival of families, community and our culture.

Education

Take the example of education. In 2005, Minister for Police, Judy Spence, described Palm Island as a "dysfunctional" community. She ignores the fact that it is dysfunctional because we have been denied the right to run our communities. She says that our rights are less important than the quality of life of the children but she ignores the fact that they are linked. This is the same argument used by politicians 100 years ago. Our children cannot have a good quality of life until our community can enjoy all their rights as human beings.

The State Department runs schools in every community, including mainland schools. There are two primary schools on Palm Island: a small Catholic school and a large government school. Teachers are sent from the mainland for both schools. Many have never been to an Aboriginal community before. They live separately and stick together. The Education Department funds locals who work with the teachers in a secondary capacity. Yet our children are not grasping the basic literacy and numeracy skills that are needed to manage our own community and which lie at the foundation for further training.

The school calls the problem of non-attendance "truancy"; we call it "resistance". We want a different kind of education and a different kind of teacher. Education for Aboriginal children must come from an Aboriginal perspective. At the moment, every plan, every programme is coming from a non-Aboriginal perspective. We call on the Queensland Government to assist us to establish our own school to meet the academic and cultural needs of our children. We acknowledge that our community is in turmoil. We know that our children are our last chance, and that education is their last chance. Given the resources, we believe we can create an opportunity to save them. Our children need culturally appropriate education, a safe place where they are nurtured, where they can develop a sense of identity and pride.

We want quality education that is driven by our people. Education must be relevant and meaningful to allow our children to feel good about themselves. Ownership is the answer towards creating a feeling of self-worth, pride and dignity. But our contribution is ignored, and our demands are not listened to.

Alcohol consumption and housing

Alcohol is another major issue for our people. Alcohol was legally introduced to Palm Island in 1973. A beer canteen traded four hours a day, six days a week and Aboriginal residents were not allowed to drink alcohol outside the canteen area. It was not until the 1984 Community Services Legislation and Regulations that the normal trading hours were implemented. At that time, the canteen was the main source of income for the community council. It was also the main source of problems: crimes, bashing, family break-ups, imprisonments, injuries and deaths faced by the community.

A former deputy chairperson said: "We are the only local authority in the world that has to keep its constituents drunk in order to operate." Funds from the sale of alcohol and liquor were transferred into what was called the Enterprise Fund, where they were used for the wages of casual staff, donations of fruit to the schools, freight and supplementary wages for staff. Today the Government has placed

Alcohol Management Plans on all Deeds of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) communities. Palm Island does not have an Alcohol Management Plan as we are in opposition with the Government on the issue. The hotel on Palm Island presently operates six days a week, five hours a day. The profits from the hotel are minimal.

We responded to the Government's new alcohol policy by stating that if we are going to be successful in the Alcohol Management Plan, we need more and better houses. The Palm Island council currently owns all the homes, but there is an average of 17 people per three-bedroom home. We need 50 new houses. Single people are at the bottom of the housing list because of the greater need to accommodate families. Our young people sleep in lounge rooms or wherever they can fit. Within this dilemma of overcrowding, violence erupts and this is called "horizontal violence", where families fight amongst themselves.

We have told the Government that if we say to our people to stop drinking and then send them home to their overcrowded houses and their unemployment, where there is very little hope of betterment, how can we expect them ever to change? We have to make changes to the whole of people's lives, to the whole of the community – and it has got to be sustainable change.

Incarceration of Aboriginal people / black deaths in custody

Throughout Australia there have been far too many Aboriginal people dying in custody. This continues today. I am one of the mothers who has lost a son in custody. He was one of many who were constantly harassed by police. He was a builder. He was a father and a grandfather. The pain continues, there is no relief. Although Aboriginal people are only two per cent of Australia's population, we make up 20 per cent of the prison population.

As a result of protests from Aboriginal people all over Australia, the Federal Government was forced to hold a Royal Commission into Black Deaths in Custody in 1991. This inquiry resulted in 339 recommendations, very few of which have been implemented. The report was three volumes long, far too long for anyone to read. So what we did was to bring out some people with prison experiences and run a workshop on youth and education. They explained what all the recommendations meant, they went through all the related issues – housing, health, unemployment, the problems caused for people when they leave prison and have to adjust to being back in their communities – on how to stop the cycle of incarceration from repeating itself. Recidivism has become a way of life for our young men.

The rebellion

On 19 November 2004, a young Aboriginal man was arrested for being drunk and placed in the local cells on Palm Island. He was walking down the street singing when he was arrested. We use the term "merry drunk". In this state of alcohol influence he would not be a threat to anyone. Yet he died in a police cell. This young man was a great hunter on the land and sea. He would dive to great depths without assistance. Following his death, I had to organise the doctor and the family of that young man for the reading of the medical report of the cause of his death. The pressure came for me to inform the community of the result of the report. Prior to this I met with an Aboriginal lawyer to ask what I should tell people. He suggested that I read the entire report. This included the information that a young man in the cell next to the deceased had repeatedly told police to leave him alone. The report stated that in the final 20 minutes of this young man's life, pressure was placed on his chest which broke his ribs and that had pierced his lungs. The report further stated that his blood drained into his stomach and that he had died a painful death.

When I read the report to the people they listened reverently. As I ended reading the people ran. It was like a movie, people running madly. They were heading for the police station. The police were not prepared and I had to talk to the crowd, consisting mainly of young people, to ask them to return to the mall. Fortunately they listened. Later I realised that the place had gone quiet. Everyone had gone. I realised then that they were taking their anger out at the hospital where the police were. This time the police were prepared. They were armed and had brought in dogs. I knew that this was a dangerous

situation. It was like a combat zone. I again appealed to the people. It wasn't easy but they listened, they moved back. However, they vented their anger by burning down the court house and the police station. A state of emergency was put into place. This led to the arrest of many young people, who were taken to Townsville and were not allowed to return to the island.

As we wait for the coroner's inquest it is uncertain how the people will react. The impact of the crisis is still present. I have vivid pictures of young people running in frenzy to the police station. Many people suffered. The police bashed down doors to arrest our young people, and women had guns pointed at them and were made to lay down on the floor while their children watched in shock. No one talks about the violence of the system that denies us our rights as human beings. It has been recorded in the *Guinness Book of Records* that Palm Island is "the most violent place on earth", but it is clear to see where the violence is coming from.

Land our mother

We are salt-water people and Palm Island is our home. "Home" to Aboriginal people means land ownership. Land is our life. We belong to the land, therefore land is our Mother. We have a strong spiritual relationship with the land. Land stands for a symbol of strength. Land is very important for our future. Land ownership will enrich and strengthen us. Land is the most important aspect of self-determination for Palm Islanders. Ownership of land changes everything for us. It is pride, self-esteem, dignity and a symbol of love.

What the Government has done is bring Aboriginal councils under the Local Government Authority – mainstreaming us. Until now, Deed of Grant in Trust (DOGIT) has meant that Aboriginal councils have held land in trust for the community. Now the Government wants to transfer that land to private ownership. As these schemes are implemented, the Aboriginal councils' ownership of land will diminish.

Conclusion

Our story depicts the state of despair that Aboriginal people live in throughout the nation of Australia. You've got to make changes to the whole of peoples' lives, to the whole of the community, and it has got to be sustainable change. We have to take a comprehensive approach to change. We cannot deal with things in isolation because the minute we start fixing one thing, something else will emerge. Every one of these issues is circular. You cannot improve health without improving housing and you cannot improve education unless you improve people's health.

Greater autonomy should be provided to Aboriginal communities. This need is driven by pressing problems facing the people, such as the increased numbers being incarcerated, juvenile crime, inadequacies of western schooling, poor health and other problems to do with the survival of families, communities and our culture.

There is something special that we have. It is our spirituality. We go to funerals and we grieve together. Our spirituality is about our land that we call "our Mother". We walk softly on our land. When we go bush we acknowledge our old peoples' spirits. We call out respectfully to acknowledge the spirits of our Ancestors.

In closing, let me quote from Commissioner Wooten in his Regional Report during the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody 1991:

The greatest lesson that stands out is that non-Aboriginals who currently hold virtually all the power in dealing with Aboriginals, have to give up their usually well-intentioned efforts to do things for Aboriginal people who they think have to be led, educated, manipulated, and re-shaped into the image of the dominant community. Instead Aboriginals must be recognised for what they are.

Another powerful statement was made by Lou Wyvill (Queen's Council). He stated that "Ultimately, the re-empowerment of Aboriginal people is conditional upon the power of Aboriginal people to control their own lives." This is saying that there is no hope for Aboriginal communities unless we have the right to choose the directions that we know will improve our well-being and provide a better future for our children.

Ultimately, it is about re-empowerment. I like the word "re-empowerment". It acknowledges that our people were empowered prior to the invasion of our country. I will repeat: "Ultimately, the re-empowerment of Aboriginal people is conditional upon Aboriginal people controlling their own lives."

Facilitator 3: Aroha Mead
Ngāti Porou and Ngāti Awa tribes of Aotearoa (NZ)
He Pārekereke, Victoria University of Wellington

I have the honour of chairing this next panel of three Indigenous women: all activists who have taken quite different journeys, but at some stages our paths have crossed in terms of the work that we do. I am going to give you my own views on Indigenous well-being first before we hear from Dr Sylvia Marcos and Vicki Tauli-Corpuz and I introduce them in more detail individually.

I have been thinking about how we conceptualise when we are ‘well’. At a personal level, to me one of the best indicators of well-being is when we acknowledge and we thank each other’s efforts. We do not do it often enough, but you have to be in a good state to be generous, to be gracious and to acknowledge that you are the sum of many others. I think it is an indicator of well-being when we as researchers, as academics and as policy-makers recognise the contributions of others. Throughout the past two days we have been hearing many examples of when that does not happen, such as when academics do not acknowledge the source of their information in publications that are based on Indigenous knowledge. This is not a practice confined to the past, it continues today. We see it time and time again and we really need to stop this. We need to acknowledge each others’ ideas, contributions and works, and now that we are building a greater mass of Indigenous publishers and authors it is imperative that we search out each others’ work and include it in our own works as a way of profiling and supporting Indigenous research.

Another way that I experience on a daily basis an indicator of well-being is when I walk down Lambton Quay. I work here in Wellington. I walk down Lambton Quay and as I pass Māori and Pacific Island people we smile at each other. We may or may not know each other, but what we are doing in that tiny moment is acknowledging each other’s presence and again that is an act of well-being. We do this in Wellington, we do this at the airports, we do this when we go into other cities and we do it when we travel overseas. We recognise each other with a simple “*kia ora*” and continue on our paths, but to do this shows that there must be something right. Our culture is good when we can do those things. I just came back from Brisbane and I saw so many Māori in Brisbane and I was doing exactly what I do in Lambton Quay – I was walking past them but they were speaking Australian and it just sounded, looked and felt so wrong. I looked at their faces and in some cases I even said, “*Kia ora*, are you Māori?” I knew they were – I could absolutely tell they were – and they would say: “No,” or: “Oh, you know that’s our old life.” There is a growing body of work recently on the Māori diaspora and the fact that there are now over 73,000 Māori living in Australia. People are beginning to notice that some of the Māori who are moving to Australia are becoming quite racist towards Aboriginals. But more fundamentally, Māori are losing 73,000 of our members; that is a lot of people to lose. We need to put more effort into ensuring that when our *whānau* (family) members move and migrate that they do not migrate from the culture, they just migrate from the country for a short period of time.

One of the issues we have been talking about here is how as a culture we need to move beyond just being academics, lawyers, scientists and politicians and so on who are Māori to being *kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophies and methodologies) lawyers, *kaupapa Māori* scientists, *kaupapa Māori* academics. In the field that I work in, genetics and intellectual property, the work has gone from being very simple ten years ago to being incredibly difficult today because we have lawyers who are Māori actively out there helping people patent our own cultural materials. We have scientists who are Māori actively out there getting involved in genetic research. In the international arena, this is seen as highly controversial because it sits at the commercial and sometimes unethical end of the spectrum. It also gives a lot of space for the Government to say Māori do not have “a view” because we are both ends of the opinion spectrum. This is interpreted as meaning “Māori do not know what they want.” These are some indicators for me at a personal level.

At the level of our people, an indicator of well-being is that the nation truly understands that what is good for Māori is good for New Zealand. When they recognise that our development is their

development, then we have moved forward. A simple example is Māori television. In light of all the furore that surrounded Māori television before it began broadcasting, now that we finally have it, it is useful to ask who are its major viewers? Non-Māori. In a very short period of time their perspective has changed and they have come to realise Māori television is a good thing.

In response to one of the comments on our first day, in our national situation it is not an “either/or” in terms of the return of cultural assets versus seeking income. We have to have both. In spite of Treaty settlements Māori still own less than eight per cent of the total land mass of New Zealand. This is why we still have Treaty claims and settlements. We have not quite got to a level playing field that will enable us all to move on to the next stage.

This image of Ngāti Awa reminds us that while Māori have a very small land base, New Zealand as a country has over 33 per cent of our land in conservation estate. In terms of global figures, we have one of the highest conservation estates in the developed world. It is unlikely to stop at 33 per cent because now we are having to go through a process of negotiation for marine reserves. The concept of co-management, which my IUCN (World Conservation Union) colleague Holly Dublin talked about earlier at this conference, is still a relatively new concept here in New Zealand. This offers the possibility in New Zealand for conservation lands to be ‘unlocked’, for Māori to live on customary lands and to access more resources and traditional spaces in order for us to meet our cultural obligations to future generations. Co-management has been in operation for 50 or 60 years in other parts of the world but is still considered a radical concept in terms of the New Zealand Government’s policy.

At a global level, an indicator of Māori well-being is that the policies and practices of the New Zealand Government in the international forum more accurately reflect the inter-relationship and the protocol between Māori and the Crown here in Aotearoa. If there is any field that seems to be getting worse rather than better it is New Zealand foreign policy. The comments that New Zealand makes in international meetings make you wonder if government officials really come from the same country as Māori. I was in a lift with a group of African delegates at one of the meetings of the Convention on Biological Diversity earlier this year and the Africans did not know that I was from New Zealand. They were chatting amongst themselves and they said, “You know, New Zealand must really hate their Indigenous peoples.” I felt like crying because it is just so *not* how things are here domestically. Statements and viewpoints like this are being broadcast all around the world. A statement made by one of the New Zealand Foreign Affairs officials within the Convention on Biological Diversity process on accessing genetic resources and traditional knowledge, said that prior and informed consent has nothing to do with Indigenous peoples, it is only about governments. Well, try coming home and telling that to our face. You would get quite a different reaction.

At the Cartagena Biosafety Protocol meeting that was held in Brazil earlier this year (2006), protestors targeted the New Zealand Government’s policy with a sign reading “Shame on New Zealand.” When protests of this nature point the finger at New Zealand, a “shame for New Zealand” is a shame for all of us and our country. We need to bring together a better quality of foreign policy that is more akin to what we as Māori are aspiring for here – and achieving in some cases.

An article that many of you will be familiar with traces New Zealand’s opposition to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It has been distributed all over the world. Just last month the United States, Australia and New Zealand rejected the Indigenous Declaration, arguing that it is fundamentally flawed. However, we have to remember that the New Zealand Government participated in every single drafting session of the draft declaration: *every single session*. It is too late now to be saying it is fundamentally flawed.

On September 11, 2001, I was high in the Andes, in the Potato Park that I have often mentioned. September is out of season, but the mountains are normally filled with potatoes. We were at the same altitude as the planes that fly between Auckland and Wellington – it is that high above sea level. For a sea-level person like me, getting up this mountain is no easy feat, but the people from there literally run up. They are completely acclimatised. While we were standing up here on this mountain somebody ran up and told us about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centre. They said, “There’s two planes in

the US, they've crashed into this building." It just seemed so surreal. However, it also reinforced for us that the world is a crazy place and if we do not do something, the craziness will continue. It is within our grasp to change the world. We can change the world in little and much greater ways.

That group of us who were in the mountains decided at the time to start a new initiative: "Call of the Earth Llamado de la Tierra", which is a global network of Indigenous peoples who focus on Indigenous cultural and intellectual property policy.

I would like to end with a reminder that we are part of the international community of Indigenous peoples. What is good for the rest of the world's Indigenous peoples is good for us, what is good for us impacts on them: we are all interrelated. We cannot afford to be apathetic. We have to be vigilant. We have to make sure that we are continually gaining instead of losing ground.

Our first keynote speaker, Dr Sylvia Marcos, is from Cuernavaca in Mexico. She is a practising clinical psychologist, a researcher and a professor. In Sylvia's original paper, the description of her relationship with Indigenous peoples is quite removed, so I asked her, "Are you Indigenous?" In fact she is Indigenous. Her grandmother is an Indigenous woman from the Chiapas. What I found fascinating in our discussion is that how you define yourself as an Indigenous person can also be highly influenced by the country in which you live. In our country we can define it purely by our genealogy. We may not like that some people are Māori but we cannot deny that they are Māori if the *whakapapa* is there. In her case, in the situation in Mexico, it is not that clear. The definition of being Indigenous is more related to still living in traditional communities and lifestyles, so Sylvia has always felt quite reluctant to identify herself as an Indigenous woman even though her grandmother is Indigenous. This is an indicator of why we need international standards because our situations really are quite different.

Sylvia's past has been very much as an activist and as a feminist. She is very committed to bringing into the public domain more information about the skills, expertise and the value of women with medicinal knowledge. Sylvia has reminded us of the continued ignorance that remains in Mexico of the wisdom and value behind a lot of traditional medicinal knowledge and practices. This has parallels here in New Zealand and, I am sure, in Hawai'i as well as other places. It is an ongoing struggle to have traditional knowledge recognised as equal or superior. In some cases traditional medicinal knowledge and practices are superior to western medicines, which is why so many pharmaceutical companies are pumping considerable funds into researching traditional knowledge of medicinal plants. Sylvia is indicating to us that one way of looking at well-being is to link it to the flourishing practice of traditional medicinal knowledge. So we can add that to the menu of indicators, the wealth of indicators that are coming through this conference.

Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, another of our keynote speakers, is from the Igurot people in the Philippines. Victoria's story is a truly amazing, inspirational story of an Indigenous woman and mother of four. It is hard to believe she has four children ranging from the ages of 20 to 29, because she doesn't look much older than 29 herself. Vicky also has one grand-daughter and she has managed to fit into this mothering, this parenting, an amazing career internationally in terms of Indigenous rights.

Vicky has been the director of an organisation called the TEBTEBBA Foundation (TEBTEBBA is an acronym for the Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education). The TEBTEBBA Foundation is one of the first Indigenous organisations in the world to publish detailed analysis of international negotiations and of the broader picture. When you get involved in the international arena it gets down to such detail that you can forget what the master plan is, and you really need Indigenous scholarship to remind everybody in some of these negotiations. So Vicky and the Foundation have published on broader issues like the relationship between Indigenous peoples and extractive industries. She has also looked at globalisation, and her organisation put together a map where they have actually plotted out the hotspots of globalisation within Indigenous territories. It is an amazing analysis, very cutting edge.

Vicky is now the Chair of the United Nations (UN) Permanent Forum on Indigenous issues. The UN Permanent Forum is the most senior body in the UN system that deals with Indigenous peoples' issues.

The UN Permanent Forum went through many, many years of intense lobbying to have this institution put in place, along with the recognition that Indigenous rights are not just human rights. Indigenous rights should be dealt with across the entire UN system. Indigenous rights are human rights, but they are also trade, environment, cultural and intellectual property, children's rights and women's rights. Indigenous rights are the full package of rights and until such time as Indigenous rights are recognised at the highest level in the UN system (including through the adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples), we are only really just chipping away rather than making substantial change.

The fact that Vicky is an Indigenous woman and chairs the UN Permanent Forum is no easy feat. The last Chair was a government person. The fact that she has that kind of recognition amongst her peers, because the Permanent Forum is made up equal members of states and Indigenous representatives, that she survived such a political process to become the Chair, is a significant accomplishment.

Curing and cosmology in Indigenous Mexico

Dr Sylvia Marcos

Director of the Center for Psycho-ethnological Research, Cuernavaca, Mexico

I want to say first that I am delighted to be identified as Indigenous and I am very happy to be in a country that defines me as such. In my country it sounds a little awkward, like trying to put on an identity for reasons that are not authentic. For this reason I am even more delighted to be here. Now that you baptise me as Indigenous, I will have that status forever. According to my genealogy, I am part Indigenous from Tlaxcala in Mexico and part Bedouin Indigenous from Palestine.

We have had here, with all of you, some very important discussions in a very short time. My presentation will be rather systematic since it will attempt to answer the basic question: Why do we have to train our capacities to fit into the western models of policy-making? Why don't we open the concept of policy to accept our own ways? What I will be presenting to you today will attempt two things: first, to challenge the paradigm underlying western hegemonic institutions; second, to promote the ways we, as Indigenous, see the world and see ourselves.

The following narrative is an example of one of the most common Indigenous healing ceremonies in Mexico:

Doña Macaria moves her arm around me with sweeping motions. In her hand, she has a bunch of herbs that fill the air with a pungent smell. Standing in front of her, I feel a freshness as she blows on my back, my face, my entire body. Finally she stops. 'You're well now, Señorita. The bad spirits that were clinging to you have left. Tonight, when you go to bed, place a white flower on your night table and drink a tea of white zapote leaves boiled with three lemons cut in the form of a cross ...'

Cognitive frameworks pervade our thinking, influence our conceptions of causality and guide our sensory perceptions. At all times we are immersed in the knowledge system that organises the way we conceptualise the material world around us to fit this cognitive system. When we are immersed in the world of Indigenous and traditional medicines (*mātauranga taketake* – traditional, indigenous knowledge – I learned this from you), we can discern, if we are perceptive enough, that underlying this story is a knowledge system intimately bound to a cosmology. In the overall pattern of medical practices in Mexico today, there is a contrasting interplay between the institutional/medical paradigm and the Indigenous one. Indigenous medicine has its own classification system, its special categories, its medical tools, its particular connections between illness and health and its concepts of well-being. Some curing and healing practices that are characteristic of popular medicine will be mentioned briefly.

Let us start with the example of Doña Maria, a spiritualist curandera, a healer from the Temple of the Sixth Seal. A patient consults her because he feels ill and thinks he has got a bad air, a "mal aire", as we call it in Spanish. Doña Maria first rubs a raw egg over the patient in order to absorb the bad air. If the patient wishes, Doña Maria then takes a look at the egg, breaking it into a glass of water. Air bubbles, long filaments and spirals appear in the egg white. Eventually solid particles will also appear. If these impurities penetrate the egg yolk, Doña Maria will diagnose that the illness is taking root because it has entered the body. An analysis of this curative practice reveals no strict frontier between the diagnosis and the healing. The egg enables the disease to be diagnosed and then cured. First the diagnosis provides the healer with a vision of connections manifest in 'similarities': the similarity of the bubbles with eyes; the materialisation of pathological entities in material bodies; the analogy of the divide between egg white and yolk; and the chasm between the body and its immediate environment. Then, after grasping the connections of which the illness is an expression, the healer sees in these connections the means for undoing the evil knots. Frequently the session ends with the patient being given some herbal medicine or a special object as a means of protection.

Another procedure equally common in popular medicine is the *limpia* (cleansing). In this cleansing, the *curandera* or *titici* (healers) sweeps the patient's entire body with a bundle of aromatic plants made into a brush and capable of absorbing the disease. This brush is destroyed after the cleansing, usually by burning. This technique is an example of the principle of proximity. On other occasions the healer will breathe on the patient's head, hands or wherever there is pain; other times she will chew the herbs, which she will then rub on the affected body part. Also very common is the practice of curing with the hands by touching the patient or, in other instances, forcefully shaking him or her. Finally, there are a number of *titici* (healers) who prescribe medicinal teas, set bones or, as I heard yesterday here from you, midwives that help accommodate a foetus in the correct position to facilitate labour.

Bodies and cosmos

Now let us analyse the deeper meanings of these curing practices. The body is the focus of fluid and animistic entities. According to traditional and Indigenous medicine, the body is porous, permeable and open to great cosmic currents. It is not a package of blood, viscera and bones enclosed in a sack of skin like the one which the modern individual 'has'. Nor can the body be the inert terrain of modern anatomical charts. What must be read in the body are signs of relationships with the universe. Inversely, the external world is rich in signals which reveal the small universe that is the body. Diagnosis is frequently based on the observation of entities penetrating the body or, inversely, by the movement of various entities getting out of it.

In this last respect, one of the most frequent diagnoses is, as we say in Spanish, "perdida del alma", which means "loss of the soul". Viewed through the lens of the medical profession, science and even theology, this pathological category can only be discarded as superstitious, ignorant and backward. How can one suffer soul loss and continue to live? Yet today *perdida del alma* (soul loss) is one of the principal pathological diagnoses that expresses Mexican Indigenous healing practices.

Numerous field studies describe and analyse the multiple variations of soul loss. Literally, the diagnosis means that the soul is lost, a prisoner of another being or is wandering. However, the soul here is not the unitary occidental soul. This concept of soul includes the multiplicity of invisible and psychic entities that inhabit the body. In his studies on the influence of black medicine in Mexico, Aguirre Beltrán, a researcher well known for his classic study *Medicina y Magia* (1965), notes the existence of four psychic and material components of the self: one is the dream soul, another is the breath soul, still another is the shadow soul and finally the mortal body. Another researcher, Evon Vogt, in his studies of Zinacantan, a community in the Indigenous Maya region south east of Mexico, points out that the *c'hulel* (the Maya soul) has up to 13 components. Some of these components can become independent from the body and interact with the supernatural world.

In ancient Mesoamerica (Mexico), the entities that animated the body, according to Lopez Austin, were invisible and some could leave the body at various moments in life. For example, *ihiyotl*, whose principal dwelling was the liver, could at times produce emanations harmful to people. Some strong individuals could produce them at will, others involuntarily. These concepts of harmful emanations are the origin of the notion of *mal de ojo* (evil eye) and occasionally of envy as a pathogenic factor.

The *tonalli*, whose principal dwelling was considered to be the head, travelled at night during dreams. In these journeys, it ventures on the path of the supernatural beings. It is believed to leave the body during coitus and sometimes during an unexpected experience. Until today the *perdida del alma*, or *tonalli*, is frequently seen as an outcome of an unexpected situation, not necessarily negative. When it is negative such a condition is now called *susto* (fright), an event reputed to cause loss of soul or loss of the shadow. Due to inadequate identification of the *tonalli* with the Christian concept of soul in the primary sources of the history of colonisation in Mexico (Sahagún, Ruiz de Alarcón), its original meaning has been subject to many distortions that render it difficult to fully comprehend. So we are talking about ignorance on part of the colonisers then and the elite population now, not on the part of the Indigenous people.

The third psychic entity was the *teyolia*, which was concentrated principally in the heart. It was considered the seat of reason, intelligence, knowledge and memory. This was the only entity that, when it abandoned the body, produced death. It is interesting to point out that in divine possession among the Aztec, the God possessed the *teyolia*, and not the head as it is conceptualised in Afro-American religions such as Candomblé, Santería and Vodou (voodoo).

Recently, a medical doctor doing service in a town bordering the jungle in south-east Mexico reported how his patients expressed these symptoms: “Doctor I have a pain here ...” (the patient touched his heart), “but it is moving here ...” (and then he touched his neck), “and also moves around here” (and he pointed to his legs). These contemporary reports express the fluidity of those animistic entities which have a preferential location in the body but not a fixed centre.

In Mesoamerican traditions, the body’s characteristics are very different from those that we find in the concepts of the anatomical body of modern medicine. For instance, interior and exterior are not separated by the hermetic barrier of the skin. Between interior and exterior there is a continuous exchange that professional modern doctors do not understand. Moreover, the material and immaterial are not considered as exclusive opposites, but rather as complementary poles on a spectrum of continuously interacting and mutually redefining fluid shades. It is in this interaction that pathologists, pathologic entities and the corresponding healing practices take shape. This polarity of complementary opposites is a recurrent feature of Mexican epistemology that gives Mesoamerican cosmology coherence.

The complementary poles that constitute dualities – such as up and down, exterior and interior, masculine and feminine, day and night, life and death – structure the whole cosmos in such a way that every primary duality is reproduced into an infinity of shades that blend without negating their dual natures.

Symbolic action

In such a cognitive framework or epistemology, it is not surprising to discover that sickness – an abstract and immaterial entity – takes on material form. One of the therapeutic practices that more clearly shows this is curing by sucking, which consists of extracting the illness from the body by sucking it out. Healers who work this way say that they extract insects, worms, even frogs and snakes, and it is the terms that they use that reveal the symbolic aspect of what they do: things “like” worms came out, “like” little frogs and snakes. The word “like” shows that, symbolically, what came out was the illness materialised, which was like one of those animals. These procedures have been defined as practices of “symbolic action”. What we call ‘objective’ reality is not as important as the chain of symbolic meanings. The materialisation of an illness in an object – an insect, piece of bone, glass or hair, for example – means that it may be destroyed, burned or thrown out. It indicates also that the immaterial illness flows towards the material pole and transforms itself into matter.

Well-being, wholeness and health thus depend on the balance of the material and the immaterial flow between the body and its environment. In this flow, the beings that moved between the interior and the exterior act not only on a material basis but also on a symbolic basis. This is more significant than the often-emphasised chemical similarities between modern medical remedies and the potions prescribed by *curanderas*. Information on the healing practices from the early stages of colonisation in Mexico (16th century) confirms that we are in presence of persistent formations of Mexican Indigenous medicine. The conquest was barely over when Fray Bernardino de Sahagun – one of the first chroniclers of the Aztec traditions, in his *Historia de las Cosas de la Nueva España* (1988) – described the different practices of the *titici*, or Aztec doctors:

. . . those who extract something from someone: first she chews absinthe and then sprinkles and rubs the patient with this. Then she massages with her hand. From the places that she massages she takes out things such as pieces of flint or obsidian, paper, splinters of pine or other things... When something has been extracted the patient recovers...

This is a citation from one of the foremost primary sources for the knowledge of ancient Mesoamerican healing traditions.

I will tell you a little story. Not long ago, I was invited to do a workshop with Indigenous Mayan Zapatista women who were *promotoras de salud* (health promoters). This term refers to the medical practitioners in all that region of the state of Chiapas, in southern Mexico. When I mentioned Sahagún's 16th century descriptions of the ancient healing practices, these women were amazed. They started sharing their own recipes with the other workshop members and comparing their rituals with Sahagún's descriptions. It was my turn to be amazed by the continuity and permanence of these traditions through the centuries. These contemporary women were the healers, the medical doctors, the *titici* of the Zapatistas. We spent the next hours sharing the equivalences between early and very near contemporary uses of healing practices, ritual procedures and herbal potions. This is an example of a culture of resistance to colonisation; resistance, in this case, to the invasion of European medical paradigms. In Mexico, we are speaking of 500 and more years of resistance and persistence in preserving Indigenous medical beliefs and practices.

Proximity and similarity therapeutic tools

The principle of proximity rules the diagnosis of the causes of illness and the structuring of therapeutic measures. For example, Doña Rita, a healer from a village south of the state of Morelos, relates that both her mother and father died when she was a child: "I sighed a lot and felt very sad," she says. As a cure, she puts a red cloth soaked in alcohol here (indicating), next to my heart. The use of the element of 'proximity' provides relief. It is what is sought by the healers who spread herbs on their chest in order to clear the lungs. Proximity in this cognitive framework – and be careful – is not ignorance; it is not superstition; it is not an external relationship but rather one more expression of the intimate connection between all things in nature. Because nature has placed two things together, their properties transfer. If the healer places two things together, their properties transfer also. The *yolloxochitl* (heart flower), which has the form of the heart, is frequently prescribed for those suffering from cardiac problems. The heart-shaped flower is also used to treat mental retardation. This illustrates the Mesoamerican cosmological theory that the *teyolia*, whose dwelling is the heart, was considered the centre of mental functions.

Presenting all of these instances to you, they may seem like so many anecdotal stories. When a healer performs all of these curing practices that I have talked about, and with a modern doctor watching, this doctor will usually just laugh and discard these practices as superstitions. A person who went to the university acts similarly and thinks nothing of Indigenous traditions. He/she will say that it is impossible for these practices to cure. Such people are looking from their own epistemological frame, their own standpoint, their own cognitive framework and, hence, they discriminate and ridicule. This attitude is absolutely unjust because these are the Indigenous traditions of the living Indians in Mexico today and because there is always a coherent reason within another 'rationality', another epistemology, another way of considering the world, the body, well-being and health. There is a very well-constructed coherence to explain the reason why these curing practices are able to cure the illnesses.

Mirroring and reflection

We will turn now to yet another connection proper to the cognitive framework of Mexican traditional medicine: the relationship of things that are similar to each other but are not in physical proximity. We will understand this concept better if we keep in mind the idea of a mirror reflection. Things are connected or linked through a relationship of reflection, and by mirroring they imitate each other through the universe. An example of reflection is the belief in popular medicine that the congenital deformation of harelip is due to the evil influence of lunar eclipses. It is thought that just as the moon is devoured during an eclipse, the lip of a child could be eaten by the moon. A mother of a child with a harelip laments that she did not follow the advice not to go out at night during a lunar eclipse when pregnant. Now, by a process of mirroring between the two phenomena that are linked within this particular cognitive system, her daughter turned out to be bitten in the mouth just as the moon is bitten during an eclipse. The universe reproduces itself through space and gives rise to a pre-coupling between

the microcosm and the macrocosm; it is a game of eternal reflections through which healing resources are found and employed.

The main difficulty in acknowledging the contributions of Indigenous medical practices lies in the definition by the hegemonic medical and political establishment of who we are and how we ought to be. This brief review shows how we can approach Indigenous medicine by respecting and appreciating it within its own complex epistemic universe of interconnections. Let us claim our right to put the world together, to conceive of health and illness in our own ways and to incorporate the spiritual and ritual domain as part of our well-being. In order to build pride in our indigeneity, policy-making should shift epistemologically, so that it might understand that Indigenous well-being must incorporate the Indigenous way of grasping the world, of understanding nature and of constructing knowledge.

Linking the global processes on indigenous peoples' rights and development and the Māori work in defining indigenous indicators of well-being

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Introduction

On behalf of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and my organisations, Tebtebba and the Asian Indigenous Women's Network, I warmly thank Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga, for inviting me to speak at this important conference. What I would like to share with you today are the developments at the global level around the work on Indigenous peoples' rights and development and how this relates with your work here in Aotearoa in defining Indigenous indicators of well-being. I feel that it is my responsibility to share with you these developments as this is a rare occasion for the Chairperson of the Permanent Forum to touch base with Indigenous peoples working on the ground and in the academe in a Pacific country.

Most of us would know by now that defining indicators is not just a technical process but more importantly a political process. We do not define or establish indicators of well-being in a vacuum. We have a vision of what a good or well society should be for us – Indigenous peoples – and the indicators we are establishing are linked with this vision.

Linda Smith, in her opening address, stated that we are here in this conference to answer three simple questions: How do we know when our society is well? When do we know that? What indicators should we use to say things are getting better? Diery Seck, in his keynote address, mentioned that when we talk about notions of being well this cannot be dealt with only at the individual level but also at the community level and it is important that attention be paid to the vulnerable groups in our own societies. Holly Dublin talked about how indicators of human and ecosystem health differ depending on the eyes of the beholder. She stressed the importance of local and Indigenous knowledge in making measurements. In the health indicators parallel session which I took part in yesterday, the panellists and participants talked about how all is not well with Māori and reiterated the importance of putting Māori at the centre of the exercise of defining indicators of well-being. They questioned whether the master's tools can be used to dismantle the master's house.

All these tell us that defining indicators of well-being is not a simple exercise; it is part of our continuing struggle to have our rights protected and respected and our visions and perspectives of development realised. So let me link what I have heard so far with what is taking place at the global arena, especially those processes which are directly related to Indigenous peoples. I will end up with some challenges for Māori and other Indigenous peoples.

Global processes

I would like to walk you briefly through some of the key developments in the global arena which are relevant to what we are discussing in this conference.

Millennium declaration and the millennium development goals (MDGs)

When the millennium began in 2000, the biggest number of heads of states gathered in September 2000 at the United Nations and agreed upon what is now known as the Millennium Declaration. This outlines what they think are the most important aspects of a desirable future world. They reaffirmed the

purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and reiterated their respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms and equal rights for all. Among the key objectives they have identified are: peace, security and disarmament; development and eradication of poverty; protecting our common environment; human rights, democracy and good governance.

This Millennium Declaration is the mother of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which is much more popularly known. The MDGs are composed of eight goals, 18 targets and 48 indicators. These are time-bound as the targets should be achieved by the year 2015. It is now 2006 so only nine years are left to achieve these. The goals are as follows:

- Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty
- Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education
- Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women
- Goal 4: Reduce child mortality
- Goal 5: Improve maternal health
- Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
- Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability
- Goal 8: Develop a global partnership for development

This is important to know because the thrusts and directions of UN agencies, bodies and funds, and also of bilateral donor bodies, are defined by this framework. You may not have heard much about this because the focus for developed countries is more on goal 8, which is developing a global partnership for development. There is a wrong assumption that goals 1-7 are more for developing countries or the Third World. However, as was reiterated in the various sessions of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, the achievement of these goals should also be applied to Indigenous peoples in the developed world.

United Nations Permanent Forum on indigenous issues (UNPFII) and its work on data collection and disaggregation and indicators.

I was introduced as the Chairperson of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues. The Permanent Forum is the newest body established by the UN which deals with Indigenous peoples. It was identified as one of the objectives of the First Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004) and it was established in the year 2000 (ECOSOC Decision 2000/22). It is composed of 16 independent experts: eight elected by governments and eight nominated by Indigenous peoples. The Indigenous experts are chosen from seven regions: Africa, Arctic Region, Asia, Latin America, Pacific, North America, Russia and Eastern Europe. Two seats revolve between Asia, Africa and Latin America. Its mandate is as follows:

- To discuss Indigenous issues within the ECOSOC's mandate, including economic and social development, culture, environment, education, health and human rights.
- To provide expert advice and recommendations to the Council and to programmes, funds and agencies of the UN; and
- To raise awareness about Indigenous peoples' issues.
- To integrate and coordinate activities on Indigenous peoples' issues within the UN system; and
- To produce materials on Indigenous issues.

I was chosen as one of the Asia representatives in 2005 for a term of three years and I was elected to chair the Fourth and Fifth Sessions. The themes of these sessions were on the MDGs and Indigenous Peoples. This gave us an opportunity to look in more depth at the MDGs, their implementation by states and UN bodies, agencies and funds, and their relevance to Indigenous peoples. What we found out is that Indigenous peoples are invisible in the MDGs, the achievement of the goals can further marginalise Indigenous peoples.

Since the first session started in 2002, Indigenous representatives have already called upon the states and the UN to undertake disaggregated data collection on Indigenous peoples. An international expert workshop on “Data Collection and Disaggregation for Indigenous Peoples” was held in January 2004. Some of the recommendations which emerged from this workshop are as follows:

4. Indigenous peoples should fully participate as equal partners, in all stages of data collection, including planning, implementation, analysis and dissemination, access and return, with appropriate resourcing and capacity-building to do so ...
9. (a) the United Nations system use and further refine existing indicators, such as the common country assessment indicators, the Millennium Development Goal indicators, and country progress reports, other global monitoring instruments, and the human development indexes, to measure the situation of Indigenous peoples.
(b) the national human development reports ... could systematically include case studies, and should include disaggregated data on Indigenous peoples.
10. The rights-based approach to development requires the development of a conceptual framework for rights-based indicators that are relevant to Indigenous peoples. It should take into account not only a process of full, active and meaningful participation of Indigenous peoples at all stages of data collection but also indicators which include Indigenous peoples’ access to territories (lands and waters) and to resources, participation in decision-making, as well as issues of discrimination or exclusion in areas of economic, social and cultural rights. These should reflect the current status of the realisation of their human rights and should measure both the process and outcome of development activities.
11. In analysing data, the full diversity and demographic profile of Indigenous communities should be taken into account, including gender, children, youth and aged persons, as well as peoples with disabilities.
14. International agencies and governments should undertake data collection and analysis on Indigenous peoples in regions where this is less developed, such as in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and parts of the Pacific.
21. Data collection should include (but not be limited to):
 - a) capturing the statistics of nomadic, semi-nomadic and migrating peoples and peoples in transition, as well as displaced persons;
 - b) capturing information on particularly vulnerable sections of Indigenous peoples.

To further build upon this the Permanent Forum undertook several projects on indicators which have been and are still being implemented. In March 2006, in conjunction with the Aboriginal Research Conference which was sponsored by the Canadian Government, a “Meeting on Indigenous Peoples and Indicators of Well-Being” was held in Ottawa. This was participated in by Indigenous representatives from North America, Australia and New Zealand. In the following months before the 6th Session of the Forum in May 2007, there will be regional consultations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. There will be an International Conference on Indigenous Peoples and Indicators of Sustainability, which will be jointly organised by the Working Group on Indicators of the Indigenous Peoples’ International Forum on Biodiversity (IIFB), the Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity and the Permanent Forum. This is expected to happen in February 2007, in the Philippines, as Tebtebba, my organisation, is chairing the IIFB Working Group on Indicators.

The results of these processes around indicators will feed into the 6th Session of the Forum which will deal with the theme “Indigenous peoples, lands, territories and resources”.

The Permanent Forum and the MDGs

As I mentioned earlier, the MDGs were the themes for the Fourth and Fifth Sessions. At the Fourth Session we looked at MDGs goals 1 and 2. There is a formation called the Inter-Agency Support Group for Indigenous Issues (IASG) which is composed of the UN bodies, agencies and funds, and other multilateral organisations. This body meets once a year to prepare for the sessions of the Permanent Forum. In 2004 they met to talk about the MDGs. One of the concerns they raised is: “... that the effort to meet the MDGs ... could in fact have harmful effects on Indigenous and tribal peoples, such as the acceleration of the loss of lands and natural resources on which Indigenous peoples’ livelihoods have traditionally depended or the displacement of Indigenous peoples from those lands.” They recognised that greater efforts have to be made to include Indigenous peoples’ participation in the Millennium Development Goals process and to ensure that Indigenous peoples’ issues are included.

This was likewise highlighted in the Fourth Session in 2005 and of several recommendations which emerged are the following:

10. In implementing the Millennium Development Goals, States should ensure the absolute prohibition of racial discrimination and, where appropriate, should promote multicultural policies, affirmative action and special measures necessary for poverty reduction among Indigenous communities.
11. States, the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organisations should support the efforts of Indigenous peoples to build, articulate and implement their visions of and strategies for development. They should provide adequate funding, technical and institutional support and training to enable Indigenous peoples to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and for Indigenous peoples to participate effectively in the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, programmes and projects.
12. States, international organisations, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, academia and the media should promote national dialogues and collaboration, including through the establishment of policy and institutional frameworks, as appropriate, in order to bring together Indigenous peoples’ perspectives, technical knowledge and priorities for sustainable human development and their expectations regarding the Millennium Development Goals. Indigenous peoples’ institutions and processes, where they exist, should be respected during these dialogues.
13. The human rights-based approach to development should be operationalised by States, the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organisations, including the international financial institutions, and should be the framework underpinning Millennium Development Goals and poverty reduction strategies, programmes and activities. The recognition of Indigenous peoples as distinct peoples and the respect for their individual and collective human rights, rights to lands and territories and sustainable use of natural resources are crucial for achieving a just and sustainable solution to the widespread poverty in their midst. Relevant international treaties, such as International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No. 169, common article 1 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which declares that “no people shall be deprived of its own means of subsistence”, as well as bilateral State–Indigenous treaties or accords, should be implemented to ensure compliance and implementation.
14. Member States, the United Nations system, bodies and funds should consider the definitions of extreme poverty by Indigenous peoples and in this regard should refer to the report of the independent expert on human rights and extreme poverty (E/CN.4/2005/49). Poverty indicators based on Indigenous peoples’ own perception

of their situation and experiences should be developed jointly with Indigenous peoples.

15. Governments, the United Nations system and other intergovernmental organisations should develop programmes, in cooperation with Indigenous peoples, to build the capacity and awareness of their staff to better understand and address Indigenous issues.

At the Fifth Session, which concluded in May 2006, there were also recommendations to further pursue the theme of the session which was “The MDGs and Indigenous Peoples: Redefining the Goals.” It was agreed in this session that what is needed is to redefine the approaches to the implementation of the goals to include the perspectives, concerns, experiences and worldviews of Indigenous peoples. This also meant operationalising the human rights-based approach to development. It was also stressed that Indigenous peoples in developed countries suffer significant disparities in the enjoyment of social, economic and cultural rights compared to the dominant or non-Indigenous populations. These are masked, however, as there is lack of disaggregated data, or even if this exists, it does not get reflected in the national averages. It was recommended, therefore, that developed countries not only limit themselves to achieving goal 8 but to include all the other goals with the full and effective participation of Indigenous peoples.

The human rights-based approach to development and the second decade of the world’s indigenous people

This brings me to the human rights-based approach to development which, for Indigenous peoples, is the framework that best suits their realities and their visions of development with identity. Thus, it is an imperative to refer to the Millennium Declaration which I mentioned earlier. The Declaration has established that respect for all internationally recognised human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development, is its normative basis. The main criticism against the MDGs is that they do not firmly establish this link. They are a set of goals, targets and indicators, which if not framed within a human-rights based approach can lead to the further marginalisation of other sectors, e.g. Indigenous peoples.

Achieving the MDGs within the framework of the dominant neo-liberal development model will not result in positive results for Indigenous peoples. This has been shown in some studies that have been conducted. One of the papers presented at the Fourth Session of the Forum was one that I made and this paper showed how Vietnam is on track in achieving its goals but at the expense of the ethnic minorities (or the Indigenous peoples) in that country. But it was also at the expense of Indigenous peoples in other countries who are highly dependent on coffee plantations. I will quote from this paper:

28. The example of coffee production demonstrates the problems of Indigenous peoples with the mainstream development model and with the globalisation of the market economy. Coffee production for export has been taking place in Indigenous communities in Guatemala since the late nineteenth century. Seasonal migration of Indigenous peoples to work in coffee farms has been one of their survival strategies. Some Indigenous peoples opted to permanently migrate, such as the Q’eqchi and the Poqomchi. This is also the case in Mexico. The profits from coffee are dependent on the exploitation of cheap labour of Indigenous peoples, who live in bunkhouses, without privacy or clean water and toilets.
29. When Viet Nam opened up its economy to the world market it built irrigation canals and provided subsidies for farmers to migrate to the central highlands and other upland areas in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1990 it only produced 1.5 million bags of coffee. This increased to a phenomenal 15 million bags in 2000, making Viet Nam the second largest coffee producer in the world. Large tracts of land, including well-preserved forests in the territories of the Indigenous peoples/ethnic minorities, were converted to coffee plantations. Most of these are now owned by rich lowlanders

based in Saigon. Massive deforestation and environmental devastation resulted from this economic project. The Indigenous peoples of Viet Nam were displaced from their lands, owing to the migration of tens of thousands of lowlanders into their communities to engage in coffee production.

30. The overproduction of coffee worldwide brought the prices tumbling down. Among those who suffered the most are Indigenous peoples, not only from Viet Nam, but from various parts of the world. Coffee prices dropped from \$1,500/ton in 1998 to less than \$700/ton in 2000, largely owing to the flooding of Vietnamese coffee onto the world market.
25. This has made it less economical to grow the “black gold” and has slowed the immigration somewhat, yet the problem of land tenure remains. In Mexico, coffee cultivation has been an important source of income for the Indigenous communities of Chiapas and Oaxaca. Nationwide, over 70 per cent of coffee farmers have plots of less than two hectares. And in Chiapas, Mexico’s most important state for coffee production, 91 per cent of producers have less than five hectares. These coffee farmers now find themselves in extreme poverty. The World Bank says that in Central America 400,000 temporary coffee workers and 200,000 permanent workers lost their jobs after the collapse of the coffee prices.
31. Viet Nam is one of the few countries on track in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. This was achieved, however, at the expense of the Indigenous peoples in that country. An anthropologist from Yale University, presenting a paper on Viet Nam in December 2004, concluded that:

‘Although the opening of Viet Nam’s economy to market forces in the 1980s and 1990s has reduced poverty levels and increased personal freedoms for much of the population, minorities continue to face many hardships ... Most upland ethnic minorities have little benefited from these changes. They suffer from disease, lack clean water, and have low literacy rates and low incomes, despite many government efforts at upland development.’
32. Massive protests from Indigenous peoples in Viet Nam, never seen in its recent history, took place in 2000 and still continue. The Indigenous peoples cut down coffee trees and replaced these with food crops to meet their immediate food needs.
28. The main demand of the Indigenous peoples is for the Government to recognise and secure their land rights.

This story also happened to the Indigenous peoples in my region when the Philippines liberalised the entry of agricultural products in 2002 and allowed for the dumping of cheap subsidised vegetables from Australia, New Zealand and China. This affected Indigenous vegetable farmers in the Philippines. Imported vegetables were priced 30 to 50 per cent lower than the local produce. This resulted in a loss of profits and the destruction of the livelihoods of 250,000 Indigenous farmers and 400 vegetable traders. The affected farmers are still trying to search for alternatives to this livelihood on which they depended for almost 100 years. Because of this crisis, more farmers are shifting to the production of marijuana, even if this is illegal. The cost of one kilo of marijuana can be 100 times more than the cost of one kilo of potatoes.

The challenge, therefore, is to redesign development to be underpinned by the shared values affirmed in the Millennium Declaration. These are freedom, equality, solidarity, tolerance, respect for nature and shared responsibility. The UN agencies met in 2003 to arrive at a common understanding of the human rights-based approach and this is what they came up with:

Common understanding

1. All programmes of development, co-operation, policies and technical assistance should further the realisation of human rights as laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments.
2. Human rights standards contained in, and principles derived from, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international human rights instruments guide all development cooperation and programming in all sectors and in all phases of the programming process.
3. Development cooperation contributes to the development of the capacities of ‘duty-bearers’ to meet their obligations and/or of ‘rights-holders’ to claim their rights.

The Second Decade of the World’s Indigenous Peoples (2005–2015) and its Programme of Action was launched in the UN General Assembly Hall at the opening Plenary of the Fifth Session of the Forum. The theme of the Second Decade is “Partnership in Action and Dignity.” Its objectives are the following:

- (i) Promoting non-discrimination and inclusion of Indigenous peoples in the design, implementation and evaluation of international, regional and national processes regarding laws, policies, resources, programmes and projects;
- (ii) Promoting full and effective participation of Indigenous peoples in decisions which directly or indirectly affect their lifestyles, traditional lands and territories, their cultural integrity as Indigenous peoples with collective rights or any other aspect of their lives, considering the principle of free, prior and informed consent;
- (iii) Redefining development policies that depart from a vision of equity and that are culturally appropriate, including respect for the cultural and linguistic diversity of Indigenous peoples;
- (iv) Adopting targeted policies, programmes, projects and budgets for the development of Indigenous peoples, including concrete benchmarks, and particular emphasis on Indigenous women, children and youth;
- (v) Developing strong monitoring mechanisms and enhancing accountability at the international, regional and particularly the national level, regarding the implementation of legal, policy and operational frameworks for the protection of Indigenous peoples and the improvement of their lives.

As you can see, the Second Decade coincides with the time frame for the MDGs. When the General Assembly adopted the resolution adopting the General Programme of Action of the Second Decade (Nov. 29, 2005, A/60/506), it finally used the term “Indigenous peoples” without any qualifications. This puts to rest the debate on whether “Indigenous people” or “Indigenous peoples” with an “s” should be used. The challenge for us is to be actively involved in promoting and achieving the objectives of the Decade and our work in indicators will be crucial in this.

The draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples

Before I end, I would like to update you on the developments regarding the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. As some of you may know, the negotiations on this Draft took 11 years and finally in December 2006 the process was concluded. While there was no consensus text adopted, the Chairman put together a text which approximates the level of agreement reached in the negotiations. Representatives of Indigenous peoples' organisations who have been following up the process closely released a statement at the Fifth Session of the Permanent Forum expressing their support for this text and asking the Human Rights Council to endorse this for adoption by the UN General Assembly before 2006 ends.

The UN Permanent Forum in its final recommendations for the Fifth Session also made a recommendation on this. This says:

- 2) The Forum is convinced that a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples will be an instrument of great value to advance the rights and aspirations of the world's Indigenous peoples. The Forum therefore recommends the adoption, without amendments, as contained in the proposals of the Chairperson of the Commission on Human Rights Working Group on the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (see E/Cn.4/2006/79, annex 1) by the General Assembly during its sixty-first session, in 2006. It would represent a major achievement for the Second International Decade of the World's Indigenous People.

For those of you who were present in the room when various governments and Indigenous peoples' representatives expressed their support for the adoption of this Declaration, you would have heard the position of Australia, New Zealand and the United States in a joint statement presented by New Zealand. Basically, they expressed that they do not support the Draft as summarised by the Chair on the grounds that they cannot accept Article 3 (the right to self-determination) in its present state as they do not agree that the right of Indigenous peoples to self-determination is recognised internationally. Secondly, they think that adopting the declaration in this form will create more instability for countries which have Indigenous peoples. As the Chair and as an expert of the Forum, I responded to this statement and at the end of the session, I was approached by the New Zealand delegate who presented this and was told that I should not have made a comment as I was the Chair and I should be independent.

So the present state is that the newly established Human Rights Council will table this for discussion at its First Session on June 19-30, 2006. It will decide whether it will endorse this adoption by the General Assembly or whether it will mandate the creation of another working group to further negotiate on it.

There will be a group of Indigenous representatives lobbying the members of the Human Rights Council to endorse this so that by the end of the year we will already have a Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Conclusion

I would like to conclude by reiterating some of the challenges which I posed along the way:

1. Continue your good work on defining indicators for well-being and link this with the other national, regional and global processes, through the Permanent Forum and other channels.
2. Play an active role in achieving the objectives of the Second Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples and making the MDGs relevant for Indigenous peoples both in the First and Third World or the developed or developing world.
3. Specifically, help further elaborate through your practice and research what development with identity should be, or what a framework for a self-determined development for Indigenous peoples should be. The proposal for you to formulate a Māori Economic

Development and Empowerment Plan can be the first step and this can be shared with other Indigenous peoples.

4. Continue putting pressure on the New Zealand Government to be more supportive of Indigenous peoples' rights and development not only at the national level but at the global level as well.
5. Strengthen solidarity links with other Indigenous peoples in the world because they are in very bad situations compared with where you are. Link the local to the global and the global to the local!

Dakkel ay iyaman!

Maraming Salamat!

Thank you very much!

PART B

VARIOUS PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE CONFERENCE

The application of cultural notions of well-being to government policies concerned with Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW

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Introduction

In Australia, the New South Wales (NSW) Government has developed a policy to promote Aboriginal well-being. The priorities for this policy, entitled *Two Ways Together*, are health, education, employment, justice and housing. While Aboriginal cultural heritage is acknowledged to be relevant to each of these priorities, there is limited knowledge of the role that the Aboriginal peoples' protection and practice of culture and heritage might play in achieving the Government's goals. *Two Ways Together* includes indicators for each priority area. The Department of Environment and Conservation NSW (DEC) is engaged in the process of developing further indicators which are able to take into account the relationship between cultural heritage and well-being.

Although 'well-being' is a broad concept, and one that is relational, DEC believes that it offers a potential framework to develop new ways of working with Aboriginal people, particularly in the conservation of their cultural heritage. The Department has initiated a three-year research project to develop indicators for cultural heritage as a component of Aboriginal well-being. The present paper is divided into four sections: an overview of the key terms of reference for the research; an Aboriginal perspective on the research project; the Government policy context for DEC's well-being research project; and the ethical issues encountered by this type of research project. This is a new project and, as such, the paper addresses itself to a work in progress.

An overview of key terms of reference for the research: developing a new approach to working with Aboriginal people and Aboriginal cultural heritage

DEC is the Government agency with legislative responsibility for the protection and conservation of Aboriginal cultural heritage in New South Wales. The Department is aware through feedback from Aboriginal groups and individuals that Government policy needs to reflect Aboriginal values. The challenge for DEC is to align a Government policy approach to Aboriginal cultural heritage with the more complex approach to it taken by Aboriginal peoples. Such an alignment calls for DEC to develop an ability to interact successfully with a culture whose approach to ways of thinking and doing differs from those of Western cultures.

Aboriginal people in NSW, as a key characteristic of their culture, have frequently articulated the idea of holism. Cultural heritage is more than what is conserved from traditional culture and needs to be understood as being an integral part of everyday life. For example, a recent study commissioned by DEC seeking input from Aboriginal community representatives on its Aboriginal awareness training programme, found that "there was a consistent reference to the 'holistic view of the Aboriginal landscape' and that the separation of cultural heritage, environment and conservation areas is not consistent with Aboriginal knowledge, views and values" (Swinburne University of Technology TAFE Division 2006, p. 23).

Engaging with this idea of holism requires DEC to understand what culture and heritage mean to Aboriginal people, or, to put it another way, to comprehend the social and cultural context of Aboriginal cultural heritage.

The anthropologist Deborah Rose, in collaboration with a number of Aboriginal DEC staff and Aboriginal community representatives, has developed for DEC a conceptual framework to guide its

approach to Aboriginal culture, heritage and the environment in NSW. Her study identified that it is a significant aspect of contemporary Aboriginal life to have kinship and caring relationships with particular parts of the natural world (Rose et al., p. 2003). Such kinship is characterised by a life-giving reciprocity of relationships between people, and between people and their environment. Accordingly, kinship is a term that covers an extensive range of values and relationships.

Deborah Rose's research project aims to find ways to respect kinship with the natural world in Government policy (Rose et al., p. 2003). Linda Tuhiwai Smith has engaged comprehensively with this issue, pointing particularly to the distinctiveness of Indigenous spiritual relationships with the natural environment:

The arguments of different Indigenous peoples based on spiritual relationships to the universe, to the landscape and to stones, rocks, insects and other things, seen and unseen, have been difficult arguments for Western systems of knowledge to deal with or accept ... The values, attitudes, concepts and language embedded in beliefs about spirituality represent in many cases the clearest contrast and mark of difference between Indigenous peoples and the West. It is one of the few parts of ourselves, which the West cannot decipher, cannot understand and cannot control ... yet.
(Smith, 2003, p. 74)

The particular challenge for the Government then is to practise a respect for the belief systems of Aboriginal people while at the same time making itself responsive to Aboriginal systems of control and to Aboriginal understandings of how these systems can work with Government policy-making.

A recent study of the engagement of health policy-makers with Aboriginal concepts of health highlights that when the Government is unable to grasp the conceptual basis of Aboriginal belief systems it is unable to effect the changes that are required of its policy-making by Aboriginal peoples' needs (Lutschini, 2005, p. 1). This raises the issue of the degree to which knowledge can be shared between Aboriginal people and the Government in order to achieve worthwhile outcomes for Aboriginal people. A further finding of the Swinburne study cited above was that the ability of Aboriginal people to determine an appropriate level of knowledge sharing with the Government, in the area of policy-making, is dependent on the degree to which they are able to gain a detailed understanding of Government policy and the bureaucracies responsible for it.

Lutschini has studied an Aboriginal concept of health that was put forward by the National Aboriginal Health Service over 15 years ago, and which continues to be widely referenced by Government policy today. It is a powerful and succinct statement of belief:

Aboriginal health is not just the physical well being of an individual but is the social, emotional and cultural well being of the whole community in which each individual is able to achieve their full potential thereby bringing about the total well being of their community. It is a whole-of-life view and includes the cyclical concept of life-death-life.

(National Aboriginal Health Service, 1989)

In relation to the many holistic definitions of health available, the key characteristics of the above definition are that it is founded on ideas of community health and spiritual well-being (Awofeso, 2005). Lutschini finds that little substantial change has resulted from the widespread reference to this definition: "It seems not so much incapacity to engage, but incapacity to coherently articulate Aboriginal concepts of health, which prevent advisory bodies ... to imbue whole-of-government approaches in accordance with Aboriginal values" (Lutschini, 2005, p. 1).

It appears from Lutschini's review that while the National Aboriginal Health Service's definition of Aboriginal Health is highly regarded, its influence on health policy has been limited by the lack of "a definitive source providing a comprehensive grounding framework to enable effective engagement with the concept" (Lutschini, 2005, p. 1). This same situation is evident with broader engagement with the term 'well-being', which is often featured in Government policy concerned with Aboriginal people. A

2006 survey of government policies, strategies and planning documents that address Aboriginal peoples' well-being commissioned by DEC found that:

Inconsistencies across the documents result in diffuse messages being communicated ... This can make it difficult for Aboriginal people and others in the community to understand the government's approach to addressing Indigenous well-being, where priorities lie and whether progress is being made.

(Allen Consulting Group, 2006, p. 3)

It is evident from Lutschini's and the Allen Consulting Group's analyses that what is required is new ways of constituting the Government policy context. Lutschini's study illustrates that isolated cultural knowledge (such as a holistic definition of Aboriginal health) is too readily subject to multiple interpretations, which results in loss of coherent meaning. The Allen Consulting Group's analysis demonstrates that this lack of coherence acts as an impediment to Aboriginal peoples' ability to access policy. 'Joined-up' approaches to Government policy have been introduced in NSW to ameliorate an earlier lack of integration among policy portfolios associated with Aboriginal Affairs. However, Lutschini's statement of the need for a "comprehensive grounding framework" suggests that in addition to integrating Government policy areas, we also must consider the whole philosophical basis to our approach (Lutschini, 2005, p. 1). This is an issue that has also received attention in discourse concerned with public administration.

A critique of the negative effect of the Western concept of liberalism on Australian approaches to Indigenous policy-making puts forward the idea that policy for Indigenous affairs should follow a principle of mutual respect (Bessant & Wilkinson, 2006). Under the terms of this critique, policy-makers would only enact policy that they would accept being applied to themselves personally (pp. 100-110). This principle would be coupled with a developmental ethics that is responsive to disparities stemming from differences in culture, experience and access to resources. Such ethics would attune policy-makers to the requirement to construct policy that offers an environment in which Indigenous people are able to foster their own well-being. How close is this type of proposal to current circumstances?

On a small scale, DEC has committed itself to a set of principles regarding Aboriginal people, the environment and conservation that articulate its respect for the rights and interests of Aboriginal people in relation to the environment and conservation. Developing an understanding of the social context of cultural heritage would provide DEC with a clearer sense of how Aboriginal people exercise their values and to what aspects of their cultural heritage they attribute importance. Conversely, Aboriginal people would experience less pressure on their time and resources, respect for traditional owners and knowledge holders, and better information sharing and communication.¹

One way to begin to foster this understanding is to consider how Aboriginal cultural heritage conservation relates to Aboriginal peoples' everyday lives. It is in the lived experience of Aboriginal knowledge, views and values that the whole range of cultural heritage meanings is made. An Aboriginal perspective on this research project follows, which introduces us to one person's thoughts about indicators for their cultural heritage.

An Aboriginal perspective on the research project

DEC's research project on well-being and Aboriginal cultural heritage is about the Government rethinking its approach to policy development. Most particularly it is about the need to articulate the relationship between well-being and cultural heritage in terms of indicators, and to provide a framework to link Government policy to cultural heritage outcomes. What would NSW Aboriginal people think about this project?

¹ These outcomes are drawn from "Eight Dreams and Aspirations for Work with DEC in Swinburne". University of Technology TAFE Division, 2006. *Aboriginal Cultural Awareness Training Needs Analysis and Training Plan*, p.24.

While I was preparing this paper, conversations about the project that I'd had recently with B.J. Cruse, a Monaro Aboriginal man from the South Coast of NSW who has had a sustained interest in cultural heritage indicators came to mind.² B.J.'s words offer a personal insight into the complex range of issues that our project raises for an Aboriginal person. I reproduce a small part of B.J.'s comments here with his permission:

The system has made the descendants of the ancestors less important; middens have become more important than us ... In a traditional sense we were regulated by the flower bloom and patterns of the wind, those were the indicators, now we are regulated by men – the police.³

From my point of view the urgency for the indicators is that the Government doesn't have the governance – for example, to get a cheque drawn from the Land Council I need three signatures – for the Government to do indicators about Aboriginal cultural heritage is a conflict of interest.

(telephone conversation, 16/5/06)

There is a lot tied up in B.J.'s words. It is about living in a society that is more interested in fossicking around ancient Aboriginal campsites than becoming acquainted with the contemporary Aboriginal people living near by. Aboriginal people who have continued to live in places like New South Wales, which have been heavily colonised by non-Indigenous people, frequently encounter the pervasive myth that their culture simply collapsed on contact with that of the colonisers.⁴

The corollary to this myth is that contemporary Aboriginal people are seen as fundamentally different to their predecessors because they have survived the colonisation process and in doing so have made cultural adjustments and innovations to their traditional ways of life. Aboriginal people also experienced tragic losses as a consequence of colonisation and the impacts of this process are still felt today. When he was eighteen, B.J. sought permission from his father to "fight for the Monaro heritage" (personal communication, 8/6/06). B.J.'s cultural vitality, despite the historical dispossession of his people from their land, is predicated on his capacity to be responsible for his cultural heritage.

The degree to which the public understands that Aboriginal people have cultural responsibilities influences the capacity of Aboriginal people to fulfil those responsibilities. When an Aboriginal person acts out of concern for his or her heritage and we don't perceive the culture and heritage of that person in their actions, we may apply our own interpretations to their actions and in so doing cause them an obstruction. Such obstructions could be unintended, or deliberate, but the effect is the same. By not recognising that person as culturally responsible for heritage we set out on a path that can only lead to compounded errors. For example, placing a young non-Indigenous person in an authoritative role in relation to people who are Aboriginal elders would put the elders in an awkward position (as well as showing a lack of respect).⁵

² In the mid-nineties B.J. Cruse represented his community in the negotiations for cultural heritage outcomes from the Eden Regional Forest Agreement. B.J. is a member of a family and community that has kinship with the ocean and the forest. This community also has a shared history with the abalone and forestry industries. B.J.'s participation in my research project springs from his continuing work to establish a network of culture camps in the Eden district.

³ "Midden" is a term used by archaeology to describe a mound or deposit containing shells, animal bones, and other refuse that indicates the site of a human settlement.

⁴ Byrne and Nugent discuss this idea in *Mapping Attachment: a spatial approach to Aboriginal post-contact heritage*:

'It has often suited the purposes of colonists to describe the colonised as having unchanging and unchangeable cultures which can only collapse or erode upon contact with the so-called 'progressive' cultures of the West. Aboriginal culture in the nineteenth century, like all cultures, was not a structure or 'thing': it was a way of life, a way of understanding the world, and a way of dealing with change. Aboriginal culture did not collapse upon contact with settler society. It underwent radical change, just as settler culture in the colony was also undergoing rapid change, by which process it became increasingly distanced from nineteenth century metropolitan English and Irish ways of life' (2004:34).

⁵ See for example, Swinburne 2006: 26.

In our conversations B.J. talked about the important role that the construction of the Eden Aboriginal Cultural Centre had played in creating employment and training opportunities for the young members of his community. He was particularly concerned by the negative impact on Aboriginal people of the public perception of them as welfare dependent. If contemporary Aboriginal people are assumed to be dependent on services and welfare for their well-being, such an assumption obscures the benefits that Aboriginal people gain from practising and protecting their cultural heritage. It is B.J.'s experience that public perception of Aboriginal people as "detrimental" to society undermines Aboriginal peoples' facility for well-being: "It's my philosophy that if an Aboriginal person is allowed to be more of a contributor, our contribution has got to be seen. Then they'll feel it and you'll have increased self-esteem" (personal communication, 8/6/06).

B.J.'s philosophical statement offers an insight to his sense of well-being. The contribution that he refers to is one that can be made as an Aboriginal person. It is well-being supported by an open engagement by contemporary society with Aboriginal people and their culture. Underpinning this philosophy is the question of the degree to which our society acknowledges and values its contemporary Aboriginal members. It is an issue that resonates with B.J.'s earlier comparison of the relative value of ancestral Aboriginal descendants and middens.

While B.J. is speaking from a personal viewpoint, his comment about the relative social value accorded to Aboriginal people has parallels in current research in emotional well-being:

Being devalued simply on the basis of one's group membership, regardless of one's own personal self-evaluation, could impact on emotional well-being ... Members of devalued groups are treated differently by others on the basis of their group membership, and therefore may be socialised to develop attitudes and behaviours that could affect their emotional well-being.

(Katz, 2002, p. 1)

Research into Aboriginal well-being and cultural heritage, therefore, needs to take account of not only the meaning that cultural heritage has for Aboriginal people, but also how Aboriginal people and their culture are valued and regarded by the broader society. Consideration of the cultural and philosophical assumptions that underpin DEC's policy approach would assist DEC to become attuned to the gaps in its policies regarding the emotional well-being of the Aboriginal people.

What role do indicators currently play in Aboriginal life? The wind and flower blooms that B.J. refers to as indicators are drawn from traditional knowledge. These types of indicators reflect empirical local knowledge. In thinking about B.J.'s quote on indicators I have found it useful to reference the Bureau of Meteorology's Indigenous Weather Knowledge project which talks about "natural indicators", similar to the ones B.J. has described, as being used by Indigenous people to monitor seasonal change, which guides food and medicine gathering.⁶

B.J. also ascribes a regulating role to these natural indicators. It is likely that this is similar to the monitoring role, which guides harvesting of resources quoted above. By invoking his ancestors, B.J. is able to refer to a time when his people's lives were constituted primarily through their relationship with the natural world. And he contrasts this with the present, where he describes his people as being regulated by men (i.e. the police). What does this mean?

If we imagine this situation from the perspective of continuous life-death-life, B.J. and his people are the continuity of their ancestors and the kinship of their ancestors with the natural world. Therefore, in B.J.'s comparisons of what regulates action, he is not simply comparing his lot with that of a group of ancestors that he is simply related to by descent, but rather is reporting on the current existence of his

⁶ The Bureau of Meteorology project is an example of Government engaging with a holistic Aboriginal approach to seasons. The Bureau describes mainstream Australian attachment to a Northern Hemisphere view of the weather, with its four seasons, as one that does not reflect the reality of Australia's weather systems, which are localised and different. The Bureau states that it is Aboriginal knowledge that holds the key to understanding weather patterns and predicting the arrival of particular seasons. For more details see the Australian Bureau of Meteorology website: <<http://www.bom.gov.au/iwk/>>, accessed on 5/06/2006.

(and their) heritage. What sort of future can B.J. anticipate for this heritage in these circumstances? And how do we measure the potential for that Aboriginal cultural heritage in the future?

I infer from B.J.'s representation of indicators as forms of regulating behaviour that the indicators that hold interest for him would reflect some of the qualities of applied traditional knowledge. I understand this to be a re-positioning of cultural value or traditional knowledge alongside Western ideas of objective measurement (our conversation included reference to this latter type of indicator). Since traditional knowledge is not dichotomised it cannot be declared to be subjective or objective. It is holistic, because the cultural value is integral to empirical local knowledge. Such a positioning raises the question of how the two very different approaches, the Indigenous/holistic, and the Western/objective, be addressed within the development of an indicator.

The natural indicators that are drawn from traditional knowledge are based in a complement of form and function, where there is a tangible benefit to the person using the indicator. And, importantly, the indicator is part of the heritage of the person applying it. Thus the traditional knowledge that B.J. has received as a descendant continues to connect him to the natural world of his kinship.

Moreover, it is a self-reliant system: if you have read an indicator correctly, it tells you what to expect. The indicator is not separate from the result; the indicator is the sign for the result. Within a holistic cultural approach the indicator is the result of the interdependent workings of nature and a sign of a potential opportunity to harvest something of worth. You can trust this type of indicator because of the seamless connection between the indicator and its use.

The characteristics of a natural indicator present this research with an intriguing model to continue thinking about. An objective indicator, in contrast to the natural one described above, sets a target and measures progress towards it. The target is an informed or agreed predicted outcome. The Government often uses these types of indicators, as a method of public accountability. They demonstrate to taxpayers that Government programmes are delivering results.

B.J.'s way of talking about indicators suggests that we could expand our thinking about indicators to find ways to relate Aboriginal peoples' designated futures for their cultural heritage to a 'target'. This would be less like 'number-crunching' and more like designing an indicator to ensure a particular future regardless of change. For example, approaches to land ownership could change over time, but the cultural responsibilities that Aboriginal people have for the land would be maintained (Cruse, personal communication, 14/8/06).

There is a more immediate implication for B.J. regarding the role of regulation in his people's daily lives as a coastal people who fish. On the NSW coast, Aboriginal traditional abalone use has fallen foul of Government attempts to police abalone gathering in order to ensure the sustainability of the abalone population.⁷ B.J. has had first-hand experience of his cultural sustenance becoming a valuable commodity, being unsustainably harvested, and then coming under the complete control of a Government department.

The licensing system that was initially developed to control abalone harvesting deferred the question of cultural resource gathering to a future stage (NSW Department of Primary Industries et al., 2005, p. 17; NSW Fisheries, 2002). In 2002, the NSW Department of Primary Industries published its *Indigenous Fisheries Strategy and Implementation Plan*. One of the four proposed outcomes from the strategy is "Ensure that the importance of traditional cultural fishing is acknowledged in fisheries policy and practices, and during discussions on fisheries resourced management issues" (NSW Department of Primary Industries et al., 2002, p. 2). Thus the potential development of indicators that show the relationship between traditional knowledge and contemporary cultural practices like fishing are a pressing concern for Aboriginal people like B.J. who regard fishing as a vehicle for linking contemporary life to their cultural knowledge and heritage.

⁷ For Indigenous perspectives on the regulation of abalone fishing in the south-east of NSW see Cruse, B., Stewart, L. and Norman, S., 2005. *Mutton fish: the surviving culture of Aboriginal people and abalone on the south coast of New South Wales*. Aboriginal Studies Press.

This brings me to B.J.'s final point. Is the Government compromised by the potential for a conflict of interest if, to take the example of fishing, on the one hand it regulates to sustain natural resources and, on the other, measures the benefits of cultural resource use for Aboriginal people? The potential conflict of interest would seem to arise particularly where these two activities are not readily seen as compatible. Sitting behind B.J.'s comment about a conflict of interest is the following question: to what extent can B.J. trust the Government's ability to effectively balance the needs of legitimate contemporary Aboriginal cultural practice, commercial activity and ecological sustainability?

The concerns that B.J. has are, arguably, shared by many and are not limited to Aboriginal people. However, particular to Aboriginal people is their status not simply as stakeholders, but as holders of traditional rights that were not ceded at the time of colonisation.⁸

In this regard we can consider that B.J.'s desire to see Aboriginal people being "allowed to be more of a contributor" has implications for rights as well as being about emotional well-being (personal communication, 8/06/06). The cultural responsibilities that Aboriginal people have are part of a heritage that had its systems of regulation. B.J.'s juxtaposition of natural indicators and statutory regulation exhibits the two very different ways of regulating action that need to be brought into some kind of meaningful relationship. My research project will engage in much more depth on this issue.

I have discussed B.J.'s comments at length because they are illustrative of the complex range of issues that emerge for Aboriginal people when research projects like this one are proposed. Trust is a significant concern in terms of what B.J. can accept as an appropriate role for the Government in relation to his cultural heritage. For this research to proceed, it needs to have an approach that acknowledges and is responsive to the views and cultural responsibilities held by Aboriginal people in New South Wales.

The Government policy context

DEC's guiding principles regarding Aboriginal people, the environment and conservation take as their premise that Aboriginal people are at the centre of their own world, rather than being simply at the margins of a non-Indigenous world. While this policy is particular to DEC, the NSW Government's adoption of a 'joined-up-government' approach for the Aboriginal Affairs policy provides a larger context in which to exercise these principles. *Two Ways Together*, the Government's ten-year policy for Aboriginal Affairs has two overall objectives: to develop committed partnerships between Aboriginal people and the Government and to improve the social, economic and cultural and emotional well-being of Aboriginal people in New South Wales.⁹

While the policy does not define its approach to well-being, the broad scale of its focus – social, economic, cultural and emotional – allows for exploration of well-being in terms of the interdependence of these factors. In this section I briefly run through the areas of DEC Aboriginal cultural heritage policy that have potential to articulate the relationship between well-being and Aboriginal cultural heritage.

Under the *National Parks and Wildlife Act* (1976) DEC is responsible for the management of sites, objects and places of significance to Aboriginal people across the State irrespective of land tenure. Within the conservation reserve system the Department manages seven per cent of the land in New South Wales. This makes DEC one of the largest land managers in the State and therefore a substantial potential partner for Aboriginal people responsible for cultural heritage, in addition to being a potential role model for other land managers in terms of conserving Aboriginal cultural heritage.

⁸ For DEC's commitment to acknowledge the traditional rights of Aboriginal people refer to: DEC, 2006. *Aboriginal people, the environment and conservation. Principles to incorporate the rights and interests of Aboriginal people into the work of the Department of Environment and Conservation NSW*. Sydney, NSW.

⁹ For details of the policy refer to the DAA website, <www.daa.nsw.gov.au>.

Aboriginal people can engage with park management in a number of ways, all of which are generically termed “co-management agreements”. However, these types of agreements fall into two categories, statutory and non-statutory. The Act provides for Aboriginal owners to co-manage a limited number of national parks. These parks are listed on Schedule 14 of the Act. The land title for Schedule 14 parks is returned to Aboriginal owners, who then lease it back to the Department for a market rent. The lease specifies that the rent is spent on management of Aboriginal cultural heritage within the park.

A hand-back of a national park, therefore, results primarily in a new administrative arrangement, in the form of a board made up of Aboriginal owners (who constitute a majority), representatives from DEC, local Aboriginal Land Councils and local stakeholders. Other outcomes usually include employment opportunities for Aboriginal people in various aspects of the park’s management, and “back to Country” days on the park for all of the Aboriginal owners and their guests.

DEC also enters into informal or non-statutory co-management agreements with Aboriginal owners for parks. Informal co-management arrangements generally establish access for Aboriginal people with historical as well as traditional associations with a park. The most frequent access sought is for culture camps. These camps take a variety of forms. Elders, for example, conduct learning camps for children and young people, and extended families return to camp during the holiday season at places to which they have a special attachment. A third type of pathway to co-management is through an Indigenous Land Use Agreement under Native Title legislation.

The most common motivation for Aboriginal people to seek a co-management agreement is for cultural and spiritual reasons.¹⁰ My research project will canvas all of the groups with co-management agreements for their input into the framing of research questions concerning the benefits to Aboriginal well-being arising from these agreements. It is possible that these research questions would lead to the development of indicators to measure the degree to which Aboriginal values are being applied to the conservation and management of parks with co-management agreements.

There are three other mechanisms administered by DEC that can conserve place-based Aboriginal cultural heritage. First, the Minister for the Environment can make an Aboriginal Place declaration for an area of land that includes tangible and or intangible cultural heritage, such as the site of a post-contact period mission. This gives a place the same regulatory protection as that conferred on an object (tangible cultural heritage) under the Act. Second, a land-holder can enter into a Voluntary Conservation Agreement with the Department to protect Aboriginal cultural heritage on their land. Third, Aboriginal groups can apply for funding from the *Protecting our Places* programme. This is a category of Environmental Trust funding to protect land that is culturally significant to Aboriginal people and to support education projects about the environment and its importance in Aboriginal life. My research aims to survey and to seek selected in-depth interviews with Aboriginal people who have been involved in these three mechanisms regarding the benefits of their participation.

DEC is also responsible for regulating the impacts of development on Aboriginal cultural heritage places (for example midden sites). Under Section 90 of the Act, if a development is likely to disturb or destroy Aboriginal cultural heritage, the developer must apply for consent to do so. This process involves the developer consulting with Aboriginal people about the significance of the Aboriginal cultural heritage, as well as conducting archaeological surveys and submitting an assessment report to the Department.

Aboriginal groups have contested some of the Department’s decisions regarding issuing consents to destroy Aboriginal heritage. My research will seek participation from Aboriginal people who have experience in the conduct of Section 90 assessments and who have challenged the Department’s decisions. It is worth noting that this is the aspect of the Department’s administration of the Act that receives the most critical debate among Aboriginal people in NSW.

¹⁰ This observation is based on the presentations by Aboriginal groups involved in co-management agreements and negotiations who participated in the 2006 Wentworth Co-Management Conference hosted by DEC.

While not a policy as such, the Department has an established practice of using oral history recording as a method for identifying cultural heritage values. Oral histories, for example, have been recorded in order to assist with managing Aboriginal cultural heritage on parks and as part of regional assessments. They have also been recorded to document the contributions of Aboriginal people to their communities, and to investigate the impacts of salinity and environmental decline on Aboriginal cultural heritage. I propose to contact Aboriginal people who have recorded oral histories with the Department, inviting them to participate in the survey and interviews. The research will also, with the consent of the oral history tellers, code transcripts of the oral histories using Nvivo social science analysis software. This latter activity will assist in the production of an integrated and consistent analysis of all existing qualitative material held by DEC (where permission is granted by the Aboriginal knowledge holder).

Common to all of these policy areas are various levels of involvement in land use and land management. The practice of oral history recording is in a slightly different category, but importantly it emphasises the personal and collective attachments that people have to land. These attachments can be cultural and can be historical and are frequently both. I mentioned in my introduction that DEC has received feedback from Aboriginal people that their cultural heritage needs to be understood as being integrated with their everyday lives. My research has the potential to provide Aboriginal people with an opportunity to assist the Department to analyse its current policies for land management and to identify ways to create better alignment between the policies and Aboriginal peoples' engagement with their cultural heritage.

Finding out what Aboriginal people value about their cultural heritage requires DEC to address some significant ethical issues. These are considered in the next section.

The ethical concerns of the research project

The nature of my research project – a Government Department engaging with Indigenous self-determination in order to develop responsive ways of doing business with the first people of NSW – must address significant ethical and related methodological issues to succeed. The key issues are the relevance of the research to Aboriginal people (including its capacity to appreciate holistic ideas about kinship and the natural world) and the degree of control that Aboriginal people can exert over the research.

The relevance of the research to Aboriginal people

Indigenous peoples are increasingly regaining control of their cultural heritage. In NSW, for example, in addition to land claims and co-management, Aboriginal people are successfully negotiating for the return of ancestral remains and cultural property from museum collections. Aboriginal people have been integral to the establishment and ongoing development of DEC's Aboriginal Heritage Information System (AHIMS). Ray Kelly, a Dunghutti man from the mid-north Coast of NSW formed half of the research team on whose survey work AHIMS was originally based.¹¹ This increased control is not limited to the public domain; at both a community and a personal level many Aboriginal people are in control of projects concerning their cultural heritage.

Joy Hendry, an anthropologist, believes that this sort of activity is contributing to a re-interpretation of the role of professional cultural heritage workers:

... to reverse the idea that anthropologists, museum curators, and ethnographic film makers, among others, work to 'salvage the past', or to record 'disappearing worlds'. Instead, our work on the understanding of diverse peoples, with varying ideas and ways of thought, is a highly relevant contemporary issue ... The diversity we work with is far from disappearing; it continues, and it grows, and is more complex than scholars in many other disciplines have ever realised.

¹¹ For more information about Ray Kelly's work see: Kijas, J., 2005. *Revival, Renewal & Return Ray Kelly & the Sites of Significance Survey*. Sydney: Department of Environment and Conservation.

Numerous peoples who have been relegated to the past are alive, quite well, and fostering individuals who speak forcibly for themselves.

(Hendry, 2005, p. 2-3)

Of relevance to my research is the emerging role for cultural heritage workers in assisting institutions and governments to productively respond to Indigenous cultural renewal. The dynamic elements at work in this renewal are return and revival or revitalisation. The element of return concerns what Aboriginal people have described as stolen or appropriated – children, wages, cultural heritage and intellectual property. Revival concerns: the capacity of Aboriginal people to access Country, and experience and express their culture and heritage.

How is the Department's well-being research going to contribute to cultural renewal? A greater understanding of well-being and cultural heritage would help to better align the land use and land management policies described in the previous section with Aboriginal return (in terms of co-management) and revival activities. Moreover, establishing what uses Aboriginal contributors make of the process of recording oral histories and the resulting publications would provide the basis for a new communication strategy between the Department and Aboriginal people.

The degree of control that Aboriginal people can exert over the research

The idea of the process of return is about Aboriginal people regaining what has been taken away from them. The role that DEC plays in Aboriginal people regaining control of land that is culturally and historically important means that this research takes place in a particular political context. Tensions exist between Aboriginal groups and between Aboriginal groups and the Government around the issue of how land can be claimed or who has the right to “speak for Country”. Much of this tension arises as a consequence of Aboriginal people piecing together lives, relationships and identities severely disrupted by the policies of earlier Governments: the policies, for example, that dispossessed Aboriginal people of their Country, controlled their movements, removed their children, and banned the speaking of traditional languages and the conduct of ceremonies.

Kate Waters, in a discussion paper prepared for DEC on well-being and co-management, has identified the following as the key principles on which critiques of the existing practices and processes in relation to determining who can “speak for Country” are based:

- The involvement of Indigenous peoples in the process of identifying stakeholders, and choosing representatives.
- Consensus-based models of decision-making.

(Waters Consultancy, 2006, p. 7)

How someone feels following the return of their right to “speak for Country” depends very much on application of the above principles. In this well-being project, there is an intention for the Department to learn from Aboriginal peoples' experiences of its policies and to take those findings into account in future policy development. In this sense, there is intention for an improved outcome for Aboriginal people.

Such an intention for the greater good does not automatically translate into an ethical approach for research. The ethical basis to research concerning fellow human beings is an issue on which there has been extensive and sustained debate. In addition to the work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2003), I have found the *Indigenous Research Reform Agenda* series by the Cooperative Centre for Aboriginal Health really useful in providing a framework within which to think critically about the ethical aspects of my research (Henry et al., 2002). In particular the critique of research methodologies that are presumed to empower research participants:

These forms of research methodology are always activated within the institutional contexts with their attendant political and ideological underpinnings. Without critical awareness of the framing of ‘research-in-practice’ by the deep messages emanating from the institutional context of these

research projects, the liberating potential of the adopted research methodologies may be diminished as the ‘research-in-practice’ defaults to the desires of the most powerful.

(Henry et al., 2002, p. 13)

Collaborative and participatory research methodologies are the subject of the above critique. These are methodologies that have been commonly relied upon by researchers who are committed to the idea of making explicit the power dynamics of research with the aim of in some way making those dynamics beneficial to the research participants. But as the above critique makes clear, the paradigm in which research is situated prevails while any alternative paradigms are explored, and unequal power relations are reproduced in research.

To overcome these limitations research has to be reciprocal in nature. The *Indigenous Research Reform Agenda* draws on Lester Kinsman Rigney’s principles for reciprocity:

- Resistance as the emancipatory imperative of Indigenist research.
- Political integrity in Indigenist research.
- Privileging Indigenous voices in Indigenous research (Rigney, 1999, p. 116; Henry et al., 2002, p. 4).

These principles offer new terms for the relationship between Aboriginal people and research. Rigney’s use of the term ‘Indigenist’ is intended to shift the position of Indigenous peoples within research, in particular concerning the “Indigenous Australian struggle against orthodox forms of epistemology in research” (Rigney, 1999, p. 115; Henry et al., 2002, p. 4).

This form of resistance is something to be alert to and to comprehend. It is an issue that stands over and above the established ethical aspect of research – the guarantee by the researcher to a research participant that they can withdraw from the research at any time. Resistance may also be adopted as a tactic to gain a form of authority available to Aboriginal people to shape interactions with dominant institutions—for example, not complying, withdrawing support, deferring an event, meeting or conversation, removing opportunities for contact or communication for a period of time and politicising issues as a means of increasing the potential scale of effect.

In this form of resistance, Rigney recognises the existing power that Aboriginal people have and use and, by making it a principle of reciprocity in research, he provides researchers and participants with a basis for opening up debate. Resistance is likely to become most evident when the research has ceased to be relevant to Aboriginal people, or is culturally inappropriate, or socially taxing, or is exerting some other unacceptable pressure. The principle of resistance is complementary to the second principle concerning the integrity of Indigenist research.

The integrity of the research becomes compromised if resistance (when it arises) is not acknowledged and responded to. Integrity is complementary to resistance when the research has as its primary focus a need or outcome specified by the Aboriginal people who are the subjects of the research. The ongoing review, revision and reinstatement of the Aboriginal participants’ perspective conserve the political integrity of the research (Henry et al., 2002, p. 10).

Indigenous voices are likely to be privileged (Rigney’s third principle) when Indigenous people collaborate on the research, and where there is shared critical engagement between all collaborators concerning the research. Adoption of these three principles makes explicit the tensions that exist between my Government Department-as-researcher and the Indigenous people who participate in the research project.

Researchers are unable to remain aloof from the issues confronting Indigenous communities. They have to be responsive to the social and emotional well-being of the communities. In this context, resistance by a community can simply mean that the community has a critical engagement with the research, demanding the researcher become engaged in the reflexive thinking of the community. Political integrity means that the agenda of the Department as it applies to Aboriginal cultural heritage is open to

negotiation by the community. Privileging Indigenous voices means that the research is conducted in collaboration with Aboriginal people and that the Department's and the community's priorities for the research are negotiated.

Cultural heritage is a part of Aboriginal peoples' everyday lives and the development of indicators for well-being and cultural heritage must take account of the holistic nature of Aboriginal culture. The Department's intention to apply cultural notions of well-being to its policies that are concerned with Aboriginal cultural heritage carries with it a corresponding requirement for change. It is likely that community development principles and cultural renewal activities will emerge as leading components of the Department's approach to working with Aboriginal peoples on the practice and protection of Aboriginal cultural heritage.

The policy context outlined earlier is characterised by an acknowledgement that Aboriginal people are not just stakeholders, but holders of rights that have their basis in heritage. An emerging aim for Government policies concerned with conserving and managing Aboriginal cultural heritage is to recognise the responsibilities that Aboriginal people have for their culture and heritage. To conserve and manage sites, objects and traditional knowledge requires the activity of Aboriginal people. This activity is not limited to conservation practices, but includes the whole of the cultural practices of Aboriginal people. Such an approach would contribute to changing the situation described by B.J. where a midden is valued more than a descendant of the ancestors.

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Kapululangu women and the circles of cultural learning project

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Introduction

I come to you today directly from the land of Luurn – the ancestral Kingfisher bird – in Western Australia's Great Sandy Desert, a vast land of red rock mesa and hot desert winds, where the Nintipuka (the clever ones), the women elders, are striving to 'grow-up' their people strong in and proud of their unique Indigenous culture. The elders send their greetings and ask you to listen to their story of the Kapululangu Women's Law and Culture Centre. They are the Law women (the religious/ceremonial leaders), the healers, providers and protectors of their peoples.

I am Irish-Australian. My mother's ancestral country is County Cork and Kerry; my father's country is Tandragee near Armagh in the northern counties of Ireland. As such I stand here before you with two feet. One foot is that of the colonised – I identify as a descendant of a still-colonised people – the northern counties of Ireland are still occupied. The other foot is that of the coloniser, for as a consequence of the diaspora that resulted from the English colonisation of Ireland I was born a beneficiary of the English colonisation of Australia, the great southern continent of many countries. The historical experience of the Irish peoples – their colonisation and their resistance – informs my work. But I am not Irish, I am Irish-Australian and this bequeaths to me the responsibility to work for the eradication of colonialism in our region, in Australia and the wider Pacific.

The community of Wirrimanu (a.k.a Balgo) lies 12 hours drive north-west of Alice Springs in the south-eastern Kimberley, at the top of the Tanami Track. The small settlement of some 380 residents was established in 1939 as a Christian Mission. On Walmatjarri ancestral lands, it has become the homelands of the Kukatja, Ngardi, Walmatjarri, Wangkatjungka, Djaru, Pintupi, Warlpiri and Mandiltjarra peoples. In this region, which we call the Kutjungka (meaning 'in one', together'), are also the smaller communities of Mulan and Kurrurungku (or Billiluna). The nearest small town is 275 kilometres away; the nearest larger town is 800 kilometres away.

Media furore and white stereotyping

When asked to speak of indicators of Indigenous well-being the words that come to my mind are "white dysfunction". Recently, our Australian media stirred up a furore as well-meaning non-Indigenous people reacted to the news that children are being sexually abused in Indigenous communities and that women are being beaten and raped. The entire nation has been in an uproar – well, those who are not Indigenous. For Indigenous people the trauma which is being experienced and expressed in their communities is not news, nor is it specific to Indigenous communities. Yet, once again, white society stereotypes Indigenous men as the violent 'Other' and Indigenous women as helpless victims, while positioning themselves as the saviour, the 'white knight'. The bare bones of white racism have become visible once again, and this will continue to be the situation as long as whitefellas fail to see their own cultural dysfunction.

Child sexual abuse and violence against women are the hallmark of societies which have lost their connection with the Spirit. Yes, there are grave problems in Aboriginal communities, but the problem in Australia's Indigenous communities is not that Indigenous people are dysfunctional, but rather that white society is dysfunctional. White society has lost its soul. I am not talking about individuals, but rather about the structural system which is whiteness. I am talking about white culture.

I want to clarify that throughout my paper when I refer to “whites” I am referring to the negative practices of white culture as it is acted out in its relationship with Indigenous cultures or societies; I am not proportioning blame to individuals. I advocate recognising and furthering that which is honourable of white culture, for all cultures have their beauty. I deplore the self-vilification that has crippled and silenced many whites, stopping us from engaging in real partnerships of social change with Indigenous peoples. Colonialism is a relationship between colonised and coloniser, and those of us who stand on the coloniser side of the equation should be – indeed are *obliged* to be – just as passionate about its eradication as those on its delivery end.

White cultural violence

As one of Australia’s leading Aboriginal experts on cultural trauma Professor Judy Atkinson warns that when “the smallness of soul in one race, which does not respect or recognise the spiritual beliefs and values of another race” (Atkinson, 1990, pp. 12–13), when one society attempts to control the way another society lives, its lifeworld and its systems, the outcome is spiritual violence. The result is “the loss of spirit, the destruction of self, of the soul” (Atkinson, 2002, p. 69). Atkinson is talking about Aboriginal peoples, but it also becomes clear that those who colonise must first colonise themselves, for one can only colonise another if one has first experienced the loss of soul.

Yes, Aboriginal Australians are dysfunctional – for what else is a community that turns against its own children and women? But as Judy Atkinson points out the Greek word “*dys*” translates as “painful” or “difficult”: “The word *dysfunctional* denotes people, as individuals or in groups, who are functioning with difficulty or in pain” (Atkinson, 2002, p. ix). This is the stark reality of the situation in Australia’s remote Aboriginal communities.

As Aboriginal psychologist Pat Dudgeon contends, the intra-cultural dysfunction that burdens Aboriginal communities is a “collective reaction” of anger to the oppression of colonisation carried over generations which, in the absence of a constructive outlet, has transferred into rage turned inwards to oneself, or one’s family and group (Dudgeon, 2000, p. 69). There is, she has observed, a relationship between powerlessness, substance abuse and violence to self and others such as suicide, assaults, rape, homicide, child neglect and abuse (Dudgeon, 2000, p. 73). “In a sense, intra-cultural violence is aggression turned inwards, a collective reaction against one’s own group. Over generations, Indigenous people, because they have not [been] able to safely act out frustration and anger against non-Aboriginal oppression have transferred that rage turned inwards against themselves and those of their own group” (Dudgeon, 2000, p. 69).

Health situation

The situation facing Indigenous Australia is dire. Australian Indigenous health standards are said to be the “worst in the world”. In standard of living, Australia ranks second to last after China in a comparison with 100 countries if one takes the Indigenous Australian situation into account (Graham, 2006). According to the report, Aboriginal people were 15 times more likely to die from diabetes, 19 times more likely to die from heart disease, 14 times more likely to die from pneumonia and 12 times more likely to die from assaults than non-Aboriginal Australians (Graham, 2006). Indigenous Australians die about 20 years younger than non-Indigenous Australians. This compares with eight years for Māori compared to non-Māori, and five years for Native North Americans compared to their non-Indigenous North Americans (O’Dwyer, 2005).

Within Australia, Wirrimanu’s people suffer from some of the worst health when compared to other Indigenous Australians. In 2003, Wirrimanu’s mortality rate was 1.4 per cent of the population per annum (Mercy Health, 2003). Approximately 43 per cent of children born were of low birth weight (below 2500 grams) and the majority of children in the age group of zero to five years failed to thrive (Hope, 2004, p. 16). Wirrimanu deaths by injury (including alcohol related car accidents) or poisoning (including petrol sniffing) are the highest in Western Australia, 2.5 per cent higher than such deaths among Aboriginal people in Perth (Palyalatju Maparnpa and Mercy Community Health, 2000). Wirrimanu’s people also suffer from the highest deaths in the State from circulatory and respiratory

diseases – which largely have been eliminated in white society. In 2004, there were 20 deaths in Wirrimanu’s population of 350 persons, meaning that in that year 5.7 per cent of the total population died. Of these 20 deaths, the ages of five were unrecorded. Of those 15 whose ages were known approximately 50 per cent died under the age of 50 years; and of those seven, four died at under 30 years of age: one died at 13 years old and another died after only one minute of life in a Mulan clinic. Three died as a result of alcohol related car accidents. At least one of the deceased died as a result of petrol sniffing, setting himself alight by accident.

Each of these deaths is tragic, but one of the most alarming consequences is that Wirrimanu is rapidly losing its cultural custodians, the keepers of its Law (religious/ceremonial knowledge). Of the 20 deaths in 2004 three were the leading Law women of their generation. I’ll repeat that because I want you to understand the dire consequences of ill health and trauma in Wirrimanu: the leading cultural custodians, the Law knowledge bearers of three generations were prematurely lost to Wirrimanu between July and October 2004. Their deaths have emotionally winded the women elders who have outlived them and left a scar on the psychological and spiritual fabric of their families and communities. To make matters worse, those elders who have been left to carry on the burden of cultural maintenance are themselves in poor health or are becoming fragile. This is compounded by a situation where premature aging is a very real concern. Of the thirteen women elders I lived with on the Kapululangu Tjilimi (Women’s Law Ground) in 1999 through 2001, only five are still living. These women are becoming tired, exhausted from their ongoing struggle to get the Government to support their efforts to care for the spiritual health of their families and communities.

Petrol sniffing and suicides

There is not one person in Wirrimanu who has not been torn by the untimely death of a loved one. These deaths – the trauma that causes them, and the trauma which they cause – is tearing the community apart. Wirrimanu’s young people have felt this pain at the core of their souls. The young men have started to kill themselves.

The first suicide was on 7 November 2002, followed by another on 23 September 2003. The first young man was 16 years old, the other 17 years old. These deaths are linked to petrol sniffing. These young men had been sniffing petrol since they were 11 years old. Then in March 2004 two teenage boys were found after hanging themselves, although both survived and were flown to hospital. In two other incidences teenage boys were stabbed by other teenagers affected by petrol sniffing. There are many incidences of children and youth harming themselves. In November 2004, I saw a young man stab himself in his arms and legs fourteen times.

Causes of petrol sniffing and suicides

Why is this tragedy happening? Why are Wirrimanu’s children killing and hurting themselves? In 2005 the Western Australian coroner Alistair Hope conducted an inquest into the deaths of first two suicides. He reported that:

Poverty, hunger, illness, low education levels, almost total unemployment, boredom and general feelings of hopelessness form the environment in which self-destructive behaviour takes place. That such conditions should exist among a group of people defined by race in the 21st century in a developed nation like Australia is a disgrace and should shame us all.

(Hope, 2004, p. 3)

One of the factors identified as a cause for petrol sniffing was children coming from dysfunctional families. Wirrimanu’s Parish Priest has identified that 14 of 20 of Wirrimanu’s well-known sniffers have parents who were “either unwilling or incapable of providing food, clothing and protection” not as a result of “a conscious decision to abandon the children, but rather from the problems which the parents were themselves experiencing” (p. 9). Wirrimanu Aboriginal Corporation CEO told the coroner that “some children were sniffing petrol to reduce hunger pangs”, and that many children “could not remember a reasonably substantial meal for a period of up to four days” (pp. 9-10). Some petrol sniffers

even attended school just to get the breakfast, morning tea and lunch that was provided, where they became a disruptive influence, according to the local school principal.

In April 2006, while visiting another remote Aboriginal community, the Australian Minister for Indigenous Affairs, Mal Brough, chose to compare the rather dilapidated situation in that community with Wirrimanu. In Wirrimanu, he said, while there was an “enormous amount of crimes committed in the month of January. Twelve months later, by restoring law and order and governance, there was zero crime ... people aren’t ‘self-harming’ [and] break-and-enters are virtually non-existent. Violence in the street is nonexistent” (McGrath, 2006). In the Minister’s opinion all of this had been achieved by “restoring law and order and governance”, “people ... playing sport” and “Locals ... taking control of their own community and those elements that are causing the problems are literally being driven out of town and no longer being accepted” (McGrath, 2006).

The Minister was being optimistic to believe that Wirrimanu’s youth had stopped harming themselves. A permanent police presence and the employment of a Child Protection Officer in February 2005 had made a difference, as had the employment of a youth worker with a focus on sport and other recreational activities. But the grant for the youth worker had only extended six months to November 2005. Local observations indicate that the number of youth engaged in petrol sniffing and attempting suicide increased concomitantly with the cessation of the youth worker position (Karvelas, 2006). It is too early to determine just how successful these interventions have been, because petrol sniffing in Wirrimanu has consistently gone through waves where the numbers are up one month and then the community responds until the numbers drop again.

Minister Brough’s reference to the “elements that are causing the problems” being driven out of the community by the police’s zero tolerance policy on alcohol is having the effect of driving residents out of Wirrimanu (Balgo) and this is causing its own problems (McGrath, 2006). A large portion of Wirrimanu’s population has removed itself semi-permanently to the nearby township of Halls Creek where they can access grog (alcohol) at the local hotels. This has left many children without parents in Wirrimanu, and those who are not fortunate to have grandmothers or other guardians have effectively been left to fend for themselves.

Further, the Minister’s statement that “governance” had been restored in Wirrimanu was incorrect. In fact, in 2002, Wirrimanu’s elected community council was unilaterally disqualified (sacked) and the community was placed “under administration” by the Office of the Registrar of Aboriginal Corporations; that is, by the Federal Government. With a simple sweep of the pen, Wirrimanu’s administration came under the control of a single white male living in Adelaide, on the other side of the continent. While this intervention has brought a halt to over two decades of corruption and mismanagement of the community by predominantly white administrators (dé Ishtar, 2005, pp. 76–123), this cannot be described as Indigenous governance. There has never been any serious attempt to train local residents in governance and administration processes and, with a Federal Government which has reneged on any attempt at Indigenous self-determination, the restructuring of the local council seems unlikely, at least for the short-term. Instead Australia is being prepared for the rolling out of a new paternalism across the continent which will see more local councils being replaced with external, though well-meaning, businessmen.

Importance of cultural maintenance to health

When the coroner conducted his inquest into the deaths of the two young men who committed suicide he inquired extensively into the socio-economic context in Wirrimanu. He studied and identified factors impacting on health, social dysfunction (for example, family violence and child abuse), environment (housing and rubbish), education, employment and administration. His inquiry seemed to be a comprehensive study. But the coroner had overlooked one vital element, which is unfortunately often left unexamined. He had failed to comprehend the important role of cultural pride to the physical, emotional and, more importantly, the spiritual health of Wirrimanu’s people. He had failed to listen to the grandmothers, the Nintipuka (the clever ones). Children (including pre-pubescent boys) and young

women are the responsibility of the women of Wirrimanu, and yet their concerns, points of view and contributions have consistently been overlooked.

This oversight contradicts the support which the Council of Australian Governments has given to the *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* framework. This framework has clearly indicated that “causal pathways” that begin in early childhood compound over a person’s lifetime, directly leading to an Indigenous disadvantage which is then expressed in crime, violence and high-risk suicidal behaviours (DIA, 2005). This “causal pathway” is thought to begin with the unborn child and extend through childhood and is affected by factors such as substance abuse by the mother, pre-natal nutrition, parenting ability, childhood exposure to violence, schooling experiences, deviant peer pressure, absence of employment, and substance abuse as a young person. Focusing her emphasis on early childhood development and growth, Stanley has identified three mutually supportive strategies for overcoming these problems: safe and healthy supportive family environments with strong communities and cultural identity; positive child development; and improved economic sustainability (Stanley, 2004).

Growing up strong for law, strong for culture

The women elders of Wirrimanu *know* that culture is vital to their people’s survival. They believe that their grandchildren and great grandchildren are experiencing intense trauma and increasingly turning to petrol sniffing and other forms of self-harm and finally suicide, because they are losing connection with their land, and have had few opportunities to learn and practise their cultural heritage and thus to commune with the Tjukurrpa, the cosmic universal life-force (translated as “the Dreaming”).¹

Concerned that their youth are suffering from a fundamental shame of who they are, the Kapululangu elders wanted to grow their grandchildren up strong in pride of their Indigeneity in the hope that this would give them the strength to cope with their cultural pain. They wanted to encourage their grandchildren and young people to learn culture (their people’s unique customs) and Law (their cosmology which lies at the core of their people’s identity and makes them special). They believe that raising their grandchildren “strong for Law, strong for culture” can help them to heal.

The women elders are the cultural custodians, teachers, healers and Law women for their people. It is women who raise the children, including pre-pubescent boys before they become the concern of the male elders. The women elders are also responsible for the spiritual well-being of the younger women in their families and kinship clans. They are the Nintipuka (the clever ones). They grew up in the desert before the whitefellas arrived in their country. The cultural knowledge that they hold is a unique gift to humanity.

For Wirrimanu’s women elders, the “core” solution to their young people’s lives lies in the re-assertion and re-centralising of their Indigenous cultural practices, philosophies, values and beliefs. They believe that Law and culture is the foundation upon which people live their lives. They believe that all the bricks of education, health, employment (all the strategies currently being focused on by the Government, albeit in a limited way) must be built upon the strong foundation of Law and culture. The elders know that without a strong foundation the bricks – all the current strategies – will just keep falling down.

Kapululangu Women’s Law and Culture Centre

In 1999, Wirrimanu women elders formed the Kapululangu Aboriginal Women’s Association. They asked me to assist them in achieving this and, working together, we established a tjilimi (a women’s camp or ritual space) where we lived – 13 women elders, a young granddaughter, myself and 11 dogs – in a one room tin shed for two years. We were accompanied by the two ancestor women (the spiritual beings who watch over that country). Located on Wirrimanu’s Women’s Law Ground, we called this sacred space the “Kapululangu Women’s Law and Culture Centre”.

¹ See de Ishtar, Zohl (2005). *Holding Yawulyu: White Culture and Black Women’s Law*. Melbourne: Spinnifex Press.

From this women's ritual camp, we ran a vibrant cultural programme which consisted of cultural classes and workshops for girls and young women at the Tjilimi, participation in hunting and rituals for young women, and cultural camps for girls and boys where the elders (women and men) taught them how to live with the desert. We travelled along Yiwarra Tjukurrjanu (Dreaming Tracks) to perform rituals at sacred sites. We went on tours to other Indigenous communities, and even travelled to Hawai'i and Canada to "share" culture with other Indigenous peoples.

In addition to providing this inspirational place of learning for women and girls (including for the elders themselves), Kapululangu also provided an Old Women's House (all of our residents were aged over 60 years, two were aged over 90 years, and we provided respite care to two women said to be aged over 100); a Tjaatjurra Healing Centre, where the elders used traditional methods to heal both women and men; a Safe House refuge for women and children at risk of, attempting to avoid, or recovering from, family violence; a Keeping Place for sacred tarruku (sacred ritual items, ceremonial equipment); and a Night Watch Patrol service where the women elders patrolled the community at night trying to discourage young girls and boys from sniffing petrol. Kapululangu women also encouraged and supported the male elders in their tutelage of young men and boys.

To summarise, at its strength Kapululangu Women's Law and Culture Centre achieved all of the following:

- Created a Tjilimi on the women's Law ground, a live-in ritual space, a gynocentric space;
- A vibrant, intergenerational cultural knowledge transmission programme;
- Cultural classes for girls, cultural camps for girls and young boys;
- Hunting trips, trips to country and cultural training for young women;
- Training for middle generation women in Yawulyu (Women's Law) and Tjaatjurra (women's healing), also hunting and basic bush crafts;
- Participation and mutual mentoring for women elders in *Yawulyu* (Law);
- Tours along Yiwarra Tjukurrjanu (Dreaming Tracks); and rituals at sacred sites;
- Formation of Kapululangu Women Dancers, a dance troupe;
- Regional, national, international cultural exchanges, including to Hawai'i and Canada;
- An Old Women's House (occupied by widows aged 60 to 90 years, two were aged over 100);
- A Tjaatjurra Healing Centre using traditional healing for women and men;
- A Women's Safe House (refuge for women and children);
- A Keeping Place for tarruku, sacred ritual items;
- A Night Watch Patrol (Kapululangu elders patrolled against petrol sniffing and alcoholism); and
- Kapululangu supported the male elders in their tutelage of young men and older boys.

As this Indigenous instigated and led project developed, the elders witnessed their grandchildren and great-grandchildren becoming increasingly interested in their stories and memories, and in learning how to dance and hunt and this gave the elders an immense sense of achievement. As they passed on their customs and philosophies, the elders saw the young girls and boys taking pride in their identity, and this in turn stirred the elders' enthusiasm and ambition. They became inspired role-models for other women (and for men) in the maintenance of their cultural heritage.

Unfortunately, in 2001, Kapululangu's dynamic cultural programmes collapsed; once again under the weight of white cultural dysfunction. I don't have the space here to discuss the hows and whys of what happened, but suffice to say Kapululangu had stood up against white administrative mismanagement of and corruption in the settlement and had suffered as a consequence. Between October 2000 and July 2001 there had been a parade of white male administrators and store managers vying with each other for the largest pay-packet and the dysfunction caused by their behaviour was impacting on almost every aspect of community life (dé Ishtar, 2005, pp. 76-123).

Kultja Kuurla

In July 2004, a representative of a Western Australian Government Department visited the community to ask them what they thought would help them deal with the youth suicides, petrol sniffing, and other issues plaguing their families. The women elders were encouraged to say what they wanted to do about the problems on the understanding that attempts would be made to find the funds to make it possible. The Kapululangu women decided that they wanted to establish a Kultja Kuurla (culture school), which would run cultural programmes for their grandchildren and great-grandchildren similar to those run by Kapululangu in 1999 through 2001.

The Kapululangu Kultja Kuurla would provide weekend and after-school cultural activities for children (including pre-pubescent boys) and young women based on the template of Kapululangu's earlier cultural programme. Kapululangu's work with young women, many of whom are young mothers, would include the development of a touring women's dance troupe, thereby furthering young women's cultural leadership training through contact with their peers across Australia and overseas.

Kapululangu would achieve all of this by engaging the participation of the older middle-generation women under the guidance of the women elders as cultural tutors for young women and girls, and young boys. They would be paid for their tutelage. The programme would also establish two paid employment positions for middle-generation women as cultural events facilitators. The Kultja Kuurla would be supported by a circle of Tilitja (culture women) whose role it would be to provide logistical support to the Kapululangu elders. They, in turn, would draw on a series of skilled volunteers and researchers, the majority of which would be Indigenous women.

The Kultja Kuurla process places the Nintipuka (the women elders) in the centre and positions a series of age-related circles around them. This template draws on the traditional processes of incremental learning which predates the influence of white cultural schooling procedures. These Circles of Cultural Learning would provide the following services to the various age groups:

Elders – Nintipuka (clever ones)

- Support the elders in developing and maintaining their skills in Yawulyu (Women's Law), their management of the Tjukurrpa (universal life force);
- Position them as respected teachers of their community;
- Enable their community's access to their Tjaatjurra healing abilities (women healers); and
- Engage them in Women's Law Meetings and other cultural exchanges, regionally, nationally, internationally.

Middle Generation Women

- Provide cultural learning opportunities for women who were raised in dormitories and thus have had limited access to the normal processes of cultural learning;
- Increase their involvement in Kapululangu's ongoing ceremonies;
- Position them as teachers of cultural knowledge and skills, building their confidence;
- Engage them in cultural exchanges and dance performances; and
- Provide meaningful employment through participation in and ownership of Kapululangu.

Young Women

- Provide learning opportunities and involvement in ceremonies and cultural events;
- Form a dance troupe and enhance their participation in cultural exchanges;
- Encourage the intergenerational reconciliation with elders and older women;
- Develop confidence and skills bridging two worldviews; and
- Build cultural pride and thus their own self-esteem.

Kamina (older girls)

- Provide opportunities for them to be immersed in their unique cultural environment;
- Provide opportunities for their immersion in Yawulyu (Women's Law, spirituality);
- Provide entertainment and recreation through weekend and holiday cultural activities;
- Form a Dance Troupe and encourage their participation in cultural exchanges; and
- Build their confidence and self-esteem.

Tjiitji (school children)

- Provide opportunities for them to be immersed in their unique cultural heritage;
- Enable them to learn their own cultural history, knowledge and skills;
- Build understanding of the importance of their people's awareness of the Tjukurrpa;
- Provide cultural camps and afternoon and weekend activities which entertain them;
- Encourage them towards pride in their Aboriginality; and
- Encourage them not to turn to petrol sniffing culture as cultural replacement.

Lamparnlamparnpa (babies and preschoolers)

- Provide opportunities for them to be raised in a heightened cultural environment;
- Encourage the development of close cultural bonds with mothers, grandmothers, great-grandmothers;
- Encourage young mothers to learn cultural child-care practices from their elders; and
- Restore parenting skills by providing supportive environment for young mothers.

Men and Other Communities

- Once established the programme could be extended to women in other communities in the Kutjungka region – Mulan and Kurrurungku (Billiluna). Concomitantly, Kapululangu could then assist the men's side to organise similarly around their needs.

The Government's response

The elders' notion of the Kultja Kuurla is still a longed-for strategy to deal with the social issues that are impacting the lives of their families. Whether or not Kapululangu can be successful in achieving this goal will depend upon the project being sufficiently resourced and funded.

However, rather than provide the elders with the financial and logistical support they need to run their Kultja Kuurla the Government has provided Wirrimanu with basketballs and a large roof over a basketball court. Sport is important to Wirrimanu's youth, so there is a place for basketball and other sports – but not at the expense of Law and culture. What has happened is that the Government – a purely secularised terrain – has succeeded in recognising the need to focus on youth but has failed to understand the importance of their need for a strong spiritual grounding in their own unique cultural heritage to their socio-psychological well-being. Meanwhile, the women elders have been marginalised and silenced. This has occurred because they are women and because they are old: because they are old women.

Needless to say, the women elders have not complained of the lack of support for the Kapululangu Kultja Kuurla. Instead they shrug their shoulders at the lungaparni (the people with no ears), and accept the Government's continuing inability to respond as collaborative partners in dealing with the immense trauma which is tearing their families apart. A long history of Government negligence to their people's spiritual well-being has led the elders not to expect to be heard, indeed to even believe "it has always been this way; why would Kartiya (whitefellas) change?" Meanwhile Australia's Federal and State Governments continue to scratch their proverbial collective head, and wonder (rather loudly) what to do about "Aboriginal dysfunction".

There is, unfortunately, nothing rare about this scenario. Indigenous cultural initiatives which could flourish if given the necessary support are languishing across the Australian continent. In October 2005, Northern Territory coroner Greg Cavanagh condemned the Australian Federal Government's response to the petrol sniffing epidemic in central Australia. The Federal Government had produced a 40-page educational kit written in English. The coroner retorted:

[S]uch education kits are no answer to the pleas of persons ... [who] are dying, or becoming brain damaged as we speak, in front of anyone who wants to see. Their problems are immediate, stark and urgent. This should be recognised by more pragmatic endeavours addressing the evident realities of the present.

(Barker, 2005)

Cavanagh was conducting an inquest into the 2004 deaths of three men (one of them a teenager) who had died while sniffing petrol at the remote community of Mutitjulu near Uluru (Ayers Rock) in the Northern Territory. Shocked by the living conditions of local residents, he deplored the "total sense of hopelessness at dealing with the epidemic of addiction" (Barker, 2005). Recommending the introduction of un-sniffable "Opal" fuel he stressed that it shouldn't be seen as the only solution, but that there was an acute need for better treatment and youth services in remote communities.

Living culture

The importance of Kapululangu, indeed the importance of Law and Culture Centres, tjilimi and yampirri, the male alternative, to the maintenance of Indigenous cultural integrity cannot be overstated. The urgent need for gendered cultural learning spaces was identified in 1999 by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Women's Task Force on Violence which called for "special places, including separate women's and men's centres" to be established for "the revival of culture and healing" through running "cultural re-integration programmes" that can "help to redefine cultural identity" (Robertson, 1999, p. 235). This call has so far failed to stir the Government.

What the Kapululangu elders are offering is the spiritual healing for their people, a pathway through the morass which assaults their lives. Raised in the desert before the Kartiya (whitefellas) arrived in their lands, only sixty years ago, these elders were raised to know their Law, to be aware of the Tjukurrpa (the universal life force), and to manage it. It falls to them to hold onto their cultural knowledge and to pass it onto their younger generations. Such is the sacred responsibility of the elders, and it is breaking their hearts (often quite literally) to see their grandchildren and great-grandchildren in such cultural distress.

The women elders know the importance of Kapululangu to their people's survival, to their people's well-being – physical, psychological, spiritual. They know the importance of living their culture. Indeed, they are calling for a return to the honouring of their people's Living Culture. "Living Culture" – and here I use capital letters:

... is the amorphous, unassailable cultural force which is created when people – bound together by kinship and immersed in their homelands – experience the fullest expression of their connectedness with the cosmology of their ancestors, with the Tjukurrpa, the Laws of the universe.

(dé Ishtar, 2005, p. 194)

The vibrant, soul-based energy of Living Culture is generated by people engaged in the simple act of living their culture. This force is so powerful that it stirs people's imaginations and encourages and empowers them to transform their world even when to do so seems impossible. It "gives rise to a courageous daring, a spirited determination, to persevere and to withstand the volley of obstacles which has been set against their people through the long years of colonisation" (dé Ishtar, 2005, p. 194). It generates cultural resistance and the determination to maintain cultural integrity.

As I have written in my book *Holding Yawulyu: White Culture and Black Women's Law*,

Places such as Wirrimanu, where the relationship with the land and the Law is still consciously pertinent, vibrant and alive, and the elders still remember and abide by the ways of the Tjukurrpa, have the potential to provide sustenance to the continent-wide (and global) protection of Indigenous cultural revitalisation. But if their ritual and cultural knowledge, their Living Culture, is allowed to wither away from lack of nurturing, Indigenous identity may “ultimately [become] a matter of heritage rather than a culture of living traditions” (Rose, 2001, p. 109).

When the sacred is revealed, the imagination is infused with creative power – Living Culture – but when life is devoid of ritual, the connection with one's soul is lost and life begins to lose its meaning. When the soul is neglected, humanity loses its spiritual sensibility and is alienated from the *Tjukurrpa*, and thus from the self. The secularisation of life is one of the most effective forms of repression.

(dé Ishtar, 2005, p. 292)

This is the problem facing Wirrimanu's youth. *This* is why Wirrimanu's children keep killing themselves. They are suffering the spiritual disengagement within themselves that comes when white cultural dysfunction interrupts their access to their elders' teachings of the pathways to the Tjukurrpa – the universal life force. They are suffering from the spiritual violence which occurs when their birth-right to the enjoyment of their unique Indigenous Living Culture is blocked to them.

Located on the Women's Law Ground beyond the outskirts of the settlement, Kapululangu's gynocentric space enabled the elders to enjoy their customary practices and increase their rituals celebrating women's Law, or Yawulyu. Life in the Tjilimi was a perpetual ceremony, and with ritual becoming a part of everyday life and the everyday becoming sacralised this inspired the full force of the elders' Living Culture. Fed by this incredible cultural energy, the women elders created a dynamic programme of cultural knowledge transmission the purpose of which was to raise their grandchildren proud of their unique cultural heritage, proud to be who they are.

This then is the elders' purpose, for the Nintipuka live their lives with the innate, eternal knowledge that:

When the fullest breath of a people's cultural voice is allowed to flourish, this engenders cultural energy so potent that it touches the hearts of its members and stirs in them a conviction in their own completeness which, both unconquerable and impregnable, can heal soul wounds and refashion worlds.

(dé Ishtar, 2005, p. vi)

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The oral tradition as a measure of cultural well-being

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“Our past is always with us” (Moana Jackson, Conference address).¹

Knowing where we come from and learning and retelling our collective narratives are critical to the sense of belonging, and therefore the well-being, of Māori people. Building on a well-known statement from the French philosopher Descartes, Penetito eloquently described the basis of Māori cultural identity as “I belong, therefore I am”.² This paper focuses on the role of narratives and oral history in enhancing our cultural identity and consequently our community well-being. The purpose is to ensure that our past remains with us, that we know our tribal landscape and history, and that this is available for future generations. Of particular interest in this paper is how we integrate recent events of significance to our communities into our collective memory and consciousness. To explore this particular issue an analysis of the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Māori Battalion Oral History Project will be made to demonstrate the connections between cultural well-being and creating spaces for the production of *taonga tuku iho* (cultural resources passed down by ancestors through the generations).

Cultural identity

Tīpuna and, in particular, their relationship with the tribal estate form the basis of *hapū* (sub-tribe) cultural identity (Durie, 2005, p. 11; Tapsell, 1997, p. 327). Prior to European contact, *whānau* and *hapū* (made up of a collective of *whānau* that share a common ancestor) had developed highly specialised oral systems and processes for the retention and transmission of knowledge and history (Royal, 2003). However this oral tradition was disrupted by colonial insistence on Western knowledge, ways of knowing and practices. In the 17th century the portrayal of the written word as more advanced and therefore more authoritative excluded the oral tradition from the mainstream academy. The written text, reconstructed from a Eurocentric perspective, became the authentic history.³ Even in more recent times, despite the realisation that all history is subjective and interpretative (Binney, 1987, p. 16), oral history (which is inclusive of the oral tradition) as a discipline is criticised for lapses in accuracy and fact (Campbell, 1994; Keenan, 2005, pp. 54-55; King, 1978, p. 105; Ward, 1990).

The English language, and by extension Western norms and values (Walker, 1990, p. 146), became the primary language of instruction. Suppression of Māori institutions, knowledge systems and language severely restricted oral tradition practices (see for example Durie, 1998; Walker 1990). Loss of the tribal estate prevented the continuance of traditional practices associated with the guardianship and use of physical resources, as well as important reference points for the transmission and retention of traditional knowledge (Durie, 1998, p. 5; Durie, 2005, pp. 14-15). Policy and legislation such as the Tohunga Suppression Act 1907 prevented the application and development of specific types of knowledge (Durie, 1998, p. 76). Without access to oral tradition practices and the Māori language, intergenerational transmission of knowledge and history was hindered (Durie, 2005, p. 136). The opportunities to express Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices became limited to specific settings (for example, the *marae* – focal meeting place of kinship groups), activities (for example, *wānanga*) and occasions (for example, *tangihanga* – mourning rituals). In addition to this

¹ Address from the session facilitator, Moana Jackson, at the *Mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference 2006. Indigenous Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions*. 16th June 2006, Te Papa, Wellington.

² Wally Penetito presentation at the Mixed Panel Discussions at the *Mātauranga Taketake: Traditional Knowledge Conference 2006. Indigenous Indicators of Well-being: Perspectives, Practices, Solutions*. 15th June 2006, Te Papa, Wellington.

³ These versions are now being criticised due to issues of reliability and integrity. See for example Durie, 2005, pp. 6-7.

many Māori are marginalised from their own culture. Results from the 2001 Census indicate that 25 per cent of people self-identifying as of Māori descent did not know their tribal affiliation (Statistics New Zealand, 2002). According to Te Puni Kōkiri only 9 per cent of Māori adults could speak Māori “well” or “very well” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003). Unfamiliarity with Māori rituals and institutions and a lack of proficiency in *te reo* (the language) is a further limitation to accessing cultural knowledge and narratives and consequently tribal identity.

Today Māori are increasingly utilising written, visual and aural mediums to record the past. The introduction of new technologies and communication mediums provide a new set of challenges. When oral history is disassociated from the people to whom it belongs (Soutar, 1996), how can knowledge integrity and use be controlled? What consequences arise with regard to the exercise of *kaitiakitanga* (the act of guardianship; protection of treasures)?

Despite disruption to a number of knowledge retention and transmission systems and processes, and the introduction of new technologies and communication mediums, Māori retain a strong oral tradition that connects people, places and events. Reclamation of these systems and processes is part of the political movement to reclaim and develop cultural tools, processes and practices (see, for example, Smith, 1999). These systems have been tried and tested over a long period of time and have been proven to accommodate the priorities and interests of Māori communities. It is these narratives upon which cultural identity is formed and from which values and actions originate. Strengthening existing systems and creating new opportunities for knowledge retention and transmission using contemporary mediums, where appropriate, is critical if tribal aspirations and well-being are to be promoted. The challenge becomes one of ensuring that these alternative systems and processes can accommodate and reach the wide range of diverse realities of contemporary Māori people (Durie, 1995).

Tribal history

The retention and transmission of tribal history is critical for the formation of cultural identity. The narratives associated with people, places and events establish *mana whenua* (authority over tribal estates), connect people to one another *whakapapa* and promote the principles and practices valued by a culture. The term “*taonga tuku iho*” is used to describe these types of resources.

The oral history methodology has in recent times emerged as a useful tool for the retention and transmission of Māori history (Selby & Laurie, 2005).⁴ It has become a valuable addition to the New Zealand research archive. Māori oral tradition prioritises events and narratives of interest to Māori communities. In the words of Judith Binney: “In the oral form of telling history, the narrative *belongs* to the narrator” (Binney, 1987, p. 24). In this context, oral history methodology is providing a Māori voice and Māori interpretation, producing a more comprehensive archival database in which Māori perspectives are more visible.

Tribal history is not just restricted to the distant past or pre-European contact. There are many contemporary events that shape the identity of a *hapū*. This paper focuses on the creation of *taonga tuku iho*, a resource for future generations based on the lived experiences of a major and catastrophic event from our recent past: World War II. An analysis of the methodology and research product is undertaken to demonstrate the contribution of the research to cultural and social imperatives, particularly the expression of Māori knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices.

Introduction

The Ngāti Kahungunu Māori Battalion Oral History Project seeks to record and retain in the collective tribal consciousness narratives about people, places and events during the World War II campaign, of significance to the community. While official New Zealand versions of the campaigns overseas have been produced (for example, refer to Cody, 1956), there are a number of issues of importance to the

⁴ ‘Māori history’ is a generic term that I use here to refer to all historical accounts of Māori people. Tribal history is but one part of Māori history that has a specific focus on people, places and events of importance to the tribal group.

Māori Battalion Association and Māori communities that have not been covered. These include coverage of the personal experiences of *hapū* members and the impact of the war on Māori communities at home. Therefore this project was developed to reflect the research priorities and interests of the Association and Māori communities, for "... history is written out of concerns of the present. History reflects those concerns and reconstructs that past in terms of the interests and priorities of the present" (Ward, 1990, p. 158).

While, as Ward points out, history reflects the "priorities and interests" of the present (Ward, 1990, p. 158), the "priorities and interests" of mainstream New Zealand and those, for example, of minority groups such as Māori communities and women are not always the same. This has led to omissions in the New Zealand research archive and differential interpretations of the past. Development of oral history projects initiated by specific communities seeks to fill omissions and provide a narrative of issues of importance to these communities. This project was developed within this context as one which prioritises the interests and priorities of the Association and Māori community, corrects omissions in the New Zealand archive and provides an interpretation of the past based on a Māori worldview.

28th (Māori) Battalion

On 3 September 1939, World War II was declared. Sir Apirana Ngata advocated for the formation of a Māori Military Unit following the precedent of the Māori Pioneer Battalion of 1914-1918. Two other Māori members of Parliament, Messrs. E.T. Tirikātene (M.P. for Southern Māori) and P.K. Paikea (M.P. for Northern Māori), also demanded that the Māori race be represented in any force that New Zealand would send in aid of Britain. In October 1939 the Government announced the formation of an infantry battalion recruited from the Māori race to be organised on a tribal basis. By the end of November 1939 there were 900 voluntary enlistments. The 28th (Māori) Battalion served in campaigns in Greece, Crete, Northern Africa and Italy (Cody, 1956). Seventeen thousand Māori volunteered their services in World War II. Of the 3500 men who served in the 28th (Māori) Battalion, 655 of these never returned home and 1946 were either wounded or taken prisoner (Anderson, 2002). The Battalion was disbanded in 1946.

28th (New Zealand) Māori Battalion Association

The formation of an Association was discussed at the 1958 Battalion reunion. The primary functions of the Association were to fulfil the duty and responsibility that veterans had to remember the sacrifices that were made by their comrades and the community, and secondly to preserve the identity of the Māori people (Craig, 1958, p. 9). Today there are number of Association branches throughout the country.

Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28th (Māori) Battalion Oral History Project

The purpose of the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28th (Māori) Battalion Oral History Project (D Company Oral History Project) was to record the memories and experiences of World War II Māori Battalion veterans and their *whānau*. It is an acknowledgement of the contribution of veterans, the *whānau* and the community to the war effort.

The project was initiated by the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company 28th (Māori) Battalion Association. The project was led and driven by *kaumātua* (elders) appointed by the Association. The initial phases of the research were undertaken by staff and students from Massey University and the Eastern Institute of Technology. All members of the research team had tribal affiliations to Kahungunu.

Methodology

Over the years numerous projects had been developed to collate the memories and experiences of the 28th (Māori) Battalion. In 1995 the C Company division of the 28th (Māori) Battalion Association embarked on a comprehensive oral history project composed of veterans from Tai Rāwhiti and a research team from Te Pūtahi-a-Toi, Massey University. The D Company Oral History Project

replicated the methodology developed by researchers collating oral history data from C Company veterans (Soutar & Spedding, 2000, pp. 4-5). Semi-structured individual and group interviews recorded onto video were the main method of data collection. Most of these interviews were conducted on the *marae*.

Project collection

Over a four-year period 140 hours of video footage were recorded. The collection includes individual and group interviews of veterans and *whānau*, recordings of research *hui* (meeting), research committee meetings, and material related to tribal history. There is also complete coverage of the Ngāti Kahungunu *iwi* (tribe) D Company 2000 Italy Remembrance Tour. Over 1000 photographs are in the pictorial database. These are mainly single portraits and group photographs of men or women in uniform. There are also some photographs of sport teams and cultural groups that performed overseas. Veterans and members of the research team were interviewed on the local *iwi* radio. There were articles about the research project in the local papers and an exhibition at local Ngāti Kahungunu *marae* and the Wairoa Museum.

Contribution to cultural and social imperatives

This research project sought to enhance the community's relationship with land, people and the past. It contributed to cultural and social imperatives by [re]affirming tribal identity and advancing the tribal position, particularly through the protection of collective interest and rights.

Tribal identity

As mentioned previously, “preserving the identity of the Māori people” (Craig, 1958, p. 9) is a prime function of the 28th (Māori) Battalion Association. In addition to the memories and experiences associated with World War II, the D Company Oral History Project also collected tribal narratives, thereby reaffirming and contributing to the construction of a tribal identity.

Within the Kahungunu tribal *rohe* (area) there are numerous examples of remembrance: memorials, gateways, rolls of honour and meeting houses, all dedicated to men who lost their lives in World War I and World War II. These are physical reminders that forever link the sacrifices that were made within the tribal landscape and the tribal consciousness, connecting the tribal *rohe* to people, to the community and to the past.

The data collection process of the Oral History Project mobilised the community. It brought people together to celebrate, to grieve and to remember. The collection itself contributes to tribal identity by providing a vehicle for the retention and transmission of a recent historical event of significance to the community. Tribal aspirations connected with retention and the continued use of practices such as *kotahitanga* (solidarity, unity) and *whanaungatanga* (relationships, kinship) were significant features of the data collection process, as was the use of Māori institutions such as the *marae*.

Advancing the tribal position

Empowerment and control of the research project by the Association and the community is an integral part of the project design. This ensured that the research reflected the interests and priorities of the Association and the community. The research method advocated Māori principles, systems and processes that in turn facilitated the achievement of tribal aspirations and well-being. For example, the research exercises were community events bringing people together (*kotahitanga*) to celebrate, honour and remember. This mobilisation of community allowed the continued expression of practices associated with *whanaungatanga* and facilitated *maumahara* (the act of remembrance). In addition the *marae* and associated rituals as the base for research facilitated the *mamae* (pain) and *pōuri* (grief) associated with the *kaupapa* (topic) and encouraged involvement and information exchange.

Taonga tuku iho

The retention and transmission of knowledge, values and virtues of the collective is a prime function of the contemporary *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*. It is linked to the affirmation of tribal identity. Therefore the continued expression and creation of *taonga tuku iho* is one measure of the well-being of the collective.

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

This project utilised non-traditional technologies such as video and pictorial mediums to collate, store and disseminate tribal oral history. These technologies were used to enhance traditional knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices. These modes have the ability to reach multiple audiences and are powerful mediums for conveying the significance of the event and the sentiment associated with the *kaupapa*.

Systems and processes were developed to ensure that the integrity of the data was not compromised. This included intellectual property agreements ensuring *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship) and criteria for access.

Indicators of well-being

One of the themes of the Mātauranga Taketake Conference is the nurturing of our traditional systems of knowledge. A key question relevant to this research is: “How do we know that our knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices are in a state of well-being?” Oral history records and contributes to our understanding of our tribal identity. Therefore, strengthening our systems and processes that retain, transmit and create oral history resources contributes to the construction of a robust internal contemporary tribal identity. The prime function of oral tribal history is *maumahara*. This provides a foundation for *mōhiotanga* (knowing) and *māramatanga* (understanding) contributing to the formation of our tribal identity. *Maumahara* is the concept of remembrance. It involves remembering the past to link to the present and the future. Retaining significant events in the tribal consciousness is the objective so that these events can inform the evolving construction of the tribal identity. *Mōhiotanga* is the concept of knowing. In the context of this research it is related to the collection, the actual knowledge base, the ways in which it has been collected and the use of new technologies for collation and dissemination. *Māramatanga* is the state of understanding. It is only through arriving at a state of understanding that the knowledge, systems and process can be used for future progress and advancement. This concept is related to the adoption and continued expression of principles, practices, values and virtues of importance to the collective. For the Ngāti Kahungunu D Company Oral History Project, *māramatanga* is the recognition of the significance of the war effort to the community and, as a consequence, the establishment of traditions, systems and processes to retain this significant event in the tribal consciousness.

Conclusion

Constructing a robust, internal, contemporary tribal identity (*iwi*, *hapū*, *whānau* and individual) is essential if our communities and knowledge are to flourish. If a distinct tribal identity is to endure in the future, then continued expression of our knowledge, ways of knowing and associated practices is critical. The creation of *taonga tuku iho* (in this case the research product: video footage, pictorial database and archival material) based on recent historical events of importance to the community is an integral part of this process. The research exercise was equally as important. It mobilised the communities, allowing an opportunity to express practices and values of importance, such as *kotahitanga*, *whanaungatanga* and *maumahara*. This is a vital step towards strengthening Māori knowledge systems and processes. This case study also demonstrated that non-tribal structures and new technologies that align with indigenous philosophy and practices can be used effectively to advance tribal aspirations and well-being. Success is measured, therefore, by the production of new resources for future generations that focus not just on the distant past but on narratives from the recent past and the present.

Cultural identity is nurtured and sustained by our past. It is therefore critical that the tribal archive is able to reflect the interests and priorities of the collective and provide the necessary tools for interpretation and transmission. In this way the tribal archive can contribute to a cultural identity, can promote Māori practices and values in contemporary spaces; and *maumahara* by linking the past, present and the future.

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What is indigenous wellbeing?

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Introduction

Wellbeing is a term that has been given a plethora of meanings. In the general use of the term “wellbeing” there has been the question posed as to whether wellbeing can exist independently of a standard of living and other material considerations. In fact, it is often a popular idea that a person may have considerable wealth but lack the prerequisites for “wellbeing”. Similarly, it may be difficult to understand but it is possible for a person to be physically unwell, incapacitated or diseased and still feel a sense of wellbeing (Manderson, 2005, p. 15–16). This paper aims to open up discussion about Indigenous wellbeing and explores whether the concept has a particular application for Indigenous people, referring to the particular circumstances of the Indigenous people in the settler colonial society now known as Australia.⁵

Australian Government policy contexts

The term “wellbeing” (also spelt as “well being” and “well-being”) is a comparatively new term, adopted in a range of Australian governments’ policy and programme contexts within the last decade or so. In Australia it is most often used in reference to Indigenous people but also increasingly in reference to other groups in society as well. It is a term that Indigenous people like to use in reference to themselves. Australian governments often use this term in the context of Indigenous health policy and programme development as a factor that impacts on health status and that is missing from Indigenous contexts or needs to be developed further.

The term “health and wellbeing” is ubiquitous. See, for example, reports of the Department of Health and Ageing, Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health (OATSIH), including *Indigenous Male Health: A report for Indigenous males, their families and communities, and those committed to improving Indigenous male health* (Wenitong, 2002). Also common are the terms “socio-economic wellbeing”, “cultural wellbeing”, “socio-cultural wellbeing”, “mental wellbeing”, “communal wellbeing”, “physical wellbeing” (Parliament, 2000, p. 52), “spiritual wellbeing” (Parliament, 2000, p. 53) and “total wellbeing”. “Emotional wellbeing” is the subject of a whole report – the Department of Health and Ageing, Office of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Health (OATSIH), *Social and Emotional Well Being Framework: a National Strategic Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples’ Mental Health and Social and Emotional Well being 2004-2009* (Social Health Reference Group, 2004). However, generally, wellbeing is not normally well defined and is used without a developed sense of definition or accuracy; sometimes synonymously with “health” and/or “mental health” or even referring to being employed or having a high level of income. This is evident in the *Overcoming Indigenous Disadvantage* Report (SCRGSP, 2005) where there are no references to cultural heritage management as a component in Indigenous wellbeing, while there are many references to material wellbeing. For example, employment and income, opportunities for self development, living standards and self esteem as important for “overall wellbeing” (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 26); household and individual income as a determinant of “economic” and “overall wellbeing” (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 27); home ownership as an important element in improving “Indigenous wellbeing” (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 28); the extent of participation in the economy as closely related to their living standards and “broader

⁵ For Indigenous people in Australia, some 700-900 different groups and languages, the term “Aboriginal” is used as a blanket term to cover the plethora of Indigenous groups in Australia. Local and regional groups prefer to refer to themselves by terms from their own languages such as: “Koori”, NSW and Victoria; “Murri” northern NSW and Queensland; “Nyoongar” SW Western Australia (WA); “Nungah” South Australia (SA); “Yammatgee” north of Perth and south of Broome WA; “Wongi” the Goldfields area of WA; “Anungu” Pitjanjatjara lands in South Australia; “Yolngu” from Arnhem Land, Yirrkala, Northern Territory.

wellbeing" (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 46); the type of employment that people are engaged in as impacting on their "social and economic wellbeing" (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 47); and, finally, how self employment reduces dependence on welfare, improves self reliance and participation in the economy, and improves people's "economic wellbeing" (SCRGSP, 2005, p. 48).

Governments and other agencies are also using this term in relation to non-Indigenous health issues. For example, it is often used interchangeably with "health" such as in reports about the health status of the elderly, of children and remarkably even of a foetus (WHO, 2005a). Since wellbeing is conceivably a broad term, tied to political, social, economic and cultural indicators, it seems hardly appropriate to attach the concept to a foetus without reference to the wellbeing of the mother and broader family/group, as this article does. The term is also used as a synonym or euphemism for "mental health" such as in the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) report *Young Australians: their health and wellbeing* (2006), where wellbeing is clearly entirely about mental health, and in this context the report ties wellbeing to the absence of political or social disruptions.

The international context

The concept of human wellbeing arises in the policies, programmes and reports of international agencies, including the United Nations High Commission on Human Rights (UNHCR) and the World Health Organisation (WHO). Interestingly, an indicator of the status of "wellbeing" and how it does not necessarily sit comfortably within concepts of "health" is that it is not amongst the list of health topics that are listed for easy reference on the WHO website.⁶ However, one of the few definitions found is that of the WHO; in the report *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: health synthesis* (WHO, 2005) it has defined the concept for the purposes of exploring the changing patterns of human wellbeing in the context of the human relationship to the natural world. This definition indicates how wellbeing is closely allied to health and also not entirely confined to the indicators that are usually used to chart the health status of people. The WHO clearly delineates the relationship between "health" and "wellbeing" thus:

In many respects human health is a bottom-line (or integrating) component of well-being, since changes in economic, social, political, residential, psychological and behavioural circumstances all have health consequences.

(WHO, 2005)

This does not make clear which has the greater impact – does a loss of wellbeing cause health issues? Or does poor health lead to a loss of wellbeing? However, more light is shed on this complex issue when the components of wellbeing are further defined. In so doing, the agency draws out the ramifications of wellbeing within changing ecosystems:

Basic determinants of human well-being may be defined in terms of: security; an adequate supply of basic materials for livelihood (e.g. food, shelter, clothing, energy, etc.); personal freedoms; good social relations; and physical health. By influencing patterns of livelihoods, income, local migration and political conflict, ecosystem services impact the determinants of human well-being.

(WHO, 2005)

Reference is made to wellbeing in relation to culture and spirituality by explaining that the cultural services provided by ecosystems "may be less tangible than material services" but are nonetheless "highly valued by all societies", and that "traditional practices linked to ecosystem services play an important role in developing social capital and enhancing social well-being" (WHO, 2005, p. 25).

Though this report is not directly concerned with cultural heritage, it does demonstrate its centrality to wellbeing in a diagram developed to illustrate associations between health, other aspects of human wellbeing and ecosystem services. Figure 1 below clearly shows the interdependence between health,

⁶ See <<http://www.who.int/topics/en/>>

human wellbeing and supporting, provisioning, regulating and cultural (that is, non-material benefits), from ecosystem services.

This diagram indicates a holistic, interdependent basis for the provision of wellbeing through a relationship with the natural environment. The ability to be able to obtain food and other necessities, to have custodianship and support for ecosystems by providing services, by regulating some aspects and by practising and observing cultural heritage associations ensures a continuation of Indigenous wellbeing.

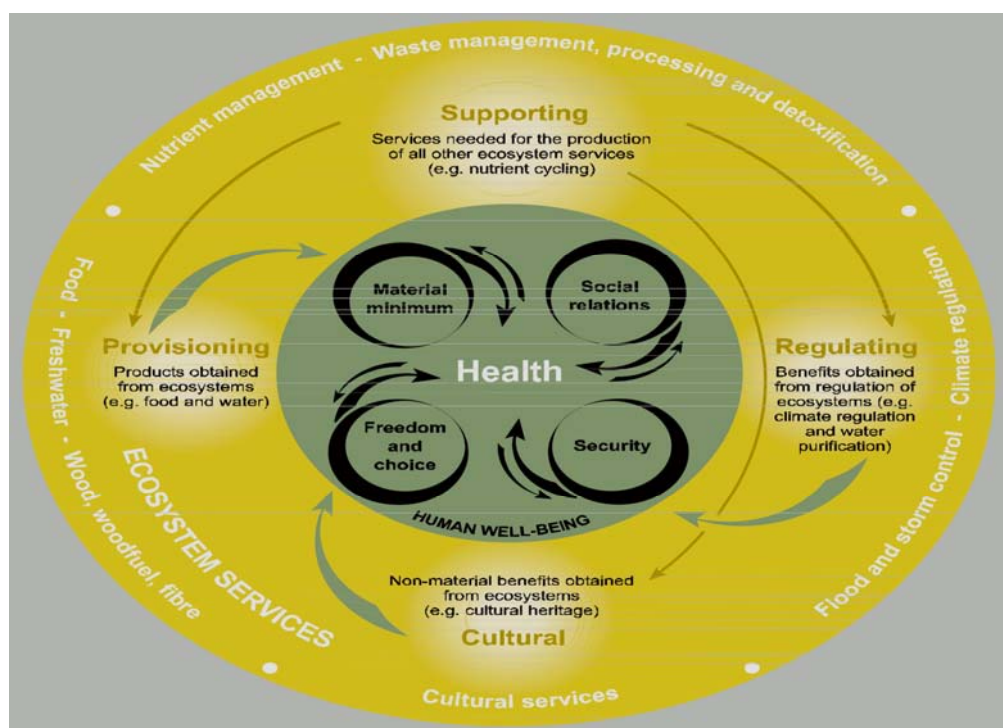


Figure 1: Shows how non-material benefits including cultural heritage and cultural services are an important component of human wellbeing that also includes health. Source: World Health Organisation (WHO, 2005) *Ecosystems and Human Well-being: health synthesis*.

The UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)'s Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Working Group on Indigenous Populations has defined Indigenous populations in the following way:

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems

(E/CN.4/Sub.2/1983/21/Add.8, para. 369/)

This internationally recognised definition, referring as it does to historical continuity and the impetus to transmit to future generations knowledge of territories and identities, identifies material and non-material cultural heritage as a major preoccupation in Indigenous peoples' lives.

Further, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention No 169 of the UNHCR remains the only multilateral treaty to recognise the collective right of Indigenous peoples to preserve and develop their cultural identity. It states recognition of:

The aspirations of these peoples to exercise control over their own institutions, ways of life and economic development and to maintain and develop their identities, languages and religions, within the framework of the States in which they live.

(Vrdoljak, 2005, p. 10)

The capacity to “maintain and develop ... identities, languages, religions” is in effect the power to transmit their own intangible cultural heritage, or way of life, to the succeeding generations, to ensure their wellbeing.

The United Nations has recognised the importance of Indigenous wellbeing in many contexts. For example, Indigenous wellbeing is mentioned in relationship to environmental change, in that the strategic course of development needs to recognise the special relationship between Indigenous people and the natural environment. Chapter 26 Agenda 21 of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (ECOSOC) declarations on global environmental change, specifies that:

... in view of the interrelationship between the natural environment and its sustainable development and the cultural, social, economic, and physical well-being of indigenous people, national and international efforts to implement environmentally sound and sustainable development should recognise, accommodate, promote and strengthen the role of indigenous people and their communities.

The International Labour Organisation's (ILO) Convention No. 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries of 5 September 1991, mentions Indigenous wellbeing only in terms of a “spiritual” wellbeing, which is arguably a component of non-material cultural heritage, or intangible cultural heritage. Article 7 item 1 states that:

The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly.

(ILO, 1991)

It is worth noting that the only mention of “wellbeing” in the *Draft United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* is in relation to Indigenous children whereby the UN resolved:

Recognising in particular the right of indigenous families and communities to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing, training, education and well-being of their children ...

This, then, is a recognition of the right of the Indigenous people to transmit to future generations their intangible cultural heritage and therefore to provide for the wellbeing of their children. However, according to Vrdoljak, each article reflects “Indigenous peoples’ holistic understanding of culture as combining land, tangible and intangible heritage”:

Article 12 pertaining to the right of indigenous peoples to ‘maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures’ including ‘archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.

(Vrdoljak, 2005, p. 11)

And, there was a strong concern to ensure international protection of these rights from the policies and practices of states and transnational corporations as well as support for the continuing practice of Indigenous religions and use of their own languages. Article 27 states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to ‘revitalise, use, develop and transmit to future generations their histories, languages, oral traditions, philosophies, writing systems and literatures, and to designate and retain their own names for communities, places and persons’.

(Vrdoljak, 2005, p. 11)

All of these can be seen as attempts to ensure the continuation of Indigenous wellbeing by the protection of rights to tangible and intangible cultural practices.

In the introduction it has been outlined how wellbeing is most often used in the context of health; this is most evident when it comes to the health of Indigenous people. Aboriginal people working in the context of health have come to recognise an important, special relationship between the health of Indigenous people and wellbeing.

Further, Australian Indigenous peoples’ wellbeing has most often been expressed as a concern in the context of health. The National Aboriginal Community Controlled Organisations (NACCHO), an organisation that has membership of all the Aboriginal community controlled health organisations in Australia and as such is the peak body for these organisations, defines Indigenous health as including the concept of wellbeing:

(Indigenous) health is not just the physical wellbeing of an individual, but the social, emotional, and cultural wellbeing of the whole community in which each individual is able to achieve their full potential as a human being, thereby bringing about the total wellbeing of their community.

(AIHI, 2006)

Health to Aboriginal people is a multi-dimensional concept that embraces all aspects of living and stresses the importance of survival in harmony with the environment. The National Aboriginal Health Strategy (NAHS), developed with a significant Aboriginal input, states that health is:

Not the physical well being of the individual; but the social cultural well being of the whole community. This is a whole of life view and it includes a cyclical concept of life. Health care services should strive to achieve the state where every individual is able to achieve their full potential as human beings, and thus bring about the total well being of their community...

(NAHS, 1989)

It is clear from the above that while wellbeing is often seen to be the preserve of health policy and programmes, even in these contexts it is recognised as being much more than a health issue. It is also clear from these definitions that the concept of wellbeing is culturally based.

Australian indigenous understandings of the concept of wellbeing

The Concise Oxford Dictionary meaning for the word “wellbeing” is “welfare”, which does not adequately explain Indigenous meanings inscribed in the term. The Oxford meaning of “well” also indicates that the word has application beyond that of health, and a nuance of meaning that is understood in Indigenous renderings of the term. These meanings are:

1. *In good manner or style, satisfactorily, rightly* (e.g. looking after country well [producing a state of being well])
2. *Thoroughly, with care or completeness, sufficiently*, to a considerable distance or extent, with margin enough to justify description, quite (Fowler, 1976).

It is the case that different languages have different concepts and these are not always easily translatable. The adoption of the word “dreaming” to explain Aboriginal religious philosophy is a case in point, whereby Aranda elders gave much consideration and finally informed the anthropologist W.E.H. Stanner that this was the closest word in English to their word “*alcheringa*” (Grieves, 2002). It seems that the term “wellbeing” is an English term adopted to explain the meaning of an Aboriginal

concept that goes far beyond welfare. Unfortunately, the original Indigenous concept is not adequately explained by the term “wellbeing”. Professor Judy Atkinson has explained:

There is no word in Aboriginal languages for Health. The closest words mean ‘well being’ and well being in the language of Nurwugen people of the Northern Territory means 'strong, happy, knowledgeable, socially responsible, to take a care, beautiful, clean' both in the sense of being within the Law and in the sense of being cared for and that suggests to me that country and people and land and health and Law cannot be separated. They are all One and it's how we work with and respect each other and how we work with and respect the country on which we live that will enable us to continue to live across generations.

(Atkinson, 2002b)

Atkinson is part of a discussion about the importance of psychosocial factors and their impact on health and has argued that reliance on biomedical indicators of Indigenous health “fails to embrace the less easily measured aspects of community living and wellbeing, now deemed to be of prime importance by Indigenous peoples and public health researchers alike” (Atkinson, 2002b). These less easily measured aspects include intangible cultural heritage and wellbeing.

Indigenous wellbeing, then, is firmly culturally based and exists through a continuation of cultural knowledges and practices.

The Redfern Focus Group on indigenous wellbeing

A focus group of Indigenous experts in their own “wellbeing” was formed in May 2006 in order to test the findings of the above research which attempted to define Indigenous wellbeing. The focus group was asked to identify the factors that they thought impacted the most on their wellbeing. This methodology is based on the Delphi method for structuring a group communication process that has proven to be effective in allowing a group of individuals, experts in the field, and as a whole, to deal with a complex problem and move toward consensus.

This group comprised members of the Aboriginal community, centred around the Eora College in Abercrombie Street, Chippendale, in the inner-west of Sydney. Not all members of this group live in the Redfern area, though they are all urban based.

Twenty-three people volunteered to be involved in this group, of whom 16 were female and 7 male. The group comprised a mix of gender, approximately two women to every one man involved, a mix of age range and community of origin. Communities of origin for the group were mainly in NSW (Kooris) but some came from Queensland and northern NSW (Murris) and at least two from Western Australia (Nyoongahs). All have been living in the inner suburbs of Sydney for lengthy periods of time.

The participants were drawn mainly from the student body of the Eora College, Sydney Institute of TAFE NSW. There were a large proportion of the focus group from the courses General and Foundation Education and Language, Literacy and Numeracy, some from the Diploma of Aboriginal Studies and some from the Cultural Arts and other courses.⁷ There were two casual teachers also involved who are graduates and two enrolled university students. Two of the Eora students were not comfortable writing their own responses and were assisted by others in the group.

The full description of the focus group methodology is found in the original report prepared for the NSW DEC referred to in the first paragraph of this chapter. Of particular interest here are the findings of the focus group that placed intangible cultural heritage factors as the five top factors affecting Indigenous wellbeing. These factors and the definitions of them as provided by the group and

⁷ For details of the courses offered at the College see:
<<http://www.sit.nsw.edu.au/colleges/index.php?Page=7&Select=44&Seq=3>>

summarised, are listed in order of priority below (some factors scored the same, so more than five appear below).

Spirituality is a feeling, with a base in connectedness to the past, ancestors, and the values that they represent – for example, respect for elders, a moral/ethical path. It is about being in an Aboriginal cultural space, experiencing community and connectedness with land and nature including proper nutrition and shelter, feeling good about oneself and proud of being an Aboriginal person. It is a state of being that includes knowledge, calmness, acceptance and tolerance, balance and focus, inner strength, cleansing and inner peace, feeling whole, an understanding of cultural roots and “deep wellbeing”.

Knowing about your peoples’ history and culture enhances identity, gives strength and pride, a sense of belonging, it gives more grounding in life, a connection to the knowledge of ancestors and cultural activity including language, art, law/lore and dance. It allows a way of sharing, connection to land, survival, bush tucker and medicines. It also allows empowerment; for a person to move on in life in a positive way; it increases all aspects of one’s wellbeing as it enhances their life in every way – physical, emotional, spiritual, economic.

Being able to give to family and friends is important for wellbeing as it is an expression of Aboriginal cultural values and connectedness through reciprocity. It gives a feeling of satisfaction in knowing that you express your love and support of family, relations and community. It gives a sense of achievement, independence and happiness. It also means that a person is respected. It indicates a certain quality of life that money cannot buy; it is not about materialism but a mutual understanding and acceptance. It is a very important part of “making life worth living”.

Knowing about my rights as an Indigenous person contributes to a sense of humanity, of not being a “nothing person”. It is a connection to a collective Aboriginal experience and a way of overcoming “shame”. It is a way of sharing personal experiences with others and to closely relate with no barriers and with mutual respect. It allows confidence and happiness and an opportunity to improve the quality of life. It can create a better path for future generations, better social skills and access to support systems that increase community wellbeing. It can allow a new level of operating in life, more optimistic and without apprehension.

Knowing family history is important to wellbeing as it allows for proper marriage by knowing the bloodlines and who you are related to. It can stop the breaking down of kinship through knowing one’s connection to land and family who were sent away. It allows fulfilment through knowledge of one’s “roots”, the experiences of ancestors and their stories of survival against the odds, and so engenders a sense of understanding and of pride. It is an important part of existence that allows a grounding, self-esteem and belonging and so allows positive things like work and living skills to develop. It is also an important cultural commitment. “Looking back to know the importance of my family, this is who I am also”.

Being able to share is an important cultural activity and expression of reciprocity and rejection of materialism that is the basis of Aboriginal culture. It is also an important rejection of what are perceived as “white values” including greed. There is not a demand for “giving back” but an understanding that it will come back because others share the same cultural value. There is an understanding that everyone should have enough (to eat), that the wellbeing of the group is also the wellbeing of the individual.

A better level of education increases wellbeing by allowing fulfilment, by being able to understand what is going on around you and being able to operate well within society, including getting employment. There is recognition of different methodologies in teaching in “white” and Aboriginal cultures and also an indication that people within the group feel inadequate to deal with and succeed in the former. A better level of education is achieved through the building on of life experiences and through a shared learning experience with teachers/elders and others around you, by working together with an open communication. A better level of education includes those aspects of knowledge that are important in Aboriginal culture including values and morals and that this occurs outside of formal education contexts. There is a sense of the importance of lifelong learning.

Being with my family, extended family is an important factor in wellbeing as it gives a sense of being welcomed, content, a feeling of closeness, connectedness, being comfortable, happy, laughter, fitting in society better because of their love, being able to help them out and then having them there when you need them. There is an atmosphere in just being together that gives an increased quality of life and “a connection to traditional way of being”. There is a greater peace of mind in their company. Being with family is mostly wonderful. “Everything! Happiness of being together”.

A better place to live is better housing and also a place that offers security and safety for children and family, a regular place to sleep, having a house, being comfortable, being more at ease. Several respondents have been or are “homeless” which “has horrible implications for (my) wellbeing”. A better place to live would “show that I am a capable parent” so it indicates responsibility and caring. It is also a spiritual connection, having peace “from deep within”. There is a yearning to be on one’s own country and an acknowledgement of land rights but there is also an understanding of needing to find wellbeing from “an acceptance of where we are now”. Wellbeing would also be increased by having trees and a natural environment (the beach) nearby and having “nice neighbours”, living in the community.

Better physical fitness is recognised as an important part of wellbeing that could be developed by many people in this group. This is related to an urban, restricted lifestyle where people feel very confined and not able to participate in the broader community activities and on low incomes that impact on nutrition. Some members have chronic health problems that cause a certain level of restrictions to physical mobility. “Better physical fitness to me is an extension of mental fitness, emotional fitness and SPIRITUAL fitness”.

Knowing interfamily relations and kinship are seen to be crucial to wellbeing for cultural reasons; it is “a map, an anchor, an existence”. This knowledge allows for marriage and sexual relations with the right people in kinship terms so that one does not “form an intimate relationship with the wrong person – this can lead to shame, mental illness and suicide”. It is important to know other social boundaries as well, to have the right protocols and relationships within your kin and with other groups, to “find a happy medium to interact with them to not only satisfy them, but also to interact or walk away from any given situation, knowing one is psychologically/ emotionally / spiritually self satisfied”. In this there is a responsibility, that you are representing your mother and father and also the extended family and that “wellbeing comes from knowing that everyone gets along well”.

Conclusion

Overall, these explanations of the factors that improve Indigenous wellbeing amongst the focus group are testimony to the continuation of Indigenous culture in this very urbanised group of Indigenous men and women, and the importance of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in their wellbeing. There is a real danger that Aboriginal understandings of this term can be lost in the imperatives of government policy and programme development and even in the inequities of communication, including Indigenous language loss. The proclivity of governments to deal with Indigenous “gate keepers” (Peters-Little, 2000) in meetings, rather than rely on more hard-nosed research, can also be a factor in obscuring Indigenous peoples and communities communication of the factors that contribute to their own wellbeing.

The best informants about Indigenous wellbeing can only be Indigenous people themselves and it is most important that their voices be heard. This is rightly the province of Indigenous researchers.

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A Māori ethical framework: the bridge between tikanga Māori and ethical review

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

(Participant quote, Hudson, 2004)

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

Māori critiques of ethical review

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

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

The evolution of Māori paradigms has challenged the universal applicability of ethical principles drawn from specific cultural bases (Durie, 1998). In previous times, research processes were seen to be ethical in themselves, derived from specific value bases. The universality of the Western model of ethics has been challenged in a number of indigenous contexts, with questions raised with regard to appropriateness for local cultures and due recognition of indigenous values, both necessary to ensure

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

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

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

The Treaty of Waitangi and Māori issues within ethical review

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

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

(Health Research Council of New Zealand, 2002)

The principles of the Treaty of Waitangi must be incorporated in the proceedings and processes of ethics committees ... Broad Māori cultural concepts should be respected and supported through ethical review.

(Ministry of Health, 2002, p. 2)

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

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

Main ethical principles	Additional issues for Māori
Respect for persons	Respect for Māori collectives – <i>whānau, hapū and iwi</i>
Informed consent	Gaining consent from collectives
Privacy and confidentiality	Collective ownership of information
Validity of the research proposal	<i>Kaupapa Māori</i> and Māori-focused methodologies
Minimisation of harm	Minimising harm to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>te taha whānau</i> (family and community), • <i>te taha hinengaro</i> (emotional well-being and state of mind), • <i>te taha wairua</i> (spirituality), • <i>te taha tinana</i> (the body or physical self).
Justice	
Cultural and social responsibility	Cultural diversity
Compensation for research participants	<i>Koha</i> (an offering, contribution, gift, keepsake)

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

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

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

(National Ethics Advisory Committee, 2004)

Calls for a Māori ethical framework

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

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

(Te Puni Kōkiri, 1994, p. 13)

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

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

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

Summary

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

The development of a Māori ethical framework is central to the inclusion of Māori values and beliefs within ethical reviews of research and new technologies. A Māori ethical framework would provide an opportunity for a more consistent application of Māori perspectives within ethical review and assist in the development of Māori ethical positions on particular issues. A Māori ethical framework should be consistent with Māori beliefs and values (reflecting cultural relevance), focused on areas of Māori importance and concern, controlled by Māori, and accountable to the Māori community. Māori members on ethics committees have long expressed a desire to develop a Māori ethical framework collaboratively, and are well positioned to ensure that both the process and outcome are widely accepted by Māori communities. The government and its agencies clearly have some responsibility for supporting Māori aspirations in this area. The lack of prioritisation for this project and allocation of appropriate resources reflects the wider struggle for the recognition of Māori values within society. In the current context the following question must be asked and indeed, answered: how ethical is that?

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Kei hinga au e, kei mate au e: te tiaki a te Māori i te hunga kaumātua Māori Bring ‘me’ beyond vulnerability: elderly care of Māori, by Māori

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Indicators of Well-being

Kanohi kitea (‘the seen face’), *whānau* (extended family), *whanaungatanga* (kinship).

Abstract

The title expresses the position of this study as a socio-political challenge to the notion of Māori elderly vulnerability that exists within Māori communities and the prevailing society. It is argued that the current tight focus on providing the ‘right services’ to develop healthy relationships and environments hides the less visible but more important grounds for improving elderly care of Māori, by Māori: the asymmetrical power relations of society that are reproduced in Māori communities and health agencies; and the deficit view of Māori that health personnel uncritically, and often unknowingly, hold. In this argumentation, the techniques of needs assessment and coordination of services that dominate in health (funding) would entail the interplay of the community of the elderly Māori person and the prevailing society. Although it is important to study useful and promising techniques in health, it is unreasonable to assume that blind replication of the ‘right services’ in and of themselves, will guarantee successful care of elderly Māori, especially when we are discussing people who are vulnerable/dependent. Further, the title expresses that this project is transformative and seeks a humanising practice of elderly care that respects and uses the reality, history, opinions, perspectives and experiences of Māori as an integral part of elderly care.

He whānau katoa tātou i roto i tēnei mahi: a Māori framework for elderly care

In the pages that follow, a discussion of those particular strands of thought that provide a philosophical foundation for a framework of caring for elderly Māori, by Māori, will be presented. Rather than following Chris Cunningham and Mason Durie’s structure and philosophy called *Whānau ora* (well-being of the family) (Cunningham & Durie, 2005, pp. 229-230) that is structured to change the behaviour of a large and complex sector towards a Māori view of the world, we would take a step further because knowledge is embedded in cultural communities; knowledge is involved in the power struggles and clashes that constitute Indigenous Māori, wider and global society. The “Elderly Care” research team are not individuals who practise medicine or practitioners in the health sector; we are educationalists and analysts who are, in the main, Māori. All of this is to say that we move beyond structuralism to Indigeneity; a discourse for Māori, by Māori. In this discourse, we are no longer engaged in the disinterested quest for an independent, self-directing individual, an inexorable reality governed by law like regularities that are objective or ‘truth’. We are engaged in something more like the interpreting of texts. And in this endeavour, we assume that not every text has a single unifying structure but, on the contrary, that texts are infinitely complex (Grenz, 1995, p. 128). In this way, an Indigenous Māori discourse that is admittedly incomplete and partial elevates difference or ‘Otherness’ rather than sameness and homogeneity (see also Ellsworth, 1989, p. 304).

Drawing on the idea *He whānau katoa tātou i roto i tēnei mahi* (We are all family in this work) expressed by a *kuia* (female elder) in one of the focus groups, we conceptualise how Māori people might care for elderly Māori when it is not us who organise society. Framing the central question in this way, we are able to emphasise the richness and diversity of Māori people and our collective ways of thinking, speaking and acting. In other words, we are not squeezing the diversity of Māori ways of living into the artificial homogeneity that accommodates our concepts. The strategy in this enterprise is

to reveal our relationship to our own particular time and place, our own personal preferences and prejudices. In this manner, the self or individual is no longer viewed as the ultimate source and ground for care; on the contrary, we are now coming to understand that the notion of elderly care by a Māori person is constituted in and through relationships with others and our specific cultural context.

Māori is a Pacific culture which is Indigenous to Aotearoa-New Zealand. The idea for a collective framework and an appreciation of non-rational dimensions of truth lend a holistic dimension to an Indigenous Māori notion of elderly care. Such an Indigenous holism entails a rejection of the modern ideal of the dispassionate, autonomous, rational individual. In this sense, Māori people do not seek to be wholly self-directed individuals but rather ‘whole’ persons and, in the words of one of the *kuia*, the concept “*is about us, not me*” (personal communication, September, 2005).

Māori people pride ourselves on being inclusive and encompassing all people. It must be understood, though, that two sets of cultural relationships are continually working on us: those imposed by the prevailing Pākehā society and the modern outlook and Māori customary practices that have been in place over our own lengthy history. To state the obvious, Māori society in 2006 is the result of nearly 200 years of intercultural relations. The two do not always relate easily.

Take the following, for example: the state response to all people ageing has been underpinned by demographic factors, with rapid increases in the number of elderly women and men in society, and shaped by economic and political conditions. In response to the escalating older population in the late 19th century and then in the 1950s, long-term directions in the provision for elderly people were established. In the late 19th century, the relationship of ageing with health provision and institutional care was established. The constraints of the old age pension reinforced that relationship. Despite the increased expenditure on maintaining the elderly peoples’ income over the years, ageing has continued to be seen as being primarily concerned about the decline of physical and mental independence. The state response to ageing in the 1950s confirmed that view. It encouraged the expansion of the market servicing elderly care to include a formal voluntary sector. The most significant incentives to voluntary sector involvement emphasised institutional care. Those signals were reinforced by the state’s family policy which, through housing, health and income maintenance programmes, sponsored the *whāmere* (nuclear family unit) or the nuclear family unit. The supremacy of that unit led to further attenuation of *whānau*, although not the destruction of such relationships (Saville-Smith, 1993).

This ‘new’ notion of care for vulnerable elderly Māori people is not just health-related but also includes the cultural, social and political relationships involved in taking care of them. By contrast, the prevailing framework is summarised in the old advertising jingle: “eliminate the negatives, accentuate the positives”. That is to say, the health sector continues to promote the Western ideal that life must be youthful, prolonged at all cost, without conflict, no disease, with ever more facilities, goods and services to consume. In short, the sector can tolerate only more of the same. It is useful to recall here the thoughts and deeds of some of the caregivers and the cared-for when they say that:

... there tends to always be a lot of attention focused at the young. I think they could do with more *awhi* (support) towards the elderly rather than have them degenerate in the hospitals, as long as they get to hospital well ok they do get fed but you know, there’s no stimulation or anything you know, more attention paid to the, to the elderly for their umm, just for themselves for their, yeah stimulus, so.

And

Ah when she went there she could read, at her age read a book, with ah no glasses you know, then started umm walking up and down the passage and going down, [name] was the same, walk up and down, there’s nothing, there’s nowhere else.

And

In relation to access to equipment, such as wheelchairs, mobile electric ones, there is not enough available. Because there is not enough available, we have to make do with inadequate equipment, which makes us feel worse. That is, given old equipment because of unavailability, [it] makes their condition worse.

And

In health care, there's something lacking, I don't know what it's about.

(Personal communications, 29 September, 2005)

Hence, we proffer the concept *He Whānau* as we shall call the framework in short. *He Whānau* would include *rongoā* (medicine) and *karakia* (prayer) provided by *tohunga* (learned, skilled, proficient); *mirimiri* (massage); *hauora* (health and well-being); Māori peoples' relationships with all beings around us; the belief that we are going to die and be with our *tūpuna* (ancestors); and *tangihanga*. The conceptualisation is concerned with the notion of elderly care as 'being in relationships' grounded on the *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *kanohi kitea*. In emphasising the concept of extended families, *He Whānau* accentuates cultural relationships to strengthen and broaden the care of elderly Māori people, and that may not be amenable to the rational and autonomous actions of individuals such as the relationship between the doctor and patient, the health provider and patient. Rather, the relationship between the cared for and the caregiver is distinguished by:

- intergenerational relations
- emotion
- warmth
- comfort
- peace
- sacredness
- good-heartedness
- *whānau* planning
- a roster system of caregivers
- a roster system for night-time security
- a roster system for transport to visit relations, friends, church, shops, a doctor, a lawyer
- appointment of a Power of Attorney
- formation of the Last Will and Testament
- adequate housing
- water
- food
- sanitation
- income
- *marae* design to include access to the toilet facility from the meeting house and a room set aside wherein *kaumātua* may rest, take snacks and their medication during long *hui*
- *kaumātua* flats close to the shops rather than on the *marae*
- a relationship with the local provider of health services
- institutional care
- health maintenance programmes
- respite programmes
- exercise activities including massage
- visits with other *kaumātua* to sacred sites
- visits with other *kaumātua* to the shops and local activities
- transport to the doctor's clinic
- transport to the hospital
- transport to *tangihanga*

- a helpline for the cared for and the caregivers
- a request session provided by *iwi* radio for the cared for and the caregivers
- a community-based training programme for caregivers and
- advocacy to the government agencies, for example, Housing New Zealand and Work and income new Zealand (WINZ).

On these cultural relationships, we include and then go far beyond the blind replication of the ‘right’ services provided by the health sector. All of this is good for elderly care of Māori, by Māori.

The Māori customary practices called *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *kanohi kitea* are an acknowledgement that Māori are a separate cultural group or entity, albeit encompassed by the wider Pākehā society. The concept, protocol and terminology ‘*whānau*’ is an inclusive one it can be used as a verb meaning to be born, to give birth, and as a noun meaning the family or the natural and fundamental unit of society. Also, *whānau* can refer to the family group who all descend from a common ancestor and therefore, among other ‘things’, possess common patterns of DNA. This relationship may well go back four, five and six generations, and may be traced back well beyond the memories of the oldest members, into the depth of history and the domains of tradition (Biggs, 1995; Ryan, 1994; Ngata, 1993; Durie, 2003).

Following urbanisation in the 20th century, the network of rural *whānau* homes in close proximity to each other has yielded to small family units in single households. Increasingly, there is a tendency to use the terms family and *whānau* as if they were synonymous. It is a misleading practice since members of an individual household can also be part of a wider *whānau*. In recent times, *whānau* is used also to refer to a group who share not a common relationship but a common mission – a health provider, for example (Durie, 2001). Likewise, the customary practice understood as *whanaungatanga* is inclusive; the word refers to *whānau* groupings and their relatedness to *hapū* or a sub-tribe and *iwi* or a tribe through *whakapapa*. Genealogy or *whakapapa* refers to Māori peoples’ belief in a shared or common descent, cultural identity, and relationships of interactive links between beings of different kinds and influenced by ancestral power (Salmond, 1997; Brewin, 2005). In related terms, the cultural protocol, *kanohi kitea*, refers to a contemporary person as the ‘living face’ of the ancestors who could share our experiences, or act with us in *Te Ao Mārama* (out of darkness into the light; contemporary society) or contemporary society. In a Māori community, the caregiver’s face, for example, makes visible the faces of her ancestors and in this way the *kaitiaki* and the *kaumātua* feel at ease and share a sense of relatedness to each other over the generations. In other words, by way of *kanohi kitea* or showing her face to the *kuia* and *koroua* (male elder/s) the generations are brought together in calendar time.

In this conceptualisation of elderly care of Māori, by Māori, the protocol called *whānau* is reserved for a group of families who share a common relationship, a common mission and the potential to influence wellness, care and health provision in moral and reasonable ways. For instance, families in a secure intergenerational relationship open access to *whānau* inclusion and to *whanaungatanga* and these customary practices shape the capacity for organisation, the mobilisation of resources, utilisation of health technologies, the capability to interrelate Māori medicine and spiritual beliefs to heal elderly people in poor health, economic stability, housing, health provision and institutional care when required. These genealogical nets or intergenerational families join elderly parents, sons, daughters and grandchildren to Māori health providers in provincial towns and rural centres in relations of access, utilisation and culturally appropriate beliefs of sacredness and good heart, and practices of reciprocity or shared responsibility of care.

At the heart of the conceptualisation are the cultural relations *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *kanohi kitea* that re-open the long-established responsibilities, obligations and tasks of younger people caring for older people in collaboration with others such as the Māori providers in the health sector. These cultural protocols in turn resonate with beliefs that emphasise the relationship between *atua*, (god/s, supernatural beings, demon, ghost) *tūpuna*, *kaitiaki*, *kaumātua*, *kaingākau* (value, love, prize dearly) and *te puāwaitanga* (the blossoming) *tūmanako*; (hopes, aspirations) that is the relationship between gods, god, ancestors, caregiver, cared for and eternal hope, as central to a concept of care as wellness, good spirits, healing and doing good. That is to say, our conceptualisation affirms that elderly care of

Māori is more than just the provision of wheelchairs, hearing aids, walking sticks, and the treatment of disease. We can also affirm that right thinking and wisdom are vital to caring for each other and take seriously that our notion of care includes being in a relationship with the gods, god, spirits, nature, with each other, and as a consequence in true relationship with ourselves. All these relations are evident in whole persons and persons-in-relationships and are expressed in a version of the prayer offered by St Teresa of Avila, 1515:

I give you my hands
to do your work.
I give you my feet
to go your way.
I give you my eyes
to see as you do.
I give you my tongue
to speak your words.
I give you my mind
that you may think.
Above all, I give you my heart
that you may love,
your gods, god, ancestors and all people.
I give you my whole self ...

From the outset we have argued that if a community cannot care for its most vulnerable members then the community has lost the capacity and capability to care for itself. Māori are, and in many ways remain, old-fashioned because we can never forget that every part of our culture that is diminished, neglected, relinquished and abandoned during day-to-day living is surrendered forever. In the 21st century, Māori people continue to struggle to relate to the nuclear family protocol and the health sector while retaining *whānau*, *whanaungatanga* and *kanohi kitea*: the cultural protocols which strengthen and bring about our distinctive way of living across cultures, in the historical flux. Thus this research philosophy strongly supports the belief that the few remaining ways of Māori people relating with each other and the cultural protocols that remain ours ought to be, should be, retained for without them there can only be insufficient and inadequate care of elderly Māori people in Aotearoa-New Zealand.

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Mōku te ao: conceptualising well-being as the right to knowledge

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Abstract

Current tertiary education policy in Aotearoa stresses Māori participation at the higher levels of education, research and scholarship as essential to Māori development. Arguably, pursuing education is a natural vocation of Māori, many responding to this challenge at the tertiary level. Currently Māori have a higher participation rate in tertiary education than any other ethnic group in Aotearoa. Many aspects of the current changes under way in the sector, however, threaten the benefits tertiary education would have for Māori development. In addition to the current user-pays system the reforms have included a sustained attack on the types of courses Māori study, the types of institutions Māori study at, and on both the institutional support funding and individual financial aid meant to reduce the disparities Māori students face as a result of colonisation.

Te Mana Ākonga, the National Māori Tertiary Students' Association, is grounded in *rangatiratanga*, and works towards upholding the right of Māori to self-determined development through tertiary education. This presentation explores the capacity of the current tertiary education to provide for the growth and transmission of traditional knowledges from a Māori student's perspective in the context of these reforms. Te Mana Ākonga's response to these reforms/attacks has been framed in the conceptualising of Māori students' well-being as their right to knowledge exploration and growth. To uphold one's well-being is to uphold this right. This view is essential if tertiary education is to fulfil a role in traditional knowledge transmission and generation and fulfil its promise in propelling Māori advancement.

Introduction

The purpose of Te Mana Ākonga, the National Māori Tertiary Students' Association of Aotearoa is to represent the interests of Māori students in tertiary education. Our hope is to help transform the sector to one where Māori aspirations may be met and flourish. We are grounded in *rangatiratanga* – the assertion of Māori self-determination over our development. Members of Te Mana Ākonga like to say it is a Māori right to engage in tertiary education in a way which allows us to determine our future.

Included in Māori needs and aspirations within the tertiary education sector are the presence and transmission of our traditional knowledge. In the first instance it is important to note the obvious concerns for our knowledge, and the concerns that responsibility of transmission, growth and all that entails, lie with (what can be considered) Crown institutions. There is a multitude of questions about appropriateness, exploitation and so forth. What my *kaumātua* tell me, however, is that this is what we have done to survive. They tell me that after our systems of knowledge were outlawed in the suppression of our *tohunga* and the suppression of our language; after our families relocated to urban life and then were deliberately isolated from one another to prevent communities of knowledge continuing; going through the Western systems is what we have done to survive. And survived we have.

So the questions posed by this conference are: how do we know our knowledge and current ways of knowing are okay? What practices and systems are in place for the maintenance and transmission of this knowledge? What are the indicators? How can we measure its development and advancement? These are all questions to be asked of the current tertiary education system. The current Māori tertiary student experience is a primary basis upon which these questions can begin to be answered.

Current policy setting

The *Tertiary Education Strategy* [TES] (Ministry of Education, 2002) is an outline of how tertiary education is going to help realise this nation's development goals. Strategy Two of the TES, *Te Rautaki Mātauranga Māori*, looks in particular at how tertiary education can contribute to Māori development. Does this policy setting sit with Māori needs and aspirations regarding our traditional knowledge? How is it meeting the maintenance and transmission needs of that knowledge? From the Māori students' viewpoint, the strategy prescribes outcomes for the sector that can positively provide for traditional knowledge transmission and growth. These include:

- Tertiary education leadership that is accountable to Māori communities;
- Strong Māori staff profiles, to ensure Māori are across places of authority and decision making;
- Quality programmes that recognise *Te Ao Māori* (Māori world/world view), including research programmes both applying traditional knowledge and researching about traditional knowledge;
- Options for *Kaupapa Māori* tertiary education, which apply Māori knowledge across all subject areas;
- Greater participation by Māori across a wider range of disciplines and at higher level qualifications; and
- Emphasis on collaboration between providers and *iwi*, to ensure the expectations of *iwi*, including their cultural standards regarding traditional knowledge, are being met in tertiary education provision.

(Ministry of Education, 2002)

But wait, there's more! The Māori *Potential Framework* recently developed by the Ministry for Māori Development, *Te Puni Kōkiri*, focuses on three new areas for strategic investment. These areas are *Mātauranga* (the building of knowledge and skills); *Whakamana* (the strengthening of leadership and decision-making); and *Rawa* (the development and use of resources) (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006).

Sounds promising? From this policy platform, our current system appears the primary place where we can entrust our traditional knowledge. There appears to be a plan for the development of the system to grow and be responsive to a greater Māori tertiary education capacity to ensure the presence and transmission of our traditional knowledge. In addition to these policies, the Government also reports on statistics that convey a picture of Māori advancement: that Māori are participating in tertiary education more than any other ethnic group, Māori unemployment is at an all-time low, we are engaged across the economy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006a) and, due to our Treaty settlements, Māori are economically equipped and ready to venture out as citizens of the world.

Māori student experience

As great as the policy context sounds, the Māori students' reality "kills that party". The actual experience of being a Māori student tells a very different story. Aspects such as strong Māori staff profiles, the development of quality programmes by those staff, and research programmes based on traditional knowledge all rely on Māori participating at the higher levels of education. The current hierarchy of our institutions features engagement in research and new knowledge occurring primarily at the postgraduate level, with the further development of programmes to disseminate this knowledge occurring principally at post-doctorate level. This poses a dilemma. For example, a typical scenario currently in our tertiary education sector is a Psychology programme where all lecturer applicants must have a PhD. The consequent number of Māori Psychology lecturers in that programme? One. The consequent number of Māori Psychology papers in that programme? None – no means by which traditional Māori knowledge would be maintained and transmitted in that subject area, in that programme. Often there are Māori components of some papers. However, what our Māori students tell us is that these components are often to enable Pākehā students to learn about Māori protocols, not to enable Māori to explore traditional knowledge and apply it to contemporary contexts. Why is this a typical scenario in our tertiary education? Because 85 per cent of all Māori students study at the certificate or diploma level (Ministry of Education, 2005). For all the policy intention, the current sector

lacks the critical mass to ensure that traditional knowledge is present, let alone being transmitted to Māori students.

In order to grow a tertiary education sector better equipped to fulfil our needs for traditional knowledge transmission and growth, there is an obvious need for a drastic increase in the number of Māori who engage at degree level and above. Māori students are in the tertiary education system – what is further required is the support to ensure Māori students are retained within that system, and progress from certificate and diploma level courses into degrees and postgraduate degree level study. The above policy documents suggest this is something the Government strongly agrees with and is working towards. Unfortunately, the past year is yet another example of the gap between high-level policy and what actually happens on the ground.

Closing or widening the gap?

In June 2005 the Māori specific component and the component for certificates and diplomas of the Special Supplementary Grant (SSG) were withdrawn. The Grant gave funding to institutions to develop programmes to enhance the achievement of Māori students in tertiary education, many of which focused on programmes to retain Māori students into degree-level study. The cutting of this Grant saw the withdrawal by many institutions of those programmes and the move back to the mainstreaming of services for students in the tertiary sector. As stated earlier, cutting of this support to sub-degree programmes meant the withdrawal of support from the 85 per cent of Māori students who begin tertiary education at this level. The cutting of the Māori component of SSG was revealed as part of an overall purge on Māori-targeted funding following a wave of anti-Māori sentiment in the run-up to the 2005 election. Following the 2004 ‘Nationhood’ speech at Orewa by the leader of the National Party, Don Brash, a review recommended a cut of over \$130 million to Māori-targeted funding in health and education (Cabinet Minutes, 22 October 2005). The pledge was that this was to be replaced by “needs-based funding”. For the Māori student in tertiary education, not only is this “needs-based” rhetoric a form of selective amnesia about the history of colonisation that systematically placed us into a space of “need”, but we have yet to see any of that \$130 million accounted for in construction of “needs-based” initiatives.

In July 2005 a review was launched by the Minister for Tertiary Education, Trevor Mallard, into the “quality and relevance” of certificates and diplomas. One of our traditional knowledge programmes that utilised a traditional transmission system of song and chants was labelled a “radio sing-along” (Office of the Clerk, 2005). In September 2005, the unprecedented popularity and consequent growth of one of the *wānanga* (tertiary institutions) led to a review. To Māori students, the race-based funding cuts, review of the *wānanga* and reassessment of the quality and relevance of courses was perceived in the public eye as the cutting of “low quality, irrelevant Māori-focused programmes”. In April 2006 Michael Cullen, the newly appointed Minister of Tertiary Education, announced a funding framework outlining that all providers were now to be partly funded according to this “quality and relevance” (Cullen, 4th April 2006). Not surprisingly, Māori students are fairly anxious about the outcome.

Lastly, the Manaaki Tauira Grant (Tertiary Incentive Training Allowance) was abolished when the Budget for 2006 was released. Manaaki Tauira was a grant for Māori tertiary students distributed on strict needs-based criteria – the applicant must earn under a certain amount of income and not be receiving any other scholarships or assistance such as the Tertiary Incentive Training Allowance. Approximately 9000 Māori students a year received it. There was no communication strategy by the Government around its abolition: only the one sentence on page 400 of the 700-page Budget report. To say the least Māori students were devastated. The Māori students’ perspective was that after a year of attacks on what we study, where we study, and the Māori-targeted funding in the sector and the support funding to our institutions, never did we think the attack would lead to the individual financial assistance we received – funding based on need!

Policy versus practical implementation?

Māori students were shocked by the withdrawal of Manaaki Taupiri because, in terms of the effects of colonisation, when it comes to Māori entering tertiary education the facts are facts. Māori students have less money, fewer assets and less savings, and so do our families. For example, 40 per cent of all Māori live in some form of hardship compared to 19 per cent of Europeans (Ministry of Social Development, 2006, p. 68). The median income of Māori in employment at \$14,800 (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a, p. 9) is significantly less than the median income of \$18,500 for non-Māori (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b, p. 1). Māori are less likely to own their homes at 48.1 per cent (Statistics New Zealand, 2002c, p. 1), compared with the 67.8 per cent of non-Māori who do (Statistics New Zealand 2002d, p. 1). Māori tertiary students are also almost half as likely to have savings as non-Māori tertiary students, at 26 per cent and 47 per cent respectively (TNZ Research, 2004). Consequently, Māori students' collective loan debt is just over \$1.5 billion (Ministry of Education, 2005c, p. 1). To put this figure into context, it is more than the fiscal cap on Treaty of Waitangi claims, which attempted to settle a century and half of Crown injustices. Funding such as Manaaki Taupiri has and will continue to be essential in addressing this initial socio-economic disparity Māori face in accessing tertiary education and in ensuring high levels of participation in tertiary education.

There are other serious consequences, in addition to the issues regarding traditional knowledge, to Māori staying at certificate and diploma level only. Māori graduates, despite achieving the same level qualifications, earn less than non-Māori graduates (Ministry of Education, 2005b, p. 2). Employment rates for Māori with a tertiary qualification are in fact only slightly higher than those with a school qualification only (Ministry of Education, 2005b, p. 1). Māori therefore are taking longer to repay debt (Ministry of Education, 2005c, p. 1). However, this disparity in income between Māori and non-Māori disappears at the degree level (Ministry of Education, 2005b). It is therefore essential to the Government's goal of "economic transformation" to provide initiatives that engage Māori successfully in higher level tertiary education.

The Manaaki Taupiri Grant, other initiatives such as SSG, introductory certificates and programmes that successfully introduce Māori into tertiary study are all elements that make a key difference for many of our students as to whether they would study at all. Thus, the past year has left many distraught as to our future. Traditional knowledge, let alone any knowledge, may as well be a million stars away when our resources and our strongholds are continually and systematically removed.

So, the conclusion as to the current context? We have excellent sound policy frameworks, which emphasise the development of Māori research and scholarship to uphold our traditional knowledge, none of which are being followed through in terms of getting Māori to the higher degree levels that enable us to do so. The policies we have are full of promise for Māori development through tertiary education: the problem is the Government following through with actions that in fact contradict and undermine the policy intent.

Knowledge and well-being

So what do we, as Māori students, do? How has Te Mana Ākonga responded? One of our *tohunga*, Rose Pere, talks about upholding her well-being (Pere, 2006). She says when finding herself in a negative space, she withdraws into neutral, so she can then return to herself – her own sacredness and place within the genealogy of the Creation (Pere, 2006). As expressed by Pere, total well-being is one of the Divine Rights (Pere, 2006). Therefore, this is not a state of being to attain, but one which individuals are born with and must honour by upholding the traditions through which they can do so. Thus, from the Māori worldview, the Creation stories lie at the heart of Māori, upholding their well-being in the endeavour for knowledge.

What our worldview tells us, is that after aeons of Nothing, which developed into aeons of Night, the Gods discussed separating Father Sky and Mother Earth. Through the courageous feat of Tāne, a son of Rangi, and Papatūānuku, Sky and Earth were separated to let in *Te Ao Mārama*: the World of Light, the World of Knowing, the World of Comprehended Creation (Tāwhai, 1988). Within this new world, Tāne

fashioned humankind from earth, breathing life into the physical body, Hine-ahu-one. He then brought about our full consciousness to the world and its possibilities through his fear of the dangers encountered during his climb to the heavens to retrieve the Kete o Te Wānanga (Tāwhai, 1988). The many stories of our ancestor Māui are then an example of how humankind can use this traditional knowledge to intervene within the world to change it. Some of the developments Māui is remembered for include the lengthening of the day, securing fire and experimenting with the metaphysical. Māui is also a prime example of the limits humankind can take in consciousness and application of the will to change the world – in an attempt to obtain immortality for humankind he himself is killed by Hine-nui-te-Pō (Tāwhai, 1988). Thus the development of humankind through the gifts of consciousness and knowledge within *Te Ao Mārama* are central aspects of the Māori accounts of the Creation and of ‘normality’ in the Māori worldview. The right to knowledge and the consciousness it brings is therefore located as sacred right, as it is located within the genealogy of the Creation. Upholding this right is therefore, as expressed by Pere (Pere, 2006), upholding our well-being.

The place of traditional knowledge within our consciousness is also central to our well-being. In education, when forms of knowledge are not present, they are considered silent (Thiesmeyer, 2003). ‘Silent’ because they are in existence and therefore not considered absent, but are simply not being given voice in that particular space. Silences are considered reflective of power through the processes of who decides what knowledge is to be present and what is to remain silent (Johnston, 2002). Knowledge is certainly what constructs our frame of reference within the world and shapes our choices on how we are and act. This process of silencing in education, allowing for certain bodies of knowledge and not others, can thus be identified as the process assisting in the creation of Freire’s “culture of silence” (Freire, 1970), Foucault’s “subjugation of knowledges” (Foucault, 1976) and Walker’s “non-history” (Walker, 1996); and in the instituting of Apple’s “legitimate knowledge” (Apple, 1979) and Gramsci’s “hegemony” (in Coben, 1995). Control over knowledge is control over the mind.

Māori students, due to the social, economic and political contexts we find ourselves in as a result of oppression, often find ourselves on a mission – aspiring world-transformers you might say. Stifling our ability to get to the higher levels of education where we may begin to develop and transmit our traditional knowledge is therefore suppressing the ability for radical transformative action.

Mōku te ao

Mōku te Ao is about being who we can be within this World of Light. This is the framework which Te Mana Ākonga adopts in assessing the well-being of our systems of traditional knowledge: assessing the capacity of the current system, its restrictions and its potential to fulfil our needs and aspirations regarding our traditional knowledge, as well as our consequent ability to be within the world, to engage within it, to change and grow it as we see fit. I do believe there is potential in this system. I hear stories from my father’s generation who were the first to enter tertiary education, who became masters of it and then forged a place for Māori knowledge within it. At his institution, in his time, there was the advent of Māori papers, then the separation of Māori studies away from anthropology to become its own school of learning – which was considered a radical movement within the tertiary education sector. Now we have the establishment of *wānanga* and Māori research centres focusing particularly on Māori knowledge application and growth within the world, as well as knowledge exchange with others across the globe. What next? The possibilities are endless. *Mōku te Ao* is our sacred right to knowledge, knowledge exploration and growth. Consequently we need to protect and elevate this right, which requires the development of a tertiary education capacity to provide for this right. This is essential if tertiary education is to be utilised as a means of knowledge transmission and generation, to fulfil its promise in propelling Māori advancement into the future and to imagine the possibilities of a world in our grasp.

Ki te whaiāo, ki te ao mārama, tihei mauri ora! (Into daylight, into the world of light, to life itself!)

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From the margins of Te Whare Pora: embracing traditions of innovation in Māori textile legacies

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*Ko Maungapōhatu te maunga
Ko Ōhinemataroa te awa
Ko Toikairākau te tipuna
Ko Hāmua te hapū
Ko Kane Te Manakura tōku ingoa
Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou, Tēnā koutou katoa.¹*

Whākinga

I begin by acknowledging Hine-i-te-iwaiwa, the goddess who in many *iwi* cosmologies gained knowledge of weaving in Te Whare Pora. Te Whare Pora is also the name of Te Papa Tongarewa's storage facility for Māori textiles, from which much of this paper was inspired. So I also acknowledge and thank Te Papa staff members who have opened the doors of Te Whare Pora to me on numerous occasions, and indeed all the museum staff who have assisted in the research for this paper.

Abstract

Cultural innovation can be a means of defending traditional life-ways against social fragmentation and breakdown. This is particularly true for Indigenous people who have often taken to incorporating and redeploying the very tools of European colonisation in order to defend core values, constructs and ways of being.

There are rich histories of innovative Māori weaving that have been largely forgotten in favour of *taonga* that fit within institutionally prescribed paradigms of authenticity and 'the traditional'. This paper explores these somewhat marginalised legacies with reference to examples of what may be termed "hybrid forms" of Māori textiles. These hybrid *taonga* will be presented as sites of resistance to and, paradoxically, cultural commerce with, the coloniser.

In addition, this paper raises questions regarding what is valued as traditional knowledge of Māori textiles and how that impacts on the well-being of those traditions. The *taki* (challenge) is to centralise a tradition of innovation and (sometimes wild) experimentation that is often marginalised in cultural memory and to go beyond the "salvage paradigm". Reclamation of indigenous traditions of innovation is essential to confidently navigate the future *and* honour our *tīpuna*.

¹ Translation:
Maungapōhatu is the mountain
Ōhinemataroa is the river
Toikairākau is the ancestor
Hāmua is my tribe
Kane Te Manakura is my name
Greetings to you all

Introduction

Perhaps the most reliable indicator of the health of any tradition is the extent to which practitioners have the confidence and cultural capital to innovate. The ability and willingness to adapt the skills, materials and ideologies of a cultural legacy to changing environmental circumstances can be demonstrative of autonomy over the knowledge and resource bases required to live by and pass on traditions.

Innovation can also be a defence against destructive social fragmentation. This is particularly true for colonised peoples who have had to change or revolutionise aspects of their social systems. Innovation can be a means of reinvigorating foundational values and cultural constructs in order to protect a community from the functions of Empire.

Imperialism, as expressed through colonisation, involves the systematic dismantling of the ways and forms through which colonised peoples structure their universe, knowledges, and relationships. Ultimately these *taonga* are reconstituted within the discourses and institutions of the imperial power while the people, alienated from their traditional knowledges, have new socio-cultural and political constructs imposed upon them, designed to ensure colonial control and domination.

But this is perhaps only one part of the story, a theoretical model, where in reality it is much more complicated. While acknowledging the enormous destruction colonial empires have engendered, indigenous communities the world over appropriate elements of imposed knowledge for their own objectives of resistance and empowerment. Often the knowledge and technologies of the coloniser are in fact sought out for these purposes.

Whakamāramatanga

For most Māori *hapū* and people the defence of core values and ways of being has involved appropriating and incorporating the tools of colonisation into the traditions handed down by ancestors. It could be argued that this can be part of the process Linda Tuhiwai Smith describes as the embedding of a language about colonisation in “our political discourses, our humour, poetry, music, story telling and other common sense ways of passing on both a narrative of history and an attitude about history” (1999, p. 19).

Today I will be discussing what results when select materials, techniques and concepts of the coloniser are embedded within weaving traditions through the agency of Māori weavers themselves. It could be argued that the ability of weavers to mount strong resistance to colonisation, while simultaneously maintaining cultural commerce with the coloniser, shows a degree of confidence in the *kaupapa* of weaving traditions, security in knowledge retention and transition, along with acknowledgement that there is a threat to be addressed. Thus the existence and current framing or uses of the hybrid textiles that result from resistance dressed as commerce, can be seen as indicators of well-being, or a lack thereof.

In the context of this presentation the term “hybrid Māori textiles” is used to refer to textiles created or appropriated by Māori for Māori purposes. These textiles are hybrid in the sense that they synthesise the forms, materials and technologies of both Māori and European cultures.² However they continue to express an essentially Māori *kaupapa*.

² Hybrid Māori textile’ is very much a working term – I am aware of the (over)use of hybridism in biological, sociological and anthropological discourse in recent years. Because of this negative association I am searching for an appropriate term that speaks to and from Māori weaving traditions.

The *taonga* shown in Figure 1 is an exemplary hybrid Māori textile. It is a Victorian-style muff but the construction methods and materials are indigenous to Aotearoa. *Muka* (fibre extracted from *harakeke*, the New Zealand flax) is woven using *whatu* (a hand-twining technique) to form the base of the muff. Onto this, *kiwi* (*Apteryx spp*; native bird of Aotearoa) feathers are attached using the same technique of weaving feathers to *kākahu* (cloak). The inside is lined with what appears to be silk. The weaver has synthesised Māori construction techniques and materials with a European form to create a high fashion item unique to Aotearoa.

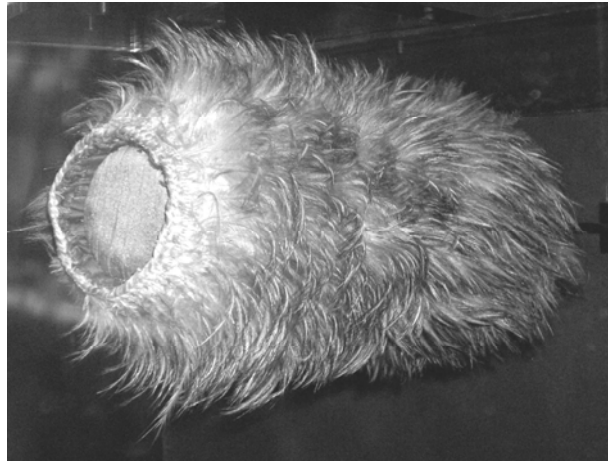


Figure 1. Kiwi Feather Muff, unknown provenance. Auckland War Memorial Museum 55425. All photography by author unless otherwise indicated.

But there is perhaps more to this hybrid *taonga* than merely the synthesis of formal properties. Often the incorporation of formal elements of multiple traditions indicates other dimensions of synthesis, that of the social and metaphysical. This *kiwi* feather muff is also articulating the status of the *wāhine Māori* (Māori woman) who may have worn it.³ Māori women would have recognised that fur muffs signified the class and/or wealth of the European ladies who wore them and here the weaver has incorporated this idea with traditional Māori signifiers of status.

Almost hidden among the thousands of *kiwi* feathers are a few red feathers from the under-wing area of the *kākā* (*Nestor meridionalis*), a parrot indigenous to Aotearoa. Across the Pacific red is a colour associated with chiefly status and sacred knowledge (Holdaway, 1984, p. 112). For Māori, any material that provided red colouring was highly valued and is used to adorn the bodies of chiefly persons. Thus this *kiwi* feather muff incorporates the signifiers of status of two cultures. This would be necessitated by the ignorance of Māori signifiers of status many settlers displayed in their interactions with *wāhine Māori* (Māori women).

Museological focus

Why focus on museum collections when there is a flowering in terms of current practice? The words of Amareswar Galla delivered in a paper to the 1993 Postcolonial Formations Conference provide a succinct answer: “It is a common adage that those who control your cultural heritage control the way others think about you.”⁴

The power of the museum to define and authenticate collected indigenous culture is still considerable. The museum remains one of the few sites in this colony where most Pākehā, and many so-called detribalised, urban Māori, can have what they often regard as an authentic experience of the indigenous cultures of this land.

³ These sorts of items were also made by Māori for the tourist market and European settlers.

⁴ As quoted in Pānoho (1996:24). The conference was hosted by Griffith University, Brisbane, Australia.

Museums, therefore, wield enormous authority in terms of shaping public perceptions of what ‘real’ Māori culture is, and also when it is (or was) ‘authentic’. The museum continues to be a powerful social construct with the potential to re-inscribe or challenge the ongoing colonial project. Furthermore there is a dialectical relationship between practitioners and the museum; weavers are influenced by *taonga* residing in museums, and increasingly weavers are influencing the collection and display habits of some institutions.

I suggest the composition and utilisation of museum collections of Māori material culture can help tell us something of the health and well-being of these traditions in different times and places. Even the objects that heritage institutions decide not to collect can tell us more than just the values and discursive constructs of the culture doing the collecting.

From observations of Aotearoa-based collections thus far, two trends are emerging. The first is that museums located in a region that has a history of Māori prophetic activity also tend to have impressive collections of hybrid textiles. The second is that very few ‘deeply’ hybrid textile *taonga* are displayed. From the seven major regional museums researched thus far the total number of hybrid textile *taonga* on display was less than five.

Kanohi ki te taki

These trends will be returned to but first the *taki* issued in the abstract should be addressed. A small but important way of rising to the challenge of centralisation is to take it literally and rise up off your seat and share the *kōrero* (narrative) of hybrid *taonga* in contexts such as *hui*, conferences or in publications such as this.

Puke Ariki, New Plymouth’s regional museum, has a wonderful collection of hybrid *kākahu*. Figure 2 is a child’s cloak utilising *whatu* to weave woollen and embroidery thread. It contains an array of bright woollen adornments including tags, tassels and what appears to be tropical fish motifs.

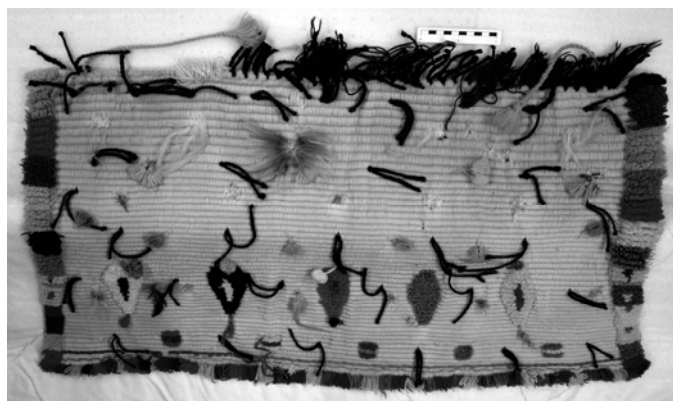


Figure 2. Kahu-wūru (wool fibre cloak), unknown provenance. Puke Ariki A79.946.

The border of coloured woollen panels is common to these sorts of hybrid cloaks, and seems to ‘stand in’ for more traditional bordering, such as *tāniko* (ornamental border).⁵ These borders are rendered by ‘looping’ woollen thread using traditional attachment techniques; the technique is comparable to that used in constructing carpet.

⁵ In fact a cloak I visited but was unable to photograph in Te Manawa Museum had a border like this cloak’s but the looped wool was colour patterned like *tāniko* designs (catalogue no. 88/78/1).

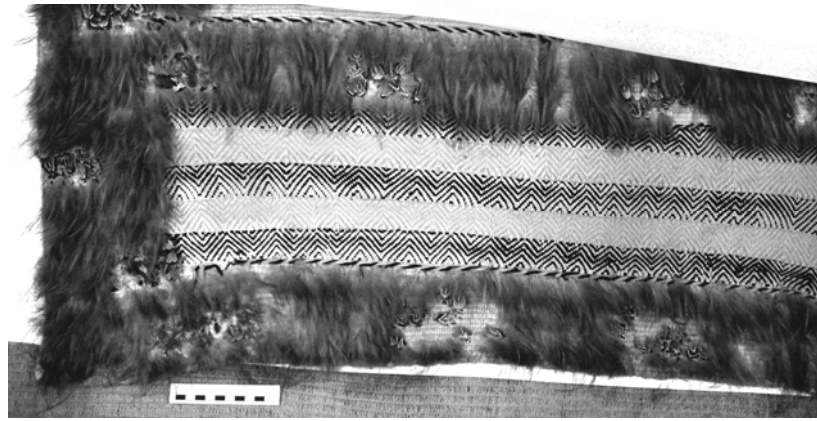


Figure 3. Kahu-huruhuru, unknown provenance. Puke Ariki A79.961.

This cloak has candlewick *whenu* (warp rows) and possibly embroidery thread *aho* (weft rows) and is classed by the museum as a *Kahu-huruhuru* (feather cloak). But there is a lot more going on here than just feathers. The patterned panel in this cloak, coloured black and fluorescent pink, is not an adornment as such: it is part of the *kaupapa* (design or theme) of the cloak.

The construction method for this panel is not *whatu*, it is a sort of European-influenced loom weave where the *whenu* are interlaced with pink and black woollen thread. The threading forms a traditional Māori pattern, *ara moana* (ocean path), used in a range of weaving forms.⁶ This hybrid technique can be observed in several cloaks, mostly located in Puke Ariki and Te Manawa museums.



Figure 4. Kahu-huruhuru, unknown provenance, Te Papa Tongarewa ME15747. The kākahu is pictured as it would be worn with the text and symbols upside down. (Photograph by Dr Maureen Lander.)

Currently residing in Te Papa Tongarewa’s Te Whare Pora is the *kākahu* shown in Figure 4. The *kaupapa* is *muka* and *whatu* while the adornment is intriguing. The playing card symbols and text rendered with woollen thread are the stand-out features of this very busy cloak.

The text appears to read “POI HAUA” but closer inspection reveals a line of tiny red woollen threads caught in the *kaupapa* of the cloak. Based on this evidence, the red letter (second from left in Figure 4),

⁶ The pattern could also be *pātikitiki* depending on how one reads the weave: If the differently coloured sections are read separately then the pattern is *ara moana*, but if the sections are read together then the pattern is in fact *pātikitiki*.

is not a “U” but more likely an upside “N” that the weaver was in the process of unpicking with the intent of correcting their mistake.

So the text more likely reads “POI HANA”, which could mean, amongst other things, “to twirl flames” or simply “flameball” (Williams 1957, pp. 33,288). *Hana* can also mean “cloak”, and more specifically a cloak smeared with *kōkōwai* (red ochre). However there are no traces of this pigment on the cloak.

“Poi Hana” is also the Māori transliteration of “Port Jackson”, which is what Sydney was known as when it was a major trading port for 19th century Māori sea merchants. There is a history of cloaks being used in lieu of flags by early New Zealand-based ships (see below), so it is possible this cloak is a flag as well – “Poi Hana” could connote the movement of a cloak in the wind as it hung from a flagstaff, making it a clever pun.

The heart, diamond, club and spade motifs recall how playing cards were utilised as mnemonic devices to help Māori learn Christian scripture.⁷ These symbols are firmly associated with many Māori prophetic movements that developed in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the Pai Marire and Te Ihairaira of Maungapōhatu.

These prophetic religions invariably held the common objective of resisting the colonisation of Aotearoa through the creation of spiritual and social structures that drew on Māori and European cultures. This makes it appropriate to at least suggest that this cloak could be articulating resistance to colonisation as much as it engages with the material and ideas emanating out of the colonising culture.

Another hybrid *taonga* that resists by engaging is held in the British Museum in London. Someone put a lot of work and *aroha* into this unique *taonga*, yet it sits in the British Museum without a provenance, unaccompanied by the life-sustaining stories of the land and people from which it comes. It was found during a storage facility spring-clean and had no accompanying documentation, not even a catalogue number.

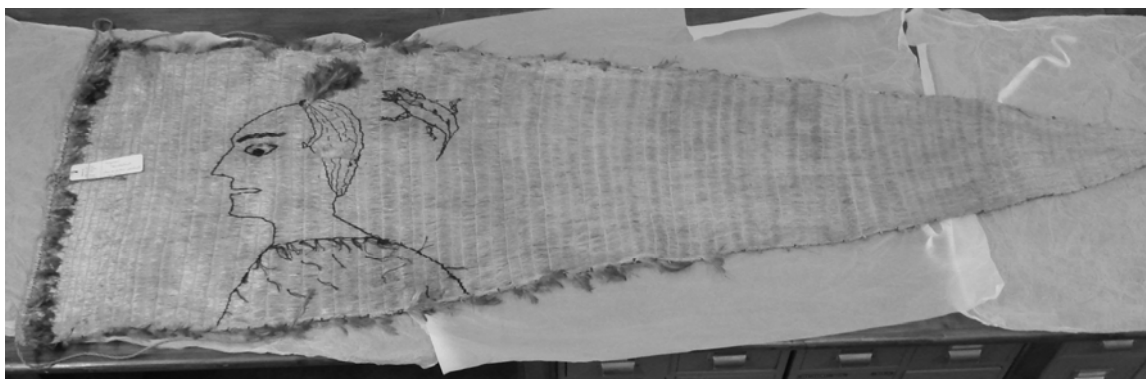


Figure 5. Te Kara Muka, British Museum Q82 OC 705. (Photograph by Dr Maureen Lander.)

Te Kara Muka, meaning the “flax fibre flag”, is a temporary descriptive name used in preference to referring to this *taonga* as “Q82 OC 705”. Almost two years of research has been carried out for this *taonga*, attempting to uncover its *whakapapa* while building an alternative framework of significance based on the *kōrero* of the flag itself to reveal what the physical attributes can tell us.

Te Kara Muka is a 66cm by 254cm triangular pennant flag with a *muka kaupapa* constructed like a *kākahu* using *whatu* techniques. *Kākā* feathers adorn the edges of the flag. The human and *tuatara* (lizard) figures are rendered in embroidered red wool. The human figure wears a white *pōhoi* (ear adornment of feathers), *kākā* feather plume and a *kahu korowai* (cloak adorned with rolled tags) – all signifiers of chiefly status – therefore he is referred to as a *rangatira* (chief).

⁷ Personal Communication (Interview), Judith Binney, 19/05/06.

<i>Waka</i> Construction and Navigation	“Painted Houses” of Te Tai Rāwhiti	<i>Whakapapa</i> of <i>Manu</i> (birds) and <i>Tuatara</i> (<i>Sphenodon punctatus</i>)
<i>Kākahu</i>	<i>Manu Tukutuku</i> (Kite)	European Flags and Naval Culture
<i>Ngā Poropiti</i> (The Prophets/ Prophecies)	Feather and Fibre Symbology	European Embroidery

Figure 6. Links in a framework of significance.

Figure 6 shows some of the cultural legacies to which Te Kara Muka is linked. In the following paragraphs two of these connections will be traced in order to evoke something of the cultural framework being constructed.

Te Kara Muka combines certain design elements of the *kahu-kura* (red feather cloak) and the European flag and renews these ancient cultural forms for the objective of Māori resistance to colonial pressures. A cloak solely adorned with red feathers is called a *kahu-kura*. *Kura* is one of many Māori words and phrases that brought an array of significant linguistic connections to the research.

The *Dictionary of the Māori Language* gives the following meanings for *kura*:

- a sub-species of *kākā*
- red; glowing
- feather adorned
- precious
- treasure; valued possession
- chief; man of prowess
- special knowledge
- *tapu* (Williams, 1957, pp. 157-6).

These same meanings circulate around Te Kara Muka, and not only because it is adorned with red *kākā* feathers.

Kākā kura referred to the rare *kākā* birds that were cloaked entirely in red feathers. These were also thought to be *rangatira* that led migratory flocks of *kākā*. *Kahu-kura* were only worn by paramount chiefs, to signify their status, and indeed these great men and women are treasured by the peoples they lead, in part for the *kura* or special knowledge they hold.

The point in tracing these linguistic connections is to make manifest the intricate structure of associations that backs up the assertion that Te Kara Muka is very much like a *kahu-kura*, but in the form of a European pennant flag. Te Kara Muka quite likely functioned in similar ways to both *kahu-kura* and European flags: as a proclamation of ancestral ties to land and as a marker of the identity and status of the person for whom the flag was made.

There are a couple of historical precedents for this relationship between cloaks and flags. In the early 1830s, before the first New Zealand Ensign legitimised and identified Aotearoa-based shipping, the brigantine *New Zealander* was challenged by authorities at Poi Hana. In response a Māori rain cape was apparently run up the flagstaff, presumably as a means of identifying the ship (Irvine and Rawene 1965, p. 76).

In his journal Thomas Kendall recorded a celebration of the Sabbath at Kororāreka in late 1814. He conducted a Christian worship on the deck of the CMS vessel *The Active*, which flew a Union Jack. Meanwhile on shore Tara, a local *rangatira*, complemented this by flying his own flag from a *rāhui* (a prohibition or temporary ban instituted to a particular area) pole. Anne Salmond in *Between Worlds* writes that these poles “staked out *mana*” and the flags were often “a local *rangatira*’s garment” (1997, p. 439).

This is documented historical evidence that our *tīpuna* saw a relationship between their cloaks and the European flag construct, lending weight to the idea that Te Kara Muka incorporates the form and functions of both.

Te Kara Muka possibly functioned in ways similar to the *whareniui* (meeting house) form in terms of being a mnemonic articulation of identity based on a deeply held connection to land. It has been widely argued, for example by Rosenfeld (1999) and Morey (2000), that Māori flags functioned as a means of communicating connections to land to European settlers who, often wilfully, ignored customary forms of expressing these claims.

From the margins

To paraphrase from *Decolonising Methodologies*, questions of who is a real Indigenous person, which person displays real cultural values and the criteria used to assess the characteristics of authenticity are designed to marginalise those who speak for indigenous issues (Smith, 1999). These questions often result in the silencing of groups within the Indigenous community, such as those whose ancestry is “too white” (1999, p. 72). This applies equally to material cultural items. If *taonga* incorporate too much European influence they are often deemed “too white” and silenced.

The suggestion is that the tradition of hybridity and innovation to which Te Kara Muka belongs is marginalised in collective cultural memory. The process of gathering evidence for this is only just beginning but the lack of presence of hybrids in permanent displays and temporary exhibitions, a dearth of serious academic writing on hybrid textiles and the lack of retention in contemporary production of techniques developed historically by weavers engaging with the intercultural, are all indicative of marginalisation.

There is a way of talking around these sorts of *taonga* that constructs them as unusual curiosities, “not really Māori” and somehow frivolous, improper vessels for the retention of *mātauranga taketake*. It must be stressed this is by no means universal, some people and institutions do respect hybrid textiles and many more are inclusive of other forms of cultural synthesis.

Theoretical writings by people such as Rangihiroa Pānoho (1995, 1996) and Deborah Root (1996) tend to support this position. For example, Pānoho notes that “what many Europeans do not want to see is a reflection of their own culture in First Nation art. Sameness is a problem, difference is essential” (1996, p. 24).

U.S. anthropologist James Clifford’s writing regarding the contemporary empowerment of the salvage paradigm in relation to collecting culture has provided the most sustained and cohesive theoretical underpinning to this paper. According to Clifford socio-historical constructions of time greatly influence how culture is collected: “Collecting – at least in the West, where time is thought to be linear and irreversible – implies a rescue of phenomena from inevitable historical decay or loss. The collection contains what deserves to be kept” (1988, p. 231).

In terms of indigenous *taonga*, the impetus for collection by ‘the West’ is predicated on the myth that contact with European modernity is fatal for the indigenous culture. This presupposes the idea that *taonga* which were created before contact with Europeans are the most authentic; therefore worthy of collection and scrutiny. This is reflected in many museum displays of indigenous material culture – *taonga* are selected based on such narrow definitions of authenticity and then made to represent some abstract “whole culture” (Clifford 1988, p. 220).

The dearth of hybrid textiles in many New Zealand museum collections (on display) indicates that these kinds of weaving are widely considered not worthy of display because they do not represent an authentic traditional Māori culture. The few hybrid *taonga* that are on permanent display are framed in a manner that highlights their marginal status. The *kiwi* feather muff, for example, is accompanied by a label that describes it as “unusual”. That is to say peculiar, not typical or representative – as innocuous

as the word “unusual” sounds, in this case it operates to marginalise this *taonga* and set it outside the canon of authentic Māori weaving.⁸

Conclusion: kia mau koe ki ngā mahi ā āu tīpuna⁹

A much wiser colleague has said in relation to this research:

Essentially Māori weaving expresses idioms intrinsically linked to the Māori world, however individual communities may shape and define that. We recognise that weaving is linked across time and space, from *ngā tīpuna* and must be perpetuated for *ngā mokopuna* (the grandchildren; future generations). Once this is in your mind a weaver cannot help but be drawn into a culture creating/perpetuating mode. Therefore ‘hybrid’ textiles are more than just a response to environmental changes, materials etc. They are a forum for reclamation of the works of our ancestors through the mediums and materials available.¹⁰

Reclamation of weaving traditions of innovation is important because, in a small way, it challenges the pervasive ideological complexes that consign ‘authentic’ Māori culture as a vital force to all aspects of our life, to a golden but forever lost past. Another, perhaps more valuable, a reason for centralising these currently marginalised hybrid *taonga* is to honour the *tīpuna* who made them. Should we not respect their decisions to embrace new techniques and materials in order to create these “forums for reclamation” and thereby maintain the sacred thread to the *mātauranga taketake* of the ancestors?

Because colonisation is ongoing, I believe the most important aspects of the work of our ancestors are those which provide models and inspiration for adapting to a rapidly changing and often hostile environment. Traditions of innovation within the colonial past is something we need to centralise in our collective cultural memory in order to find ways of ensuring the well-being of the values underlying our traditions in the (de)colonial future, whatever forms they may take.

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⁸ This minor criticism must be balanced by the acknowledgement that it can only be made because Auckland Museum is one of very few museums to have hybrid textiles on permanent display, and that there is in fact an entire section of the Māori Court dedicated to *taonga* that combine Māori and Pākehā technologies and ideas.

⁹ Translation: Hold firmly to the practices of your ancestors.

¹⁰ Personal Communication, (Email), Anonymous, 02/06/05. This colleague, experienced in the heritage sector and currently writing a PhD, has requested anonymity.

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Te mōrehu whenua: te mōrehu. The remnants of the land, the remnants of the people:¹ Ātihau-Whanganui Incorporation Lands 1900–1969

Esther Tinirau

Whanganui, Ngāti Rangi and Ngāti Tūwharetoa tribes of Aotearoa (NZ)

Introduction

Taitoko Te Rangihiwini first articulated the idea of “the remnants of the land, the remnants of the people” in 1897 in Whanganui.² It was a time of struggle for Māori groups throughout the country as they sought ways in which to progress future tribal development through the protection and preservation of their collective interests and rights with regard to their land holdings. The statement is a compelling one that affirmed the relationship between Whanganui tribal groups and their estates at a time when the effects of colonisation had significantly eroded tribal land holdings and the Māori population had ebbed to an all time low.

As Whanganui groups searched for ways to protect the remnants of their lands, they also sought avenues to maintain their autonomy. The ability to adapt according to a changing political environment and utilise tribal and non-tribal relationships to advance a united Whanganui *iwi* position was crucial to preserving their land interests. In doing so, Whanganui leaders and *hapū* would be able to better look after their respective collectives.

This paper examines the history of the Ātihau-Whanganui Māori Incorporation lands from the period 1900 to 1969. In particular, it will focus on the actions of Whanganui tribal groups and leaders in order to highlight how the advancement of collective interests and rights were inherent during the six decades that it took for the management of their ancestral estates to return to their control.

The voice of protest

Between 1890 and 1899, calls by Māori for land alienation to cease and for Māori control over Māori lands resonated throughout the country. Petitions were presented to Parliament regarding the future administration of Māori lands in which tribes were unanimous in asking:

- (i) that the Crown cease the purchase of Native lands;
- (ii) that the adjudication, management and administration of the remnant of their lands be vested in controlling Councils, Boards or Committees composed of representative Māori (AJHR, 1907).

Petitions over a 30-year period from 1870 had consistently protested against Native Land Court decisions, land legislation, and land alienation.

(Loveridge, 1996, p. 5)

In 1895 concern by Māori about the loss of so much land had resulted in calls by the Māori Parliament to boycott sittings of the Native Land Court (Williams, 1999, p. 95). Māori were aware that land sales and leasing could not be undertaken until the Court had determined ownership to Māori land. In order to prevent further alienation, landowners were asked to refrain from participating with the Native Land

¹ (15 May, 1948). *Letter from Beneficial Owners to Minister of Māori Affairs*. MA Acc W2459, Box 23 5/2/4 Pt 4. Wellington. Archives New Zealand.

² More commonly known as Major Kemp, a tribal leader of Whanganui *iwi* who initially fought alongside the Government constabulary. He was later to vocally stand in opposition to the Government with regard to the alienation of lands (Department of Internal Affairs 1990).

Court process therefore protecting their lands and stifling the efforts of the Government for land acquisition (Loveridge, 1996, p. 5). However, non-participation with the Land Court process also meant exclusion from the ownership list if Māori were not present at the court hearing. Although the boycott was successful for a short period, Māori landowners were eventually forced back to the Land Court due to risk of losing their entitlement and their land to individuals acting for themselves rather than the communal good of the tribal group. Making specific comment on a block in the Whanganui hearing district, Anderson outlines the typical difficulties which Māori faced in boycotting the Native Land Court hearings for tribal groups who chose not to participate:

Such a goal proved unrealisable given the priority of the individual rights over that of the community in land legislation, the unsympathetic attitude of the court and the hostile reaction of government officials. The efforts of ... a boycott of the Native Land Court ... [were] readily undermined in the first instance, by the capacity of any individual to have his or her interest defined by the court. That lesson was underscored by the boycotters' exclusion from the title on their non-appearance, the refusal of the court to rehear their case, and the government's quick purchase of a substantial portion of the block from the grantees.

(Anderson, 1998, p. 100)

The pre-emption policy where Māori could only sell or lease to the Government was also protested against vehemently. The reason for this was that the Government offered prices well below market value and then on-sold the land to settlers at an inflated cost. Not being able to deal directly with private purchasers meant that Māori did not get a fair price. Private land sales, however, could also lead to unscrupulous negotiations where individuals were able to sell their interests in land without regard for the tribal groups to whom it belonged.

However, Māori were not the only voice of protest. Even proposals for reform by Royal Commissions in 1871 and 1891 were to a large extent ignored in favour of the single-minded determination of acquiring more land for settlement (AJHR, 1991, AJHR, 1871). In commenting on the Royal Commission's recommendations, Williams states that:

None resulted in substantive reforms to protect Māori interests along the lines recommended, or, where partially implemented ... they entirely failed to alter the general trajectory of Land Court operations and Crown policies and practices.

(Williams, 1999, p. 97)

While the Government attempted to ignore the protests, the growing unity of Māori around the country was such that they needed to respond in some way. Settler demands for land were still evident and the Government moved to introduce legislation that would cater for these competing interests.

Whanganui *iwi* were also contributors to the voice of protest. Taitoko Te Rangihwinui was to play a leading role in Whanganui and national affairs in relation to the preservation of Māori land interests.

In 1897 the Native Minister Hon. James Carroll met with Whanganui Māori at the Moutoa Gardens³ "to discuss the best method to be adopted to assist [the] ... people and to preserve the remnant of their lands for the benefit of future generations" (Letter, 15 May 1948). Taitoko Te Rangihwinui was present along with "other chiefs of the Whanganui tribe, together with a very large number of the Whanganui people" (Walzl, 2004, p. 53). At the meeting Carroll gave assurances that if the owners vested their lands in the Crown that the lands would be protected. Taking Carroll on his word Taitoko said, "*E Timi: Te morehu tangata, te morehu whenua ki a koe* – To you James: I leave the remnants of the people and the remnants of the land" (Letter, 15 May 1948). The words of Taitoko were to be an enduring legacy, particularly on successive generations of Whanganui Māori when reminding future governments of the trust given over to Carroll as a government representative to protect their lands.

³ This site is now known as Pākaitore where a land occupation took place in 1995. See Durie 1998:125-9.

By 1898, Whanganui tribal leaders again appealed to the Premier and Carroll for the cessation of land-buying. Whanganui *iwi* had recently mourned the passing of Taitoko Te Rangihwinui in the previous month and many of the speeches referred to his efforts to preserve Whanganui land for the benefit of Whanganui Māori and future generations (Government Printer, 1899). In referring to Te Rangihwinui, Waata Hipango stated that he had “worked very hard to gather together the chiefs and tribes of the Māori people from all parts, and urged them to unite in seeking a means whereby the remnant of the people might be saved and the remnant of their lands conserved to them” (Government Printer, 1899).

In response, the Premier stated that he was preparing to introduce legislation that would protect Māori lands from sales while facilitating European settlement through leasing the land (Government Printer, 1899). The *Māori Lands Administration Act 1900* sought to solve these two objectives.

Māori Lands Administration Act 1900

Two particular features of the Act were the ability of Māori to *voluntarily* vest lands in newly established Māori Land Councils for leasing and the provision for Māori representation.

The legislation was a compromise between the calls of Māori to completely end land alienation and the needs of settlers to gain access to undeveloped land. Therefore, the Act brought in a regime where sales were discouraged but leasing was promoted through regulated Māori land administration.

(Walzl, 2004, p. 142)

Membership of the Councils consisted of between five to seven members. Government appointees included the Council President and two to three members, of which at least one was to be Māori (*Māori Lands Administration Act 1900*). Māori of the district elected the remaining two to three members, which ensured that at least half, if not more, were Māori. The first members of the Aotea Māori Land Council were appointed in December 1901 with five Māori and two European members, both of whom were Native Land Court judges. The Māori members were Rū Reweti, Taraua Marumaru, Takarangi Metekingi, Waata Wiremu Hipango and Te Aohau Nikitini (Katene, 1990, p. 70).

Whanganui tribal groups were to demonstrate their confidence in the Act being able to protect their interests by vesting over 115,000 acres of Whanganui land in the Aotea Māori Land Council for leasing (AJHR, 1951). In fact the Aotea district was the only region where the Act was used significantly for vesting land (AJHR, 1951). Confidence would soon turn to concern, however, through amendments to the Act that saw Māori representation being reduced to a minority and the introduction of a compensation clause that was to threaten the likelihood of the lands eventual return to the Māori owners.

The *Māori Lands Administration Act 1900* temporarily ceased Crown purchases of Māori land and sought to give Māori some measure of control over the management and administration of their tribal estates through Māori Land Councils. The legislation ensured Māori representation was a majority, the appointments of which were both Crown and Māori elected. However, the survival of the principle of voluntary vestment and the Māori Land Councils relied on making more land available for settlement quickly. Ward has observed that although the Act:

... was a reasonable attempt to steer between the desire of Māori to control their own land and the determination of the Pākehā majority of opening up remaining land for settlement ... it was clear that settler impatience would not long be held in check, if undeveloped Māori land was *not* brought into production.

(Ward, 1999, p. 155)

There were several difficulties that the Māori Land Councils encountered. This led to delays in releasing land and the ultimate call for the Councils to be abolished, the introduction of compulsory vestment and the recommencement of Crown purchasing. The creation of individual title to Māori land under the various Native Lands Acts meant that a multitude of owners existed in Māori land blocks.

Each ‘owner’, or at least a majority of them, had to agree to land being vested therefore fulfilling the principle of ‘voluntary’ vestment. This was attained by major signature gathering campaigns (Walzl, 2004, p. 64). These campaigns required time not only for travel, but in some cases time to resolve dissension that arose with regard to title. Loveridge states:

That the large numbers of owners on many titles might slow things down should of course have been foreseen in 1900: certainly no one should have been surprised when this problem became apparent. Where action was possible, however, it could take a good deal of time to draw up deeds of trust and obtain the necessary signatures, while questions about title and survey problems always had the potential to impose further delay.

(Loveridge, 1996, p. 35)

Another hindrance was that few premium Māori land blocks remained after 30 years of land sales, confiscation and compulsory taking through legislation. To a large extent the land that Māori were willing to vest was of low quality or in isolated areas. The preparatory work that needed to be undertaken was therefore laborious and added to the delay of making land available (Loveridge, 1996, p. 36). Add to this the lack of financial support from the Government and the expectation that the Councils were to be self-supporting, thereby relying on monies made from the leases, and it was not surprising that the Councils were soon waning (Loveridge, 1996, p. 39). Political and settler pressure led the Native Minister to concede to the compulsory vestment of land, reduced Māori participation and the re-introduction of Crown purchasing under the *Māori Land Settlement Act 1905*.

Māori Land Settlement Act 1905

The *Māori Land Settlement Act 1905* saw the replacement of Māori Land Councils with Māori Land Boards. It provided for the compulsory vesting of Māori land by the Native Minister in the newly constituted Land Boards for the benefit of the Māori owners. While Carroll had initially desired that all districts come under the compulsory regime of vesting land for leasing only, he had been defeated in Parliament and Tokerau and Tairāwhiti were the only regions where this rule applied.⁴ Crown purchasing recommenced, although the aforementioned districts were exempt from such sales – at least for the time being anyway. The Boards consisted of three government appointees, of whom only one was Māori, therefore reducing the Māori representation to a minority. The right for Māori to elect members was also abolished with the only Māori member being elected by the Government. The importance of Māori representation had previously protected Māori interests when they were able to prevent the offering of perpetual leases, much to the ire of the Native Under-Secretary, Sheridan (Katene, 1990; Walzl, 2004). With Māori representation being reduced to a minority, Whanganui tribal groups were now at the mercy of a European-dominated, Government-appointed Board.

Compensation for improvements

Although Māori members had successfully opposed perpetual leasing, the introduction of compensation for improvements to lessees upon the expiration of the leases jeopardised the likelihood of the land’s return. Leases had been offered for 21 years with the right of renewal for a further 21-year term, upon which the land would revert to the owners following the payment of compensation for the value of improvements. Although Sheridan was annoyed that perpetual leases had been abandoned, he nevertheless was confident that Māori owners would never be able to pay compensation which would in effect see leases becoming perpetually renewable: “... in fact I consider it a perpetual lease as it is beyond a doubt that Natives will not at the end of 42 years be able to pay ... value of improvements at that period” (Letter, 6 July 1904).

Section 28 of the *Native Land Settlement Act 1907* placed a 50-year restriction on the term of land leases which meant that all leases would terminate by 25 November 1957 with a view of returning the

⁴ The introduction of the *Māori Land Settlement Amendment Act 1906* included the provision for the remaining four land districts to have land compulsorily vested by the Native Minister if the land was not properly occupied but suitable for use by *Māori*.

land to the Māori beneficial owners subject to the lessees receiving compensation. This provision was included in the consolidation of native land laws in the *Native Land Act 1909*.

Aware that the termination of leases was due in 1957 and that the compensation clause in legislation would prove detrimental to the return of Māori lands to Māori ownership, Whanganui Māori began petitioning Parliament in 1948. They outlined the history of the vested lands since 1900 and protested at the inclusion of the compensation clause without consultation:

In granting the lessees compensation in its present form the administration failed to observe the fundamental principle of the Trust "... that is the preservation of our lands for the benefit of generations to come"; and replaced it with a system which is tantamount to confiscation as evidenced by Judge Brown's memorandum dated 9.8.37 where he quotes a case that would take 200 years to pay off the compensation charge. This applies to the whole of the blocks with slight variations.

It is stated that it was necessary to grant compensation to the lessees, for improvements effected by them, to get the land settled. That may be so, but we maintain that we should have been consulted and that the terms entered into by the administration on our behalf does not reveal much foresight or any grounds for enthusiasm and confidence in what they have planned for us.

(Letter, 15 May 1948)

The petitioners called for a Royal Commission of Inquiry to investigate:

1. The owners' legal rights.
2. Each lease.
3. The administration.
4. The method of valuation.
5. Compensation for the improvements affected by the lessees.

(Letter, 15 May 1948)

Meetings with the Native Minister followed where the spokesperson for the people, Marumarū, outlined how the method of valuing improvements had resulted in the owners being disadvantaged (Notes 29 October, 1948). Prior investigations by the Under-Secretary revealed that the owners had a legitimate claim and that there were other related matters that required serious consideration by the Government well before the termination of leases in 1957 (Letter 3 September, 1948). If the leases were to continue due to the inability of owners to pay compensation, then new legislation needed to be enacted to allow this to happen and to find a solution so that both lessees and Māori owners would not be disadvantaged by the current state of affairs. Until the problems were resolved, the "Māori Purposes Acts of 1948, 1950, 1951, 1952 and 1953 allowed the lessees to continue their tenure" (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 24).

1951 Royal Commission on Māori vested lands

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1949 with a view to investigating leases of vested Māori lands. The Commission began their enquiry in 1950 and heard representations in the six Māori Land Board districts – Aotea, Waiariki, Waikato-Maniapoto, Tokerau, Ikaroa and Tairāwhiti.

The Commission was to inquire and report on four main areas:

- 1 The modification or alteration in the law or the terms of the leases with regard to the nature of improvements, the method of ascertaining the value of improvements and the nature in which the amount for compensation was to be settled;
- 2 Whether additional powers should be allocated to the Māori land boards;
- 3 Any other relative matters that required government attention;
- 4 Whether changes to law were necessary to implement recommendations.

(AJHR, 1951, pp. 2-3)

Approximately 161,000 acres of Māori land were part of the investigation. The majority of the lands were in the Aotea district representing 115,209 acres (AJHR, 1951, p. 19). Although each area shared some commonality in issues such as compensation for improvements and the desire by Māori owners that the lands be returned either for their own settlement or under a trust, there were also differences in the amount of land involved in each district, the Acts under which lands had been vested and the limitations on the amount of compensation to be paid (AJHR, 1951, pp. 19-54).

In the Waiariki district, for example, 5400 acres were under investigation in which a limitation on compensation payment meant that the Commission were satisfied that “when the leases expire little difficulty will be experienced in this district in arranging the necessary finance” (AJHR, 1951, p. 47). The Tairāwhiti district was particularly unique in that the relationship between lessees, Māori owners and the Board were most amicable and any difficulties were settled satisfactorily between the three parties (AJHR, 1951, pp. 48-9). Counsel for all parties stated that no significant changes to the law were deemed necessary except for minor amendments (pp. 48-9). Compensation had been prescribed for the Ikaroa district and the Board in this district was the only one that had provided a fund for payment of compensation (AJHR, 1951, p. 40).

The Aotea district was to receive a fair amount of consideration by the Commission due to the large area of land vested in the Board and the complex and technical nature of the issues regarding the method of land valuation, amount of compensation for improvements and the rental charges upon the second 21-year term being renewed.

Counsel appeared for the Aotea Māori Land Board (AMLB), the lessees and the Māori owners. Although the Māori owners stated that the lessees were entitled to compensation they believed that it should be “fair and honest and just” (AJHR, 1951, p. 24). Furthermore they wanted to ensure that no matter what provisions were made that ultimately their lands would return to them (AJHR, 1951, p. 24).

Lessees on the other hand were looking for the leases to continue until such time that compensation could be paid (AJHR, 1951, p. 30). They also argued that if compensation was not forthcoming then leases were to be deemed perpetually renewable (AJHR, 1951, p. 40). The Commission did not agree with this view. The relationship between the lessees and the Māori owners had been at variance since 1911 when the lessees first began lobbying the Government for either freehold title or perpetual leases (AJHR, 1951, p. 22). The Commission noted that since that time, Whanganui Māori had continually petitioned the Government to not allow the fee-simple of their lands to be lost to them or their descendants:

Deputations have waited on different Ministers of the Crown over a period of years. The Māori owners throughout this time have strenuously opposed any suggestion that perpetual rights of renewal should be granted or that the lessees should be granted any right to purchase the freehold.

(AJHR, 1951, p. 22)

Valuation issues

The method of valuation received considerable attention because it favoured the lessees and not the Māori owners. The discussion in the Commission’s report is a technical and complex one (AJHR, 1951, pp. 26-9). The main issues, however, are outlined below in order to illustrate how, over time, the Māori beneficial owners had been disadvantaged.

In essence, the ‘residue’ method used in determining the unimproved value of the land and the value of improvements had a direct influence in the setting of the second term rentals.

The Commission gave the following example with regard to leases in the Ohotu block:

First-term rentals (pa)		£189 18s 2d
<i>Second term valuation</i>		
Capital value	£17,000	
less Improvements	£13,460	
Unimproved value	£3,540	
Second term rentals based on 5% of £3,540 (pa)		£177
<i>Third term valuation</i>		
Capital value	£31,472	
less Improvements	£29,016	
Unimproved value	£2,456	
Third term rentals based on 5% of £2,456 (pa)		£122 (approx)
		(AJHR, 1951, p. 27)

Although the capital value of the land increased over time because of the improvements, the result was that the owners' interest (the unimproved value) naturally decreased. Consequently rental fees for each successive lease tenure also decreased. The figures demonstrated how owners were therefore left in the precarious position of not being able to accumulate enough money to pay compensation for improvements. The table below illustrates the figures for the respective lands blocks administered by the AMLB.

Block	Area	First term rental	Second term rental	Valuation at time of renewals of leases	
				Improvements	Owners' Interest
Ohotu 1-3, 8	62,444a 1r 0.8p	£4131:7:2	£2807:18:1	£321,842	£68,847:5:11
Morikau 2	14,330a 3r 34p	£1177:5:6	£165:8:3	£43,528	£3983
Waharangi 1-5	10,146a 2r 34.5p	£904:3:10	£262:9:8	£18,650	£2491
Paetawa	3226a 0r 0p	£167:15:0	£48:0:0	£8217:5	£3645:16
Otiranui 2,3	1296a 3r 28p	£134:5:2	£23:6:0	£3320	£466
Rākautaua 2B	50a 0r 0p	£152:10:0	£82:10:0	-	£1650
Raetihi 3B2, 4B	4377a 0r 23.7p	£1318:8:5	£256:4:7	£31,710.1.6	£3176:11
Retaruke 1,2,4B	1164a 3r 10p	£68:1:3	£42:17:10	£3225	£857.0.3
Retaruke 4C	1387a 2r 22.7p	£57:16:8	£29:10:0	£2163	£240
Tauakira	9117a 0r 2p	£468:3:8	£262:17:7	£27,148	£5136
Wharetoto	7668a 0r 0p	£87:10:0	£20:5:02	£555	£405

Table 1.1: Rental and valuation of land blocks (AJHR, 1951, p. 20).

Future use of land

The general feeling of Māori in all districts was that the lands should be returned. Some owners proposed that the land be used for settlement while others wanted to farm the blocks. In the case of Māori individuals farming the blocks, the Commission warned that due to the large number of owners in a particular piece of land, interests would be too small to effect an economically viable unit for farming (AJHR, 1951, pp. 57-65). Where farming was feasible either by Māori individuals or on behalf of the beneficial owners, the Commission proposed the use of existing legislation to advance Government funds to assist in compensation payments and the development of the land (pp. 57-65).

Hoeroa Marumaru spoke on behalf of the Whanganui tribal groups in respect of the future use of the lands, in particular the Ohotu block. He proposed that:

... a trust commission should be set up with a view to paying off the value of the lessees' improvements and assuming possession of the Ohotu blocks on behalf of the beneficial owners. The aims of this trust commission would be 'to preserve to the Māori owners for all time the *mana* and fee simple' of the lands and to preserve for the benefit of the Māori owners 'the revenue and continued occupancy of their lands'.

(AJHR, 1951, p. 59)

Marumaru referred to the Morikau Farm that was situated in the upper reaches of the Whanganui River near Ranana. The AMLB, on behalf of the beneficial owners, had managed the land since 1910. The profitable running of the station was used to demonstrate how land could be administered for the benefit of all owners. Marumaru also proposed that some of the land could be utilised as a training farm to encourage young Māori "away from the towns and on to the land" (AJHR, 1951, p. 59). The trust would also determine development issues for the land and where advantageous, land could be leased.

The return of the lands and the establishment of a "trust" were to receive major consideration over the next 18 years by Whanganui leaders on behalf of Whanganui owners associated with the blocks.

Recommendations

In making their recommendations, the Royal Commission highlighted the ability of the parties to seek their own solutions through negotiation and agreement outside of their advice to the Government. Throughout the investigations four major principles guided the Commission:

- 1 Existing contracts should be fulfilled;
- 2 The land should in due course return to the beneficial owners;
- 3 The facilitation of owners settling and farming the land;
- 4 The prevention of the condition and productivity of the land being threatened.

(AJHR, 1951, pp. 52-53)

The recommendations included suggestions for the resolution of the AMLB administrative issues and provisions for new or existing legislation to incorporate specific terms. To a large extent the recommendations focussed on the valuation method, compensation for improvements, and subsequent lease arrangements if compensation was unable to be paid at the end of the lease term (AJHR, 1951, pp. 82-88). Moves to effect new legislative changes began after the submission of the Commission's report to the Government in 1951.

Proposed new legislation

Following consideration of the Commission's recommendations and discussions between the Minister of Māori Affairs and his officials, a draft for new legislation was circulated for comment to Government officials and representatives of Māori beneficial owners and lessees.

Matters pertinent to Whanganui owners included:

- 1 Lessees being entitled to 75% of the value of improvements for compensation; half of the rentals received would be put aside in a sinking fund to accumulate for future compensation payouts;
- 2 Financial assistance from the Government (through the Māori Trustee) to pay compensation; and
- 3 That any monies advanced by the Māori Trustee would be a charge against the land.

(Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 38-47)

A Whanganui Māori Vested Lands Committee was formed to represent owners of the Ohotu block and a committee representing the lessees was also formed. Various meetings were held in which the issues of compensation and lease renewal terms were debated.

Primarily, Māori owners did not agree with the 75% compensation and wanted 66.6% instead as originally recommended by the Royal Commission (Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 38-47). The valuation of land and the determining of rentals were also seen as disadvantaging owners. Rather than the 'residue' method as outlined by the Royal Commission, owners sought to have the rentals determined through the unimproved value of the land plus the 33.3% of their interest, which was the remaining improved value after deducting the 66.6% (Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 38-47). In addition, Māori owners wanted the right to resume lands at seven year intervals subject to monies being available (Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 38-47).

Lessees on the other hand were adamant that nothing less than 100% compensation would be accepted and that if owners were unable to pay compensation then the leases should be renewed for another 21-year period without a right to resume during that time (Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 38-47).

Discussions tended to end in a stalemate because of the opposing views of both parties. However, the Minister of Māori Affairs did recognise the goodwill in respect of the Māori owners in seeking to reach a compromise with the lessees (Letter, 29 September 1952). Although discussions regarding the draft legislation began in 1952, by October 1953 the Government were getting impatient and warned that if some sort of agreement could not be reached between the parties, that they risked the Bill going through without their input (Bassett & Kay, 2004, p. 47).

Agreements were finally reached and formed a document that was forwarded to the Minister of Māori Affairs. Many of the agreements were to be included in the draft *Māori Vested Lands Administration Bill*.

In brief, the concessions made by the Māori owners were:

- 1 100% compensation for land resumed immediately;
 - 2 Upon renewal of leases owners could not resume land until the expiry of the next 21-year term;
 - 3 Thereafter, resumptions could be made after a further 15 years or at the end of the 21 years.
- (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 49)

Lessees conceded to the following:

- 1 Renewed leases were liable for 66.6% compensation;
 - 2 The rent payable was doubled;
 - 3 The second term of renewed leases contained the 15-year resumption option.
- (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 49)

The Bill was passed into legislation as the *Māori Vested Lands Administration Act 1954* and was to form the basis of how vested lands were to be treated and set the method regarding valuations on the capital value and improvements effected by lessees. The valuation method, however, did little to solve the complex issues involved with valuing land. Resuming land has proved to be a costly exercise since the first land resumption in 1960.⁵ Although objections to valuations have ended up in court, details of the cases will not be reviewed here. Suffice to say that resumption has been expensive and the Ātīhau-Whanganui Incorporation (AWI) has lodged a Waitangi Tribunal claim regarding the cost that it has had to bear when resuming land.

⁵ Valuation issues have been taken to court over the years. See *Re Wright's Objection* [1959] NZLR 921, *Ātīhau-Whanganui v Malpas*, [1977] 1 NZLR 610, *The Proprietors of Ātīhau-Wanganui Incorporation v Malpas*, [1979] 2 NZLR.

Resumption and lease renewals

In 1960 the Māori Trustee on behalf of the beneficial owners resumed control of 3946 acres of leased land in the Ohakune area following the expiry of seven separate leases held by Messrs Wright and Forsyth. These were the first of the leasehold properties to return. The amount of compensation paid to the lessees for improvements amounted to £57,595 (Bassett and Kay, 2004, pp. 88-9). However, additional funds were required for stock, equipment and capital works. A total of £136,000 was advanced which was charged as a debt against the newly formed Ohorea Station (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 89). To assist in reducing the debt quickly, timber rights were sold on the land and accumulated rentals from other leased vested blocks were also used (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 91). The Māori Trustee had established a 'sinking fund' by this time, which accrued rental monies for the purposes of resumption – i.e. compensation payments to resume land following the expiry of leases (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 94).

In 1962 an Ohorea Advisory Committee was established to represent the Māori owners at meetings with the Māori Trustee. The Committee members were Messrs Bailey, Metekingi, Wright, Peehi, Amohia and Tapa. The Committee was to ensure that the interests of the owners were considered during discussions with Government officials (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 107).

In 1964 the Committee began meetings with the Māori Trustee officials to discuss the return of the vested lands to the control of owners. Although the Ohorea Advisory Committee consisted of only Ohotu owners, they acknowledged that had it not been for the rentals from all the leased vested lands, Ohorea's debt would not have been paid so quickly (WhMB 131B, 1967, p. 27). After meetings with owners of the Morikau, Paetawa, Raetihi, Retaruke, Tauakira and Otiranui lands, a decision was made to seek an amalgamation of all blocks. Before this could be effected, however, the *Māori Purposes Act 1966* was passed for the purpose of giving the Māori Land Court a valuation date for all blocks. This was necessary because one did not exist and the subsequent compilation of the owners' relative interests for amalgamation required a common date. The date was set at 1962 and the application went to the Court in 1967 (Bassett and Kay, 2004, p. 142).

Amalgamation of lands

The Aotea Māori Land Court heard the application for amalgamation in 1967. Throughout the proceedings Rangitakuku Metekingi was the main spokesperson for the beneficial owners in the following blocks (WhMB 131B, 1967, p. 16):

Morikau 2	Ohotu 1C2	Ohotu 1A 2B
Ohotu 1B	Ohotu 2	Ohotu 3
Ohotu 8	Otiranui 2	Otiranui 3
Paetawa A	Paetawa B	Paetawa C
Raetihi 3B 2B	Raetihi 4B	Raetihi 3A
Retaruke 1	Retaruke 2	Retaruke 4C
Tauakira 2F	Tauakira 2H	Tauakira 2J
Tauakira 2K	Tauakira 2L	Tauakira 2M 6
Tauakira 2V	Tauakira 2W	Tauakira 2X
Tauakira 2Y	Tauakira 2	Tauakira 2Z
Tauakira 2AA	Tauakira 2BB	Tauakira 2CC
Tauakira 2DD	Tauakira 2EE	Tauakira 2FF
Tauakira 2GG	Waharangi 1	Waharangi 2
Waharangi 3	Waharangi 5	

Table 1.2: Land blocks in Ātīhau-Whanganui amalgamation

In describing the history of the lands and the reasons for amalgamation, Rangī Metekingi again referred to the 1897 statement of Taitoko Te Rangihīwinui to Native Minister Carroll:

To you Sir James we give the remnants of our people and of our lands for safe keeping. It is on this statement made by Taitoko over 60 years ago that we, the descendants of the men of Taitoko's generation look for inspiration in furthering the sentiments expressed in that great saying. Over the years, in spite of Pākehā pressure and in spite of political pressure, the people of the River have stood fast against further sales in this area. We have always understood that one day we will get our land back. That thought is forever upon our minds and has been revived from generation to generation.

(WhMB 131B, 1967, p. 26)

Metekingi also stated that throughout the generations the Whanganui people always understood that their lands would return to them and while initially the Ohotu owners had only focused on the Ohotu blocks, a decision had been made that "we would cleave to the saying that we were the descendants of the lady known as Hinengākau who 'plaited the river together'" (WhMB 131B, 1967, p. 27).

Metekingi's statement demonstrated the unity of purpose that the owners had arrived at through hui leading up to the Māori Land Court hearing. An amalgamation effected the bringing together of all blocks into one title. The decision that the new block would be known as 'Ātīhau-Whanganui' symbolised the concept of *kotahitanga* between the owners. Even more significant, however, was the likelihood that the name was to be an enduring reminder that the lands had belonged to tribal groups of Whanganui before the introduction of individual rights by the Native Land Court.

A number of technical issues were raised during the Court hearing with regard to title discrepancies, valuation issues and the calculation of ownership interests. Once the Judge was satisfied that all issues were resolved, an order for amalgamation was made in May 1967.⁶ With the process complete, the owners moved to have the Ātīhau-Whanganui Amalgamated Block returned to their control. The re-vesting of the amalgamated block and the establishment of the AWI was completed in November 1969.

Conclusion

Māori representation and the voluntary nature of vesting lands for leasing under the 1900 *Māori Lands Administration Act* provided Whanganui Māori with a mechanism whereby their lands would be protected from sales and they would have some control in the administration through elected Māori representatives. The Aotea Māori Land District was particularly unique in that it was the only area where the Act was used to vest substantial amounts of land.

Changes to the legislation, however, saw Māori representation reduced to a minority and a compensation clause that was to threaten the likelihood of the lands ever returning to Māori owners. Despite a Royal Commission in 1951, and the enactment of legislation which was aimed at ensuring the return of Māori land to Māori owners, the method of valuation did little to resolve the difficult issues surrounding the valuing of Māori land. The result was, and still is, that compensation for resuming lands has been and remains an expensive undertaking.

Ohotu owners, while initially focussed on the Ohotu block only, decided that other land blocks should be included as well and that Whanganui Māori should take a united stance with regard to the amalgamation and the establishment of the AWI Incorporation in 1969. Almost 70 years had passed since the lands went out of the owners' control. Throughout the generations they had constantly united to speak as one voice and ensure that the lands returned to their ownership. The efforts of many *tūpuna* throughout the years had been partially realised and the authority for administering the lands had returned to the beneficial owners.

⁶ For the full court hearing proceedings see WhMB 131A and 131B.

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Having honest conversations about the impact of new technologies on indigenous peoples' knowledge and values

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Abstract

The need for robust research protocols and methodologies to ensure the protection of Indigenous peoples' knowledge and perspectives is not new. However, as new technologies develop (particularly genetic technologies) the impact of Western science on Indigenous knowledge, values and practices will continue to challenge Indigenous peoples to respond to a science motivated largely by corporate non-Indigenous imperatives. Such issues become more complex when Indigenous peoples are asked to weigh cultural or spiritual concerns against the potential for individual health benefits, or to weigh individual rights to make choices against some fundamental tenets of tribal societies, namely collective responsibility, collective decision-making, and collective well-being. Due to this rapidly developing area of science it is essential for Indigenous educators and researchers to continue to develop ways of having honest and frank conversations with each other about sometimes highly politically laden and problematic issues confronting them, such as biotechnology.

The *Kōrero Whakaaetanga*: Constructive Conversations research project responds to the need for better information about the cultural, social, spiritual and ethical elements of new health biotechnologies and the need to find new ways of engaging people in dialogue. This paper draws from the conversations and experiences with Māori over the last two years concerning the impact of genetic testing on their lives and cultural values. This paper argues that Indigenous peoples, particularly *iwi* Māori, must be vigilant in reclaiming and redefining our cultural values, practices, and ways of being if we are to effectively respond and benefit from new technologies. It proposes a principled approach to establishing effective frameworks and protocols for honest discussions about the spiritual and cultural issues raised by such technologies.

Prologue

We should declare a state of national emergency due to the corporatism, materialism and greed-based consumerist crisis plundering our earth that has reached pandemic proportions. We would then immunise all against this addictive condition with a cocktail of drugs called 'anti-greed', 'more is not better', and 'stop buying'. This is more authentic and needed than spending hundreds of millions on supposed meningococcal B or bird flu epidemics.

Racism in the media is as much about what is not covered in the media as what is. It means, for example, that little notice is taken of millions of dollars cut from Māori education and social services, or of the many brown people who have lost their jobs over the last two years – the result of a racist speech and an insecure government.

The ignorant and arrogant unilateral decree to Māoridom by the Prime Minister that women are to be seated in the front row of state *pōwhiri* (ceremonial welcome) is more about the coloniser once again being unable to relinquish a bit of power to Māori in the only thing that they had no control over, namely our rituals. Equality is not about sameness, and seating arrangements in a ritual is only oppressive to women if women allow it to be. The *pōwhiri* process deliberately acknowledges the distinctive and complementary roles of men and women. We must take responsibility for the role of Māori men as providers, protectors, and leaders of our *whānau* to have any chance to combat the crises facing our boys and our men.

The human body is hot property, considered by some to be a resource to be ‘mined’, ‘harvested’, patented, and traded commercially for profit as scientific advances increase. Under this approach to the human body nothing seems sacred and old tensions take on new dimensions about consent, the fair distribution of tissues and products developed, the individual and collective cultural values represented by the body, and public policy and rights governing the use and abuse of tissues and organs.

Introduction

This paper draws from the insights and experiences from the Constructive Conversations: *Kōrero Whakaaetanga* research project on the social, cultural, and ethical issues raised by emerging health biotechnologies. The genesis for the *Kōrero Whakaaetanga* project came from increased public and media focus on the biotechnology explosion of the late 20th century, particularly the rapid development and controversy around genetically modified foods and organisms.

This upsurge in public debate resulted in the establishment of several government agencies such as the Environmental Risk Management Authority (ERMA), the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification, the Bioethics Council and others. For these bodies, particularly in the early days following the establishment of ERMA, accommodating Māori spiritual or cultural concerns about genetic technologies has been challenging. Statements from legislative and judicial sources about Māori and genetic modification reveal a tendency to emphasise tangible and empirically discernible risks and outcomes when dealing with the genetic modification and testing debate.

They accepted that s6 (d) required them to take spiritual matters into account. They were unable however to assess or give weight to purely spiritual matters in the same way they felt able to assess and give weight to purely physical matters. They acknowledged that Ngāti Wairere’s spiritual beliefs were deeply held ... they were however, unable to assess any adverse affects on those spiritual beliefs in the absence of empirical evidence of (for example) likely health consequences (Bleakley, 2001).

Within the debate about genetically modified organisms (GMOs) and Māori, such approaches were condemned by some as denying the cultural importance of intangible spiritual risks and their effects. The apparent inability of the technical risk-assessment, decision-making processes to give weight to essential Māori concepts and values resulted in disillusionment about regulatory processes and reluctance by some Māori to continue to engage.

And the majority have difficulty in appreciating how the insertion of a synthesised genetic sequence coding for a protein present in humans, should through interference with the *whakapapa* or *mauri* of the cattle to be produced, lead to the claimed adverse consequences to Ngāti Wairere.

Thus in accordance with clause 12 of the Methodology, the Majority considers that after considering the uncertainty in the evidence presented, the beliefs at issue are unlikely to produce biological and physical effects; i.e. the combination of the magnitude of biological and physical effects and the probability of occurrence is such as to produce a negligible risk.

(ERMANZ, 2001, p. 24).

Do we go down this public submission phase again? ... No we’ve had enough of the public scrutiny and the rejection of our value systems through those Authority and High Court processes.

(Jacqui Amohanga: Interview, 2001)

The quotes above provide insight into the gulf between some of the *hapū* having to contemplate the development of GMOs within their tribal *rohe* and decision-making bodies such as ERMA. Such disputes provided the catalyst for increased awareness and debate about the impacts of biotechnology on Māori cultural values and Māori traditions. At the turn of the century, the Royal Commission on Genetic Modification provided a platform for *iwi*, *hapū* and Māori communities to put forward their

responses, the majority of which raised concerns regarding social, environmental, cultural and spiritual impacts. Māori concerns relate to the potential environmental impacts of GMOs, particularly native flora and fauna. Māori concerns were about the potential human health risks, particularly genetically modified (GM) foods. Māori concerns were about the socio-economic impacts of GMOs, based on a deep sense of mistrust of large foreign corporations and loss of control. Māori were concerned about the impacts on our values and cultural heritage, particularly *whakapapa* and *mauri*.

Our attempts to have ‘constructive conversations’ about emerging health biotechnologies (i.e. genetic testing, over the last two years) occurred in tandem with the growing global anxiety and awareness of the influence of science, biotechnology and genetic reductivism. The media frenzy about genetic advances in Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ) was somewhat removed from the core of activity and what has been referred to by some commentators as ‘genomania’ in the USA (Lancaster, 2005). This increased media profile on theories about the role of genes in determining our physical and socio-cultural behaviours has been met with a considered and sometimes suspicious response from Māori involved in this research. The influence of the increased profile and hype around ‘potential’ benefits of genetics shaped research participants’ responses as they had all been exposed to media coverage on these issues. In describing media approaches to these new technologies, Lancaster highlights the need for balanced discussions:

Editors wanted breathless stories about ever-grander discoveries; they certainly didn’t want stories about theories that didn’t pan out or the limits of genetic research. The net effect of all these trends was the development of ever-more PR-savvy ‘science’ (I enclose the word in quotation marks because there was nothing very rigorous or scientific about much of what was passed along for public consumption) and a relaxation of standards of reportage.

(Lancaster, 2005, p. 4)

People will almost always be uncertain when responding to emerging science when they are fearful or unclear about what is fact and what is hype. The need for culturally appropriate processes for transferring information and promoting engagement in this environment is essential. Hence, much time and effort has been put into developing ways of having constructive conversations about genetic testing, and in many ways we achieved this. This need is increased for health-related biotechnologies opposed to GM foods, as Māori participant responses to genetic testing were more wide-ranging and diverse. The point here is that a Māori response to genetic science related to more than cultural or spiritual impacts:

... a Māori analysis of GM need not be merely cultural response based on esoteric lore but a considered scientific response as measured in Māori intellectual terms.

(Moana Jackson, Royal Commission Submission, 2001)

Similarly, the Māori response to genetic testing we encountered was essentially a pragmatic one that looks at the risks, costs, and benefits to Māori social, cultural and economic well-being. Māori are likely to take this approach to most emerging health biotechnologies.

Often Māori would not distinguish between different biotechnologies, particularly when commenting on socio-economic issues (e.g. equity, access and benefits) and cultural concerns (e.g. scientists tampering with *whakapapa*). Related to the concerns about GMOs was a general uneasiness amongst the research participants about interference with *whakapapa* and scientists “playing god”, and about the need to protect future generations from unknown risks.

Notwithstanding the above, there was a strong theme throughout that if Māori *whānau* received medical benefits from this technology then it should be supported. At the heart of the matter for the overwhelming majority of Māori participants was the imperative to support *whānau* members requiring assistance for personal health. Such sentiments were far more explicit in discussions about genetic testing than Māori responses to GMOs. Māori opposition to GMOs and particularly GM foods was widespread. However, our experience to date with health biotechnologies is that the issues are not as clear cut and opposition is not as widespread.

Genetic research on Māori and research about genetics and Māori

Lessons learnt to date by the *Kōrero Whakaaetanga* team on engaging Māori about genetic research might indicate a strong willingness by Māori to provide information and insights. However, all of the nine Māori focus groups were organised by researchers who had strong existing links to those groups. In other words, trust and a willingness to participate, in most cases, already existed amongst research participants.

Some participants raised issues around the protection of information (that our research was not intended to be fed into any policy or legislative reform) which might also have influenced research participants in how freely they provided information. Such responses are to be expected given past and recent experiences by Māori of government consultation processes and the increased Māori awareness of intellectual and cultural property.

Moreover, the focus of our discussions was primarily on identifying concerns about genetic testing and this may have made it easier for participants (i.e. it may be easier to critique than to discuss benefits). It is difficult to ascertain, but it may be the case that if our conversations were focusing primarily on the potential for Māori to benefit from genetic testing, participants' willingness to openly engage in discussions may have been less.

The key overarching question that has dominated discussions about Māori and genetic modification has been, either implicitly or explicitly, who will benefit from these new technologies; and will it be Māori? My experience of talking with Māori about genetic technologies has been to hear diverse and significant concerns. However, when it came to potential benefits, positive statements such as: "If it were my *mokopuna*, my *whānau*, I would do what it takes," would come either at the end of the *hui*, or, alternatively, more considered discussions about the impacts on Māori traditions were heard over lunch.

I know that if it comes down to it and I see somebody that I love suffer, I would do everything in my power to alleviate that suffering and that's what really determines my decisions at the end of the day... It makes it really personal. And if it is somebody I love and if genetic testing is going to help then I would do everything in my power to convince them to take that track if it is going to alleviate their suffering and that's where I'm at. At the end of the day when it comes down to it, I'm afraid I can't cope if my *whānau* are suffering.

(Benita Wakefield (Kaikōura), workshop participant, May 2005)

As health biotechnologies continue to emerge and Māori health needs increase so will the opportunities to engage in genetic technologies. Important here is appreciating the tensions between the needs of Māori as individuals and as *whānau* and *hapū* members and how decisions about genetics are made within these social constructs. These tensions go to the heart of being Māori and are fuelled by the desire of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to make collective decisions within a modern society driven by individualism. Traditional Māori decision-making was made with the collective well-being of the tribe as the paramount concern. Individual choice and decision-making were not exercised in the interest of individuals but for the best outcome for the collective.

There is a need for a more direct focus in social science research regarding Māori and genetic science that explicitly explores how Māori might position themselves to best benefit from these technologies. How do potential medical benefits from health biotechnologies such as genetic testing influence Māori spiritual and cultural concerns, and how do Māori researchers provide a safe space for Māori to have such conversations?

Our research indicates that effective protocols are needed to encourage honest conversations about when Māori cultural or spiritual concerns might be offset against potential medical benefits. For such conversations to occur across the Māori biotechnology spectrum (i.e. GMOs to genetic testing), guarantees are needed that information provided by Māori will not be used to their detriment. It was

also apparent from our research that real-life scenarios and case studies about genetics work best for facilitating “constructive conversations” about often complex issues.

Three examples of the Māori genetics interface are briefly outlined below.

Three specific examples of the Māori genetic research interface Māori and PPL Therapeutics: our very own Dolly

In 1996, PPL Therapeutics, a transnational biotechnology company based in the United Kingdom (UK), came to prominence for reputedly cloning Dolly the sheep. It was also the first firm to announce that it had cloned pigs capable of providing organs for humans, and had worked on stem cells which scientists believed could be coaxed into growing replacement organs.

After failing to establish a research facility near Tauranga, PPL set up a biopharming facility north of Taupō amongst the Ngāti Raukawa and Pouakani people in the late 1980s citing New Zealand’s “clean green” image and scrapie-free environment as the key motivation for setting up in NZ.

In 1998 an application was lodged with ERMA to extend a flock of transgenic sheep containing human DNA as a technique for developing stocks of human protein to potentially combat cystic fibrosis and emphysema.

PPL had injected a relatively significant amount of income into the small rural community and had a good relationship with the local Pouakani people, who supported the application. Local Māori were employed at the facility and PPL organised an annual public meeting on site.

After much deliberation the local Ngāti Raukawa *hapū* decided to neither support nor oppose the application, stating that they were influenced by the potential for medical benefits, although they were uneasy about the concept of sheep with human genes in their community.

The Chair of the Ngāti Raukawa *hapū* at the time accepted that they did not have all the background knowledge or experience to make a fully informed decision but stressed that they *must* make their own decision based on their values and experiences. Dolly died and PPL Therapeutics went broke.

Lifting of the Mākutu – The story of the Tito and Miru Whānau

In 1988 the Tito/Miru *whānau*, of Ngā Puhī and Ngāti Whātua tribal descent, became aware that they were afflicted with a hereditary genetic disorder. Whilst the diagnosis remained unknown it was known that the condition was passed down by the females in the family who were carriers only; i.e. no obvious symptoms were apparent amongst the females. The males of the family, however, were affected at birth and had a 50 per cent chance of survival. Over a 15-year period, seven of the newborn boys in the *whānau* died at birth, surviving between an hour and 10 days. This was a very traumatic experience for this *whānau* who began to speculate that a *mākutu* or curse had been placed upon them.

The *whānau* struck up a close relationship with Professor Steven Robertson from Otago University who was eventually awarded a scholarship from Oxford University in 1999 to research their case. There were many exchanges of information and DNA, between the *whānau* and Professor Robertson over several years of attempting to pinpoint the genetic mutation. The trust that was built up between the scientist and *whānau* was very strong to the extent that the *whānau* consented to all Professor Robertson’s requests. After seven years of research the genetic mutation was found and a worldwide breakthrough in genetics achieved.

This provided some piece of mind for the *whānau* involved who no longer believe that they are cursed and can now ascertain who the carriers of the genetic disorder are.

The *whānau* continue to have to cope with living with this condition.

The Rākaipaaka health and ancestry study

In late 2005 the Environmental Science Research Institute (ESR) initiated a genetic research project with Māori as part of their envirogenomics research programme. Envirogenomics aims to utilise information about a person's unique genetic makeup and their life exposures (including cultural upbringing) to determine risk of disease or how they respond to medication.

Specifically, the Rākaipaaka Health and Ancestry Study aims to utilise *whakapapa* to understand patterns of genetic and disease variation within Rākaipaaka, an *iwi* based predominantly in Nūhaka (Hawke's Bay) Ngāti Kahungunu. This is a large-scale, long-term epidemiological project, which aims to identify the serious diseases that affect the community, understand the heritability of these diseases through the use of *whakapapa*, and identify the genetic and environmental factors that influence these diseases.

It will involve the recruitment of approximately 3000 informed and consenting participants who will complete a detailed health questionnaire and physical assessment and provide blood samples for biochemical and DNA analysis. A detailed assessment of each participant's *whakapapa* will also be obtained. The utilisation of *whānau* ties enables more successful tracking of patterns of disease with particular genetic markers (Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2006).

This research has much potential to influence future issues arising out of the Māori-Genetics interface. From a procedural perspective it is groundbreaking in that an *iwi* has consented to participate in a long term study of their genetic information. From a substantive perspective it has potential to reveal much about the well-being of Māori.

There are many risks involved with this research, primarily around the impact on Māori ability to control *whakapapa*. The potential impact on Māori collectives increases the need for caution and careful deliberation. The potential for stereotypes about Māori to be reinforced by this research, and for further stigmatisation and discrimination, is also a risk.

ESR aims to reduce this risk by identifying individual risk of disease based on personal genetic and environmental data (a person's envirogenomic profile) which, due to its specificity to an individual's environment and genetic make up, is of limited use for others including siblings, parents and children (Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2006).

The research agreement explicitly states that the genetic information from this project cannot be used for secondary studies without the express permission of Ngāti Rākaipaaka who will also have access to a GP, free health screening and health care planning. Research capacity building will be undertaken and there may be potential to generate commercial intellectual property from new medicines and diagnostics for disease (Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2006).

It will be important to trace the research process in this project, and use the insights gained to inform ethical protocols regarding genetic research. Much literature on ethical protocols around research and Indigenous peoples exist, and these may only need to be tweaked to suit the Māori genetics context.

Comment

The diversity of responses from Māori regarding emerging health biotechnologies and the potential imbalance of power between research organisations and Māori community were highlighted in our research.

Engagement of Māori on these terms creates an inherent inequality in the nature of the research relationship so that the Māori group must trust the research organisation to honour their agreements and in doing so carries a significant risk should the relationship sour.

(Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2006)

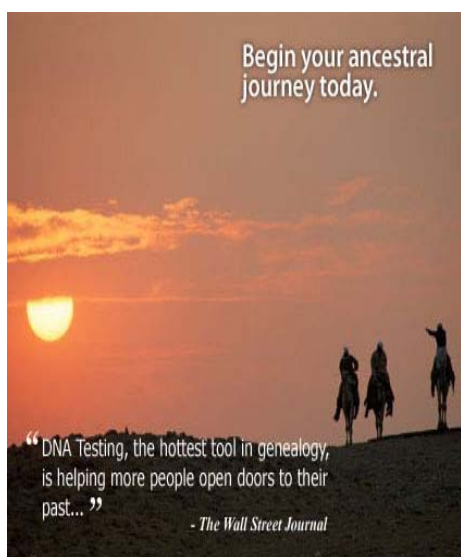
As the above examples show, despite a lack of information or experience and the inherent unequal research relationships that exist, Māori continue to make decisions to support genetic technologies – particularly genetic testing – and such decisions have received much criticism. However, often those who judge the decisions being made by Māori to engage genetic science have not had the experiences of those making such decisions. Making value judgements and criticising Māori who choose to engage in genetic testing services is easier to do when dealing with hypothetical situations and it is not until a real-life issue confronts you head-on that you will really know how you will respond. The issue of judging Māori was raised in our research:

At the heart of the matter for the overwhelming majority of Māori participants was the imperative to support *whānau* members requiring assistance for personal health. In fact one participant from the Māori specific workshop stressed the importance of people not being judged because they choose to engage in a new technology due to personal health reasons.

(Tīpene-Matua, 2006)

Opportunities for Māori individuals to engage genetic testing services are likely to continue to increase as Māori health needs increase and the marketing of genetic services becomes more aggressive.

The following website page is an example of how genetic testing is currently being marketed directly to consumers. It is of concern that Indigenous peoples may participate in the services proposed in this advertisement without being fully informed of the broader implications.



*Step One: **Test** – your journey begins by obtaining the Participation Kit containing everything you need to collect a DNA sample quickly and painlessly using a mouth swab. Once you have completed the cheek swabbing process, send it to the lab.*

*Step Two: **Track** – once the laboratory receives your sample, testing begins immediately. You can log in online and check the status of your test at any time; you will be able to view them from your Control Panel.*

*Step Three: **Explore** – you will become part of exciting and dynamic projects involving people from around the globe.*

14Hhttp://www.dnaancestryproject.com/ydna_intro_howto.php

Website page, marketing genetic testing

Next steps

We need to move quickly to secure the *kaitiakitanga* and *rangatiratanga* over our genetic resources and particularly human genetic resources. It has been too long awaiting the outcomes from the WAI262 Indigenous flora and fauna Treaty claim and deliberations over article 8 (j) of the Convention on Biological Diversity. We, as Māori, need to take charge of our own destiny in this area and move to secure our own agreements and intellectual property rights over our genetic resources. Projects like the Rākaipaaka research could provide opportunities for taking control over one of our last remaining *taonga*: us.

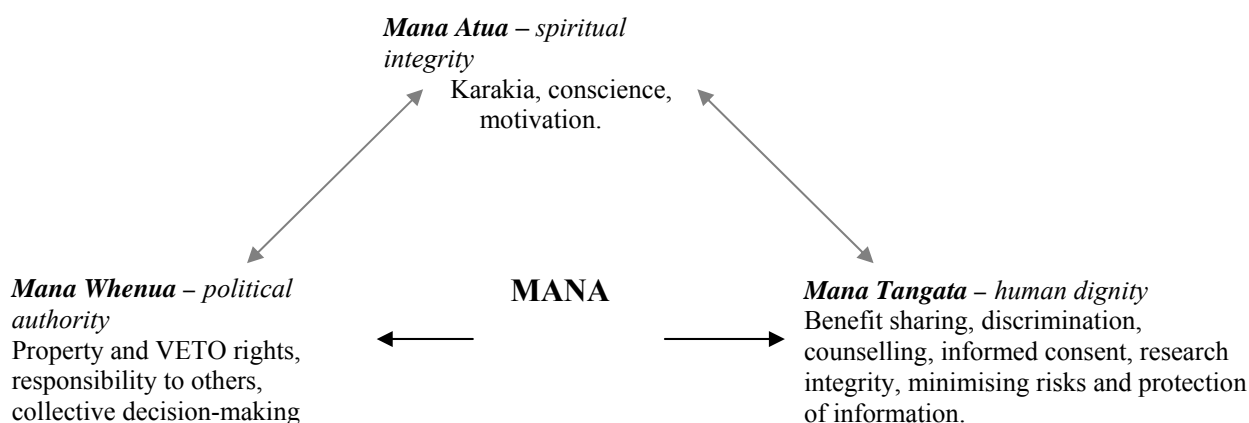
To achieve this improved dialogue, processes are needed on the impacts of emerging biotechnologies. Such processes will benefit scientists collecting genetic information as well as social science researchers discussing socio-cultural impacts and ethical impacts.

This component of the *Kōrero Whakaaetanga* research project intends to drill down into issues around weighing health benefits from genetic technologies against spiritual concerns, and to analyse how Māori collective decision-making processes can be used to make decisions about genetic material. Genetics research scenarios and case studies, including some of those outlined above (particularly the ERS research project with the Rākaipaaka), will be discussed with Ngāi Tahu. How would Ngāi Tahu view the potential for health benefits for significant illnesses suffered by Māori such as diabetes if it involved genetically modifying a *tītī* (muttonbird) or *kūmara* (sweet potato)? How can *iwi*/Māori organisations and individuals balance Māori collective decision-making processes and the right of individuals to choose how their genetic material is utilised?

The focus on Ngāi Tahu as a case study is deliberate and interviews will be conducted with individuals from diverse backgrounds including Māori Health Providers, *Kaitiaki*, guardians of *tītī* muttonbirders, *whakapapa*, corporate managers and *Rūnaka* (council) members.

The process by which these discussions occur and the ability of Māori to have conversations that are honest and free of political or other agendas is essential, and protocols based on *mana tangata*, *mana whenua*, and *mana atua* are proposed.

Mana – the foundation for genetic research



The *mana*-based protocols reinforce the importance of specifying the unique position of Māori and other Indigenous peoples throughout the world.

The need for research guidelines that extend current practice to include protocols to reflect the political economy and spiritual foundation of Indigenous societies is evident. The spiritual and political aspects are covered under *mana whenua* (political authority) and *mana atua* (spiritual integrity) below.

Mana tangata (human dignity)

Mana tangata demands that researchers adhere to principles of respect, integrity and dignity in their dealings with *tangata whenua* (indigenous peoples). Specifically for genetic research regarding Indigenous peoples, recognised scientific procedures and ethical standards need added components. For example, human genomic and genetic research must be conducted by professionally qualified investigators. However, for Indigenous genetic research, respect begins with researchers having at least some knowledge of the Indigenous language and culture of the research participants.

Comprehensive ethical guidelines for genetic research are well developed and documented and often many are consistent with *kaupapa Māori*. It is not intended to discuss these ethical standards in detail in this paper. The *Mana*-based framework affirms and incorporates current ethical standards of research that insist on research being quality- and safety-assured prior to implementation. For example, the World Health Organisation developed guidelines for participatory genetic research to include the following:

When conducting genome and genetic research involving humans, the guiding ethical principle for researchers is respect for persons which is expressed as regard for the welfare, rights, beliefs, perceptions, customs and cultural heritage, both individual and collective, of persons involved in research.

The culture and traditions of the group to which the participant belongs must be respected. It is desirable that a group be consulted prior to undertaking research on the group with the purpose of understanding whether implementation of the proposed research protocols may cause disrespect or harm to them in any way.

In human genome and genetic research no participant or group must be exposed to more than a minimum acceptable risk. If it is anticipated that research exposes a participant or a group to a specific risk, this should be disclosed.

Each participant must have the right to demand compensation from the investigator for any injury or harm arising from his/her participation. Appropriate liability agreements should be drawn between the researcher and the participating individual and/or group before commencement of the research.

(World Health Organisation, 2006).

These ethical standards are incorporated into *mana tangata* which requires the respect for human rights, dignity and the well-being of participants which is to take precedence over the expected gains to knowledge. *Mana tangata* also incorporates robust, informed consent procedures, privacy protocols as safeguards against discrimination and stigmatisation, benefit sharing and appropriate counselling services.

Whilst such minimal requirements for genetic research are essential and must be mandatory, they do not provide for Indigenous perspectives as they do not provide for the unique place of Indigenous peoples; they are focused on a researcher's obligations only and do not incorporate political and spiritual issues.

Mana whenua

The principle of respect is concerned with recognition of *hapū* and *iwi* as sovereign entities and acknowledgement of and reverence for their cultural knowledge and traditions.

(Hudson and Ahuriri-Driscoll, 2006)

The *mana whenua* research protocol recognises the right to self-determination and the unique place of Māori people and their language and culture. It distinguishes Māori research participants from other groups and acknowledges rights to control the direction of research processes and outputs. Do Māori have the right to veto the release of any research data and are there opportunities to vest any resulting intellectual property in the Māori collective?

Are there broader social or political implications arising out of or influenced by the research being conducted? How does it affect the ability of the Indigenous participant to be *kaitiaki* or environmental guardians? What is the balance of power between researchers and those being researched and how can any imbalances be addressed?

The *mana whenua* component of the research protocol imposes an obligation on the Māori research participants to consider the impact of the research on others including non-Māori. As Mead (2003) argues, ideally an event or technology should maintain, enhance or improve *mana*, and lift everybody who participates. Will the genetic research impact on other groups in society (Māori and non-Māori) and how can such impacts be minimised?

Mana is bestowed by others and is essentially about what you can do for others, it is about looking after the well-being of people. Making decisions based on individual needs to the detriment of others is contrary to this concept as is the commodification or privatisation of collectively held interests (such as

whakapapa) without the consent of the collective. What options for collective decision-making or responsibility are available and how can this be supported?

Mana atua

As stated above, the considerable difficulty encountered by regulators and scientists around Māori spiritual and cultural concerns about GMOs has been the subject of much debate. This not only reflects the gulf between science and *mātauranga Māori* and the inadequacies of technical risk assessment processes, it affirms the spiritual foundation that Māori society is built upon. Māori are spiritual people and the foundation for Māori culture is a spiritual foundation.

Mana atua means providing space for contemplation about the proposed research. Is the motivation for the research driven by public good (as opposed to exclusively obtaining knowledge for knowledge's sake or purely financial benefit)? Is there a place for *karakia* or ritual to ease any anxieties or to contemplate reconsidering the continuation of the research? Are there opportunities for consideration of the potential for humility, which might avoid spiritual imbalances or transgressions of spiritual integrity? Is there an inner consciousness, uneasiness, or anxiety about the research or does the research have a good *wairua*, a good feeling? What are the impacts on Māori cultural concepts such as *whakapapa*, *mauri*, and *wairua* (spirit/spirituality)?

Māori spiritual perspectives add much value to genetic research protocols. They are the antithesis of empirical science and impose sometimes necessary parameters for constraint. Spiritual perspectives are Indigenous perspectives and whilst they are difficult to define – often avoided, put in the too hard box or dismissed as being unscientific ‘mumbo jumbo’ – we as Indigenous peoples must remain vigilant in putting such perspectives up as a legitimate and valuable part of this debate.

The *mana*-based protocols for genetic research are incomplete and will evolve as this research continues. They are more about restating old ways of being than new ways of doing things and will be refined and trialled over the next two years.

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Māori-driven health indicators

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Introduction

Within the health sector there have been clear Māori health gains including an increase in the range and number of Māori providers, a strengthening of the professional Māori health workforce, an increased life expectancy and reduction in morbidity and mortality in some disease categories. However, wide disparities remain between Māori and non-Māori health status (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003). In an effort to address inequalities, reducing health disparities is one of the New Zealand health priorities outlined in core national health policy documents (Ministry of Health, 2002a; 2002c; 2002d). Implementation of these strategies has, however, been difficult and limited access to rich health sector data will be critical to policy implementation at all levels in order to reduce inequalities. Therefore, effective health information systems that capture quality Māori health data are required.

This paper identifies and discusses key issues in the development of effective Māori-driven information systems, including health indicator development, the use of universal indicators, and the impact of a top-down approach to data collection. Further, it explores how Māori concepts of health and Māori participation can contribute to the development of relevant, meaningful and positive health indicators to guide health planning for Māori communities.

Background

Monitoring disparities

Those who name the world have the power to shape people's realities and those who determine the health information that is collected have the power to shape health realities for Māori. The saying, "what's counted is what counts" (Smylie, 2005), reiterates the importance of collecting ethnicity data; the collection and analysis of relevant data is fundamental to progressing Māori health outcomes. In an attempt to address these issues the Ministry of Health has developed the Ethnicity Data Protocol (Ministry of Health, 2004b).

The power to define and prioritise the health information that is collected should remain with Māori. Therefore, Māori input is required at all levels to determine and to prioritise the type of information collected, and to have input into the health systems that will collect it. Measurement of ethnicity is a critical pre-requisite in supporting the identification of opportunities and risks for Māori, informing the development and implementation of appropriate interventions, and monitoring outcomes (Robson & Reid, 2001). The ability to plan and evaluate health services and programmes inevitably depends on the availability of quality data and its retrieval from health information systems. *Iwi, hapū* and other Māori organisations require good quality comprehensive data to support planning and development (Robson & Reid, 2001).

Undercounting of Māori in official health statistics, largely due to inconsistent and poor ethnicity data collection, is a recognised concern (McLeod et al., 2000; Robson & Reid, 2001). Ethnicity data collection problems are not unique to New Zealand as similar problems exist in the United Kingdom (Mindell, Klodawski, & Fitzpatrick, 2005), Canada (Health Council of Canada, 2004), Australia (Barnes, 1998) and the United States (Watson, 2005).

The Ethnicity Data Protocol (Ministry of Health, 2004b) is in the early stages of implementation throughout the health and disability sector. The New Zealand Health Information Service has developed

standardised training and educational packages (New Zealand Health Information Service, 2005). There have been significant improvements in ethnicity data quality, yet it is inconsistent, with limited execution at some levels of the healthcare sector.

Health indicators

Casebeer, Deis, & Doze (1999) describe health indicators as measures of a complex situation that attempts to summarise the impact of many factors contributing to health or the causes of poor health throughout the life cycle of an individual or population (Pitblado et al., 1999a). Indicators are used to provide evidence that can affect funding and decisions regarding the types of services to be provided (Galal & Azhar, 1997), and to measure the performance of the health system (Analysis Group, 2001). Key indicators help inform the decision-making of policymakers, purchasers and providers (Casebeer, Deis, & Doze, 1999). Both health indicators relevant at a local community level and accessible information systems are essential for optimal local planning and decision-making among primary health organisations and Māori health providers. This will be important for planning services for local enrolled populations and community needs, defending funding levels, and justifying programme configurations (Pitblado et al., 1999b).

The Ministry of Health has produced a range of monitoring frameworks (e.g. cancer control, mental health) and associated indicators (Ministry of Health, 2002b; Public Health Intelligence, 2004). Indicators can be grouped in a number of areas including health outcomes, risk factors, protective factors, health system performance and determinants. Information systems tend to focus on data collection about clinical care outcomes, inputs (resources provided or consumed) and throughputs (volumes and times) (Ratima, Edwards, & Crengle, 2005).

Current Māori health information systems

The Ministry of Health provides the overall strategy for the health sector. At present, the national Māori health strategy, He Korowai Oranga (Ministry of Health, 2002a), provides a policy framework for Māori health information system development. The New Zealand Health Information Service (NZHIS) within the Ministry of Health is responsible for the collection, processing, maintenance and dissemination of health data. Most health sector information is collected by the Ministry of Health from service-based or patient-based information systems, from secondary and tertiary level providers (Ratima et al., 2005) and from the New Zealand Health Monitor, a 10 year cycle of population-based, health-related surveys (Ministry of Health, 2002b). In 2005, the Health Steering committee published the Health Information Strategy (Health Information Steering Committee, 2005), which outlines a co-ordinated strategy for information systems across the health sector that support the delivery of healthcare. It builds on previous national health information strategies, including the 1996 *Health Information Strategy for the Year 2000* and the *Working to Add Value through E-information* (WAVE) project. The WAVE project (Ministry of Health, 2001c) provided a plan for the development of service-based and patient-based information systems. The Primary Health Care Strategy (Ministry of Health, 2001b) outlined that a cost-effective and simple method of capturing utilisation of services data will be developed by the Ministry of Health, District Health Boards, and the NZHIS. The NZHIS has recently published *Tatau Kahukura* (Māori Health Chart Book), which presents current statistics of the health status of the Māori population (Ministry of Health, 2006). It reports on key indicators highlighting disparities between Māori and non-Māori, and proposes to repeat the analysis at three yearly intervals.

Support from the Government to progress current health information systems is evident in policy frameworks, however, there is a need to improve implementation and look specifically at meeting the needs of Māori and local level providers.

Māori-driven health indicators

Key issues in the development of Māori-driven health indicators includes the use of universal indicators and the impact of a top-down approach to data collection. Central to these issues is Māori participation in driving the development of health information systems so as to ensure that health planning and evaluation for Māori communities are relevant and meaningful.

Universal indicators

Conventional indicators of health status have largely focused on health outcomes and causal factors such as risk factors, social determinants and health service performance (Ministry of Health, 2001a), whereas a more holistic view of health has greater consistency with Māori concepts of health. Māori have their own unique concepts of health which are more expansive. Recognising broader dimensions of a population's health status is becoming more widely accepted: for example, people's capacity to function physically, emotionally and socially, and to understand their complete health situation (Analysis Group, 2001). Māori models of health have been described by a number of writers who have helped to frame a distinctly Māori concept of health which is linked to broader determinants of health and well-being (Durie, 1998; Hēnare, 1988; Pere, 1984). Māori view health as holistic: placing the individual within the collective family group, giving consideration to the many determinants of health (spiritual, cultural, social, biological), acknowledging connections with the past and present, and aiming to maintain a balance between all facets of life (Ratima et al., 2005).

Current universal health indicators are useful for Māori but cannot provide a complete picture of the state of Māori health as they do not fully integrate Māori concepts of health, beliefs and values. Therefore, current indicators are unable to make an optimal contribution to the improvement of Māori health outcomes as they do not gauge the state of Māori health in Māori terms (Ratima et al., 2005). The universal approach, at least as it has been practised in New Zealand, falls well short of locating Māori at the centre of the exercise. Most indicator sets in use today have been developed externally, with little participation from or consultation with Māori (Ratima et al., 2005). There has, however, been a concerted consultation effort by the Ministry of Health to determine a national Māori health-monitoring framework. Following consultation, He Korowai Oranga was selected as the national Māori health-monitoring framework and the Ministry plans to undertake work to develop associated indicators. Despite the inherent difficulties, measures that capture health and quality of life in Māori terms will provide more comprehensive information on Māori health, with the goal of leading to improved better health outcomes for Māori.

Top-down approach

Current health information systems and indicators sets are driven in the main by national priorities and information requirements. Contractual requirements for health providers working in the primary care environment necessitate regular reporting on a set of nationally and regionally determined indicators that focus on performance monitoring rather than health improvement (Ministry of Health, 2004a). The bias toward national and regional level information requirements fails to consider local community health planning needs, which undermines local Māori health decision-making and may exacerbate disparities (Ratima et al., 2005).

Information collection priorities determined at national and regional levels do not adequately reflect community-level concerns and Māori have limited opportunities to provide input into national and regional indicator sets. Therefore, community-level health providers, including Māori health providers, may not fully engage in quality data collection processes. Community-level information will (a) enable documentation of problems, (b) develop and implement interventions and, (c) evaluate program effectiveness. It is imperative that local indicators be developed from the local setting (Jansen, ten Dam, & van der Jagt, 2003), thus requiring input from local Māori communities as well as health service providers.

Primary health providers are required to set targets and demonstrate measurable progress to allow prioritisation in decision-making and assess progress over time (Low & Low, 2004; Ministry of Health, 2001b). Primary health services are required to collect a plethora of information (which is particularly resource-intensive to collect) and analyse this in order to meet contractual requirements. Yet the quality of data in terms of validity, accuracy and completeness is still inadequate (Hall, Tomlin, Tilyard, & Tilyard, 2002).

In the context of extensive data collection and reporting, primary health providers receive very little useful feedback. Feedback reports received from national and regional agencies following submission of data are either not relevant or not appropriate for informing local level strategic planning or evaluation of health services. Often they are not provided in a manner that is understandable, or are delayed so that the information is no longer applicable (Analysis Group, 2001). The Ministry of Health must ensure that meaningful data is made available in an accessible form to community level providers.

Opportunities for coordinated partnerships are required to ensure that the provision of health information to Māori is appropriate. Health information that is understandable, useful and received in an optimal timeframe so as to contribute effectively to Māori health planning and decision-making is required.

Health information systems

Computer technology has created both the potential and opportunities for healthcare information systems to provide rich and accessible data for health services planning.

According to Beale (2001), one of the critical attributes of an effective health information system is an integrated health information environment. Data management systems in use today are fragmented, with healthcare providers using different standards and information technology systems with little training or ongoing support (McLeod et al., 2000). The data systems have been developed in isolation from each other, with minimal input from Māori to ensure Māori information system requirements are met. Reports indicate that the current information systems are inadequate: community-providers have less capability than primary care providers (Health Information Steering Committee, 2005); and the primary care sector requires upgrading of data recording and information technology in order to meet contractual requirements (Cumming et al., 2005).

The development and use of more appropriate data management systems for Māori will require strengthening of the technological capacity within the Māori health workforce, provisioning of suitable resources, and ongoing support to meet the challenges of quality data collection and analysis. Health information systems need to be developed in partnership with Māori so that use of technology is optimised in Māori health information systems. Encouraging more Māori to train in information technology systems to provide Māori leadership in the development of Māori health information systems also requires consideration.

Concluding comments

Current health information systems require improvement if they are to provide rich and accessible Māori health information as a basis for the sector's efforts to address Māori health inequalities and to achieve health gains for Māori.

This work will be necessary to enable integration of Māori health information that meets the needs of all levels of the health sector in order to advance the health of all Māori communities. Specific measures that need to be taken are: the development of a Māori-driven process for indicator development including greater opportunities for Māori community, provider input and formal partnerships; ensured consistency of monitoring frameworks and indicators sets with Māori health concepts; development of the Māori health workforce in relation to information technology.

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Haumanu taiao ihumanea

Benita Wakefield, Tai Stirling & Miriama Kahu

Introduction

The health of the environment is integral to the health and well-being of the people. When the balance between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* is disrupted, desecrated, disturbed or violated, this can have a detrimental impact on these relationships. This research study seeks to conceptualise a *kaupapa Māori* environmental health framework for restoring the balance and relationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata*. The research has limited itself to investigating the responses of Ngāti Kurī *hapū*. The key objectives of this study are to investigate some of the positive and innovative strategies developed by Ngāti Kurī *hapū* to improve the health of *whenua*, *moana* (ocean) and the health and well-being of *whānau*. The restorative model presented in this paper integrates health, environmental and cultural indicators, providing a holistic approach that will restore the health of the environment and the health of people. The model is unique, innovative and creative. This research study is part of a collaborative PhD study between Te Tai o Marokura Kaitiaki Group and the PhD student enrolled at Lincoln University.¹

This paper will, first, briefly describe the nature of the relationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* with particular reference to Ngāti Kurī. Second, we outline the rationale for an integrated environmental health framework. Third, the Ngāti Kurī environmental health model is presented and applied to the case study of Waikawau.

Nature of relationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata*

The idea of the health and well-being of people being inextricably linked to the health of our environment is embodied in the Māori title of this research study *Haumanu Taiao Ihumanea*. There is a unifying life force energy connecting every living thing with each other, between people and their environment. The emphasis is on restoring the life force potency of all living things. The health of the environment reflects on the health of the people. The nature of the relationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* are briefly described below:

Atua refers to a Māori worldview of interconnection with all living things that have an infinite life force and origin through *whakapapa* to the spiritual world. The concept of *whakapapa-ranga* (refers to the layers and generations of all life and establishes the inter-relationships represented within a Māori worldview.) The physical world of *ira tangata* (of mortals) and the spiritual realm of *ira atua* (supernatural gods) are interconnected and integral to the survival of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. *Ira atua* are responsible for establishing spiritual principles and are outlined below:

The principle of *Tapu*, the spiritual potency of all things having been inherently created by Io, the supreme God, each after its kind or species, being set apart and extending to include all kinds of restrictions and prohibitions;

The principle of *Mauri*, the life-giving capacity of all creation, bringing together the spirit and body that are able to exist within their own realm and sphere;

The principle of *Tikanga*, the ethos and customs which provide the lore for appropriate guidelines that govern spiritual and natural circumstances;

¹ This paper can only present an overview of the environmental health (EH) model. The PhD study will be completed in 2008 and provides a more in-depth analysis of the model and its application to other case studies involving marine ecology and *hapū* development.

The principle of *Mana*, the spiritual generative power of all living things having integrity, authority and manifesting unity in diversity;

The principle of *Wairua*, the spiritual qualities where all things have a spirit as well as a physical body joined together until death when the spirit returns to the gods.

In the context of pre-European traditional Māori society, the *atua* influenced and guided *ira tangata* by shaping our responses and behaviour through their role modelling of *tikanga*.

The *atua* are also the inspirational source of *mātauranga Māori*, Māori language, customs, environmental knowledge, cosmological narratives and other forms of knowledge. Within Ngāi Tahu traditions, as told by Teone Taare Tikao, the origins of Te Waipounamu began with the *atua*, mythical hero Māui. This *atua* is of particular importance within Ngāi Tahu whakapapa and was the *mokopuna* of Tiki, an offspring of the primal parents. Māui's *waka*, Te-Waka-a-Māui, was considered the South Island and its anchor stone, Te-Puka-o-Te-Waka-a-Māui, was the Stewart Island. Kaikōura was regarded as the thwart from which Māui strained to haul up his great catch, Te Ika-a-Māui, the North Island.²

An explanation of how Maui formed the Kaikōura peninsula is provided by Hariata Beaton, the granddaughter of the Ngāti Kurī chief Kaikōura Whakatau, a renowned Ngāti Kurī historian and esteemed *tāua* (Ngāi Tahu dialectal term for an esteemed female elder):

... the position that Māui stood on, in his *waka*, is now known as Kaikōura. When he took up the strain to pull up his fish, he placed his foot on the side of his *waka*. Such was the force the side of his *waka* broke outward into the sea, thus forming the Kaikōura Peninsula. There are several names given for various parts of the peninsula: Te-Hiku-o-te-Waero, Te-Tau-Maunu-o-te-Waka, Te-Riu-o-te-Waka, and the most significant one, Te-Whakatakahanga-a-Māui. Māui's legacy of his fishing event is retold in the *kopu*, a species of the limpet. Very briefly the story goes like this: when you carefully dissect the guts of the limpet, there is a very fine strand that represents the rope. This is attached to a sinew that takes the shape of the *matau*, which is the hook. The shell represents Māui's *waka*.

'*Whenua*' refers to the physical or natural world and includes *taonga tuku iho*, sea, air, fresh waterways, ecosystems, wildlife, fauna and flora, fisheries and other natural resources. The relationship that Māori have with the *whenua* is conceptualised as the spiritual and physical body of Papatūānuku who must be protected to ensure the continued survival of her many offspring, including Māori. The following statement:

Te takahi i te tapu o Papatūānuku,
Te takahi i te tapu o te Tangata.

means that if the sacredness of our Earth Mother is trampled (i.e. through pollution, degradation and defilement of sacred places), then the sacredness of people is also adversely affected, including their health and well-being. The nature of the interrelationship between Papatūānuku and her children is reflected in the following *whakataukī*: "*Ko te whenua, te waiū nō ngā uri whakatipu*", meaning that mother earth, through her placenta, provides nourishment and sustenance for her offspring, those being all of humankind and future generations. The Māori view is holistic, seeking to ensure Papatūānuku and human activities are managed in harmony and balance, acknowledging a natural world that is dynamic, fragile and finite. The placenta sustains life and the connection between the foetus and placenta is through the umbilical cord. Mead states that this fact of life is a metaphor for the principle of *whenua* as land. When a child is born the placenta is buried in the ground, hence the *whenua* returns to the *whenua*: "dust to dust" (2003, p. 269). Papatūānuku is viewed as a living organism with her own biological systems, functions and infrastructural support networks, all sustaining the vibrant unifying life forces, the *mauri* of all living things through the nourishment of the *whenua*. The *atua kaitiaki* (Papatūānuku's

² Teone Taare Tikao & Herries Beattie (1939). *Tikao Talks*, A.H & A.W Reed Ltd: Christchurch (p20).

children) are described as “facilitating the process of ingestion, digestion, excretion; the streams of water representing her arteries bringing the life giving waters for Papa to imbibe and to share with her offspring”: namely, people and all living things (Roberts et al, 1995, p. 68).

‘*Tangata*’ refers to *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* (people inhabiting the natural world). Through the *tikanga* principle of *whanaungatanga*, people are engaged in a meaningful and reciprocal relationship with one another, *atua* and *whenua*. The reciprocal responsibility within *whānau* relationships is to care for, respect, uphold the dignity, lead and direct the aspirations, needs and visions of *whānau*.³ The term ‘*tangata whenua*’ literally means people of the land, who through long association with a particular place have established their *tūrangawaewae* (footstool of knowledge belonging to a particular *takiwā* (region)). Human identity is literally grounded.⁴ The relationship with *whenua* is reinforced through *wāhi tapu* (sacred sites); naming landscapes such as prominent mountains or rivers after prominent chiefs; place names associated with battles and other significant events; intergenerational knowledge on *mahinga kai* observation, trial and management of the environment.

Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kurī origins

According to Ngāi Tahu traditions as told by the historian Atholl Anderson,⁵ Rakihouia, the son of Rākaihautū came from the canoe Uruao, which sailed to the east coast, gathering birds’ eggs from the cliffs of the Kaikōura coast. Rakihouia gave the name Te-Whatakai-o-Rakihouia. The principal *maunga* (mountain) of this area is Tapuae-o-Uenuku, the name having its origins from the ancient homelands of Hawaiki and meaning the sacred footsteps of Uenuku, who was the celestial father of Kahutiaterangi or Paikea, the whale rider. The Waioutoa is the principal *awa* (river) in the area, as the source of the waters run from Rangitahi (Lake Tennyson) and Tapuae-o-Uenuku feeds into Waioutoa. Ngāti Kurī was one of the first *heke* (migration) descended from Ngāi Tahu to move to the South Island at Tory channel, eventually settling at Kaikōura.⁶ Some of the reasons given for the move involved internal scuffles and fighting amongst the tribes over land settlements, individual squabbles and other issues. Anderson places the time about the 17th century⁷ when Ngāti Kurī, led by their *rangatira*, Marukaitatea, first moved into the Kaikōura area at Waipapa.

Hariata Beaton recalls the migration first into the Marlborough Sounds and down the coast of the South Island, led by the chief Purahonui and his son Marukaitatea, pushing the resident Ngāti Māmoē southwards towards Kaikōura.⁸ After a period of strife which included a major battle at Waipapa, Ngāti Kurī settled on the Kaikōura Peninsula among a section of the Ngāti Māmoē people. Within the Waitangi Tribunal Reports⁹ the events that took place are described by the *Upoko* (Ngāi Tahu dialectal term for chief or leader) Wiremu Solomon, one of Hariata’s *mokopuna*:

Kāti Kurī came and lived at Kaikōura and the tribes ... living there gave over the Kaikōura lands to Maru ... There were many *hapū*, living at Kaikōura, even Kāti Māmoē. These were the ones who wanted to live peacefully, who did not want fighting ... Kāi Tahu’s battles were not murderous ones, they did not just fight for fighting’s sake. They did not kill without end. It was not like that. They fought their battles and when it was over that was the end of it. They did not chase their enemies all over the country nor did they kill treacherously. Kāti Kurī was not like that. Now, at the time that Kaikōura was given over to Maru a *pōhā* (food storage container) named Tohu Raumati – was given also. This *pōhā* was fashioned with a bird in front and a human figure on top and the food in it was never eaten by man ... although food was preserved in it each year. The first foods of the year were preserved in that *pōhā*. It was a sacred *pōhā* imbued

³ Huia Tomlins-Jahnke (2005). *He Huarahi Motuhake: The Politics of Tribal Agency in Provider Services*. Doctorate, Massey University, (p47); Walker, 1992 [1972] :172.

⁴ Mason Durie (2000). *Mauri Ora: the Dynamics of Māori Health*, Oxford University Press, Auckland (p89).

⁵ Atholl Anderson (1998). *The Welcome of Strangers*, Otago University Press: Dunedin, (p14).

⁶ Anderson (1998: 27).

⁷ Anderson (1998: 5).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Waitangi Tribunal (1991). *Ngāi Tahu Report 1991 (Wai 27)*, vol.1, Brooker and Friend: Wellington.

with the sacred rituals and *mana* of the Māori. The giving of that *pōhā* was symbolic of the giving of the land.

(H7, p. 22)

The *pōhā* was placed in the centre of Takahanga Pā located on the Kaikōura Peninsula. Maru challenged his *whānau* to claim the *pōhā*. When they failed to respond, this was seen as acceptance of his status and he claimed the *pōhā* by eating from the food in it, thus claiming their *rangatiratanga*, authority and chieftainship over the lands. Maru resided for a time at Takahanga Pā.¹⁰

The traditional boundaries of Ngāti Kurī commence from Parinui-o-Whiti (White Bluffs) in the north, through to Hurunui in the south, then inland past Hamner Springs to the shores of Hokakura (Lake Sumner), and then northwest to Rangitahi (Lake Tennyson), behind the inland Kaikōura Ranges and back out to the coastline. The northern boundaries marked the gateway to the Ngāi Tahu territories forming a “v” shape from Parinui-o-Whiti on the East Coast and over to Te Rae-o-Kahuraki on the West Coast.

Kaitiakitanga

Ngāti Kurī have established their *tūrangawaewae* and continue to have a reciprocal responsibility to ensure the sustainable management of the natural world for future generations to enjoy. The *tikanga* principle of *kaitiakitanga* refers to the act of guardianship, although the translation does not fully express the depths and nuances of meaning inherent in the term. The role of *kaitiakitanga* involves the *tikanga* practice of *rāhui*, meaning a prohibition or temporary ban instituted to a particular area to protect the resources. *Rāhui* is a means of controlling political and social behaviour, usually to protect the *mauri*, *tapu* and *mana* of the collective *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi*. Conserving the resource and allowing an area to regenerate ensured the sustainability of the resource and the health of the environment which, in turn, ensured the health and well-being of the *whānau*.

Mana motuhake

The outcome for *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* in the exercising of their *kaitiakitanga* role is the capacity to *manaaki* (support; hospitality) and is sustained through the collective authority of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to meet their own needs. The *tikanga* principle of *mana motuhake* is a fundamental right and responsibility of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to have authority over their social, political, environmental, health and economic sustainable development of their traditional lands and natural resources. Ultimately, this will result in healthy *whānau* who are empowered, skilled, employed, celebrating life, enjoying longevity, and who are motivated to raise their aspirations and to reach their highest potential.

Rationale for an integrated environmental health model

Holistic Māori worldview

The Māori worldview is based on Māori knowledge of their natural world, its physical and spiritual processes. This knowledge is the template of Māori understanding, providing a context for values, change and systems that sustained Māori existence. The Māori world is holistic and integrated, recognising the interconnectedness and interdependence of all living things. Holism governs the relationship between Māori and their environment, providing a foundation for their resource development. Inherent are the ethics of intergenerational responsibility and reciprocity. This ethic finds expression in the belief that the condition and health of the natural environment are a reflection of the condition and health of the people. It is a notion of reciprocity that holds the key to sustainability of our ecosystems, in particular.

¹⁰ Beverley McCulloch & Michael Trotter (1980). *Takahanga 1980*, Canterbury Museum: Christchurch (p10).

Sustainability of our ecosystems

Some of the concepts of sustainable development are outlined below to highlight the need for an integrated approach to environmental health management:

Ecosystems

Over the years there has been a marked deterioration of many ecosystems as the demand has increased for fresh water, arable land, energy, wood, fish, and other resources, which has often outstripped the capacity of ecosystems to heal themselves. Many of the services we derive from our ecosystems – such as water, air purification, waste recycling and food production – are hidden costs not recognised in New Zealand's national accounts (i.e. through the GDP). By not having a dollar value attached to the ecosystems, it means that developers give little or no consideration to their continued exploitation. Even less acknowledgement is given to their cultural significance for Māori who view the ecosystems as *taonga tuku iho* passed down through the generations, which need to be protected for future generations to enjoy. The fact that many of the life-sustaining ecosystems, such as groundwater and the atmosphere itself, are irreplaceable must surely mean that they should be rigorously protected.

Economy

There are numerous examples throughout the history of Ngāti Kurī, in particular, that demonstrate a link between their low socio-economic status and poor health, creating disparities (i.e. lower life expectancy) that are attributable to the following: accumulative effects associated with the alienation of traditional lands; detrimental impacts of colonisation on traditional lifestyles; loss of cultural identity; deterioration of cultural values such as *whanaungatanga*; loss of Māori language and other issues.

Social system

There is a clear link between the social and economic system and indirect links between health and the social system. The social environment of Māori is an important determinant of their health and well-being, which is interdependent with their relationship with *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata*.

Public health protection

The sustainable development of the environment must also take into account public health protection issues that inevitably arise when there is a disruption to the balance of the ecosystems. Public health protection agencies mainly deal with the effects of contaminants on health and quality of life, and on the fair distribution of risks and benefits. From a public health perspective, mitigation measures and concrete restorative actions can be taken to compensate for losses brought about by development projects such as replanting, creating wetlands and other issues.

Developing a framework for integrating health into environmental assessment is consistent with Ngāti Kurī's view of the world that is interconnected and interrelated. The health of the environment reflects on the health of the people. As such, the sustainable development of the environment needs to include cultural values and other values connected with social well-being, such as health protection, risk and disease prevention, and the promotion of healthy lifestyle changes to sustain good health.

The framework for assessing the health of the environment needs to incorporate the social, economic, political and cultural determinants that have impacted on the health of people. This approach gives more equitable weighting to the various determinants of health alongside environmental components, and gives importance to Ngāti Kurī cultural perspectives on health so that these can be integrated into public health protection policies in order to improve the health of the environment.

Māori concepts of health are much broader than the focus on health protection, in that this approach is holistic and involves the spiritual, mental, physical and emotional well-being of *whānau* that is interdependent with the ecological and spiritual health of the environment. The physical environment may recover and heal itself. However, the spiritual realm must also be acknowledged and is vital to the restoration of the ecosystem. Incorporating Māori cultural perspectives within public health protection is often reliant on the Health Protection Officer's understanding and knowledge of Māori cultural values and the priority given to consulting with the *hapū/iwi* to identify their health concerns. An

integrative approach to the sustainable development of the environment will need to be inclusive of Māori cultural perspectives of health alongside the values of public health protection.

The benefits of an integrated environmental health framework for assessment

The integrated framework has many benefits which are outlined below:

- Using elements of culture as the criteria for developing an integrated framework gives significance, meaning and re-commitment for Māori at the base to achieve the goals.
- Classification of Mātauranga Kurī, within a Māori worldview that acknowledges that the interrelationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* are consistent with Māori cultural values, and offers a unique approach for identifying traditional indicators.
- There is a better use and integration of Public Health Protection science-based knowledge and Mātauranga Kurī.
- It creates opportunities for collaborative partnerships between Te Tai o Marokura and other environmental agencies to share knowledge, undertake joint research projects and co-learning, and to gain a clearer understanding of Māori cultural values and practices.
- Incorporating Māori cultural perspectives into regional planning provides a more holistic, integrative, coordinated, targeted and focused approach to setting priorities, goals and actions for long term sustainable environmental health management.
- The framework provides some practical guidelines for the integration of cultural perspectives into the day-to-day work of environmental health protection management.
- The comprehensive information collected in the framework is specific, relevant and useful for an accurate assessment, for developing appropriate restorative action and for monitoring the changes effectively.

Ngāti Kurī environmental health (EH) model – Haumanu Taiao Ihumanea

The Ngāti Kurī EH model acknowledges the interconnection with all living things that have an infinite life force, which derives its source from the spiritual realm of the *atua*. The emphasis is on recovery, reclaiming and improving knowledge for monitoring the restorative actions required to improve the health of the environment, that in turn will improve the health and well-being of people.

Despite legislative changes in the Resource Management Act and reform changes proposed to the Health Act 1956, policies have not adequately considered the effects of environmental problems on the health of Ngāti Kurī people. There is a restorative interface between Mātauranga Kurī and western scientific approaches to restoring the life force to a healthy state. Haumanu Taiao Ihumanea provides a policy framework for better integration of environmental and health policies for the implementation of local, regional and *iwi* management plans. It also provides a model of environmental health indicators for monitoring environmental changes and their impact on Māori health and well-being.

The model consists of four distinct environmental health states that are outlined in Table One.

State	Te Pito	Parirau o te Mauri Ihumanea	Hohourongo o te Atua, Whenua, Tangata	Mai Oho
Definition	the authentic, original state within a Māori world-view	the transitional state of un-wellness (in the <i>mauri</i>) towards restoring the health life capacity	reconciling the relationships	new awakenings and beginnings

State	Te Pito	Parirau o te Mauri Ihumanea	Hohourongo o te Atua, Whenua, Tangata	Mai Oho
	the harmonious balance between the spiritual and physical realms the nature of the inter-relationships between <i>atua, whenua, tangata</i>	identifying the historical and contemporary causes and effects of disruption to the authentic state	determining the priorities for restorative action to improve health and well-being of the state	monitoring the progress of changes to improve the health of the environment and health of the people
Indicators	Traditional	Environmental Health	Restorative	Monitoring

Table One: Summary of the four states within Haumanu Taiao Ihumanea EH model

Description of the states

Te pito

This state represents the Māori worldview of interconnection between the spiritual realm of *atua*, the physical realm of *whenua*, and *tangata*. It symbolises a state of harmony and balance between the spiritual and physical world and where cultural values are still intact and people are healthy and well.

The four core cultural values of *whakapapa*, *tūrangawaewae*, *kaitiakitanga* and *mana motuhake* are applied to each area of *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata* to identify the traditional indicators (see Table Two below).

Cultural Values	Identity of Traditional Indicators			
	Whakapapa	Tūrangawaewae	Kaitiakitanga	Mana motuhake
Atua	genealogy of the cosmos, creation narratives	traditional knowledge handed down from <i>atua</i>	traditional knowledge applied (i.e. cultural practices of ritual, rites)	reclaiming the capacity to have authority over our traditions (i.e. language, customs, prized possessions)
Whenua	genealogy of the natural world	traditional knowledge of the natural world	traditional knowledge applied in management and sustainability of natural resources	reclaiming the capacity to have authority over traditional practices and management of the natural world
Tangata	genealogy of the people	traditional knowledge of <i>whānau, hapū, iwi</i>	traditional knowledge applied in reciprocal responsibilities to nurture <i>whānau, hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i>	reclaiming the capacity to have authority over <i>whānau, hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> development

Table Two: Matrix of traditional indicators

The outcome is to provide a comprehensive list of traditional indicators for application to a particular location that will be used to assess the causes and effects of changes within the next state.

Parirau o te mauri ihumanea

This state represents the transitional phase of cause and effects (i.e. historical, 1990s, current) altering the physical and spiritual balance of Te Pito and negatively impacting on the health of the environment and of the people. The outcome is to identify a set of environmental health indicators that require restorative action in the next state

Hohourongo o te atua, whenua, tangata

This state represents a phase of reconciling relationships through the identity of mitigating measures, restorative actions, control measures and standards or recommendations for improving the health of the environment, of the people. The outcome is to identify the restorative indicators to be implemented and which will be monitored in the next state.

Mai oho

This state represents a phase of new beginnings that involves the acceptance of changes and a shift towards recovery, revitalisation, reclamation, restoration and conservation. Progress on the changes is monitored and assessed to measure improvements in the health of the environment and of the people.

Next we apply the EH model to the case study of Waikawau (Lyell Creek).

Case study: Waikawau

Waikawau runs through the township of Kaikōura and was selected as a case study to trial the EH model. The project started in 2001 and coincided with the establishment of the Lyell Creek Working Party. The main objective of the Party was to improve the quality of water. Our goal was to improve the *mauri* of Waikawau in order to harvest the abundant watercress growing, to improve fish stocks, and to replant the native plants and *harakeke* for medicinal and weaving uses. Tables 3-5 overleaf provide a summary of each state within the EH model as it applies to the Waikawau.

Area	Traditional Indicator (Te Pito State)	Identity of Environmental Health Indicators			
		Historical Causes	Historical Effects on Health of the People	Historical Effects on the environment	Current areas of Priority for Ngāti Kurī
Waikawau (Lyell) (Atua)	<p><i>Wāhi Tapu:</i> - reserve/<i>urupā</i> Opokiki</p> <p>Mātauranga Kurī: - <i>Matamata Kaitiaki</i> narratives - <i>whakapapa tūrangawaewae</i> - <i>kaitiakitanga mana motuhake</i> (cultural values intact)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - clearing the land for pastoral farming caused desecration to <i>wāhi tapu</i> site - 1820s last known Ngāti Kurī <i>tohunga</i> - loss of traditional lands - loss of authority - loss of ability to uphold cultural practices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - affected spiritual well-being of <i>hapū</i> - loss of traditional knowledge - Ngāti Kurī reduced potency, dignity - TOW <i>raupatu</i> claims to redress injustices - loss of authority impacted on economic, social, health, cultural development of Ngāti Kurī 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - record the site through silent files - reclaim traditional knowledge and teach to next generation (i.e. traditional tools, management practices)
(<i>Whenua</i>)	<p><i>Ngārara:</i> (insects): - <i>waeroa</i> - <i>ro</i> - <i>namu</i></p> <p><i>Kai Awa:</i> - <i>tuna</i> - <i>kōkopu</i> - <i>inanga</i> - <i>kēwai</i> - <i>panapana</i> (variety of watercress)</p> <p><i>Ngahere/ Tipu:</i> (plants) - <i>ngaio</i> - <i>harakeke</i> - <i>raupō</i> - <i>pūhā</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - increased predation - introduced species - destruction of some habitats - new roading caused the reef at the mouth to be covered - introduced species - climatic changes (i.e. tidal influences) - native plants removed - <i>ngaio</i> removed where the <i>kawau</i> nested 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reduced food sources and varieties - reduced food sources and varieties - unable to access medicinal plants - reduced varieties of materials for weaving 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - decreasing species of native insects - destruction of <i>kōhanga</i> (i.e. mussels, cockles) - loss of native <i>kōkopu</i> - abundance of watercress but polluted - land clearing, loss of plants, trees (fauna and flora) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - part of riparian strategy - increase native fish and shell fish stocks - ability to harvest watercress and other edible plants - replanting native plants

Table Three: Parirau o te Mauri Ihumanea for Waikawau

Note: Refer to glossary for English translations of italicised Māori words.

Area	Traditional Indicator (Te Pito State)	Historical State	Historical Effects on Health of the People	Historical Effects on the environment	Current areas of Priority for Ngāti Kuri
Continued	<i>Manu</i> : (birds) - <i>kawau</i> - <i>tarāpunga</i> - <i>pakahā</i> - <i>tūi</i>	- Nesting habitats destroyed and diminished numbers of <i>manu</i> especially the <i>kawau</i>	- reduced food sources and varieties	- increase in noxious, plants in the waters and embankment (willow, old man's beard) - reduced access to feathers for <i>korowai</i>	- part of riparian strategy
(Awa – Waikawau wai)	Mauri o te Awa Wai: (life capacity of the waters was pristine)	- changes in the depth, width of the Waikawau - agricultural farming - sewage, runoff, discharges (i.e. from hospital and other industries) - draining the wetlands - increased population settlement in township	- increased population placed more demands on water supply - loss of <i>mauri</i> in waters affected spiritual well-being of Ngāti Kuri - lack of adequate infrastructure (i.e. District and Regional Council regulations) to monitor source and levels of discharge into the Waikawau - potential health hazard (i.e. increased incidence of sickness amongst Māori)	- increase in water take for irrigation - high levels of faecoli, ph in the waters, - discolouration and smells, odours - Farm effluent and fertiliser runoff into creek - stock in creek - Soil contamination poses a health risk to root vegetation	- improve quality of water - increase the <i>mauri</i> of Waikawau

Table Three continued

Note: Refer to glossary for English translations of italicised Māori words.

Environmental Health Indicator	Identity of Restorative Indicators		
	<i>Atua</i> (spiritual values)	<i>Whenua</i> (bio –environment)	<i>Tangata</i> (holistic well-being)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - record <i>Wāhi Tapu</i> - reclaim traditional knowledge - increase native stocks - replanting native plants - improve quality of water - increase the <i>mauri</i> of Waikawau - improve the <i>mauri</i> of the tributaries running off the Waikawau (Middle stream, Warren) - apply the EH model to the Kahutara river 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - identify location of <i>wāhi tapu</i> site in the silent files - research Kurī manuscripts, interviews with <i>pōua/ tāua</i> - develop a teaching kit to pass onto next generation (i.e. <i>waiata</i>, <i>whakataukī</i>, <i>whakapapa</i> on creation narratives) - improve the <i>mauri</i> of all insects, food sources, plants, birds and water 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reclaim traditional knowledge on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>mahinga kai</i> - traditional materials - traditional practices monitoring to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> phase one: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gather data on levels of contamination, pollution - locate sources of pollution - levels of Ph, clarity and faecal coliforms recorded <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - recording fish stock numbers and varieties - tests on watercress at different sites phase two <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - riparian planting - fencing off stock - introducing water troughs phase three <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - monitor water quality of other tributaries - assess recoverability of traditional indicators - collect traditional indicators for Kahutara river 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - reclaim traditional knowledge on <i>wāhi tapu</i> site to increase spiritual well-being (safety and protection) - identify potential researchers and grow their capacity - implement education kit into <i>kōhanga reo</i>, primary and high schools - seek assistance and support of Kaunihera Kaumātua o Ngāti Kurī - form a Lyell creek working party to improve the quality of water and include: land holders, Ecan representatives, Kaikoura district council, Te Rūnanga o Kaikoura, Te Tai o Marokura, community members - monitoring team to collect samples and send to ECan for analysis - collect records, video and images - regular meetings to feedback - develop action plan in consultation with landowners - monitor improvements and changes - consultation with landholders to agree on an action plan - implement changes - negotiate water take levels - apply for resource consent - produce data, report to community (newsletter, newspaper etc) - training for electric fishing to assess fishery stocks - survey <i>hapū</i> to collect data on the harvesting of watercress, fisheries, native plants - establish action plan for Kahutara

Table Four Hohourongo o te atua, whenua, tangata for Waikawau

Note: Refer to glossary for English translations of italicised Māori words.

Restorative Indicator	Identity of Monitoring Indicators			
	Action Plan	Follow-up on Issues Arising	Progress on Improvement Target	Desired Outcome
- reclaim traditional knowledge	- identify potential researchers and collect data	- Te Tai o Marokura EH strategy, involved in a PhD study on restorative models	- year two of Ph.D. <i>hapū</i> researcher access to Kurī <i>whakapapa</i>	- <i>hapū</i> researcher enrolled in post graduate studies - the kit is completed and fully resourced
- Kurī education kit	- produce the kit	- teaching to groups and university students at Takahanga Marae	- yet to be implemented in the high schools	- start monitoring the other tributaries - ongoing monitoring of water take and quality of water
- Lyell creek Working Party action plan	- phase one completed in 2003 - phase two completed in 2004 - phase three is still current	- riparian planting not successful first time around - some land holders slow to adopt changes - current	- replanted in phase two - landholders fined by ECan - training not happened in electric fishing yet awaiting funding	- <i>hapū</i> to be accessing food sources (i.e. harvesting the watercress, <i>tuna</i> and <i>inanga</i> , use of plants for medicinal and weaving)
- EH model applied to Kahutara	- identify traditional indicators and establish and action plan	- current	- current	- project fully funded

Table Five: Matrix of monitoring indicators in Waikawau

The Waikawau project has been very successful. The EH model provided a useful tool and process for gathering and analysing data and developing an action plan that continues to be monitored. The outcome of the project has led to the development of other projects such as extending the monitoring to the middle tributaries. Importantly for Ngāti Kurī, the EH model will now be applied to the Kahutara, a major river within the rohe of the *hapū*.

Conclusion

This paper set out to present the Ngāti Kurī Environmental Health model, entitled *Haumanu Taiao Ihumanea*. The model is unique innovative and creative. This research study is part of a collaborative PhD study between Te Tai o Marokura Kaitiaki Group and the PhD student enrolled at Lincoln University. The EH model is being applied to other case studies and the research study will be completed in the year 2008. Ngāti Kurī has developed an integrative environmental, health and cultural model for restoring the balance within the relationships between *atua*, *whenua* and *tangata*. From the preliminary results of the Waikawau case study there are some very positive outcomes for the *hapū* and we will continue to develop the EH model.

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Ngā tipu raranga mō tua ake: Weaving as a means of measuring wellness Te rōpū raranga whatu o Aotearoa – project TRRW0301

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For Māori, perceptions of ‘wellness’ incorporate a ‘holistic’ philosophy rather than isolated concepts. Thus, for our weaving ancestors, indigenous indicators of well-being would have included an abundance of accessible, healthy, weaving resources. Interpreted in a holistic context, the vigorous state of their natural world would also have indicated plentiful food supplies, building materials and medicinal resources. However, over the past decades the natural world of the Māori has been changing and its former abundance has been steadily declining. Just as the traditional foods and other resources of our ancestors have diminished, so too weaving resources have also decreased.

Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa or the National Association of Māori Weavers is working proactively to find solutions. In 2002-2003, working in conjunction with Manaaki Whenua, Landcare Research, the weavers successfully gained funding from a nationally contestable source, the Foundation for Research and Science Technology (FRST). Through the four-year programme, ‘Ngā Tipu Raranga Mō Tua Ake’, Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa is taking steps to safeguard the weaving arts of Māori by ensuring that the traditional knowledge pertaining to a broad range of weaving resources will be available to weavers of the future, and endeavouring to ascertain that those weavers will have access to the traditional materials with which they might wish to work. The programme is built on the history of prior FRST-funded research on *harakeke* that demonstrated a successful partnership between Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa and Manaaki Whenua and a proven ability to deliver results.

The current programme focuses on less well-known weaving plants. Two major factors provided the rationale for this. First, while there had been a number of programmes to promote the replanting of *harakeke*, a substantial decrease in the availability of other traditional weaving resources was taking place. Concurrently it was recognised that there was also a significant loss of knowledge of the traditional practices relating to these lesser-known plant species.

Some of the contributing factors to this decrease of traditional weaving resources have included land clearing for housing, farming, forestry, and the draining of swamps. Other causes, such as the invasive nature of many introduced plants, both those deliberately planted for harvest such as *pinus radiata* or those species that have spontaneously escaped or self-sown such as gorse, have exacerbated the situation.

Additional causes include the dispossession of Māori lands along with the creation of public reserves and national parks where indigenous plants are fully protected from use. Further reasons include environmental changes, which have increased the effects of diseases and augmented the numbers of animal and insect pests that cause damage to weaving plants. The combination of these factors has caused a substantial decrease in sites where traditionally valued weaving plants such as *pīngao* (a sand dune plant), *kuta* (a rush), *kiekie* (a climbing plant), *raupō* (bulrush), *tī kōuka* (cabbage tree) and *tōī* (broad-leaved cabbage tree) can still be found in their natural state.

At the same time, a significant loss of associated traditional knowledge essential to the protection of these diminishing resources was acknowledged. One of the reasons contributing to this has been the urban drift of Māori people and the changing values that occur from living in a different environment.

Consequently, it was discovered that the traditional knowledge relating to the use of many weaving plants had also diminished, especially among younger members of the weaving community. It

transpires that today many *ākonga* are taught in groups where the teacher may have practical weaving skills, but may lack a thorough knowledge of the *tikanga* that surround the material with which they are working. In some cases, this has led to people using inappropriate harvesting techniques that damage the plant.

Thus the major focus in the programme is the gathering and collation of information on traditional practices relating to the harvesting and processing of weaving plants, particularly those less commonly used today. This presentation follows the process used to discover and recover this information, as weavers continue to sustain and nurture traditional systems of knowledge and thereby support Māori well-being.

The concept of interviewing senior *kairaranga* (weavers) to capture the knowledge of traditional harvesting *tikanga* that they were prepared to share, was set down in the initial research proposal. The mechanics of how this would be achieved had to be determined by the research team. The initial team consisted of the late Cath Brown (chairperson of the Weavers' Committee) with Kahu Te Kanawa and Patricia Wallace (contract researchers). Brown's ill health precluded her taking part and Rānui Ngārimu, at that time the Acting Chair of the Weavers, undertook her role.

In 2004 the process of establishing how the research would be undertaken began. Initially, the two researchers undertook oral history training and set about establishing appropriate *tikanga* for working with senior *kairaranga*. The team collaborated on identifying procedures, as well as individuals who might participate and where, when and how such interviews might be achieved. A pilot interview was conducted and the processes were trialled. Progress was slow, with much learning on the way.

The early optimistic *kaupapa* (process) planned by the team consisted of identifying potential interview participants, followed by initiating the first contact. Then, ideally, the first interview was to have been information gathering only, providing information on the process and preparation. This was also the time for explanation of the rationale: the team was aware of the need for the individuals to be fully informed before they became involved in the research project, and the need for protection of the interviewees' rights and property, or knowledge, in this case. In terms of key issues and questions, at this point the team had no set formula, but rather an overview plan. But the goals were clear. The research aimed to improve the resource management of valued weaving plants, facilitate weavers' access to those materials and promote a deeper understanding of the *tikanga* and *mātauranga* pertaining to the *kaitiakitanga* of weaving plants.

The initial process included the preparation of consent forms, bearing in mind legal requirements, such as the *Privacy Act*, *Copyright Act* and oral history agreements. This raised the need for clarification on the proposed management and eventual physical housing of the actual recorded materials.

The ethical protocols that were needed to conduct oral history interviews proved to be a challenge. The two original team interviewers undertook training in oral history procedures. Special consent forms were designed for the project, in line with those of the National Oral History Association of New Zealand (NOHANZ). But despite the fact that the consent forms followed NOHANZ guidelines precisely, they proved to be a deterrent when the team came to start interviewing. Many of our interview participants found the mere thought of signing something disconcerting. Not surprisingly, the situation proved to be exactly as Justice Eddie Durie had stated at the *Mātauranga Tuku Iho Tikanga Wānanga, The Traditional Knowledge and Research Ethics Conference* held at Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington two years previously in 2004. Justice Durie had made the point that for Māori, this type of interviewing was accomplished on a basis of trust; and that for indigenous peoples such trust was the fundamental element at the centre of all good ethical research relationships.

Nonetheless the team still needed to be able to show that appropriate procedures had been put in place. A planning meeting therefore decided that a suitable course of action would be to advise individuals that consent forms were available if required for anyone who wished to avail him or herself of this process. The team emphasised the follow-on procedures that were devised to ensure the interviewee retained control of the information that he or she was prepared to share. At the same time, the

researchers undertook a personal commitment to adhere to the NOHANZ guidelines, exactly as if there had been a pre-interview agreement. So far this practice has proven to be satisfactory.

The team included a number of precautionary measures as individual protections. It is made very clear that the members:

- Do not want to hear anything that the individual does not want to share, particularly any *whānau* information that might be considered inappropriate;
- Do discuss initial consent processes such as the Pākehā styled NOHANZ consent forms, the 1993 Privacy Laws, and date restrictions); and
- Do return all prepared materials for interviewees' validation and consent, before any data can be used.

However, the idealistic *kaupapa* had to be modified. In reality, the time that it would have required meant that the funding would be dispersed before the project was half-completed. Realistically, the team had to prove that they could manage public funding in a manner that was totally transparent and fully accountable. The proposed methodology had to change.

Gradually, a workable *kaupapa* evolved. The team settled into a practice of identifying and contacting individuals or *rohe iwi* (tribal areas) in different regions around the country, visiting them (generally as a group of three) and then, with the participant's approval, recording information that they were prepared to share for the benefit of future weavers. This has been achieved by using a small handheld digital recorder.

When the explanatory details have been disposed of, the process of promoting discussion is encouraged by showing a range of photographic images of various botanical species. These include leaves: still growing, cut or plucked, fresh or dried; male or female flowers. Such images have proved a useful means of prompting memories and assisting people to share experiences of their youth. Similarly, they can assist the team members in learning what names are known in different regions. When circumstances permit, *whakataukī* are introduced to see if they might induce other memories, as for example:

Ka mahi koe i te whare o te tieke

You are making a saddleback's nest

The saddleback nests in the kiekie and the saying is applied to one making a kiekie cloak.

(Mead and Grove, 1994, p. 26)

In other cases images of museum artefacts might be used, such as the *kete* (woven flax fibre basket) of *tīkumu* (mountain daisy) leaves, held in the Dunedin Museum collection.

The process is twofold. The team is able to gain local details while at the same time members are able to share information about different weaving resources that might not have been known by those present at the time of the discussion. In this way, the team is already serving the aims of the project by diffusing information that is currently available.

The current process consists of recording the interview or discussion sessions and creating back-up copies. The oral material is subsequently transcribed into text. The transcript is checked by another team member, against the soundtrack, to ensure its accuracy. The transcript is then returned, along with the soundtrack and release forms, to the original participants. Only after their approval is given (or necessary modifications made if required), can the relevant data – that is, the information that people have given about the various plant sources – be collated ready for analysis.

It is proposed that the analysed material will be made available in a booklet form. The results will be used to help ensure that traditional *tikanga* and weaving resources will be available for future weavers. Not surprisingly in a three-year project, there have been changes in the membership of the team. Te Kanawa was obliged to withdraw due to over-commitment to work; Bert Waru was engaged to

undertake a part-time administrative role and for his expertise in transcribing *te reo Māori*. However, the introduction of a nationally respected *kaumātua* member proved to be a valuable asset to the team, particularly in respect to crossing tribal boundaries. The presence of Te Aue Davis, added to the name of the national organisation Te Rōpū Raranga Whatu o Aotearoa, gave the project an entrée and an immediate validity in regions where otherwise it might have required considerably more time to gain the same credence, and went a long way towards helping to establish the trust that was necessary for the project to achieve its goals.

The project has not been without its share of problems. It has been a slow and careful process with considerable learning on the way, to discover and utilise the best talents available. One of the most surprising problems has been the difficulty in persuading people of the importance of the *kaupapa*. Too frequently, the word 'weaving' has given people the impression that this project was somehow restricted to information from women, when in fact some of the most relevant information about the plants we are researching has come from men.

A prime example of this difficulty occurred in May 2005, when our team followed on the tail of a NIWA *hui* at Whakatāne where they had been gathering Indigenous terminologies of weather conditions. Firmly under the impression that our agenda was about weaving, all the male *pakeke* left. Despite our best efforts, we were unable to convince them that we wanted them to stay and that their contributions would be valuable. From this experience onwards, concerted efforts to engage *kaumātua* groups have remained an important focus for the team.

In an attempt to resolve this issue, a small flyer was produced to explain the rationale of the project and introduce the team members. It was intended that this should be sent out when interviews were being organised and before they were actually set up. This has met with mixed success; although the information is now available, we are not able to coerce people into reading it before they meet the team.

Other problems have been simpler matters, such as the noise of background chatter, particularly when individuals seek to converse with our *kuia*. Future problems that are anticipated include persuading non-weavers and non-Māori of the significance of this project as part of the protection of this country's environment and indigenous wildlife. The weavers will continue their focus on maintaining healthy weaving resources.

It is clear that new understandings and techniques are required to augment or change management practices which no longer fully protect the health and vigour of the plants, or that compromise their sustainable use.

This project continues to work towards that goal. It is about to enter its final phase, now waiting for interview materials to be returned so that the process of collation and data analysis can begin. However, the work involves an ongoing process of anticipating potential difficulties so that strategies can be put in place to manage or forestall any problems that might develop. In line with the concepts of their First Nations cousins in North America, the Weavers want their actions to be of benefit for weavers of seven generations hence.¹

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¹ After Mathew Coon-Come, Grand Chief of the Grand Council of Crees of Quebec, National Chief of the Assembly of First Nations 2000-3 (Canada).

Thru¹ the looking glass – rangatahi research traditions

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Research has become an important means of reclaiming traditional knowledge.² Documentation has not only preserved some of these knowledges but has also provided a platform by which Māori are able to both assess our current position and address identified issues. Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi is a participatory action research project which incorporates *kaupapa Māori* methods to investigate the current position and address *hauora* issues that are prominent in the lives of *rangatahi Māori* (Māori youth). This project is situated within an *iwi* organisation supported by 24 *hapū* and various Māori/youth organisations and is heavily influenced by a foundation of traditional practices. This paper will consider the recruitment of the researchers and participants and the use of traditional practices, and then explore the research findings within a Māori research paradigm. An insight into the world of our *rangatahi* offers a contribution on how important traditional knowledge is to their *hauora* and their future.

Introduction

Thru the Looking-Glass is a paper that investigates the research traditions of the project Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi – a participatory action-based project³ that includes *rangatahi Māori* in all aspects of the research. The notion of the expression “thru the looking glass” pertains to the lens by which we (adults, researchers) view the world; it calls for an awareness as to how we perceive our research as well as the research subject. All too often academia becomes overly analytical and reconstructive in terms of information received and information disseminated, thus sometimes losing the essence of what our research tells us. For *rangatahi Māori*, this concern is even greater as they are doubly disadvantaged when their societal position is relegated to the periphery of mainstream concern because they are indigenous and young (Warren, 2006). As a minority within a minority that has little research specifically about them, *rangatahi Māori* are being afforded the opportunity to “tell it like it is” and have their voices heard (Webster et al., 2005) in this research project. This includes understanding *rangatahi* interpretations of ‘tradition’. The notion of “*rangatahi* research traditions” examines a number of practices that have been naturally incorporated into the research project; these practices are based on traditional *tikanga Māori* and have greatly assisted the relationships between all those working on the project. In fact, some of these practices are so natural that they were only identified by outside researchers as being a unique characteristic of the project.

In this sense the title of the paper emulates two important aspects of this research project: first, to remember who is viewing the research (and how they are viewing it) and, second, to highlight how participatory action research projects can manufacture their own research practices. By relocating Māori epistemologies at the centre (Warren, 2006) of this research project, *rangatahi Māori* feel comfortable in speaking openly about *their* issues and the inclusion of traditional practices. This has contributed to the creation of a “safe space” (Webster, 2005) for *rangatahi Māori* and has given research(ers) an insight into their perception of the world so that research might be able to positively contribute to their *hauora*.

¹ “Thru” refers to *rangatahi*/youth text language which is a shortened form of the written English language.

² Mead, M. (2003); Royal, T. (2005); Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999).

³ Webster, J., Walsh-Tapiata, W., Warren, TR., Kiriona, D., & Rangatahi Researchers (2005).

Background to the project

Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Incorporated was successful in obtaining funding from the Health Research Council and the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology in 2003. The funding was to investigate the *hauora* of *rangatahi Māori* within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa-te-au-ki-te-Tonga which extends into the Manawatū Horowhenua and Kāpiti areas.⁴ Having an *iwi* organisation heading the research was beneficial to the project as notions such as *kaupapa Māori* theory (resistance theory to dominant western approaches to research)⁵ and *tikanga Māori* were already integral to the organisation. This meant that the research project could focus on its core business without having to justify its “unorthodox”⁶ Indigenous approach to research when it included Māori cultural practices and values. In addition, this also was an opportunity for *whānau/hapū/iwi* to be involved and to contribute positively to future *iwi/hapū/marae* developments through their *rangatahi* (Webster et al. 2005).

Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi is youth-driven and guided by effective adult leadership. The active participation of *rangatahi* in the project is a critical element of its character and allows for *rangatahi* to be involved in every aspect and at all levels of the research project. Initially the research question itself was developed by *rangatahi* and *rangatahi* are active researchers in the project who receive training to undertake all research tasks alongside of *pakeke* (adults). As well as being participants in the research, *rangatahi* are also representatives on the project Advisory Committee who oversee the project, which means that they are represented at all levels of the research project.

Recruitment of researchers

There were a variety of ways in which the recruitment of *rangatahi* researchers to the project Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi occurred. These could be seen as conventional *iwi* practices but unconventional ‘mainstream’ practices (as other research groups have noted).

Primarily, following *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* consultation processes, nominations for *rangatahi* to be considered for the research project were received and utilised. The recruitment of *rangatahi* researchers was initially promoted through Te Rūnanga o Raukawa Incorporated, whose executive committee consists of representatives from each of the 24 *hapū* of Ngāti Raukawa. They were in turn responsible for either recommending potential candidates or informing members of their *hapū* about our project. Youth and health organisations were also asked to nominate *rangatahi* who they thought would be appropriate candidates for undertaking a research role within Te Rūnanga o Raukawa. In the second year of the research project, *rangatahi* who were already involved in the project suggested that more *rangatahi* should be brought on board to share their experience and to forward the names of other *rangatahi*. Finally, some *rangatahi* who were known for their involvement in *hapū* affairs were directly approached by the project. Subsequently *pānui* (newsletters), as well as attendance at meetings and *iwi* and *hapū* events, were other ways in which *rangatahi* were sought out to be recruited to the project.

There were some restrictions on recruitment. *Rangatahi* must be of Ngāti Raukawa descent or be of Māori descent and living within the tribal boundaries of Ngāti Raukawa. In itself, the parameters present ideas of separatism or exclusiveness consistent with mainstream research beliefs and they also invoke issues around ‘insider/outsider’ researcher paradigms. However, re-centring Māori methodologies as a foundation for research is a path that has been paved with resistance theories such as *kaupapa Māori* (G. Smith, 1997; L. Tuhiwai-Smith, 1999; F. Cram, 2001), and it is upon traditional foundations inclusive of *kaupapa Māori* theory that this research project was created.

⁴ The approximate Manawatū/Horowhenua area consisting of Bulls, Fielding, Palmerston North to Levin and Ōtaki.

⁵ For further enlightenment see: Cram, F. (2001); Smith, G. (1997); Tuhiwai-Smith, L. (1999).

⁶ Non-western. For further explanation see: Said, E. (1978); Tuhiwai Smith, L. (1999); Warren, K.T.F. (2004).

Research traditions

Kaupapa Māori is a method that has been created as a resistance to the mainstream research processes so as to create a space for Māori research to occur (G. Smith, 1993). This has become an important notion in Māori research as it helps provide a space for Māori to write about research from a Māori worldview and within Māori research paradigms. The current research project has incorporated *Kaupapa Māori* research methods in order to validate the number of atypical practices that take place within the research; it aims to maintain and uplift traditional notions and practices in order to carry out research from a Māori worldview. Traditional practices have been critical in ascertaining the current position of *hauora rangatahi* (youth health) in Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi.

There are a number of research methods that are employed within this research project, the most significant being those that are based on traditional practice. These concepts are agreed upon by *rangatahi* as being particularly important to this research project:

- *wairuatanga* (spirituality)
- *whanaungatanga* (family and familiarity)
- *kotahitanga* (openness, inclusiveness and togetherness)
- *manaakitanga* (caring)
- *te reo* (the language)
- *тино rangatahitanga* (the essence of youth potential)

Wairuatanga is seen as an important aspect that ensures researchers and participants involved in any part of the research process remain spiritually safe. This is done predominantly with *karakia* that precede every meeting and gathering. This is not a conventional mainstream practice but is one that is consistent with Māori beliefs and practices. *Wairuatanga* is best described within the models *Whare Tapa Whā* (Durie, 1994), *Te Wheke* (Pere, 1991) and *kaupapa Māori* theories (Cram 2001, G. Smith 1997, L. Tuhiwai-Smith 1999). Durie explains the spiritual dimension as being able to affect health through unseen and unspoken energies (1994, p. 69). Therefore, it is our responsibility as researchers who work with *rangatahi* to ensure their safety in this respect.

Whanaungatanga as a research concept and a practice allows time for research members and participants to become familiar and comfortable with each other. It is a process that is continually built upon and its dynamics are consistently changing as there are a number of relationships that exist between *rangatahi* and *pakeke*, with *rangatahi* and *pakeke*, and with wider *whānau* members. *Whanaungatanga*, when working with *rangatahi*, is achieved in a number of different ways: overnight stays give the opportunity for adult and *rangatahi* researchers to establish relationships; monthly *hui* reinforce these relationships; games and ice-breakers add a more relaxed *rangatahi* flavour to this process; and contact with *rangatahi* outside of ‘research hours’ means that relationships are formed beyond the completion of the research tasks.

Kotahitanga is an extension of *whanaungatanga*, and is primarily about inclusiveness. This notion ensures that *rangatahi* feel that they belong to the research project and that they have a vested interest in and ownership of the research. *Kotahitanga* is about building safe spaces (Webster, 2005) and creating relationships with *rangatahi* so that they feel empowered to sincerely have their voices heard. This notion also guarantees that *rangatahi* have the opportunity to express their thoughts freely with *pakeke* who believe that having a combination of young people and adults ensures joint ownership and gives the research team “the confidence that our research was well grounded and reflected the daily reality of participants’ experiences” (Munford and Sanders, 2003, p. 103).

Manaakitanga is predominantly about reciprocation and is exercised in a number of different ways in the project. Mead describes it as “nurturing relationships, looking after people, and being very careful about how others are treated” (Mead, 2003, p. 29). Initially it is about ensuring the safety (cultural, personal, spiritual, mental, social) of *rangatahi* and acknowledging the worth of their time and energy to participate in the research. Food is often used to entice *rangatahi* to participate and also to acknowledge the time that *rangatahi* commit to the project. Another element of *manaakitanga* is

organising transport to and from *hui*, which helps rangatahi to have easier access to the research. Again, maintaining contact outside of the research ‘hours’ means that people are valued for who they are, wherever they are and not only for the time that they are participating in the research. This is a holistic approach which does not always parallel orthodox approaches to mainstream research.

Te reo is a distinct aspect of this research project. All *rangatahi* are encouraged to use language that they feel comfortable with, be it *te reo Māori*, Spanish, text or purely of a *rangatahi* nature. All *pakeke* researchers have a competent level of *te reo Māori* and having a number of Wharekura or total immersion Māori language secondary school students participating in the research means that conversations, training and presentations occur in Māori and English. While *rangatahi* come to terms with research jargon, some *pakeke* simultaneously grapple with the challenge of text and *rangatahi* language, especially when terms like ‘shizzel my nizzel’ are utilised or when communicating via cell phone. Therefore there is an entire dimension that pertains to *rangatahi* language encompassed in the project. Being able to identify positive and negative terminologies that are utilised by *rangatahi* and understanding the concepts of their language are critical in terms of being able to convey research findings appropriately and within context. In spite of this, it is important to note that although *pakeke* may have an understanding of *rangatahi* language, it is not always appropriate for *pakeke* to converse in this language with *rangatahi* as this can be seen to be stepping over relationship boundaries.

Tino rangatahitanga (sovereignty, absolute autonomy) is an empowering concept that has developed with our *rangatahi* researchers. The term is a hybrid form of ‘*rangatahi*’ and ‘*tino rangatiratanga*’, therefore *tino rangatahitanga* refers to the essence of being *rangatahi* and their potential to actively participate in the world. This notion is supported by the project by “hearing the voice” (Webster et al, 2005; Webster, 2006) and honestly listening to what *rangatahi* have to say. All too often token attempts to include *rangatahi* in research processes only contribute to *rangatahi* disillusionment about their position in the world around them. By supporting the notion of *tino rangatahitanga* the research project is validating that *rangatahi* can positively contribute to our world. This is not an easy feat and it needs to be regularly reviewed and followed up by action. To this extent the active participation of *rangatahi* in the research project and in all research activities (including conference presentations) allows *rangatahi* to have their say while validating and acknowledging the valuable contributions they can make to the establishment of vibrant Māori communities.

The expression and practice of Māori knowledge through these notions and other key elements of the Māori world enhance our uniqueness as Māori, which in turn creates a sense of pride and strengthens our identity. Durie notes that a secure identity impacts on health (Durie, 2003, p. 148). The research environment is significant therefore when:

... there are reduced opportunities for cultural expression and cultural endorsement within society’s institutions [and] as a result too many young Māori are unable to have meaningful contact with their own language, customs, or inheritances; and too few institutions in modern New Zealand are geared towards the expression of Māori values.

(2003, p. 149)

Through the rangatahi lens

As with indigenous research and developments the lens by which research is viewed is a critical element of how the research is then perceived. *Kaupapa Māori* has been crucial in validating Māori epistemologies, understandings and practices. Just as it is important for indigenous peoples to tell their stories and to interpret their world in ways that are consistent with indigenous views, it is important for *rangatahi* to be afforded the same opportunity. This in some part is represented by the notion of *tino rangatahitanga* where it is hoped that the research project adequately captures the world view of *rangatahi* and in turn conveys this within the realms of research.

Rangatahi research traditions

Pakeke interpretation of concepts often differs greatly to those of *rangatahi*. These analyses need to be clarified when working with *rangatahi* as we often assume that we are referring to the same conceptual understandings and such assumptions can lead to misinterpretation. Even with Māori traditions, we often forget that the lens through which we view our own Māori world differs between *rangatahi* and *pakeke*. It could be argued that perhaps our *rangatahi* are not as well versed in traditional Māori practices; however, with a growing number of students, emerging from Te Kōhanga Reo, Kura Kaupapa and Wharekura who are immersed in Māori traditions, differences are still apparent. In asking *rangatahi* to define some traditional Māori notions themselves, we were afforded an insight into the *rangatahi* world.⁷

Hauora: general interpretations of ‘*hauora*’ pertain to health and well-being. It is a holistic notion that for *pakeke* has become synonymous with Durie’s “Whare Tapa Whā”, consisting of: the *hinengaro* (mental state of mind); *tinana* (physical body); the *wairua* (spiritual state of being); and the *whānau* or the support system that is the family. Alternatively “Te Wheke” (Pere, 1991) incorporates eight dimensions of being: *wairuatanga*, *taha tinana*, *hinengaro*, *whanaungatanga*, *mana ake* (the uniqueness of each individual and family); *mauri* (life force); *te hā o koro mā o kui mā* (the breath of life from our forebears); and *whatumanawa* (the open and healthy expression of emotion). In addition to this, the head of the *wheke* (octopus) represents the *whānau* and the eyes can be described as the *waiora* (total well-being) for the individual and family. However, for *rangatahi* their interpretations relate to things that they have not categorised or identified within these realms. They may not have categorised their well-being in the same way as Durie and Pere, and while this is not an extensive list these interpretations reflect their world and include clothes, fitness, respect, parties, culture, gossip, confidence, discrimination, racism, role models, parents, suicide, pregnancy, ‘hooking up’, graffiti, future aspirations, music, relationships, food, being Māori, abuse, gangs and appearance.⁸

Tikanga: this means different things to different people and Mead has described it as a means of controlling social behaviour (Mead, 2003). This notion has been debated by many scholars and undoubtedly has been the subject of many *wānanga* (conscious thought-processing discussions) for *pakeke* and elders alike. *Rangatahi* view *tikanga* as including customs, protocol, common sense, protection, different *tikanga* for different places, maintenance of our identity, guidelines for what should and shouldn’t be done in life. It shouldn’t be taken for granted: the way things are done, a way of living. *Ehara i te mea he mātātoka te tikanga,*⁹ *ngā akoranga a kui mā a koro mā*¹⁰ – The ancestors’ teachings and customary practices are not set in stone and it’s sometimes boring.¹¹ Some of these interpretations might be expected, but as *pakeke* researchers it is still critical to convey their *hauora* issues and not misconstrue these when research is produced about *rangatahi* *hauora* needs and aspirations.

Whānau: The ‘textbook’ interpretation of the term is ‘family’ and it is a term that is widely used in New Zealand societies. How far-reaching the notion of family is can be described in a number of ways for scholars: the nuclear family, the extended family and so on. For *rangatahi*, however, the notion of ‘*whānau*’ takes on a life of its own. *Rangatahi* describe positive and sometimes negative roles of the *whānau*:

... your *whānau* reflects who you are, they give you confidence, they feed you and shelter you, people who come together to support each other, anyone you consider close to you, people all

⁷ Arapere, R., Tapiata, A., Gotty-Ogden, T.A., Solomon, H., Tapiata, R., Cook, H., Webster, S., Warren, T.R., Webster, J., & Kiriona, D. (2006).

⁸ Webster, J., Warren, K. T.R., Walsh-Tapiata, W., Kiriona, D., & Te Rōpū Whai Rangatahi Researchers – Arapere, R., Arapere, H., Webster, S., Tapiata, A., Davis, M., Peachey, I., Moses, M., Metuamate, A., Gotty-Ogden, T.A., Pene, K., Baker, M., Cook, H., Rikihana, T., Stretch-Logan, TP., Brown, K., Tapiata, R., Ransfield, T., Solomon, H., & Te Hei, A. (2005).

⁹ It is not a rigid/inflexible institution.

¹⁰ The teachings of our elders.

¹¹ Arapere, R. et al. (2006).

around you that have the ability to help you in every way, abuse you verbally, mentally, physically, emotionally, sexually, *whānau* can include best of friends, family members and even pets.

(Arapere et al., 2006)

These interpretations highlight that while generic definitions can be quite confined, *rangatahi* interpretations of *whānau* cast a wider net of inclusion. This reflects how *rangatahi* view their *whānau* and perhaps highlights those who contribute significantly to their *hauora*.

Aroha: is another notion that is highly utilised in Māori vocabularies. The notion's simplest interpretation is that pertaining to 'love' – traditional and linguistic terms however, include a much broader realm. For some *rangatahi* the notion of *aroha* is: affection; envy; emotion; anger; self-control; obsession; decisions; respect; sacrifices; best mates; family; giving and receiving; lifestyle; money; self-control; 'it's a phase'; love can be dangerous; love can make you *pōrangī* (crazy), it has effects on the well-being of a child; being happy; expression; makes you humble (Arapere et al., 2006). Once again the world of *rangatahi* is apparent in the interpretations that they offer with regard to *aroha*.

As *pakeke* we often categorise these interpretations into our worldview yet we must be mindful of the explanation bestowed upon these terms that reflect a *rangatahi* perception of the world. Insights such as these place researchers in a better position to understand the world of *rangatahi* and to ensure that research pertaining to their *hauora* is not portrayed out of context. Ensuring that research is accurate requires that researchers comprehend participants' vocabulary and their meaning, even for everyday expressions.

Creating research traditions

Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi has attempted to create a research environment that is conducive to the needs and aspirations of *rangatahi Māori*. As researchers we have the ability to create our own traditions and research environments, and in operating from a Māori worldview the research project has produced an environment that is based on traditional Māori practices. Subsequently, our interaction with *rangatahi* has created its own traditions for the project, including making sure that *kai* includes a pudding with whipped cream. Granted, this is not an orthodox practice for most people but it has become a tradition for our night-time *hui*.

Other traditions have also emerged: constant contact with *rangatahi* during and outside of research practice hours; encouraging *rangatahi* to have their say within the research unit and at wider forums including national and international conferences; the creation of safe spaces (Webster, 2005) for *rangatahi* to have their voices heard; training *rangatahi* in research processes¹²; educating *rangatahi* about the wider implications of research; and encouraging *rangatahi* to engage and participate in other forums that impact on their *hauora* (for example, district health *hui*, national research forums, conferences). Working in a participatory manner with *rangatahi* is about allowing *rangatahi* to drive the research project, but it is also about creating research processes and practices that *rangatahi* are comfortable with. This has led to the creation of a number of research traditions that support and cultivate *rangatahi* participation in research about themselves. While operating at a three-dimensional research interface (*te ao Māori*, *rangatahi* and research), traditions have provided good guidelines and contributed to advantageous environments to undertake the research.

Whose looking-glass?

For *rangatahi*, specific research relating to them is lost amidst the studies of the general Māori population and the general youth demography. While there is a small amount of research that is explicit to *rangatahi Māori* the opportunity to explore *rangatahi* and their world remains. As the fastest growing demographic in (New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand figures, 2001) that will contribute to

¹² Webster, J., Warren, K. TR., Walsh-Tapiata, W., Kiriona, D., & Rangatahi Researchers. (2005).

our communities, nation and world, the potential and concerns of *rangatahi Māori* must be investigated to ensure their positive development.

Just as revolutionary Māori writers criticised the early non-Māori writings about Māori, as researchers who investigate the world of *rangatahi* we too can become prone to the same criticisms. It is here that researchers must reassess whose lens they are viewing the subject matter through. The interface of research on *rangatahi* does not occur in a two-dimensional manner as described by Durie,¹³ but involves the three dimensions of *te ao Māori*, *rangatahi* and research. This means that we cannot simply convey *our* perceptions of *their* world. As the interpretations of traditional notions have demonstrated, *rangatahi* views about their own world are slightly different to our perceptions of that same world. *Rangatahi* don't necessarily view their *hauora* or their world with a lot of thought or comparison to traditional concepts, especially when they are natural occurrences. Therefore, we put them at risk when we assume we know what they are talking about. For example, we might assume that when they talk about *aroha*, they are referring to an all-encompassing notion of love, understanding and nurturing, when in fact they are referring to envy, or when talking about *whānau* we assume that they are talking about an immediate family member when they are referring to their best friend. The point is that as researchers we are susceptible to portraying our findings not necessarily through their lens but by rearranging findings as we would like them to look through our looking-glass. Researchers must always be aware of the lens by which they view their research.

Traditional knowledge in contemporary settings

Traditional knowledges are apparent in contemporary settings; perhaps their interpretations have changed slightly with regard to the environments, but they exist nonetheless. Such is the nature of epistemologies. For some, traditional practices are so natural to them that identifying them as a "traditional" notion is difficult. However, if we apply a lens that identifies some traditional practices we can ascertain their existence in contemporary societies. It is critical, then, that we comprehend the context and notions that contemporary societies attribute to those traditions. In fact, in so doing, we bear witness to the evolution and survival of traditional practices in some exceptional circumstances, such as with *rangatahi*. Importantly, Whāia te Hauora o ngā Rangatahi has not intentionally embarked on a journey of creating research traditions but these have naturally evolved as foundations for the research, such that the researchers are not always aware of their existence until outside researchers comment about the distinct character of the project.

The use of the term '*tino rangatahitanga*' is testament to the evolution of knowledges and how they are maintained in contemporary societies. When the presentation for this paper topic was delivered in Wellington, one audience member noted the parallel between '*tino rangatahitanga*' and the term '*tū rangatira*'¹⁴ (to stand with integrity) that was used when he was an adolescent. He acknowledged that the underlying themes of both terms were the same – to assert the right and ability to positively contribute to vibrant communities – thus identifying that while the notions and aspirations are fundamentally the same, the terminology that appeals to the new generation has evolved.

The crux of *Through the Looking-Glass – creating rangatahi traditions* is about recognition of traditional practices and notions from a *rangatahi* view point. Research that investigates the *hauora* of *rangatahi* has demonstrated that to understand the world of *rangatahi* is to allow them to actively participate in the research and for *rangatahi*, in order to explain their understandings of their world around them. If research intends to positively contribute to *hauora rangatahi* then *rangatahi* must be afforded the opportunity to participate in it, and to define the parameters and understandings of their own world. Just as "for Māori by Māori" has become a Māori development slogan "for *rangatahi* by *rangatahi*" is a notion that research traditions must also cater for.

¹³ Durie, M. (2005). Pg 141.

¹⁴ *tū rangatira* - to stand with integrity

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The role of tikanga Māori institutions in the protecting, sustaining and nurturing of traditional knowledge

Pakake Winiata

Kaihautū, Te Whare Mātauranga Māori, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa

‘E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiaētea’
‘I shall never be lost; a seed broadcast from Rangiaētea’

Abstract

This paper will discuss the issues, practices, models and perspectives regarding Te Pupuri – The protection, Te Ako – The sustaining and Te Waihangā – The creation of *mātauranga Māori*, the fundamental activity of *wānanga*. *Wānanga* are institutions that are indigenous to *mātauranga Māori* and as such have a unique role to play in traditional knowledge maintenance and advancement. The policies and practices of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa based in Ōtaki, will form the basis of describing this role.

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa (TWOR) has a set of Kaupapa Here or ‘guiding principles’ that are drawn from a Māori worldview. These *kaupapa* form the basis for all *tikanga* the *wānanga* engages in, including research and teaching. Measurement or performance indicators have been developed for these *tikanga* to assist the *wānanga* in measuring the effectiveness of its activities.

The purpose of the *wānanga* is to contribute to the survival of Māori as a people and the people as Māori. The daily pursuit of this purpose to contribute to survival has led to many insights for the *wānanga* over the years with regards to protecting, sustaining and nurturing *mātauranga Māori*. As an institution, the *wānanga* has focused on Māori and *mātauranga Māori*. This has produced a set of solutions, practices and indicators aimed at maximising its potential as a contributor to our people’s survival.

This paper will present the work of this Indigenous institution and its view on how best to protect, sustain and nurture traditional systems of knowledge. The paper will also present the measurements and indicators the *wānanga* has developed to guide it in this pursuit.

Introduction

Since the arrival of Pākehā to these shores, Māori have endured a dramatic change in lifestyle and institutions. It has been a period of both high excitement and considerable pain as our people have learned and absorbed a totally different culture.

In the last three decades as we have rediscovered, created and applied *mātauranga Māori*, we have come to see that *kaupapa* and *tikanga* are as relevant and applicable to the Māori situation now as in the past. This has been an important revelation and is fundamental to our survival as a unique people.

Whakatupuranga rua mano – generation 2000¹

In August 1975, the Raukawa Trustees, representative of the *iwi* and *hapū* of Ngāti Raukawa, Ngāti Toarangatira and Te Āti Awa began a 25-year experiment in tribal development. This experiment, known as ‘Whakatupuranga Rua Mano – Generation 2000’, relied heavily on seminars spanning subject matter with the following aims:

¹ Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Charter (2003).

- (a) Raising the education aspirations of *rangatahi* ;
- (b) Elevating the understanding of Pākehā of *kaupapa* and *tikanga Māori* as well as Māori aspirations; and
- (c) Deepening the knowledge of members of the *iwi* and *hapū* about ourselves.

The guiding principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano are:

- The people are our wealth – *develop and retain*;
- The *reo* (language) is a *taonga* – *halt the decline and revive*;
- The *marae* is our principal home – *maintain and respect*; and
- Self-determination.

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa

The Raukawa Trustees established Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa as a natural extension of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa was unique in the tertiary landscape of New Zealand in that it was established by *iwi*, for *iwi* and of the *iwi*.

The design and delivery of degree programmes were aimed at contributing to the *iwi* fulfilling the principles of Whakatupuranga Rua Mano. *Reo* studies, *iwi* and *hapū* studies were included as compulsory topics. Taken together these two subject areas account for 60 per cent of the subject matter of all qualifications. The remaining 40 per cent are specialisations.

There has been greater participation of members of the founding *iwi* and of their near and distant *whanaunga* (relatives) in higher education. Moreover, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa has looked to contribute to the fulfilment of the aspirations of these people through increasing diversity in its offerings and access to the global information society. In doing so it has maintained its focus on learning what it means to live as Māori and to contribute to the well-being of Māori.

It seems to us therefore that a singularly important function of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is to maximise our contribution to the fulfilment of the *whakataukī*:

E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangiātea.
I shall never be lost; a seed broadcast from Rangiātea.

Each succeeding generation has to discover and fulfil their part.

The challenge for Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is to contribute to the long-term survival of Māori. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa can best play its part by “maintaining, enhancing and disseminating *mātauranga* through teaching and research that encourages independence of thought and the application of *mātauranga*” (Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Charter, 2003). It must be accepted that each generation will have different educational needs to be addressed.

Mātauranga Māori as a knowledge continuum

Our people came to these shores with views of the world that their descendants continue to maintain, expand, enhance, enrich and refine.

The knowledge continuum that originated in the Pacific was based on *mātauranga* accumulated and refined during their centuries in their previous homes. They came to a land with seasons, flora, fauna, fish and other features that were different from their previous habitats. Among their important possessions was an accumulation of knowledge and experience and intellectual powers of observation and analysis. They employed these and prospered. They have found appropriate answers to the challenges of survival that they have faced in the last several centuries of residency in this land.

Mātauranga Māori contains explanations, perspectives and views on the nature of the world in order to make sense of our experience within it – to explain it; to understand it. *Mātauranga Māori* endures because it remains relevant to our experiences.

In order for *mātauranga Māori* to remain relevant to succeeding generations:

- Each generation must understand pre-existent *mātauranga*, and
- Each generation must create new *mātauranga* according to their experience of the world. (Royal, 2002)

Use of the expression “knowledge continuum” applied to *mātauranga Māori*, reminds us that *mātauranga* as we knew it yesterday is a little different from *mātauranga* today and tomorrow’s *mātauranga* will be different again. While from day to day these changes may be imperceptible, over a period of years they will become noticeable. Nonetheless, the *whakapapa* and continuity of the *mātauranga* are intact.

Survival of Māori is a reality when a substantial number of our people are living according to a worldview and knowledge continuum inherited from earlier generations of Māori. This is achieved by:

- *Te Ako* – Teaching *mātauranga Māori*;
- *Te Pupuri* – Preserving *mātauranga Māori*; and
- *Te Waihanga* – Creating *mātauranga Māori*.

Mātauranga Māori is also a term for the methods through which this knowledge tradition is perpetuated and advanced.

- *Ngā Tikanga o te Ako* – Teaching methods
- *Ngā Tikanga o te Pupuri* – Methods of preservation
- *Ngā Tikanga o te Waihanga* – Methods of *Mātauranga* creation

The methods for teaching, preserving and creating must also be *mātauranga Māori*. As a *wānanga*, we must pay attention to the methods through which teaching, preserving and creating are conducted. *Mātauranga Māori* is both the knowledge ‘products’ and the methods for their perpetuation and development.

The distinctive role of tikanga Māori institutions

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa exists because the tertiary educational bodies that serve our communities do not, and arguably cannot, ensure the *tikanga* and *mātauranga* of our *iwi* and *hapū* are incorporated into the subjects they teach and the way they are taught. As a consequence they are unable to ensure the advancement, dissemination and maintenance of the *tikanga* and *mātauranga* of our *iwi* and *hapū* through teaching or research and the principal activities of institutions of higher learning.

Throughout its two decades of existence, Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa has therefore sought actively to be distinctive from all other tertiary education institutions in terms of its curriculum, its modes of delivery and its research.

The essence of this distinctiveness is that the *wānanga* sees teaching and research as opportunities for the pursuit and expression of *kaupapa* and *tikanga*, particularly as they relate to *iwi* and *hapū*.

The teaching of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is almost always presented within the *tikanga Māori* context of a *marae* or on the campus in Ōtaki. Accordingly, contextual learning and teaching is central to the activity of the *wānanga*.

Staff are engaged in research projects that contribute to the rediscovery, maintenance and creation of *mātauranga Māori* and its application today. Again, this is considered a distinctive contribution to the scholarship of the sector and nation. The continued grooming of staff as researchers to enhance their

classroom performance and contributions to the national and international communities is important to the *wānanga*.

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa is of the view that *mātauranga Māori* will be protected, sustained and nurtured by institutions, organisations and processes that are devoted to it, that are indigenous to it. Attempting to further *mātauranga Māori* through the institutions and processes of another culture is fraught with difficulties. *Mātauranga Māori* is not only the knowledge ‘products’, but also most importantly the methods by which these are taught, preserved and created.

When *mātauranga Māori* is brought into the institutions of another culture it is analysed through the analysis and methods of that culture and not through the analysis of *mātauranga Māori*. For this reason, the explanatory power of *mātauranga Māori* is neither fostered nor is it applied. In *wānanga*, *mātauranga Māori* is the method of analysis rather than object of analysis.

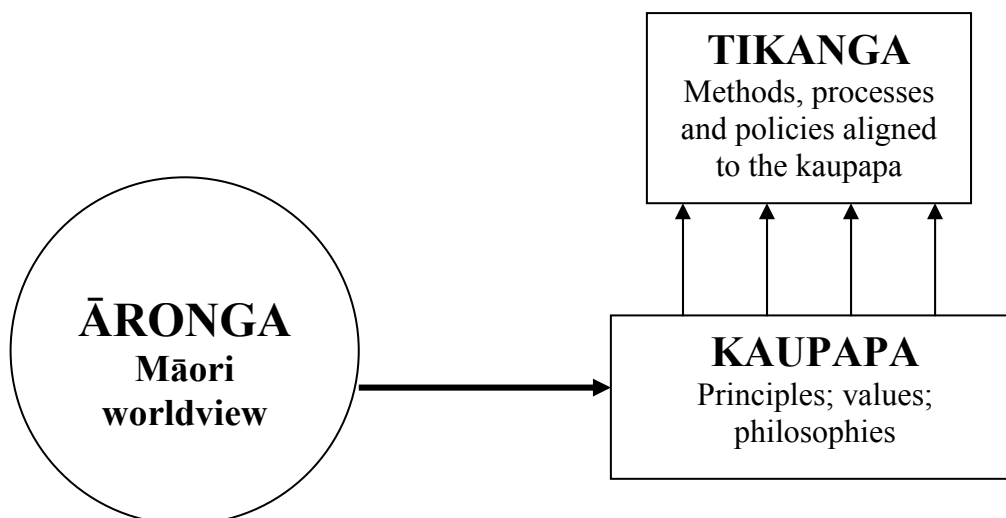
Guiding kaupapa – principles

Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa has always described itself as a reformulation of the ancient *whare wānanga*. As such, it has also described itself as a *tikanga Māori* institution, which is another unique and fundamental characteristic. Such lofty descriptions, however, are of little value if on a day-to-day basis the *wānanga* is operating like any other tertiary institution. The *tikanga Māori* nature of this place is an essential part of the justification for the existence of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa.

Mātauranga Māori informs and guides Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa in its policy development and decision-making. *Mātauranga Māori* is the foundation for our contemplations, developments and future directions. Such an approach has required some faith in ourselves and our *mātauranga*. Some of our people have had to reconsider our training and/or thinking that leads us to doubt our own knowledge base as being informative. For some, moving out of our comfort zone has been difficult, especially when that zone is founded on Pākehā methodology and principles. One must be constantly vigilant as *tikanga Pākehā* ideas can be quite insidious.

It is clear that Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa as an institution needs to understand, use and apply *mātauranga Māori* if we are to fulfil our role. The application of *mātauranga Māori* is an important skill to develop if we are going to continue to survive as a unique race, as Māori. Our knowledge base needs to be able to inform and guide us or it will be tossed aside.

In order to have confidence in the *tikanga Māori* basis of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa, a set of guiding *kaupapa* and associated *tikanga* was developed. The conceptual framework for the development of a *tikanga Māori* institution needed to demonstrate how the *tikanga* of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa are consistent with *Kaupapa Māori* and the Māori worldview (*Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Profile*, 2005-2009).



Our worldview is described in our oral literature and a set of *kaupapa* are drawn from which the culture is founded. Growing from within the *kaupapa* are our *tikanga*, just like a tree springs from the earth. The *tikanga* are actions, methods, processes, policies and so on that are aligned and consistent with the foundation *kaupapa*. All *tikanga* purporting to be Māori can find their basis in *kaupapa*.

The *kaupapa* informs us in our deliberations, guiding and enabling Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa to:

1. Contribute to the development and well-being of Māori in order to promote Māori survival and prosperity;
2. Teach, maintain and create *mātauranga Māori* to ensure our uniqueness as a people and guide us in our decision-making as a people, now and in the future; and
3. Establish and maintain a *tikanga Māori* institution that is viable, robust and an attractive option for Māori.

The expression and application of these foundation *kaupapa* are the *tikanga Māori* of this place. The *tikanga* are the processes, policies, programmes and decisions that grow from the *kaupapa*.

The *kaupapa*, with examples of their associated *tikanga* and measurements or indicators are:

1) Manaakitanga – mana-enhancing behaviour:

- Viewing each enrolment as a *mana*-enhancing act towards the *wānanga* and its founding *iwi*;
- Assisting students, particularly Māori, to participate successfully in tertiary education;
- Maximising retention and completion rates while maintaining acceptable academic standards;
- Providing the best teaching, support services, *kai* and accommodation possible;
- Developing and implementing support systems for *tauirā* (students) to enhance retention and completion rates; and
- Extending appealing terms of employment arrangements to staff.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Māori participation targets EFTS²	3,890 Maximum increase per year of 1000 EFTS.	4,890 Maximum increase per year of 1000 EFTS.	5,890 Maximum increase per year of 1000 EFTS.
Student retention rates	Year 1 – 65% Year 2 – 75% Year 3 – 85%	Year 1 – 70% Year 2 – 80% Year 3 – 90%	Year 1 – 75% Year 2 – 85% Year 3 – 95%
Student completion rates	Year 1 – 55% Year 2 – 65% Year 3 – 80%	Year 1 – 60% Year 2 – 70% Year 3 – 85%	Year 1 – 65% Year 2 – 75% Year 3 – 90%
Student support systems	Support plans, with quarterly monitoring against actual retention, completions rates and actions in response.	Support plans, with quarterly monitoring against actual retention, completions rates and actions in response.	Support plans, with quarterly monitoring against actual retention, completions rates and actions in response.
Staff support systems	Salaries, study arrangements, personal development and other benefits that are appealing.	Salaries, study arrangements, personal development and other benefits that are appealing.	Salaries, study arrangements, personal development and other benefits that are appealing.

² Equivalent Full-time Staff

2) Rangatiratanga – expressing the attributes of a chief:

- The institution nurtures and develops *rangatira* attributes among staff and students;
- The activities of senior management are reflective of the attributes of *rangatira*;
- All staff and students are considered *rangatira* in their own right and are treated accordingly;
- High academic standards and excellence that contribute to the *rangatiratanga* of the *wānanga*;
- Relationships with the Crown that reflect *rangatira* characteristics; and
- Appropriate appointments of competent staff for teaching at relevant levels.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Wānanga and Crown in relationship	Two <i>hui</i> held and mutual recognition of <i>rangatiratanga</i> affirmed.	Two <i>hui</i> held and mutual recognition of <i>rangatiratanga</i> affirmed.	Two <i>hui</i> held and mutual recognition of <i>rangatiratanga</i> affirmed.
Staffing appointments	<i>Undergraduate:</i> 70 per cent taught by Masters holders or recognised authorities. <i>Postgraduate:</i> Eighty per cent taught by Masters or PhD holders, or recognised scholars.	<i>Undergraduate:</i> 75 per cent taught by Masters holders or recognised authorities. <i>Postgraduate:</i> 90 per cent taught by Masters or PhD holders, or recognised scholars.	<i>Undergraduate:</i> 80 per cent taught by Masters holders or recognised authorities. <i>Postgraduate:</i> 100 taught by Masters or PhD holders, or recognised scholars.
Rangatira attributes displayed	Examples among students, staff and <i>kaiāwhina</i> (support personnel) published in the Annual Report.	Examples among students, staff and <i>Kaiāwhina</i> published in the Annual Report.	Examples among students, staff and <i>kaiāwhina</i> published in the Annual Report.

3) Whanaungatanga – kinship and interdependence:

- Providing opportunities for the expression of *whanaungatanga* among students and staff;
- Developing employment policies consistent with *whanaungatanga*;
- Maintaining close links with the founding *iwi* of ART;
- Encouraging reciprocity among staff and students; and
- Developing policies consistent with *whanaungatanga* amongst staff and students.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Delivery sites	Marae – 30 Kura – 7 Rangakura – 2 Campus Ōtaki) – 1 Other – 3	Marae – 36 Kura – 9 Rangakura – 2 Campus (Ōtaki) – 1 Other – 4	Marae – 42 Kura – 11 Rangakura – 2 Campus (Ōtaki) – 1 Other – 5
ART members	At least one <i>hui</i> to encourage members of ART to enrol.	At least one <i>hui</i> to encourage members of ART to enrol.	At least one <i>hui</i> to encourage members of ART to enrol.
Curriculum	Annual review with the intention of ensuring the ART <i>iwi</i> feature appropriately in programme content.	Annual review with the intention of ensuring the ART <i>iwi</i> feature appropriately in programme content.	Annual review with the intention of ensuring the ART <i>iwi</i> feature appropriately in programme content.
Staff	Encourage staff to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.	Encourage staff to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.	Encourage staff to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.
Students	Encourage students to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.	Encourage students to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.	Encourage students to provide details on their <i>whānau</i> , <i>hapū</i> and <i>iwi</i> to colleagues through a central facility.

4) **Kotahitanga – unity:**

- Keeping people informed and in the loop;
- Providing for contributions from all staff to decision-making processes;
- Prioritising the development of unity within the institution; and
- Major research projects are conducted across disciplines.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Reporting	All areas of responsibility report on their activity half-yearly for distribution to all staff and <i>kaiāwhina</i> and yearly for the Annual Report.	All areas of responsibility report on their activity half-yearly for distribution to all staff and <i>kaiāwhina</i> and yearly for the Annual Report.	All areas of responsibility report on their activity half-yearly for distribution to all staff and <i>kaiāwhina</i> and yearly for the Annual Report.
Interdisciplinary research	Whatahoro, He Rau Wawata, Eco-systems, GPI and other interdisciplinary projects continued and reports released.	Whatahoro, He Rau Wawata, Eco-systems, GPI and other interdisciplinary projects continued and reports released.	Whatahoro, He Rau Wawata, Eco-systems, GPI and other interdisciplinary projects continued and reports released.
Development of unity	Ensure that all new staff and new <i>kaiāwhina</i> are introduced to the <i>kaupapa</i> ; conduct seminars when new insights into the <i>kaupapa</i> are discovered.	Ensure that all new staff and new <i>kaiāwhina</i> are introduced to the <i>kaupapa</i> ; conduct seminars when new insights into the <i>kaupapa</i> are discovered.	Ensure that all new staff and new <i>kaiāwhina</i> are introduced to the <i>kaupapa</i> ; conduct seminars when new insights into the <i>kaupapa</i> are discovered.
Decision making	A <i>hui whakakaupapa</i> (consultative meeting) for staff (two days), a quarterly <i>hui</i> for staff and one joint project for all staff (graduation).	A <i>hui whakakaupapa</i> for staff (two days), a quarterly <i>hui</i> for staff and one joint project for all staff (graduation).	A <i>hui whakakaupapa</i> for staff (two days), a quarterly <i>hui</i> for staff and one joint project for all staff (graduation).
Sharing information	Information on <i>wānanga</i> -wide issues and opportunities be shared with staff and students.	Information on <i>wānanga</i> -wide issues and opportunities be shared with staff and students	Information on <i>wānanga</i> -wide issues and opportunities be shared with staff and students

5) **Wairuatanga – spirituality:**

- Further development of an environment nourishing and nurturing of *wairua*, including the provision of *nohopuku* (meditation) spaces and *marae*-style environs;
- Encouraging the inclusion of deliveries involving visiting and teaching in natural venues including *te ngahere* and *te moana*;
- Encouraging and continuing the practice of *karakia* after evening meals and at the start of work days;
- Providing for *karakia Māori* and other religious expression in our activities.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Outdoor education	30 per cent of <i>Mātauranga Māori</i> courses taught in natural venues.	30 per cent of <i>Mātauranga Māori</i> courses taught in natural venues.	40 per cent of <i>Mātauranga Māori</i> courses taught in natural venues.
Wairua nourishment	Three <i>noho puku</i> spaces developed and utilised by staff and students.	<i>Noho puku</i> spaces utilised by staff and students.	<i>Noho puku</i> spaces utilised by staff and students.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Annual staff hui	Staff revitalisation <i>hui</i> held annually (possibly during Matariki) with smaller events held monthly.	Staff revitalisation <i>hui</i> held annually (possibly during Matariki) with smaller events held monthly.	Staff revitalisation <i>hui</i> held annually (possibly during Matariki) with smaller events held monthly.
Kaupapa and tikanga support	50 per cent of staff participate in <i>tikanga</i> activities (including <i>pōwhiri</i>) around campus and on MBS <i>marae</i> .	65 per cent of staff participate in <i>tikanga</i> activities (including <i>pōwhiri</i>) around campus and on MBS <i>marae</i> .	80 per cent of staff participate in <i>tikanga</i> activities (including <i>pōwhiri</i>) around campus and on MBS <i>marae</i> .

6) *Ūkaipōtanga – nurturing environment:*

- Arrangements that foster a sense of importance, belonging and contribution;
- Commitment to the higher purpose of the survival of Māori;
- Maximising student retention and completion;
- Developing interdepartmental relationships and cooperation, professionally and personally; and
- Assisting staff to live according to *kaupapa* and *tikanga Māori*.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Strategic planning	Participation rate of at least 30 per cent but with wide representation.	Participation rate of at least 30 per cent but with wide representation.	Participation rate of at least 30 per cent but with wide representation.
Expression of kaupapa and tikanga	Ongoing research into living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> . Two publications on living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> in the 21 st century.	Ongoing research into living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> . Two publications on living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> in the 21 st century.	Ongoing research into living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> . Two publications on living according to <i>kaupapa</i> and <i>tikanga Māori</i> in the 21 st century.
Staff training in mentorship	One staff member from each academic discipline.	One staff member from each academic discipline.	One staff member from each academic discipline.
Register of staff mentors	30	40	50

7) *Pūkengatanga – academic excellence:*

- All academic programmes have a clear *mātauranga Māori* basis;
- A significant proportion of research funding and time is targeted towards the preservation and creation of *mātauranga Māori*; and
- *Mātauranga Māori*-based teaching pedagogy, assessment and evaluation are developed and implemented.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Level of tohu	Poupou – 25% Heke – 2% Poumanawa – 60% Postgraduate - 13%	Poupou – 25% Heke – 2% Poumanawa – 60% Postgraduate - 13%	Poupou – 25% Heke – 2% Poumanawa – 60% Postgraduate - 13%

Item	2007	2008	2009
Creative activity	10 staff PhD candidates. Three staff graduate with PhDs. 20 staff Masters candidates. 15 staff graduate with Masters. Two journals; 15 complete sets of Masters papers (including theses), doctoral papers (including dissertations), <i>iwi/hapū</i> and conference papers by staff. Register of creative activity including the names of all academic staff and 80 per cent of other staff; monitoring of, and reporting on, outcomes of creative activity.	10 staff PhD candidates Five staff graduate with PhDs. 20 staff Masters candidates. 15 staff graduate with Masters. Two journals; 15 complete sets of Masters papers (including theses), doctoral papers (including dissertations), <i>iwi/hapū</i> and conference papers by staff. Register of creative activity including the names of all academic staff and 80 per cent of other staff; monitoring of, and reporting on, outcomes of creative activity.	10 staff PhD candidates. Five staff graduate with PhDs. 20 staff Masters candidates. 15 staff graduate with Masters. Two journals; 15 complete sets of Masters papers (including theses), doctoral papers (including dissertations), <i>iwi/hapū</i> and conference papers by staff. Register of creative activity including the names of all academic staff and 80 per cent of other staff; monitoring of, and reporting on, outcomes of creative activity.
Graduations	90 Undergraduate. 20 Postgraduate Diploma. 25 Masters.	120 Undergraduate. 30 Postgraduate Diploma. 40 Masters.	150 Undergraduate. 40 Postgraduate Diploma. 60 Masters.
Mātauranga Māori basis of academic programmes	Reviews of one-third of current offerings completed to assess <i>mātauranga Māori</i> basis and amend accordingly.	Reviews of one-third of current offerings completed to assess <i>mātauranga Māori</i> basis and amend accordingly.	Review of the remaining one-third of all courses.
Mātauranga Māori pedagogy	<i>Mātauranga Māori</i> pedagogy introduced to all Te Whare Mātauranga Māori (TWOR) courses.	<i>Mātauranga Māori</i> pedagogy reflected in all Te Whare Mātauranga Māori (TWOR) courses.	<i>Mātauranga Māori</i> pedagogy introduced to all <i>wānanga</i> courses.

8) *Kaitiakitanga* – protection of treasures:

- Financial management practices consistent with the *kaupapa* of the institution;
- Financial accounting practices consistent with the *kaupapa* of the institution;
- An extensive recording programme to collect and archive *mātauranga Māori*; and
- Contribution to the survival of Māori as a people.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Contribution to survival	Implement healthy lifestyles plan for staff and students.	Assess and review healthy lifestyles plan for staff and students.	Implement reviewed plan.
	Implement Te Ohākī programme review.	Assess and review Te Ohākī programme.	Implement reviewed plan.
Environmental sustainability	Implement, reduce, reuse, recycle plan.	Assess and review reduce, reuse, recycle plan.	Implement reviewed plan.
	Conduct environmental research plans for sustainable solutions.	Publish findings from environmental research plans for sustainable solutions.	Implement findings.
Integrity of TWOR	Implement plan for promotion of degree graduates to employers.	Develop and implement innovative expressions of <i>kaupapa</i> at TWOR.	Develop and implement innovative expressions of <i>kaupapa</i> at TWOR.
Liquidity reserve	Working capital equal to three months' expenditures.	Working capital equal to three months' expenditures.	Working capital equal to three months' expenditures.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Kaupapa-based accounting	<i>Kaupapa</i> -based accounting introduced at <i>wānanga</i> .	<i>Kaupapa</i> -based accounting utilised at <i>wānanga</i> .	<i>Kaupapa</i> -based accounting utilised at <i>wānanga</i> .

9) *Whakapapa* – *acknowledgement of relationships*:

- Developing links between students, staff and *hapū* and *iwi*;
- *Whakapapa* as an analysis and synthesis tool within the research activity of the *wānanga* be promoted; and
- Encouraging research into the Māori worldview.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Percentage of students identified as Māori	Current level maintained.	Current level maintained.	Current level maintained.
Iwi/ hapū connections	80 per cent completion of <i>iwi</i> and <i>hapū</i> studies papers taken by staff.	80 per cent completion of <i>iwi</i> and <i>hapū</i> studies papers taken by staff.	80 per cent completion of <i>iwi</i> and <i>hapū</i> studies papers taken by staff.
Whakapapa research paradigm	Introduction of <i>whakapapa</i> as <i>wānanga</i> research paradigm.	Implementation of <i>whakapapa</i> as standard research base.	Implementation of <i>whakapapa</i> as standard research base.
Māori worldview conference	Findings published and implemented at <i>wānanga</i> .	Second conference on Māori worldview and <i>kaupapa</i> .	Findings published and implemented at <i>wānanga</i> .

10) *Te Reo* – *the Māori language*:

- All staff are provided with the opportunity to become capable speakers and writers of *te reo* through classes and experiential learning;
- The *wānanga* strives to improve its delivery of *reo* studies and the outcomes for *tauirā*;
- Development towards establishing a *reo Māori* campus; and
- Contributing to the survival of *te reo* as a *taonga*.

Item	2007	2008	2009
Māori Language revitalisation	Research top language revitalisation programmes. Report findings and implement at <i>wānanga</i> and ART as case study.	ART implementation and planning for national programme.	Promotion of national revitalisation programme.
Staff development in te reo	40 per cent of all staff engaged in <i>reo</i> studies and completing courses.	60 per cent of all staff engaged in <i>reo</i> studies and completing courses.	80 per cent staff engaged in <i>reo</i> studies and completing course.
Reo Māori campus	Implementation of plan and positive progress. 10 per cent of courses delivered in Māori.	Implementation of plan and positive progress. 20 per cent of courses delivered in Māori.	Implementation of plan and positive progress. 30 per cent of courses delivered in Māori.
Delivery in te reo	60 per cent of all year three courses.	70 per cent of all year three courses.	80 per cent of all year three courses.
Reo Academy	Reo Academy established.		

This *kaupapa* provided the opportunity to forge a new kind of uniquely Māori institution that is distinctive in the tertiary landscape. Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa argues that *kaupapa* and *tikanga* are what shapes its existence, not the law or various western management practices.

Insights of Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa – conclusion

In its 25-year history, the *wānanga* has devoted itself to protecting, sustaining and nurturing *mātauranga Māori* or traditional knowledge. It has developed the following insights as a result of this pursuit:

1. The rediscovery, creation and application of *mātauranga Māori* are of critical importance to Māori as a people;
2. *Mātauranga Māori* is a knowledge continuum that continues to be relevant and applicable to Māori endeavours today;
3. Ensuring the survival of *mātauranga Māori* ensures the survival of Māori as a unique and distinct people;
4. Institutions established and administered by Māori are well placed to contribute to *mātauranga Māori* as they are devoted as well as indigenous;
5. A *tikanga Māori* environment is the most appropriate environment for the development of *mātauranga Māori*;
6. *Mātauranga Māori* includes methods of analysis, Te Ako, Te Pupuri me Te Waihanga;
7. *Tikanga Māori* institutions are less inclined to suffer from divided attention and opposing priorities, as they are focused on Māori and *mātauranga Māori*; and
8. Measurements and indicators of the well-being of our traditional knowledge should be drawn from the traditional knowledge itself.

Bibliography

Kaupapa and Tikanga, unpublished paper 2000
Royal, T.A. (2002)
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Charter 2003
Te Wānanga-o-Raukawa Profile 2005-2009

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: A COMPILATION OF INDICATORS OF WELL-BEING FROM THE CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Jenny Tucker

The following indicators of indigenous well-being were identified by Conference presenters as being of particular importance. These indicators were extracted from the Conference papers by Jenny Tucker who then involved a group of Māori in her local Hokianga community to help collate the list and group the items.

Valuing and actively working with the indigenous world-view is critical for improving and sustaining the well-being of indigenous peoples. *Atua*, the Māori world-view which understands that all living things are interconnected, is a fundamentally important concept for Māori communities, and for researchers attempting to improve the well-being of those communities. Within this world-view are incorporated other key understandings, specifically *whenua* (the natural world), *tangata* and *tikanga Māori*. Particular traditional understandings and customs which this conference identified as important in enhancing indigenous well-being include *kotahitanga*, *whanaungatanga* and *maumahara*. Methods for strengthening these understandings within communities include *Mātauranga*; *whakamana*; and *rawa*.

Many speakers also discussed the need for research protocols which specifically address the need for indigenous communities to be involved in any research project, at the planning stages, in the conduct of the research, and in interpretation and analysis of the research results. All speakers agreed – and many gave specific examples to demonstrate – that indigenous well-being and empowerment come from full participation, and from application of traditional knowledge to contemporary situations.

The following key points made by a succession of speakers at this conference are organised into the categories of *Atua*, Research Protocols, Traditional Knowledge and Contemporary Innovation, Participation and Empowerment.

Indicators of well-being

Atua: Māori world-view of interconnection with all living things

- For Māori people, perceptions of ‘wellness’ incorporate a holistic philosophy rather than isolated concepts.
- In the Māori world-view, the Creation stories lie at the heart of Māori, upholding their well-being in the endeavour for knowledge.
- Indigenous well-being is firmly culturally based and exists through a continuation of cultural knowledges and practices. Our cultural identity is nurtured and sustained by our past.
- Knowledge is embedded in cultural communities, and lies also within each member of that community. The answers are within us, all we need to do is reach out and remember them.
- Self reflection is a key component for the individual because it should facilitate understanding of the self, and enhance the overall process of problem solving.
- We are well aware that our emotions, beliefs, attitudes and values shape the way we handle problems.

- Your *whānau* reflects who you are. They give you confidence, they feed you and shelter you. Your *whānau* is people who come together to support each other, anyone you consider close to you, people all around you who have the ability to help you in every way.
- Well-being is enhanced when Māori practices and values are promoted in contemporary spaces, and when Māori *maumahara* by linking the past, present and the future.
- Māori have their own unique concepts of health. Our notion of care, to provide well-being for all our community including young people and the elderly, includes being in relationship with the gods, god, spirits, nature, with each other and, as a consequence in true relationship with ourselves.
- The reciprocal responsibility within *whānau* relationships is to care, respect, uphold the dignity, lead and direct the aspirations, needs and visions of *whānau*.
- There is a holistic dimension to an indigenous Māori notion of elderly care. “It is about us not me”.
- Māori people pride ourselves on being inclusive and encompassing all people.
- The retention and transmission of tribal history which is critical for the formation of cultural identity, knowledge, values and virtues of the collective is a prime function of the *iwi*, *hapū* and *whānau*. It is linked to the affirmation of tribal identity.
- Our world-view is described in our oral literature and a set of *kaupapa* are drawn from the world-view of the oral literature, on which the culture is founded.
- Māori oral tradition prioritises events and narratives of interest to Māori communities. Prior to European contact, *whānau* and *hapū* had developed highly specialised oral systems and processes for the retention and transmission of knowledge and history.
- Oral history records and contributes to our understanding of our tribal identity. Strengthening our systems and processes that retain, transmit and create oral history resources that contributes to the construction of a robust internal contemporary tribal identity.
- The prime function of oral tribal history is *maumahara*. This provides a foundation for *mōhiotanga* and *māramatanga*; contributing to the formation of our tribal identity.
- *Mōku te Ao* is our sacred right to knowledge, knowledge exploration and growth. The right to knowledge and the consciousness it brings is therefore located as a sacred right. The place of traditional knowledge within our consciousness is thus also central to our well-being.
- Knowing where we come from and learning and retelling our collective narratives are critical to the sense of belonging, and therefore the well-being, of Māori people.
- *Mātauranga Māori* is a term for methods by which this knowledge tradition is perpetuated and advanced. *Mātauranga Māori* endures because it remains relevant to our experiences.
- Māori well-being is achieved when the *whakapapa* and continuity of the *mātauranga* are intact, and when researchers and policy workers are engaged in research projects that contribute to the rediscovery, maintenance and creation of *mātauranga Māori* and its application today.

- Well-being is attained when *mātauranga* is maintained, enhanced and disseminated through teaching and research that encourages independence of thought and the application of *mātauranga*.
- If one is able to learn how to solve problems successfully in a well-balanced way and to be stable with a good measure of control in the variable world(s), then well-being should emerge. Such attainments are enhanced by qualities of heart, mind, voice and touch.
- The well-being of elderly Māori is enhanced when they are cared for by Māori, and when younger people collaborate with others in caring for older people.
- We can also affirm that right thinking and wisdom are vital to caring for each other.
- The definition of *Whāriki* is a Māori woven flax mat; it applies to Māori knowledge that reflects Māori traditions and concepts.
- The intention of *Te Whāriki* is its holistic approach towards children's development and learning, which encompasses the physical, spiritual and emotional dimensions.
- Research into traditional materials and methods improves the management of valued resources such as weaving plants. A particular project which facilitates weavers' access to needed natural materials also promotes a deeper understanding of the *tikanga* and *mātauranga* pertaining to the *kaitiakitanga* of weaving plants.
- We recognise that weaving is linked across time and space, from *ngā tūpuna* and must be perpetuated for *ngā mokopuna*.
- The health of the environment reflects the health of the people.
- Māori well-being is achieved when Māori are economically equipped and ready to venture out as citizens of the world.
- Important factors in the continuing improvements in Māori well-being include the establishment of *wānanga* and Māori research centres which focus particularly on Māori knowledge application and growth within the world, and knowledge exchange with others across the globe.
- Aboriginal people working in the context of health also have come to recognise an important, special relationship between the health of indigenous people and well-being.
- Aboriginal women elders are striving to 'grow up' their people strong in and proud of their unique indigenous culture.
- Women elders of Wirrimanu are the cultural custodians, teachers, healers and law women for their people. They know that culture is vital to their people's survival and well-being – physical, psychological, spiritual.
- When the sacred is revealed, the imagination is infused with creative power.
- The Wirrimanu elders witnessed their grandchildren and great grandchildren becoming increasingly interested in their stories and memories, and in learning how to dance and hunt – and this gave them (the elders) an immense sense of achievement.

- *Tikanga*: We have rediscovered, created and applied *mātauranga Māori*, and we have come to see that *kaupapa* and *tikanga Māori* are as relevant and applicable to the Māori situation now as in the past.
- The people are our wealth: our well-being depends on our people being able to develop, and our culture and knowledge to be retained.
- *Te reo* is a *taonga*.
- The *marae* is our principal home: Well-being depends on the *marae* being maintained and respected.
- All *tikanga* purporting to be Māori can find their bases in *kaupapa*.
- The *Kaupapa* examples of associated *tikanga* and indicators are:
manaakitanga – *mana* enhancing behaviour
rangatiratanga – expressing the attributes of a chief
whanaungatanga – kinship and interdependence
kotahitanga – unity
wairuatanga – spirituality
ūkaipotanga – nurturing environment
pūkengatanga – academic excellence
kaitiakitanga – protection of treasures
whakapapa – acknowledgement of relationships
te reo Māori – Māori language

Research protocols

- Indigenous voices are likely to be privileged when indigenous people collaborate on research. Indigenous empowerment and control of research projects should be an integral part of any research project involving indigenous communities.
- The need for culturally appropriate processes for transferring information and promoting for engagement is essential.
- Ownership is the way to creating a feeling of self worth, pride and dignity in Māori communities, thus enhancing well-being.
- Well-being is enhanced when Māori communities being researched participate, to drive the development of health information and to ensure that health planning and evaluation for Māori communities is relevant and meaningful.
- *Mana tangata* demands that researchers adhere to principles of respect, integrity and dignity in their dealings with *tangata whenua*.
- *Mana*-based protocols reinforce the importance of specifying throughout the world. The *mana*-based framework affirms and incorporates current ethical standards of research which insist on research being quality- and safety-assured prior to implementation.
- Health indicators that are relevant at a local community level, and accessible information systems, are essential for optimal local planning and decision-making among Primary Health Organisations and Māori health providers.
- Research methods which advocate Māori principles, systems and processes in turn facilitate the achievement of tribal aspirations and well-being.

- *Kaupapa Māori* is a method that has been created as a resistance to the mainstream research processes to create a space for Māori research to occur.
- *Kotahitanga* is about building safe spaces and creating relationships with *rangatahi* so that they feel empowered to have their voices heard.
- Well-being comes from a human rights based approach to development which, for indigenous peoples, is the framework that best suits their realities and their visions of development with identity.
- This Conference feeling was that a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples would be an instrument of great value to advance the rights and aspirations of the world's indigenous peoples.
- There will be a group of indigenous representatives lobbying the members of the Human Rights Council to endorse this so that by the end of the year we will already have a Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Traditional knowledge and contemporary innovation

- Innovation can be a means of reinvigorating foundational values and cultural constructs.
- Reclamation of indigenous traditions of innovation is essential to confidently navigating the future and honouring our *tīpuna*.
- Traditions of innovation within the colonial past are something we need to centralise in our collective cultural memory in order to find ways of ensuring the well-being of the values underlying our traditions in the (de)colonial future, whatever forms they may take.
- A small but important way of rising to the challenge of centralising is to take it literally and rise up off your seat and share the *kōrero* of hybrid *taonga* in contexts such as *hui*, conferences – or in publications such as this.
- Māori retain a strong oral tradition that connects people, places and events. Reclamation of these systems and processes is part of the political movement to reclaim and develop cultural tools, processes and practices.
- Indigenous well-being improves when existing systems are strengthened, and new opportunities are created for knowledge retention and transmission using contemporary mediums.
- In mobilised communities, an opportunity to express practices and values of importance such as *kotahitanga*, *whanaungatanga* and *maumahara* is a vital step towards strengthening Māori knowledge systems and processes.
- Today Māori are increasingly utilising written, visual and aural mediums to record the past. Participation brings empowerment. An oral history project to collect date mobilised the community.
- Māori well-being is enhanced again when *rangatahi Māori* feel comfortable to speak openly about their issues and the inclusion of traditional practices.

- Traditional knowledges are apparent in contemporary settings with regard to the environment.
- The ability and willingness to adapt the skills, materials and ideologies of a cultural legacy to changing environmental circumstances can demonstrate autonomy over the knowledge and resource bases required to live by and pass on traditions.

Participation

- We aim to develop knowledge, capability and capacity, through programmes of research and training, to create change in the Māori and wider communities. Such change aims to fulfil the vision of achieving full participation in society and the economy.
- Well-being is achieved when we are able to emphasise the richness and diversity of Māori people.
- Te Wānanga-O-Raukawa is of the view that *mātauranga Māori* will be protected, sustained and nurtured by institutions, organisations and processes that are devoted to it, that are indigenous to it.
- Currently Māori have a higher participation rate in tertiary education than any other ethnic group in Aotearoa. It is the Māori right to engage in tertiary education in a way in which we, ourselves, can determine our future.
- Māori well-being in tertiary education will come from tertiary education leadership that is accountable to Māori communities; strong Māori staff profiles to ensure Māori are fully represented in places of authority and decision-making; and quality programmes that recognise *Te Ao Māori*, including research programmes which both apply traditional knowledge and research traditional knowledge.
- Māori well-being in tertiary education will be enhanced by greater participation by Māori across a wider range of disciplines and at higher level qualifications; and emphasis on collaboration between providers and *iwi*, to ensure that the expectations of *iwi*, including their cultural standards regarding traditional knowledge, are being met in tertiary education.

Empowerment

- The new Māori Potential Framework, developed by the Ministry for Māori Development Te Puni Kōkiri, emphasises the importance of *Mātauranga*, the building of knowledge and skills; *Whakamana*, the strengthening of leadership and decision making; and *Rawa*, the development and use of resources.
- Individuals and collections of individuals who are trained, knowledgeable and capable can provide transformative leadership as a matter of course. From this perspective, transformations can be seen as instances of individual or collective problem-solving, with leadership being distributed in the same manner.
- Any individual or group can lead simply by recognising that there is a problem to be addressed and then by going ahead and doing so.
- A sense of well-being seems to emerge naturally from successful problem-solving as well as from being ‘in tune’ with the key parts of one’s environment.
- A system desires to effect change, it exhibits goal-directed behaviour and uses a problem-solving process.

- Māori participation in design and implementation of research has sparked a definite and growing movement of self-help and co-operation.
- The *tikanga* principle of *mana motuhake* is the fundamental right and responsibility of *whānau*, *hapū* and *iwi* to have the authority of the social political environmental, health and economic sustainable development of their traditional lands and resources.

APPENDIX II: COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Dr Joseph Te Rito

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga was very keen to involve Māori communities and their representatives as well as academics from the indigenous world, for this, its second international indigenous conference. This was a deliberate strategy to ensure that a broad spectrum of ideas was being fed into the Conference – from the flax roots level through to the ivory towers of academia.

Consequently, as with the previous conference, there was a high focus on communities. In an effort to further strengthen the importance placed on Māori communities, some of our keynote speakers from overseas also visited Māori communities.

Such visits were made particularly by the following keynote speakers: Karina Walters, Diery Seck, Sylvia Marcos, Erykah Kyle and Zohl de Ishtar. They were welcomed at Ōrākei Marae on arrival and from there visited other places as individuals i.e. Whakatāne and Wanganui.

The visit to Wanganui by Karina Walters led to great interest in the Conference from that community, in particular by six *kuiā* (elderly women) who we then assisted with fees and accommodation to enable them to attend the Conference. All in all, there was a strong presence of *kuiā* at the Conference, with a smaller representation of *koroua* (elderly men).

Community groups

Thirteen community groups were invited to attend the Conference. Prior to the Conference, Ngā Pae o Te Māramatanga held a *hui* of these groups at The University of Auckland in order to brief them and prepare them for the Conference. Travel for one person from each group to attend this *hui* was sponsored by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga. A payment was paid to the groups after this meeting to enable the groups to hold *hui* in their own regions with the idea of reporting to the Conference on indicators of well-being as perceived by them. Their reports were presented in 20 minute concurrent sessions at the Conference. The sessions were well-attended. Unfortunately we do not have a comprehensive set of summaries of these sessions so we have not included any of them as too much information was missing.

Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga covered the registration fee for two members from each group; as well as their travel and their accommodation for the three days of the Conference.

The community groups involved with the Conference were from across the country and included: Awarua Research and Development (did not attend the actual Conference); He Oranga mō ngā Uri Tuku Iho Trust; Kahutia; Karanga Ora Inc (did not make a presentation); Ngāti Hē, Ngāi Te Ahi Kaumātua/Hauora; Ngāti Whātua o Ōrākei Corporate; Te Amorangi Women's Support Group; Te Atawhai o te Ao; Te Wānanga o Rangīāniwaniwa; Te Kupenga Hauora; Te Rūnanga o Ngāti Awa; Wahine Whānau Whenua; and Waiōhau.

We particularly acknowledge the Ministry of Health and Te Puni Kōkiri for their generous sponsorship which was targeted at supporting community involvement and participation in the Conference.

Community scholarships

Some 45 people from Māori communities across the country were awarded Community Scholarships by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga which covered their registration fees.

We particularly acknowledge the Bio-ethics Council, who along with Te Puni Kōkiri and the Ministry of Health, sponsored individuals in the community to attend through this scholarship.

Satellite meetings

Running parallel to the community *hui* were three satellite meetings held prior to the Conference.

A satellite meeting, entitled “The Well-being of Language Mirrors the Well-being of the People: Intergenerational Transmission – The Challenge” was hosted by the Te Kōhanga Reo National Trust Board. The meeting discussed and considered the survival and strength of native languages as an indicator of well-being for indigenous peoples. The focus was on the role of elders in intergenerational transmission of indigenous languages. The aims included the sharing of ideas on language revitalisation, maintenance and spread; and the networking and fostering of international bonds on a spiritual, practical and academic level. Apart from Māori, the gathering attracted indigenous visitors from overseas, particularly from Australia, Hawai’i and North America.

Another satellite meeting was held by the Gambian Economic and Social Development Research Institute (GESDRI). Gambia is a very small nation in western Africa and we are extremely grateful for the declaration they provided for the Conference. Given below is a brief extract from the declaration:

“ that traditional knowledge is a resource that can help solve local problems, it is a means of growing more and better food, a source of maintaining healthy and happier lives, a source of sharing wealth preventing conflict and of managing local affairs, has helped to reduce child mortality and maternal mortality, and helped men to understand the impact of female circumcision on women. Studying, understanding and building on Gambian traditional knowledge will reduce the failures of modern development approaches and increase sustainability and well-being.”

A third satellite meeting was held in Toronto Canada to discuss the impact of HIV/AIDS and ways of dealing with challenges posed by the epidemic. The following Charter was put forth by the group:

The Toronto Charter

Indigenous peoples' action plan on HIV/AIDS 2006

Preamble

The Toronto Charter is a call to action directed at people who influence and make decisions about the provision of HIV/AIDS services for Indigenous Peoples around the world.

The Toronto Charter was developed and formulated by Indigenous Peoples throughout the world.

The Toronto Charter is intended to support agencies working in HIV/AIDS to develop programmes that will make a real difference to Indigenous Peoples and the communities from which they come.

Key principles

Acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples have shared experiences relating to the AIDS epidemic and its impacts on our communities.

Affirm that the AIDS epidemic continues to have a devastating effect on our communities.

Acknowledge that Indigenous Peoples have inherent rights which guarantee them good health and well-being.

Acknowledge that the changing patterns of the HIV/AIDS epidemic are placing Indigenous Peoples at increased risk of HIV infection.

Recognise that Indigenous Peoples have the right to determine their own health priorities.

Reaffirm that Indigenous Peoples have the right to control all aspects of their lives, including their health.

HIV/AIDS and indigenous peoples

Three decades into the HIV/AIDS epidemic Indigenous Peoples are adversely affected by this epidemic.

The epidemic is having a profound effect on families and communities from which we come.

In some countries, Indigenous Peoples have disproportionately higher rates of HIV infection than non-Indigenous people.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on Indigenous Peoples is compounded by a range of socio-cultural factors that place Indigenous Peoples at increased risk of HIV/AIDS.

It is essential that HIV/AIDS data on Indigenous Peoples be collected, analysed and reported in a manner that is respectful of the needs of Indigenous Peoples as identified by Indigenous Peoples themselves.

Right to health and well-being

Indigenous Peoples have a holistic view of health which includes physical, social, mental, emotional and spiritual dimensions all of which need to be considered and emphasised as a basis for defining approaches to Indigenous Peoples' health.

Indigenous Peoples have the right to a state of health that is at least equal to that of other people.

Governments are responsible for ensuring equitable access to health services and equitable health outcomes for all citizens.

Governments must be committed to consulting with Indigenous Peoples in order to ensure that health programmes meet the needs of Indigenous Peoples.

Health and social programmes for Indigenous Peoples must provide culturally appropriate service delivery. Programmes need to incorporate and integrate traditional healers and systems where appropriate.

Indigenous Peoples must be able to have access to their own languages in the provision of health and social services.

Health and social programmes must disseminate and communicate information about the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS that is relative to the reality in which Indigenous Peoples live.

Recommendations

Ensure the central participation of Indigenous Peoples in all programmes related to the prevention of HIV and programmes for the care and support of Indigenous Peoples living with HIV/AIDS.

Provide adequate resources to Indigenous Peoples to design, develop and implement HIV/AIDS programmes.

Increase current resources so that Indigenous communities can respond in a timely and effective way to the demands placed on communities by the AIDS epidemic.

Ensure the process of participation of Indigenous Peoples in United Nations forums is strengthened so their views are fairly represented.

Incorporate this Charter in its entirety in all policy pertaining to Indigenous Peoples and HIV/AIDS.

Monitor and take action against any States whose persistent policies and activities fail to acknowledge and support the integration of this Charter into State policies relating to HIV/AIDS.

<p>The Toronto Charter is an initiative of Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga and the Planning Committee of the International Indigenous Peoples' Satellite at the 16th International AIDS Conference, 2006, Toronto. It has been endorsed by Indigenous Peoples around the world.</p>

APPENDIX III: GLOSSARY

Māori

<i>aho</i>	weft row in weaving
<i>ākonga</i>	learner, student
<i>ara moana</i>	ocean path
<i>aroha</i>	love, understanding, nurturing, compassion
<i>atua</i>	gods, supernatural beings, demon, ghost; also refers to a Māori world-view of interconnection with all living things that have an infinite life force and origin through genealogy to the spiritual world
<i>atua kaitiaki</i>	gods, guardians of the supernatural world; can also refer to Papatūānuku's children e.g. Tāne – God of the forest; Tāwhirimātea – God of the winds, etc.
<i>awa</i>	river
<i>awhi</i>	support, embrace, cherish
<i>haka</i>	fierce rhythmical Māori dance
<i>hana</i>	a garment of flax smeared with red ochre
<i>hapū</i>	sub-tribe(s) made up of a collective of families that share a common ancestor e.g. Ngāti Hāmua is a collective of family lines that can all trace back to the ancestor, Hāmua
<i>harakeke</i>	the general name for New Zealand flax
<i>hauora</i>	health and well-being
<i>heke</i>	migration
<i>hinengaro</i>	the mind; mental state of mind
<i>hui</i>	meeting, gathering; to come together
<i>hui whakakaupapa</i>	consultative meeting; to come together to finalise matters
<i>inanga</i>	the adult of the minnow; fry of the smelt
<i>ira atua</i>	supernatural gods
<i>ira tangata</i>	of mortals; life principle
<i>iwi</i>	tribe, a collective of sub-tribes who share a common ancestor e.g. Rangitāne iwi are a collection of many interrelated sub-tribes
<i>kahu-huruhuru</i>	feather cloak
<i>kahu-korowai</i>	cloak adorned with rolled life principle tags
<i>kahu-kura</i>	red feather cloak
<i>kahu-wūru</i>	cloak incorporating wool fibre
<i>kai</i>	food
<i>kai awa</i>	food sourced from rivers
<i>kaiāwhina</i>	support personnel, helper(s)
<i>kaingākau</i>	to value, love, prize dearly
<i>kairaranga</i>	weaver(s)
<i>kaitiaki</i>	guardian, guardianship
<i>kaitiakitanga</i>	the act of guardianship; protection of property and treasures
<i>kaitūhono</i>	co-ordinator
<i>kākā</i>	native parrot
<i>kākahu/kahu</i>	cloak, garment
<i>kākā kura</i>	red feathered parrot
<i>kanohi kitea</i>	visit, keep in touch, be present
<i>karakia</i>	prayer, incantations
<i>kaumātua</i>	elder(s)
<i>kaunihera kaumātua</i>	council of elders
<i>kaupapa</i>	topic; design, theme; process
<i>kaupapa here</i>	guiding principles, policies and procedures
<i>Kaupapa Māori</i>	Māori philosophies and methodologies
<i>kawa</i>	protocol
<i>kawau</i>	shag

<i>kete</i>	woven basket made from flax fibre
<i>kēwai</i>	fresh water crayfish
<i>kia ora</i>	hello
<i>kiekie</i>	a climbing plant used in weaving
<i>kiwi</i>	native bird of Aotearoa
<i>koha</i>	an offering, contribution, gift, keepsake
<i>kōhanga</i>	natural habitat, nest
<i>kōkopu</i>	fresh water fish
<i>kōkōwai</i>	red ochre
<i>kopu</i>	species of limpet
<i>kōrero</i>	narrative, talk, discussion
<i>kōrero whakaaetanga</i>	constructive conversation(s), assent/agree
<i>koroua</i>	male elder
<i>korowai</i>	traditional feathered cloak
<i>kotahitanga</i>	solidarity, unity; providing openness, inclusiveness and togetherness
<i>kuia</i>	female elder
<i>kūmara</i>	sweet potato
<i>kura</i>	school; red; precious
<i>kuta</i>	a rush plant
<i>mahi whakaaro</i>	Māori understanding, providing a context for values, change and systems that sustain Māori existence
<i>mahinga kai</i>	cultivation, plantation of crops
<i>mākutu</i>	curse
<i>mamae</i>	pain, hurt
<i>mana</i>	authority, influence, integrity
<i>māna</i>	for him/her
<i>mana ake</i>	the uniqueness of each individual and family
<i>mana atua</i>	spiritual integrity
<i>mana motuhake</i>	autonomous authority, independence
<i>mana tangata</i>	human dignity
<i>mana whenua</i>	authority over land and natural resources, tribal estates
<i>manaaki</i>	support, hospitality, mana-enhancing behaviour
<i>manaakitanga</i>	caring
<i>manu</i>	bird(s)
<i>manu tukutuku</i>	Māori kite
<i>marae</i>	focal meeting place of kinship groups
<i>māramatanga</i>	state of understanding, enlightenment
<i>matamata</i>	source
<i>Matariki</i>	Māori new year
<i>matau</i>	fish hook
<i>mātauranga</i>	knowledge; the building of knowledge and skills
<i>mātauranga Kurī</i>	traditional knowledge of Ngāti Kurī
<i>mātauranga Māori</i>	traditional Māori knowledge
<i>mātauranga taketake</i>	Māori indigenous knowledge
<i>mātiro whakamua</i>	to look to the future
<i>maumahara</i>	remember; the act of remembrance
<i>maunga</i>	mountain
<i>mauri</i>	life source; life force
<i>mirimiri</i>	massage
<i>moana</i>	ocean
<i>mōhiotanga</i>	knowing
<i>mokopuna</i>	grandchild
<i>mōteatea</i>	lament; poetry
<i>muka</i>	fibre extracted from flax
<i>namu</i>	sandfly
<i>ngā mokopuna</i>	the grandchildren, future generations

<i>ngā poropiti</i>	the prophets/prophecies
<i>ngahere</i>	forest
<i>ngaio</i>	phormium tenax - flax
<i>ngārara</i>	insect(s)
<i>noa</i>	free from restriction
<i>nohopuku</i>	meditation; remain silent; fast
<i>nohotahi</i>	to sit/stay together
<i>ōritenga</i>	equality
<i>pakahā</i>	sea bird
<i>pakeke</i>	adult, senior
<i>panapana</i>	variety of watercress
<i>pānui</i>	newsletter, an announcement, report, statement
<i>pātikitiki</i>	a weaving pattern
<i>pīngao</i>	a sand dune plant used for weaving
<i>pito</i>	umbilical cord
<i>pōhā</i>	food storage container
<i>pōhoi</i>	ear ornament of feathers
<i>pōrangī</i>	crazy, irrational, foolish
<i>pōua</i>	Ngāi/Kāi Tahu dialectual term for an esteemed male elder
<i>pōuri</i>	sad, grief stricken; dark
<i>pōwhiri</i>	ceremonial welcome
<i>pūhā</i>	sow thistle
<i>pūkengatanga</i>	skilled; academic excellence
<i>rāhui</i>	a prohibition or temporary ban instituted to a particular area
<i>rakahau</i>	dialectual Ngāi/Kāi Tahu: research, seek, search out, pursue
<i>rangahau</i>	research, seek, search out, pursue
<i>rangatahi</i>	youth
<i>rangatira</i>	chief
<i>rangatiratanga</i>	self determination
<i>raupatu</i>	land confiscation
<i>raupō</i>	a bulrush
<i>rawa</i>	belongings, possessions, resources
<i>reo</i>	language
<i>ro</i>	stick insect(s); praying mantis
<i>rohe</i>	area, regions, boundaries
<i>rohe iwi</i>	tribal areas
<i>rongoā</i>	medicine
<i>rūnaka</i>	dialectual Ngāi/Kāi Tahu: council, assembly, caucus
<i>rūnanga</i>	council, assembly, caucus
<i>taha tinana</i>	physical well-being
<i>taki</i>	challenge
<i>takiwā</i>	region, area
<i>tangata</i>	man
<i>tangata whenua</i>	indigenous people
<i>tangihanga</i>	mourning ritual, bereavement
<i>tāniko</i>	ornamental border in weaving
<i>taonga</i>	treasure; highly prized
<i>taonga tuku iho</i>	cultural resources passed down by ancestors through the generations
<i>tapu</i>	sacrosanct, prohibited, inaccessible; restriction, protection
<i>tarāpunga</i>	gull
<i>tauirā</i>	student(s)
<i>tāua</i>	Ngāi Tahu dialectual term for an esteemed female elder
<i>te ako</i>	the learning
<i>te moana</i>	the sea
<i>te ngahere</i>	the forest
<i>te puāwaitanga</i>	the blossoming

<i>te pupuri</i>	the protection
<i>te reo</i>	the language
<i>te reo Māori</i>	the Māori language
<i>te taha hinengaro</i>	emotional well-being and state of mind
<i>te taha tinana</i>	the body or physical self
<i>te taha wairua</i>	spirituality
<i>te taha whānau</i>	family and community
<i>te waihanga</i>	creation and nurturing
<i>tika</i>	right, just
<i>tikanga</i>	customs and practices; appropriate guidelines
<i>tikanga Māori</i>	Māori customs and practices
<i>tīkumu</i>	mountain daisy
<i>tī kōuka</i>	cabbage tree
<i>tinana</i>	physical body
<i>tino rangatahitanga</i>	a hybrid term which refers to the essence of youth and their potential to actively participate in the world
<i>tino rangatiratanga</i>	sovereignty, absolute autonomy
<i>tipu</i>	grow/to grow; plant(s)
<i>tīpuna</i>	ancestors
<i>tītī</i>	muttonbird
<i>tohunga</i>	learned, skilled holders of cultural knowledge; priests
<i>tōī</i>	broad-leaved cabbage tree
<i>tuatara</i>	lizard
<i>tūmanako</i>	hopes, aspirations
<i>tuna</i>	eel
<i>tūpuna</i>	ancestors
<i>tūrangawaewae</i>	a place where one has the right to stand and be heard; a footstool of knowledge belonging to a particular region
<i>tū rangatira</i>	to stand with integrity
<i>ūkaipōtanga</i>	nurturing environment
<i>upoko</i>	Ngāi/Kāi Tahu dialectual term for chief or leader; head
<i>urupā</i>	burial ground
<i>waeroa</i>	mosquito
<i>wāhi tapu</i>	sacred sites
<i>wahine Māori</i>	Māori woman
<i>wāhine Māori</i>	Māori women
<i>waiata</i>	song
<i>waihanga</i>	create
<i>waiora</i>	total well-being
<i>waka</i>	canoe(s), but it also refers to the ancestral migrations or the original migrations of the first Māori that arrived in Aotearoa. Therefore, waka can also refer to a genealogical connection between several tribes i.e. the Kurahaupo waka is a collection of several tribes including Ngāi Tara, Rangitāne, Muaupoko and many others
<i>wānanga</i>	learning place, tertiary institute, conscious thought-processing and discussion
<i>wairua</i>	spirit, spirituality
<i>wairuatanga</i>	spirituality, spiritual state of being
<i>whai whakaaro</i>	literally; “to follow the thought”; reverent, mindful, respectful
<i>whakamana</i>	the strengthening of leadership and decision-making
<i>whakamāramatanga</i>	definition, clarification
<i>whakapapa</i>	genealogy or the art of tracing ones familial linkages back to a common ancestor. An integral part of Māori culture with many able to trace their lineage back 25 or more generations

<i>whakapapa-ranga</i>	hybrid term that refers to the layers and generations of all life and establishes the interrelationships represented within a Māori worldview
<i>whakataukī</i>	proverb(s), saying(s)
<i>whākinga</i>	acknowledgements
<i>whāmere</i>	nuclear family unit
<i>whānau</i>	family; extended family
<i>whānau ora</i>	health or well-being of the family
<i>whanaunga</i>	relative(s), kin
<i>whanaungatanga</i>	relationships, kinship; family and familiarity
<i>whare wānanga</i>	traditional house of higher learning
<i>wharenui</i>	meeting house
<i>whāriki</i>	flax woven mat
<i>whatu</i>	a weaving technique which uses finger-twined threads
<i>whatumana</i>	seat of emotions; the open and healthy expressions of emotions
<i>wheke</i>	octopus
<i>whenu</i>	warp rows in weaving
<i>whenua</i>	land; the natural world

Proverbs, phrases and titles

Proverbs	
<i>E kore au e ngaro; he kākano i ruia mai i Rangīātea.</i>	I shall never be lost; a seed broadcast from Rangīātea.
<i>Ka mahi koe i te whare o te tieke.</i>	You are making a saddleback's nest. The saddleback nests in the kiekie. (The saying is applied to one making a kiekie cloak.)
Phrases	
<i>kanohi ki te taki</i>	facing the challenge
<i>Kia mau koe ki ngā mahi ā ōu tīpuna!</i>	Hold firmly to the practices of your ancestors!
<i>Kia ora koutou.</i>	Hello everyone.
<i>Ki te whaiāo, ki te ao mārama, tihei mauri ora!</i>	Into daylight, into the world of light, to life itself!
<i>ngā tikanga o te ako</i>	teaching methods
<i>ngā tikanga o te pupuri</i>	methods of preservation
<i>ngā tikanga o te waihanga</i>	methods of knowledge creation
<i>te hā o koro mā o kui mā</i>	the breath of life of our forebears
<i>Te Ao Māori</i>	Māori world/worldview
<i>Te Ao Mārama</i>	The World of Light, the World of Knowing, the World of Comprehended Creation

Aboriginal

<i>grog</i>	alcohol
<i>kamina</i>	older girls
<i>kartiya</i>	whitefellas: white colonisers of Australia
<i>kultja kuurla</i>	culture school
<i>kutjungka</i>	in one, together
<i>lamparnlamparnpa</i>	babies and preschool children
<i>lungaparni</i>	people with no ears
<i>luurn</i>	ancestral kingfisher bird
<i>nangala kutjarra</i>	two Nangala: ancestral sisters who formed the land during the Dreaming (Genesis-era)
<i>nintipuka</i>	the clever ones
<i>tarruku</i>	sacred ritual items, ceremonial equipment
<i>tilitja</i>	traditional/contemporary worker-role during ceremonies, rituals and customs
<i>tjaatjurra</i>	women's healing
<i>tjiitji</i>	school children
<i>tjilimi</i>	women's camp or ritual space
<i>tjukurrpa</i>	the Dreaming (Genesis-era). Cosmology: Indigenous understanding of the laws of the Universe.
<i>whitefellas</i>	white colonisers of Australia
<i>yampirri</i>	men's camp or ritual space
<i>yawulyu</i>	women's Law/ spirituality
<i>yiwarra tjukurtjanu</i>	dreaming tracks

