

CALLING FORTH OUR PASTS, CITING OUR FUTURES

An envisioning of a Kaupapa Māori citational practice

*Hana Burgess**
Donna Cormack[†]
Papaarangi Reid[‡]

Abstract

This paper explores how we, three wāhine Māori, are moving through citational practice—who, how, and why we cite. Stemming from a refusal to recirculate settler colonial ideologies in doctoral research, we consider what it means to cite as Māori. In centring whakapapa, we conceptualise citations as extensions of our relational world and as a way we can acknowledge and nurture the intergenerational relationships that constitute who we are, and how we come to know. Citation is an expression of whanaungatanga. We draw from Kaupapa Māori and think alongside research ethics offered by Moana Jackson to envision a Kaupapa Māori citational practice, one that calls forth past and future generations—citing the futures we desire.

Keywords

Kaupapa Māori, Indigenous, citation, citational practice, refusal

Introduction

This paper explores how we, three wāhine Māori, are moving through citational practice—who, how, and why we cite. Hana (Ngāpuhi, Te Roroa, Te Ātihaunui a Pāpāurangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa) (she/her) is doing a PhD in Māori health, with supervision from Donna (Kāi Tahu, Kāti Māmoe) (she/her) and Papaarangi (Te Rarawa) (she/her); we are Kaupapa Māori researchers and teachers

currently working in a Māori health department and academic unit within a medical and health sciences faculty of a university. Our perspectives, and our different entry points into Kaupapa Māori, weave together as we navigate institutional conventions and expectations around doctoral research. We research and teach to contribute to futures where, through Māori ways of being, knowing, and doing, our people can be well.

* Ngāpuhi, Te Roroa, Te Ātihaunui a Pāpāurangi, Ngāti Tūwharetoa. Doctoral Candidate, Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. Email: hana.burgess@auckland.ac.nz

[†] Kāti Māmoe, Kāti Māmoe. Associate Professor, Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

[‡] Te Rarawa. Professor, Tumuaki, Te Kupenga Hauora Māori, Faculty of Medical and Health Sciences, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand.

Like many others, we have each been engaging in critical discussions around citation for essentially as long as we have been researchers and teachers. We are particularly influenced by the decolonial work of Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Moana Jackson. We are also deeply inspired by the critical discussions around citation happening internationally; namely, the work of Sara Ahmed (2013, 2017), the Cite Black Women campaign founded by Christen A. Smith (<https://www.citeblackwomencollective.org>), and the ideas of Tao Leigh Goffe (<https://twitter.com/taoleighgoffe>) frequently shared on their Twitter.

This paper has come together through Hana's refusal to cite settler colonial ideologies in her PhD studies, which is expected from a doctoral thesis coming out of Māori health and currently located in the discipline of public health. This refusal has opened up a space where together we can think critically through citational practice to deeply consider who, how, and why we cite. This means not only considering where our boundaries lie but also envisioning what Kaupapa Māori citational practice could look like. Such considerations have opened up a wealth of radical possibilities, where we can imagine the futures we desire and cite our way there. Indeed, Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2018) posit that "there is a need for all of us to appreciate that what may seem a utopian vision is worth striving for and maybe won through a series of small and incremental gains rather than singular and spectacular actions" (p. 25). This is our small and incremental contribution—each citation, a small and incremental gain.

Indigenous PhD work in the Westernised academy

Engaging in PhD research in the Westernised academy is to engage in a "community of practice that is focused upon the propagation and promulgation of (settler colonial) knowledge" (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 232). It is to be situated within institutions whose values and organising principles are built on, and sustained by, settler colonial ideas around race, class and gender (Jackson, 2019; Pihama, 2019). This is a fraught space for Indigenous researchers. Many Māori scholars, including Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Graham Hingangaroa Smith, Leonie Pihama and Moana Jackson, have written extensively about how central the academy is in reproducing settler colonialism.

A function of the Westernised academy is to damage and disrupt Indigenous ways of knowing by suppressing generations of sophisticated

Indigenous intellectual traditions and associated practices and attempting to replace them with settler colonial ways of knowing (Jackson, 2016; Pihama, 2019). Much like the colonisation of our lands and waters, the colonisation of Indigenous knowledges is sustained and deliberate. Moana Jackson (2016) reminds us that:

Among the many brutal damaging things that colonisation has done to Indigenous peoples, it has been to convince Indigenous peoples that there is indeed only one way of seeing the world, only one system of knowledge. And if there is some belated recognition of an intellectual tradition held and treasured by Indigenous peoples, it has a certain quaint exotic interest, and may provide some worthwhile perspective on the greater dominant colonising knowledge paradigm, but it is somehow not universal. What is deemed universal has of course been European. (12:23)

The academy remains a key site for the maintenance of this myth of "one supreme mono-knowledge system" (Jackson, 2016, 12:18), expressed in the rules and conventions about what counts as knowledge and what practices are considered "academic" (Jackson, 2016). Certain types of knowledge are given authority over others. We can see across the Westernised academy that knowledge hierarchies are largely constructed around, and bolstered by, settler colonial knowledge and practice. Among these constructed hierarchies, greater authority is given to human-generated knowledge—knowledge that has been observed, measured, and interpreted by humans. Further, greater authority is attributed to written knowledge, particularly published written knowledge. Within published literature, additional hierarchies exist, with more credibility given to more recent knowledge. This not only deprives those of us working in the academy of unpublished literature and the vastness of oral and visual traditions but also deprives us of the wealth of intergenerational knowledge held by our communities and our more than human relations (Kimmerer, 2013).

Moana Jackson (2016) notes that the struggles of Indigenous knowledge in the academy are epitomised in the "literature review" that is an expected part of any doctoral thesis or "major piece of academic work in a university" (29:10):

What they mean by "literature review" is stuff written as literature by white people. Yet in our knowledge system, literature as written is only a recent innovation, but that does not mean that

literature did not exist—it is there in the poetry, the songs, the history, the traditions of all Indigenous peoples. And yet to try to get a university to accept that way of knowing and seeing the world constitutes a valid literature review, is one of those many issues that Indigenous peoples throughout the Western academy continue to wage. (29:30)

Indigenous peoples have long recognised the potential of the academy and the value of engaging in Indigenous PhD work (L. T. Smith, 2011). In Aotearoa, this potential has been harnessed most notably by Kaupapa Māori. However, Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2018) note the “contradictory” nature of the academy that “has enormous potential to facilitate the positive transformation of Indigenous life and aspirations, equally it can also be a major influence in the continued colonization and oppression of Indigenous Peoples, their knowledge, language, and culture” (p. 3).

Indeed, Kaupapa Māori has provided us with space in the academy to imagine and enact positive transformation. However, a number of powerful systems, structures, and practices exist to keep us from actualising the potential of Kaupapa Māori. Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2018) write:

The power of the academy lies in its symbolic self-representation of advanced, civilized, and human accomplishment. It is reinforced through its hegemonic role of (re)producing “real”/legitimate knowledge, and in its actual social and cultural relations of dominance embedded in the very systems, structures, and practices of disciplinary-based knowledge cultures and the assembling of these ideas and resources into a unique institutional force. (p. 1079)

Citational practice is one of these “practices of disciplinary-based knowledge cultures” (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2018, p. 1079). The institutional conventions and expectations around citational practice function to keep us within the confines of what counts as knowledge in the Westernised academy, bound to cycles of reflecting and reproducing the academy. Such practices require critical engagement.

Citation in the Westernised academy

Citation powers the academy. We are taught and constantly reminded to be familiar with the institutional conventions and expectations around citation from the moment we step into the academy.

Sara Ahmed (2013), a critical voice on the politics of citation, states, “I would describe citation as a rather successful reproductive technology, a way of reproducing the world around certain bodies” (para. 3). The “bodies” Sara Ahmed refers to are those of white men (as an institution). Sara Ahmed (2017) further notes in *Living a Feminist Life*, “I might need to add cis, straight and able-bodied to the general body I am evoking” (p. 270). Citations reproduce the many intersectional axes of power—the “isms”—that structure settler colonial society.

Sara Ahmed (2013) states that “citational structures can form what we call disciplines” (para. 4). Within the academy, we are expected to learn, to teach, and to theorise within (and thus reproduce) disciplines built on generations of (settler colonial) ideologies, which Sara Ahmed (2017) refers to as “intellectual genealogies”. As doctoral students, in particular, we are required to locate our work within (read: descend from) these academic disciplines—from the ideas of cis, straight, able-bodied white men. For Indigenous doctoral students, this means locating ourselves within settler colonial ideologies that continue to damage and disrupt the knowledge systems of our people. For Hana, a PhD in the discipline of public health at a Westernised university means reproducing ideas settler colonialism has about us, about our health, which are largely racist and deficit (Reid et al., 2019). Linda Tuhiwai Smith speaks critically of disciplines, stating that:

I do not have any particular loyalty to a single discipline. I am intrigued, as my work shows, in how academic disciplines work to discipline language and thought, as well as to institutionalize and legitimate knowledge. Understanding the nature of academic disciplines and their underlying philosophies and methods has helped me deconstruct the power of disciplines to define and represent Indigenous peoples and our ways of knowing and being, and to entrap us in their sense of reality. (Smith et al., 2018, p. 7)

Disciplines discipline. We are taught to abide by the authority of certain types of knowledge and certain knowers. Institutional conventions and expectations around citational practice ensure this. We must cite accordingly. If we do not, our credibility is questioned (Ahmed, 2013). These norms serve as a constant reminder of who the academy can imagine as a credible knower—they let us know our place; they pull us back into line.

Refusal: A sovereign stance

We refuse to be disciplined. We refuse to participate in current institutional conventions and expectations of citational practice. We refuse to write, and supervise, a doctoral thesis that reproduces the world around the bodies of cis, straight, and able-bodied white men. We refuse to recirculate the colonising, deficit research that saturates public health discourse.

The notion of “refusal” has been theorised by Kahnawà:ke scholar Audra Simpson (2007, 2017). Audra Simpson (2017) writes:

[Refusal] emerged in my own writing and through observation of Kahnawà:ke action but also through the words of people. I would hear, “enough is enough”, “it’s not us it’s them”, and—in a commentary on the international border—“the white man put that there, not us”. The people of Kahnawà:ke used every opportunity to remind each other, and especially non-native people, that this is our land, that there are other political orders and possibilities. (p. 21)

Indeed, Māori have been theorising refusal for generations. We are experts at refusal, at placing limits on the conquest and colonisation of our lands, waters, bodies, knowledge—all that makes us who we are. Perhaps one of the most notable articulations of refusal of recent generations is the phrase “not one more acre of Māori land” (Gibson et al., 2019). *Not one more acre* emerged through the 1975 Land March, which, beginning in the far north of Aotearoa, set out to stop the further colonisation of Māori land. This march was led by Te Whaea o te Motu, Whina Cooper, a wahine Māori with whakapapa to Te Rarawa (Gibson et al., 2019). This march strengthened the platform for the many acts of refusal that would follow.

Not one more acre reverberates through generations, to the more recent reclamation of Ihumātao. The proposed eviction of kaitiaki in July 2019 brought together generations of resistance. Tayi Tibble (2019) fittingly writes, “Everyone was there, e hoa”. It was on the frontline of Ihumātao that I, Hana, began to deeply theorise through refusal in my PhD. Specifically, it was through a conversation with my friends Haylee Koroi (Te Rarawa, Te Pōpoto, Ngāpuhi) and Ata Siulua (Lofanga and Ha’ateiho, Tonga) as we held space together in front of police on the frontline, around a fire under the stars, deeply theorising about Indigenous politics, the non-linear nature of time, and the intimate relationships between ngā atua. This was happening all across the whenua—pockets of theorising,

ideas amassing around fires. Walking across the whenua, you could catch snippets of these conversations, like coming in and out of birdsong as you walk through the ngāhere. Choruses of theorising.

Immersed in the reverberations of *not one more acre*, I began to see parallels between what was happening to the whenua and what was happening to my PhD as I was expected to fit myself into the intellectual genealogies of white men. Questions began to arise around how I would cite my ideas in a way that honestly reflected the theoretical formations of my PhD. How would I cite my friends? How would I cite the whenua? The fire? How would I cite my tūpuna? It became more and more explicit that institutional conventions and expectations around citational practice would not allow me to be myself. I refused to reduce myself to fit in to the intellectual genealogies of white men. I decided to take a sovereign stance.

Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2014) describe refusal as “attempts to place limits on conquest and the colonisation of knowledge by marking what is off limits, what is not up for grabs or discussion, what is sacred, and what can’t be known” (p. 225). In considering our limits to who, how and why we cite, we must deeply consider how we relate to the academy. Here, drawing on Simpson (2007), Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2014) note that refusal is “theoretically generative” (p. 239), it is “a redirection to ideas otherwise unacknowledged or questioned” (p. 239). Refusal is an opening, an expansion, space to use our imagination. Refusal is liberatory. It “connects our conversation back to our desires, as a counter logic to settler colonial knowledge” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 242). Drawing from Eve Tuck’s (2010) theorising around desire, Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2014) write that “by refusing the teleos of colonial future, desire expands possible futures” (p. 243). The possibilities of who, how and why we cite open up. In centring our desires, refusal is “a ‘no’ and a ‘yes’” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, p. 234). We are saying yes to being Māori, to contributing to futures where our mokopuna can be well. To think through what this can look like in citation, we must begin to think through how we relate to the world, our whakapapa. Like whakapapa, the possibilities for theory become expansive.

Whakapapa: The foundations of our knowledge

Māori ways of being, knowing, and doing are founded in whakapapa. Perpetually rooted in creation, generations layer upon each other, creating a reality of intergenerational relationships (Mikaere,

2017). In knowing something's whakapapa, the layers that make it up, you can come to know how it came to be, how it relates to the rest of existence, and how it will come to exist in the future. Everything in existence is infinitely and complexly in relation all the time, existing in a state of whanaungatanga (Burgess & Painting, 2020). Moana Jackson (2015) states:

For our notion of time is whakapapa based, and like whakapapa it has its own sense of never-ending beginnings in which time turns back on itself in order to bring the past into the present and then into the future. Above all it is a notion of time which recognises the interconnectedness of all things. (p. 59)

As Māori, our existence is expansive, layered through whānau, hapū, and iwi intergenerationally (Mikaere, 2017). We are points where our past and future generations meet, points at which past generations reflect into and through to future generations (and vice versa)—points of intergenerational dialogue. As meeting points between generations, we have the ability to shape how reflections of the past refract through us into the future. In doing so, we can shape the future. Through whakapapa, we have a responsibility to shape the future well, to nurture and enhance these intergenerational relationships (Burgess & Painting, 2020). This is the foundation of our knowledge systems—mātauranga Māori (Royal, 2009).

Like whakapapa, mātauranga Māori is not linear; it is relational and reiterative (Roberts, 2013). Knowledge emerges through intimate and dynamic relationships with the world around us, transcending physical time and space. Here, knowledge has a greater sense of collectivity. When we share knowledge through any medium, we do so as a part of a whakapapa. Here, texts (which we understand as the communication of knowledge, thoughts, and ideas) are an extension of the communities and environments from which knowledge emerges. This runs into notions of objectivity. However, in a relational world, objectivity (which can be understood as having no relation) is a fallacy. Moana Jackson (2016) has noted that as Māori, “to be objective is actually to divorce yourself from those to whom you belong, it is to divorce yourself from the land which has shaped you” (49:57).

Through whakapapa, we are in relation with past and future generations all the time. We are at once tūpuna and mokopuna. Our bodies, places of intergenerational dialogue. This too is true for our

bodies of work. As Kaupapa Māori researchers and teachers, we are in relation with those who have shaped our knowledge, those who we do our work for, and those who will engage with our work in the future. With this world view, citation can be conceptualised as a way of acknowledging and nurturing these relationships—an expression of whanaungatanga.

Citation: An expression of whanaungatanga

Through whakapapa, citation becomes a process of acknowledging the relationships through which knowledge emerges. It is acknowledging that our knowledge is not ours alone but is occurring as a part of a whakapapa. To “cite” is to call forth. In citing, we are calling forth past and future generations. This is familiar across many of our practices as Māori, such as in our karakia, karanga, whaikōrero, and waiata. When we stand up and introduce ourselves, say our pepeha, we are calling forth our human and more than human relations.

As discussed, the foundations of Māori knowledge are to support and enhance intergenerational relationships (Royal, 2009). This too is the goal of citation. Being in good relation is rightly acknowledging from whom and where you are shaped. Here, our citations become a way in which we locate ourselves and can thus speak to our positionality. Tao Leigh Goffe (2020) wonderfully states, “All writing is relational. Citations illuminate the web of thought in which we locate ourselves.” Citation is an expression of whanaungatanga. The negotiation of whanaungatanga is guided by tikanga, which can be understood as “a relational law based on an ethic of restoration that seeks balance in all relationships” (Jackson, 2020, p. 140). Tikanga has been theorised in the academy through Kaupapa Māori. It is from this space that we can begin to theorise through citational practice.

Envisioning a Kaupapa Māori citational practice

“Kaupapa Māori is a practice, a way of thinking about everything we do in research” (L. T. Smith, 2011, p. 12). Arising from the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement in the 1970s, and embedded in tikanga Māori, Kaupapa Māori provides a space for us to be Māori in the academy (Pihama, 2010), a space for Māori ways of being, knowing, and doing to be drawn from and nurtured. Kaupapa Māori is transformational. Graham Hingangaroa Smith and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2018) argue that:

Kaupapa Māori has not just critically and more accurately problematized the Academy from an Indigenous Māori perspective, but that it has also enabled the development of innovative and positive strategies to make space within institutions and across education systems and in turn to enable transforming outcomes that reflect Indigenous aspirations. (p. 1078)

Importantly, Kaupapa Māori “transcends most institutional disciplines of knowledge” (L. T. Smith, 2011, p.11). We are not bound by disciplines; we are liberated by being opened up to Māori ways of thinking about the world, we are liberated by the knowledge of our tūpuna and the futures we envision for our mokopuna.

Envisioning is one of the “twenty-five Indigenous projects” outlined by Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) in *Decolonizing Methodologies* that constitute a broad Indigenous research programme. It is a strategy that asks us to imagine the futures we want, and to rise above our present-day realities to actualise these. Envisioning asks us to “dream a new dream, and set a new vision” (L. T. Smith, 2012, p. 153).

In order to envision a Kaupapa Māori citational practice, we have chosen to think alongside the ethics of Indigenous research offered by Moana Jackson, who, like Linda Tuhiwai Smith, has been a hugely influential figure in our respective journeys. Moana Jackson offers the ethics of prior thought, moral choice, imagination, change, time, power, courage, honesty, modesty, and celebration. These ethics were presented by Moana Jackson in keynote presentations at the He Manawa Whenua: Indigenous Research Conference 2013 in Hamilton, Aotearoa, and at the Lowitja Institute International Indigenous Health and Wellbeing Conference 2016 in Melbourne, Australia.

Moana Jackson (2015) offers these ethics “not as definitive or programmatic list of definitive ethics, but rather as something which I think as Māori and as Indigenous Peoples we might like to bear in mind whenever we begin to question ourselves or others or the lives we would like to live” (p. 61). In turn, we do not intend to prescribe a specific Kaupapa Māori citational practice, but rather to present each ethic as a provocation, an invitation for one to deeply consider what citation means to them. In the following sections, signified by our interpretation of the ethic for citational practice, we introduce each ethic offered by Moana Jackson, and then we envision how it can guide who, how, and why we cite.

Cite prior thought

The ethic of prior thought is the idea that to make sense of the world around us, we must draw from the deep and insightful knowledge of the generations before us, which has been (and continues to be) developed, reviewed, refined, and expanded upon over generations (Jackson, 2015, 2016). To cite prior thought is to engage with mātauranga Māori as both an epistemology and a body of knowledge (Royal, 2009). Moana Jackson (2015) states:

I often hope, for example, that we might transform the structural requirements of say a PhD thesis by including in the literature review the literature of our old people, the stories in the land, the waiata, the mōteatea and so on. Why should it only include often the ramblings of dead white men? (p. 63)

To cite prior thought is to locate ourselves within the rich intellectual genealogies of Māori and let these form the foundations of our research. Such genealogies are as expansive as our whakapapa, extending from the land—the environment that makes us who we are. Importantly, prior thought is not only written by our ancestors, as written language is a newer technology (Jackson, 2016). Prior thought is carved in our whare, heard in our waiata, and etched into our skin. Prior thought is our pūrākau. It is told by the land, by the stars, by the moon, and by the tides. As Kaupapa Māori researchers, we can expand our notion of text to encompass the knowledge communicated in Te Ao Mārama. We can let our citations reflect the depth and richness of our worlds, and shape the way we envision and move into our futures. Audre Lorde (2017), in her essay *Poetry Is Not a Luxury*, writes:

Sometimes we drug ourselves with dreams of new ideas. The head will save us. The brain alone will set us free. But there are no new ideas still waiting in the wings to save us as women, as human. There are only old and forgotten ones, new combinations, extrapolations and recognitions from within ourselves—along with the renewed courage to try them out. (p. 10)

Citing prior thought also means citing those who are engaging with new combinations and extrapolations of mātauranga Māori. It calls on us to cite the work of young researchers. Connection to prior thought is building relationships with previous generations and, in doing so, allowing them to reflect further into the future. We can

think alongside our tūpuna and call them forth into our futures.

Cite in a way that is tika

Moana Jackson (2015) notes that when we delve into the prior thought of our people, we come to see that before they asked and sought answers to questions, they asked “will this be right, will this be tika, will this be moral?” (p. 61). Tikanga—seeking balance in relationships—is fundamental to all we do as Māori; thus, it should be fundamental to all that we do in research. The ethic of moral choice brings to the forefront the relational accountabilities and consequences that are involved in research.

To cite in a way that is tika means considering the relational accountabilities and consequences of our citational practice. It means nurturing relationships as we cite, and to restore or “whaka-tika” relationships that are damaged (Jackson, 2020, p. 140). Our citations must bring balance. What are the accountabilities and consequences involved with calling forth certain authors and ideologies into our work? Of reproducing certain knowledge systems? What futures are we shaping? We ask ourselves, would we invite them and their ideologies into our home? Would we introduce them to our mokopuna? This may cause discomfort in some disciplines, yet this discomfort is important to sit with and to move through. If we have to cite those that further damage and disrupt whanaungatanga, is this the space we want to be in? How can we change this?

The ethic of prior thought helps us to make a moral decision; it can help us set limits and make sense of our accountabilities as researchers. Importantly, like whanaungatanga, what is tika is fluid and contextual. In turn, it will look different for everyone and will shift over time, thus requiring constant critical engagement.

Cite imaginatively

The ethic of imagination encourages us to use our imagination as we make sense of the world, as we ask questions and go about seeking answers. Moana Jackson (2015) acknowledges that “poetic imagination” is often what it takes to reach our aspirations as Kaupapa Māori teachers and researchers (p. 62). This is especially true as we are thinking about our relationships with our tūpuna and mokopuna. Imagination is how we can expand our relational worlds and see beyond realities imposed by settler colonialism. Imagination has long been an important practice of Indigenous peoples (Jackson, 2016, 2019;

Smith, 2012). Future imagining is a creative process that further pushes back against notions of objectivity (Jackson, 2016). Linda Tuhivai Smith (2012) writes that “imagination enables people to rise above their own circumstances, to dream new visions, and to hold on to old ones” (p. 160).

To cite imaginatively means to imagine the futures we want for our mokopuna and cite our way there. To cite imaginatively is to cite creatively. It means imagining beyond institutional ideas of who, how and why we cite. We can imagine possibilities outside of citation styles we are disciplined by in the academy, which constrain our imagination. We can imagine citation styles that reflect the expansiveness of how we come to know.

Cite to transform

The ethic of change is the commitment to transformation. Since the beginnings of Kaupapa Māori in Māori movements, the necessity for our research to support meaningful transformation has remained a clear goal (Pihama, 2010; G. H. Smith & Smith, 2018; L. T. Smith, 2012). Our research should disrupt the (settler colonial) status quo, and certainly not reproduce it. Moana Jackson (2015) suggests that research that does not seek to transform is not ethical. Similarly, it has been questioned whether research that is not transformative can claim to be Kaupapa Māori (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2018). Here, transformation is not only about the outcomes of research but also about the processes and practices that constitute the acts of research (Pihama, 2010; G. H. Smith & Smith, 2018).

Citation is a powerful reproductive force (Ahmed, 2013), and thus, with critical intent, can be a powerful force for transformation. We can stop reproducing the world around the bodies of white men. We can transform the foundations of our work—by locating ourselves in prior thought and by bringing whakapapa and whanaungatanga to the forefront of our research processes and practices. It is in these transformational processes, seemingly small and incremental, that we shape our futures.

Cite into our pasts and futures

The ethic of time calls on us to align with whakapapa-based time—to be in relation with our pasts and futures. Whakapapa-based time is non-linear and never-ending (Jackson, 2015). As points where past and future generations meet, we exist as though our tūpuna and mokopuna are here with us. By being in relation with them, we can see through time (Burgess & Painting, 2020). The

ethic of time calls us to move away from Western concepts of time, where the present is the pinnacle of existence, thus the source of the most *relevant* or *up-to-date* knowledge. We must reach into the prior thought of our tūpuna and look with them into the future.

In turn, we locate ourselves, and our citational practice, as being a part of a whakapapa, intimately connected to our pasts and futures. Like our bodies, our bodies of work are points where the past and future meet. Citational practice is concerned not only with citing work that has come before us but also acknowledging that, as we cite, we are citing the future. This is closely linked to citing imaginatively. Citing into our pasts allows us to see through settler colonialism and its imposed realities. In turn, we can see, and cite, into futures where we are free from colonial constraints. In being in relation with our mokopuna, we bring forward ideas and texts that align with our imagined futures, laying down a whakapapa for future generations to be immersed in and to continue. Our citation lists should read as the futures we are envisioning.

Cite to restore balance

Knowledge is power (Jackson, 2015; Pihama, 2010; L. T. Smith, 2012). The ethic of power acknowledges that research is concerned with the generation of knowledge; thus, research is “never divorced” from power, and research “which does not acknowledge that power ... is dangerous for Indigenous peoples” (Jackson, 2016, 45:19). This aligns with the critical element of Kaupapa Māori research (G. H. Smith & Smith, 2018) and the importance of having a critical understanding of settler colonialism and the ways it continues to throw our relational ways of being, knowing and doing off balance.

As with the Westernised academy, institutional conventions and expectations around citational practice exist to maintain and further entrench these imbalances brought about by settler colonialism. In turn, our citations must restore balance. Who, how, and why we cite must heal damaged and disrupted relationships, and certainly not re-entrench such imbalances. Through Kaupapa Māori we can harness the power of citations. We can give power to, we can whakamana, Indigenous knowledge and, in doing so, restore balance to our worlds and our work that emerges. Moana Jackson (2020) notes that only through aroha and respect can balance be maintained. Here, citing can become an act of love.

Cite courageously

Kaupapa Māori research takes courage. It takes courage to do research that seeks to transform the status quo. Especially as we are constantly reminded of, and disciplined by, powerful systems and practices of settler colonialism. Moana Jackson (2015) discusses that it may take courage in the research topic itself as well as the practices that we adopt. However, he encouragingly notes that “courage is simply the breath you take before a new beginning” (Jackson, 2020, p. 150). Indeed, Kaupapa Māori has its origins in courage—the courage it took to set up Kura Kaupapa Māori and to begin to carve out theoretical space for us to do research as Māori. It takes courage to assert tino rangatiratanga in the face of settler colonialism. But our people have always been courageous (Jackson, 2019).

A Kaupapa Māori citational practice will take courage. We must cite courageously. Importantly, I, Hana, can be a courageous doctoral student because I draw from the courage of my tuākana. I draw on the courage of Papaarangi and Donna, and of Kaupapa Māori theorists who have so powerfully carved out the theoretical space in which I do my PhD. I draw on the courage of my tūpuna, of my whānau. I do not find courage in isolation; I build on courage that already exists. I am courageous so the next generation can do the same. The academy may be powerful, but this power is little compared with the power of our intergenerational relationships.

Cite honestly

Moana Jackson (2015) states that research requires us to be deeply honest. We must be honest with ourselves as we make sense of the world and engage with knowledge, about how and why we relate to the academy. Honest about our intentions, who we are researching for, and why, what our kaupapa is. This is critical if we are to be in good relation, be tika, in our research and restore balance.

We must not recirculate colonial lies. Systems and processes of settler colonialism are justified by what Moana Jackson (2019) terms “mythtakes”—“falsehoods” and “rewritten histories”, which are fundamentally untrue (p. 1). Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang (2014) note that numerous scholars have outlined how “many social science disciplines emerged from the need to provide justifications for social hierarchies undergirded by white supremacy and manifest destiny” (p. 228). Read: many social science disciplines emerged from colonial lies. In reproducing disciplines, institutional conventions

and expectations around citational practice essentially function to reproduce lies.

Citing honestly is an act of truth telling. Through a Kaupapa Māori citational practice, we can stop the reproduction of colonial lies, and we can nurture and expand on our truths. We can be true to who we are—wāhine Māori. Moana Jackson (2019) states that “to decolonize is to recognize that colonization is a deceptive lie as much as a crushing oppression” (p. 1). Transformation relies on honesty. bell hooks (2001) says, “at the heart of justice, is truth telling” (p. 33)—this is at the heart of our Kaupapa Māori citational practice.

Cite modestly

The ethic of modesty reminds us that we are mokopuna, descendants of generations before us, who will one day be tūpuna. Modesty is a natural consequence of whakapapa and we must research accordingly. This means not getting caught up in the individualistic, ego-driven citational practices the academy rewards (Jackson, 2015). It means a recalibration of hierarchy, citing in a way where different types of knowledge are not seen as more or less valuable but as putting our work in its rightful place. A moving away from Western notions of hierarchy to a whakapapa understanding of the world and our place in it.

To cite modestly is to whakaiti, to acknowledge our smallness, but in a way that is empowering. It is acknowledging that we are not alone, that we are a part of a bigger kaupapa, and that we each have an important role in advancing it. Like our whakapapa, our kaupapa are so much bigger than us; they are intergenerational. Indigenous PhD work alone will not transform, but, done modestly, and in good relation, can be transformational. Through citation, we can acknowledge the wider kaupapa to which we relate. Citing modestly reminds us to recognise collective efforts of our people and to resist citational practices that encourage us to claim ideas as novel, as our individual creations. Citing modestly is acknowledging who we are—a part of an infinitely expansive network of whakapapa. Modesty is transformational.

Cite to celebrate

The ethic of celebration calls on us to celebrate who we are as Indigenous peoples. To celebrate where we have come from and where we are going (Jackson 2016). It means engaging in our intellectual traditions with pride. It means making space for joy in what we do and share laughter. Laughter has long been a part of healing for Indigenous peoples. Indeed, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013,

39:13) says we should have more parties and that “Kaupapa Māori came out of a group of colleagues who enjoyed ideas” (39:24). She says that “fantastic intellectual work can come out of just the joy of thinking about ideas and being engaged with colleagues who also think about it” (40:07).

Citation is an act of celebration, it is an act of joy, of love. It is celebrating the abundance of knowledge of our tūpuna. It is calling forth our relations with pride and expressing our appreciation for those who have shaped our knowledge and who are shaping our futures. It is celebrating the vast body of work that constitutes Kaupapa Māori in 2020, celebrating how far we have come since the first Kura Kaupapa Māori Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2013) speaks of. We celebrate Kaupapa Māori as a space where so many of us have found home. It is celebrating how much more work can, and will, be built off of ours. Citing to celebrate is like inviting our relations to a party with us, it is rolling with them to the future.

Calling forth our pasts, citing our futures

Citation is the expression and nurturing of the ever-expansive intergenerational relationships that constitute who we are and how we come to know. It is an expression of whanaungatanga, of love, joy, and appreciation, for our relations past and future. Through a Kaupapa Māori citational practice, we can call forth generations that have come before us and with them cite the futures we desire. We can open ourselves up to the richness of Te Ao Mārama and immerse ourselves in the endless and enduring currents of whakapapa. Mauri ora.

Acknowledgements

Hana would like to acknowledge Te Kahuratai Painting (Ngāti Manu) for his contribution to theorising around whakapapa and whanaungatanga, which draws from their previous work together. The PhD research is financially supported by a Health Research Council of New Zealand Māori Health Research Scholarship. Hana would also like to acknowledge Te Atawhai o Te Ao: Independent Māori Research Institute for Environment and Health for its support through the He Kokonga Ngākau Scholarship. The thoughts in this paper reflect the vast and expansive networks of our relations. In turn, we also acknowledge the many theorists in our lives: our whānau, friends, and communities, and our more than human relations. Kei te mihi, kei te mihi, kei te mihi.

Glossary

aroha	kindness, affection, love, compassion
e hoa	friend
hapū	collective of whānau
Ihumātao	land in South Auckland (recently reclaimed)
iwi	collective of hapū
kaitiaki	guardian, protector
karakia	incantation, ritual chant
karanga	ceremonial call
kaupapa	purpose, principle
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approaches, principles and vision
Kura Kaupapa Māori	Māori medium school
mātauranga Māori	Māori epistemology, body of knowledge
mauri ora	life force/essence
mokopuna	descendants
mōteatea	sung poetry/literature
ngā atua	ancestors with continuing influence
ngāhere	bush
pepeha	a way of locating oneself and making connections
pūrākau	narratives
Te Ao Mārama	the realm of being, world of light (Mead, 2016)
Te Whaea o te Motu tika	“the mother of the land” right, correct
tikanga	a relational law based on an ethic of restoration that seeks balance in all relationships (Jackson, 2019, p. 140)
tikanga Māori	Māori ethics
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination, sovereignty
tuākana	older or more experienced relations
tūpuna	ancestors
wahine Māori	Māori woman
wāhine Māori	Māori women
waiata	song
whaikōrero	oration, formal speech
whakaiti	humility, to acknowledge smallness
whakatika	make right, correct
whakamana	uplift mana
whakapapa	intergenerational networks of relationships

whānau	wider family
whanaungatanga	relationality, being in relation through whakapapa
whare	house, building
whenua	land

References

- Ahmed, S. (2013, September 11). Making feminist points. *Feministkilljoys*. <http://feministkilljoys.com/2013/09/11/making-feminist-points/>
- Ahmed, S. (2017). *Living a feminist life*. Duke University Press. <https://doi.org/c83b>
- Burgess, H., & Painting, T. K. (2020). Onamata, anamata: A whakapapa perspective of Māori futurisms. In A. M. Murtola & S. Walsh (Eds.), *Whose futures?* (pp. 205–233). Economic and Social Research Aotearoa.
- Gibson, S., Williams, M., & Cairns, P. (2019). *Protest tautohetohe: Objects of resistance, persistence, and defiance*. Te Papa Press.
- Goffe, T. L. [@taoleighgoffe]. (2020, April 21). *All writing is relational. Citations illuminate the web of thought in which we locate ourselves* [Tweet]. Twitter. <https://twitter.com/taoleighgoffe/status/1252337266531303424>
- hooks, b. (2001). *All about love: New visions*. Harper Perennial.
- Jackson, M. (2015). He Manawa Whenua. In L. Pihama, H. Skipper, & J. Tipene (Eds.), *He Manawa Whenua conference proceedings: Inaugural issue 2013* (pp. 59–63). Te Kotahi Research Institute.
- Jackson, M. (2016, November 8–10). *Keynote address* [Conference presentation]. Lowitja Institute International Indigenous Health and Wellbeing Conference, Melbourne, Australia. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oWjwepB6UX8>
- Jackson, M. (2019). In the end “the hope of decolonization”. In A. McKinley & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 101–110). Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/gjds>
- Jackson, M. (2020). Where to next? Decolonisation and stories in the land. In A. Hodge (Ed.), *Imagining decolonisation* (pp. 133–155). Bridget Williams Books. <https://doi.org/gjdv>
- Kimmerer, R. W. (2013). *Braiding sweetgrass: Indigenous wisdom, scientific knowledge, and the teachings of plants*. Milkweed Editions.
- Lorde, A. (2017). *Your silence will not protect you*. Silver Press.
- Mead, H. M. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (Rev. ed.). Huia Publishers.
- Mikaere, A. (2017). *Like moths to the flame? A history of Ngāti Raukawa resistance and recovery*. Te Wānanga o Raukawa.
- Pihama, L. (2010). Kaupapa Māori theory: Transforming theory in Aotearoa. *He Pukenga Korero*, 9(2), 5–14.
- Pihama, L. (2019). Colonization and the importation of ideologies of race, gender, and class in Aotearoa. In A. McKinley & L.T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 29–48). Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/gjdw>

- Reid, P., Cormack, D., & Paine, S.-J. (2019). Colonial histories, racism and health: The experience of Māori and Indigenous peoples. *Public Health*, 172, 119–124. <https://doi.org/fd9r>
- Roberts, M. (2013). Ways of seeing: Whakapapa. *Sites: A Journal of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies*, 10(1), 93–120. <https://doi.org/gjdx>
- Royal, T. A. C. (2009). *Mātauranga Maori: An introduction*. Mauriora-ki-te-Ao/Living Universe.
- Simpson, A. (2007). On ethnographic refusal: Indigeneity, “voice” and colonial citizenship. *Junctures: The Journal for Thematic Dialogue*, 9, 67–80.
- Simpson, A. (2017). The ruse of consent and the anatomy of “refusal”: Cases from indigenous North America and Australia. *Postcolonial Studies*, 20(1), 18–33. <https://doi.org/ggmk9j>
- Smith, G. H., & Smith, L. T. (2018). Doing Indigenous work: Decolonizing and transforming the academy. In A. McKinley & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of Indigenous education* (pp. 1075–1101). Springer Nature. <https://doi.org/gjd2>
- Smith, L. T. (2011, May 5–6). Opening keynote: Storying the development of kaupapa Māori: A review of sorts. In Te Wāhanga, J. Hutchings, H. Potter, & K. Taupo (Eds.), *Kei Tua o Te Pae hui proceedings: The challenges of kaupapa Māori research in the 21st century* (pp. 10–15). New Zealand Council of Educational Research.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). Zed Books.
- Smith, L. T. (2013, March 11) *Decolonisation, research and Indigenous peoples today hui* [Conference presentation]. <http://mediacentre.maramatanga.ac.nz/content/decolonisation-research-and-indigenous-peoples-today-hui-0>
- Smith, L. T., Tuck E., & Yang K. W. (2018). Introduction. In L. T. Smith, E. Tuck, & K. W. Yang (Eds.). *Indigenous and decolonizing studies in education: Mapping the long view* (pp. 1–23). Routledge. <https://doi.org/gjd4>
- Tibble, T. (2019, August 6). *Ihumātao: Everyone was there, e hoa*. Newsroom. <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2019/08/06/731859/ihumtao-everyone-was-there-e-hoa>
- Tuck, E. (2010). Breaking up with Deleuze: Desire and valuing the irreconcilable. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 23(5), 635–650. <https://doi.org/fspphg>
- Tuck, E., & Yang, K. W. (2014). R-words: Refusing research. In D. Paris & M. T. Winn (Eds.), *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry with youth and communities* (pp. 223–247). Sage Publications. <https://doi.org/gjd6>